

# Masters of the Lost Land

The Untold Story of the Amazon  
and the Violent Fight for the  
World's Last Frontier

Heriberto Araujo



MARINER BOOKS  
New York Boston

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The Brazilian Amazon in Pará state.  
*Heriberto Araujo*







The Te-Chaga-U ranch, photographed by the police at the time of the raid to find human remains. Police of Pará



The party that raided the Te-Chaga-U, including Dezinho (in striped T-shirt), Zé Geraldo (in red shirt), and Gil (in ski mask and white hood). Police of Pará



A story in *Jornal do Brasil* about the trial for the murder of Cavalcanti; Josélio's photo is left among the headshots. *Jornal do Brasil*



Human remains found by the police at the Te-Chaga-U. Police of Pará





Josélio's prison identification card after his conviction for Cavalcanti's murder.

*Tribunal de Justiça do Espírito Santo*

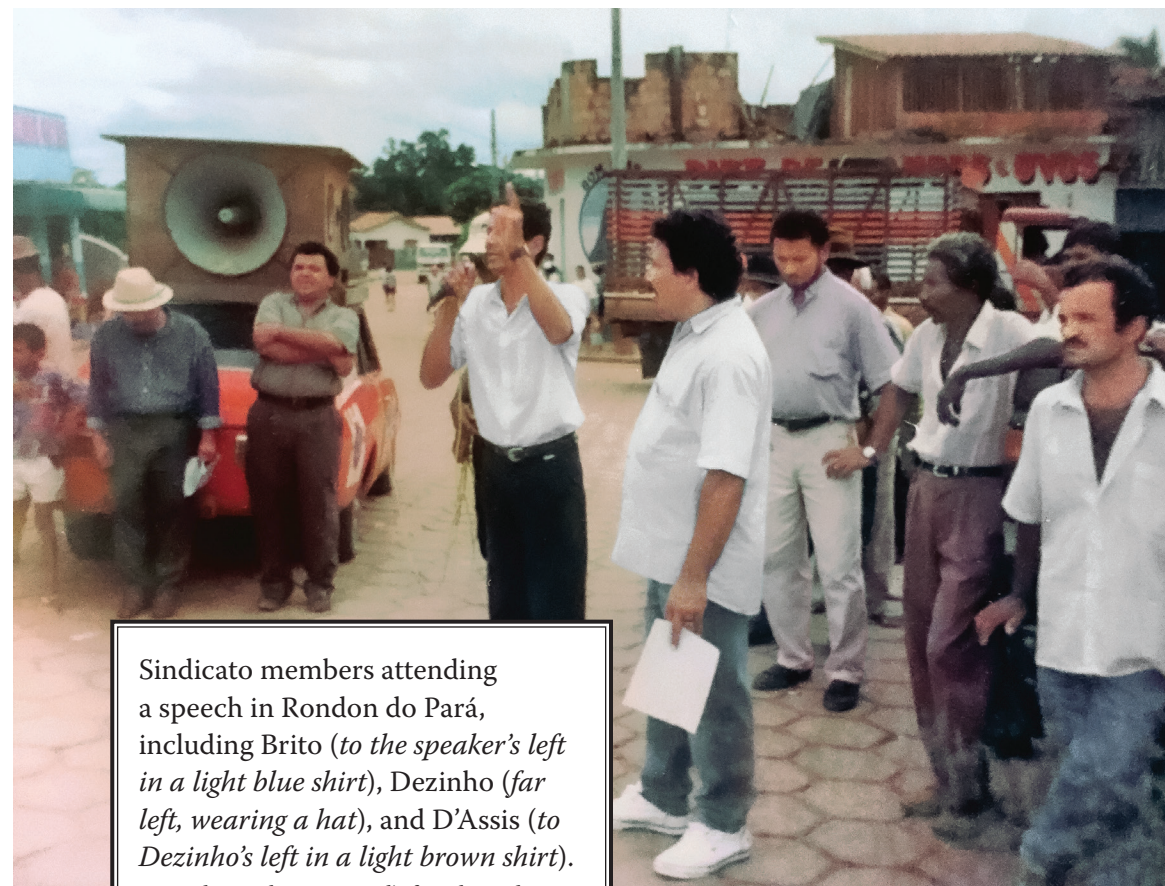


Dezinho addressing landless peasants during a demonstration in Rondon do Pará. *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*



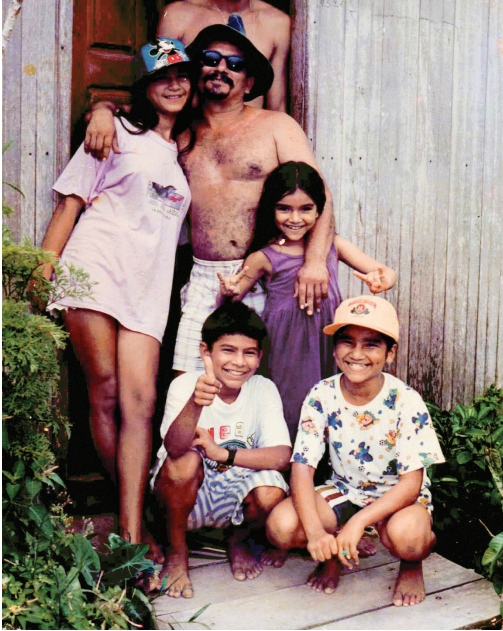
*A Província do Pará* report of the chainsaw murder on September 10, 1975. It shows the letter delivered to the Reises, a picture of the victims, and Geraldo showing the clothes of his dead brother.

*A Província do Pará*



Sindicato members attending a speech in Rondon do Pará, including Brito (to the speaker's left in a light blue shirt), Dezinho (far left, wearing a hat), and D'Assis (to Dezinho's left in a light brown shirt). *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*





Dezinho and his four children (*left to right*): Joelminha, Joelson, Joelina, and Joélina. *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*



Maria Joel and Dezinho dancing at a party in Rondon do Pará. *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*



Josélio (*far right*) and other people photographed by the police of Minas Gerais, led by Detective Faria in the Te-Chaga-U fazenda. *Detective Antônio Carlos Correa de Faria*



Dezinho, Maria Joel, and their children at one of the last birthdays they celebrated together. *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*



Demonstration by MST members to protest the arrest of Dezinho ordered by Judge Amorim in 1999. Dezinho is wearing a white T-shirt (*left of center*). *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*

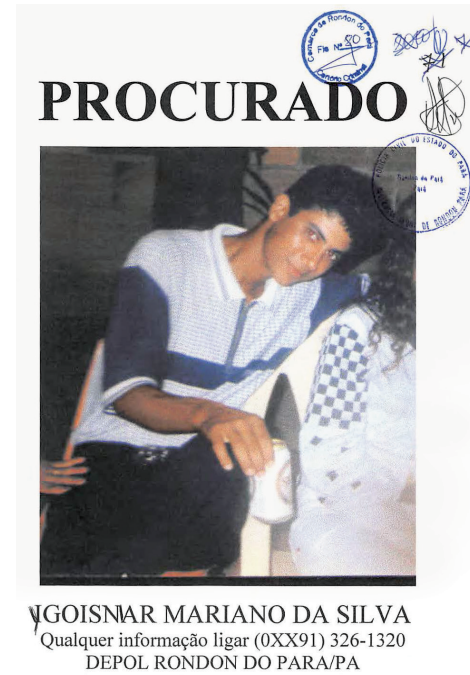




Gunman Pedro Alves de Silva.  
*Francisco Martins da Silva Filho*



The casket of Pedro Alves da Silva  
before being buried in Rondon do Pará.  
*Francisco Martins da Silva Filho*



Wanted posters for Ygoismar Mariano da Silva and Rogério de Jesus Silva  
released by the police of Pará after Dezinho's murder. *Police of Pará*



Rancher Décio José Barroso  
Nunes being interrogated by  
Brazilian lawmakers at the  
Brazilian Senate, 2006.  
*TV Senado*



Maria Joel (*center, in  
a red shirt*) attending  
a meeting with  
President Lula. By her  
side, actresses Leticia  
Sabatella (*wearing  
a pink blazer*) and  
Camila Pitanga (*in  
white*). *Salete Hallack*





Sem-terra vão à rua para denunciar que mandante da morte de sindicalista continua em liberdade. Fazendeiros reagem com tratores e caminhões, acusando sem-terra de ter assassinado pecuarista

# Fazendeiro é ‘dono’ de município

Delsão manda e desmanda em Rondon do Pará. Contrata pistoleiros, mata e sequer apaga pistas dos crimes que comete

AMÁURY RIBEIRO JR.  
Enviado especial

**EXTERMINIO**  
DO PARÁ -  
Controlando  
a Justiça e a  
polícia, o fa-  
zendeiro Dé-  
cio José Barroso Nunes, con-  
hecido como Delsão, é pratica-  
mente o dono do município de Ron-  
don do Pará. Lá ele manda e des-  
manda, sendo temido por todos. Seu poder é tal que ele não se preocupa de apagar pistas dos crimes de que é acusado.

O juiz titular do município, Paulo Amorim, foi suspenso pelo Tribunal de Justiça depois de ter sido acusado de envolvimento em fraudes com Títulos de Dívida Agrária (TDA) para beneficiar fazendeiros. A promotora, Josélia Barroso, está impedida de atuar na comarca desde 1996, quando a Polícia Federal encontrou um cemitério clandestino na fazenda do pai dela, Josélio Barroso. Os oficiais de Justiça, funcionários cedidos por cartórios ao fórum, são acusados pelo promotor substituto, Raimundo Ayres, de retardar o andamento dos processos em que Delsão está envolvido.

**Hospital** - O veredicto se confirmou quando Pedro, que bebia num bar da cidade, foi morto pelos pistoleiros de aluguel Francisco Veloso de Freitas (que é vereador em Bom Jesus do Tocantins pelo PSB), Luiz Carlos Aviz e Paulo Ferraz Rodriguez, em novembro do ano passado.

"No hospital, percebi que, antes de morrer, meu irmão ia me alertar para o perigo que eu corria, mas desisti porque dois médicos ligados à quadrilha não tiravam os olhos dele. Pedro foi assassinado porque sabia demais. Dias depois, quando o Veloso começou a rondar a minha casa, vi que meu irmão estava certo e que eu também corria perigo", disse.

A advertência de Francisco a Dezinho não impediu a morte do sindicalista. Num ato de ousadia, mesmo após o recado de que estava marcado para morrer, Dezinho continuou a investigar as mortes de Juacir Gomes da Silva, o Bodão, e de Piauí (cujo nome até hoje não consta dos autos do processo), que trabalhavam na Madeireira Barroso, de propriedade de De Delsão. Contratado na Bahia pelo intermediário Ygoimar Maria-



A viúva Maria da Costa mostra fotografia de Dezinho

## Caminhões contra passeata

**RONDON DO PARÁ** - Rondon do Pará, 21 de novembro de 2001. Comandados pelo presidente do Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais do município, José Soares Brito, cerca de dois mil trabalhadores rurais saem em passeata. Exigem a prisão do mandante do assassinato do sindicalista José Dutra da Costa, o Dezinho, ocorrido há exatamente um ano.

"Pedimos a condenação dos fazendeiros assassinos", gritam em coro os manifestantes. A passeata dos sem-terra segue em direção à Avenida Central. Lá, é surpreendida por uma caravana de 50 tratores e caminhões. Delsão, acusado de ter sido o mandante da morte de Dezinho, comanda o passeio motorizado.

Acompanhado de seguranças, funcionários de suas madeireiras e amigos, Delsão tenta com o comboio neutralizar o impacto da passeata. Do carro de som alugado pelo fazendeiro saem palavras de ordem contra o movimento dos sem-terra. "O MST não quer terra. Só quer bagunça", grita o locutor.

**Contra-ataque** - Os fazendeiros partem para o contra-ataque: os alto-falantes e as faixas acusam trabalhadores de ter matado o pecuarista José Hilário, em 1996. Os autos do processo, no entanto, contam uma história diferente.

No depoimento prestado à Justiça, o agricultor Antônio Piauí confessou ter matado o fazendeiro. O motivo do crime: José Hilário tinha agredido sua mulher. Piauí disse que acusou os sem-terra porque foi torturado na delegacia da cidade por pistoleiros e policiais. Diante da iminência de confronto entre os manifestantes da passeata e da carreta, a Polícia Militar entra em ação. Sob o comando de tenente Cláudio Moreira, 37 soldados, armados com metralhadoras, separam os dois grupos.

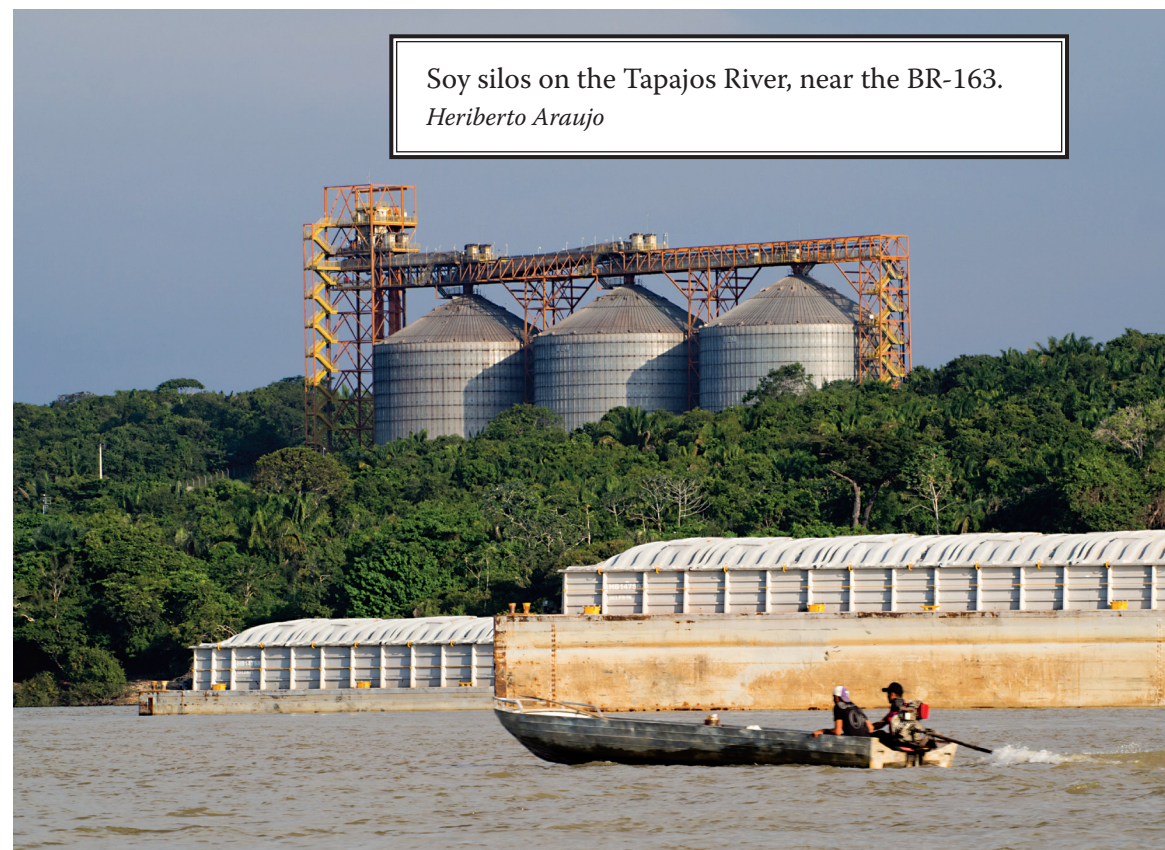
O lado direito da rua é reservado aos trabalhadores. Do lado oposto ficam Delsão e os amigos. No meio, os policiais.

Às 15h, os sem-terra voltam para o sindicato. Imediatamente, Delsão encerra também a carreta dos fazendeiros. (A.R.J.)



A truck transporting crops through the BR-163, known as the "soybean highway," Pará state.

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Soy silos on the Tapajos River, near the BR-163.

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A page of *Jornal do Brasil* showing pro-landless and pro-fazendeiros demonstrations in Rondon do Pará. Below the headline, Maria Joel displays a poster of Dezinho. *Jornal do Brasil*



José da Silva, a settler, union associate, and former landless peasant on his plot in Rondon do Pará. *Heriberto Araujo*



Mayor Shirley Cristina at her inauguration ceremony, 2013; *third from right*, Councilwoman Joelminha. *Ricardo Tavares D'Almeida*



Josélio de Barros and his wife, Sirley, at the inauguration ceremony of their daughter, Shirley Cristina. *Ricardo Tavares D'Almeida*



Settlers and subsistence farmers transporting their crops to Rondon do Pará. *Heriberto Araujo*

Shirley Cristina and Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro, before he removed her from office. *Archive of Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro*







Maria Joel receiving the Human Rights Award from Lula, 2007. *Dezinho and Maria Joel's family archive*



Maria Joel Dias da Costa in front of the union building in Rondon do Pará. *Heriberto Araujo*

Lawyer José Batista Gonçalves Afonso at the archive of the CPT; behind him, files for court cases of murders and a poster of Chico Mendes. *Heriberto Araujo*



Rancher Nunes at the jury trial for the murder of Dezinho, August 2019. *Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará*



Maria Joel testifying at the jury trial of Nunes, August 13, 2019. *Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará*

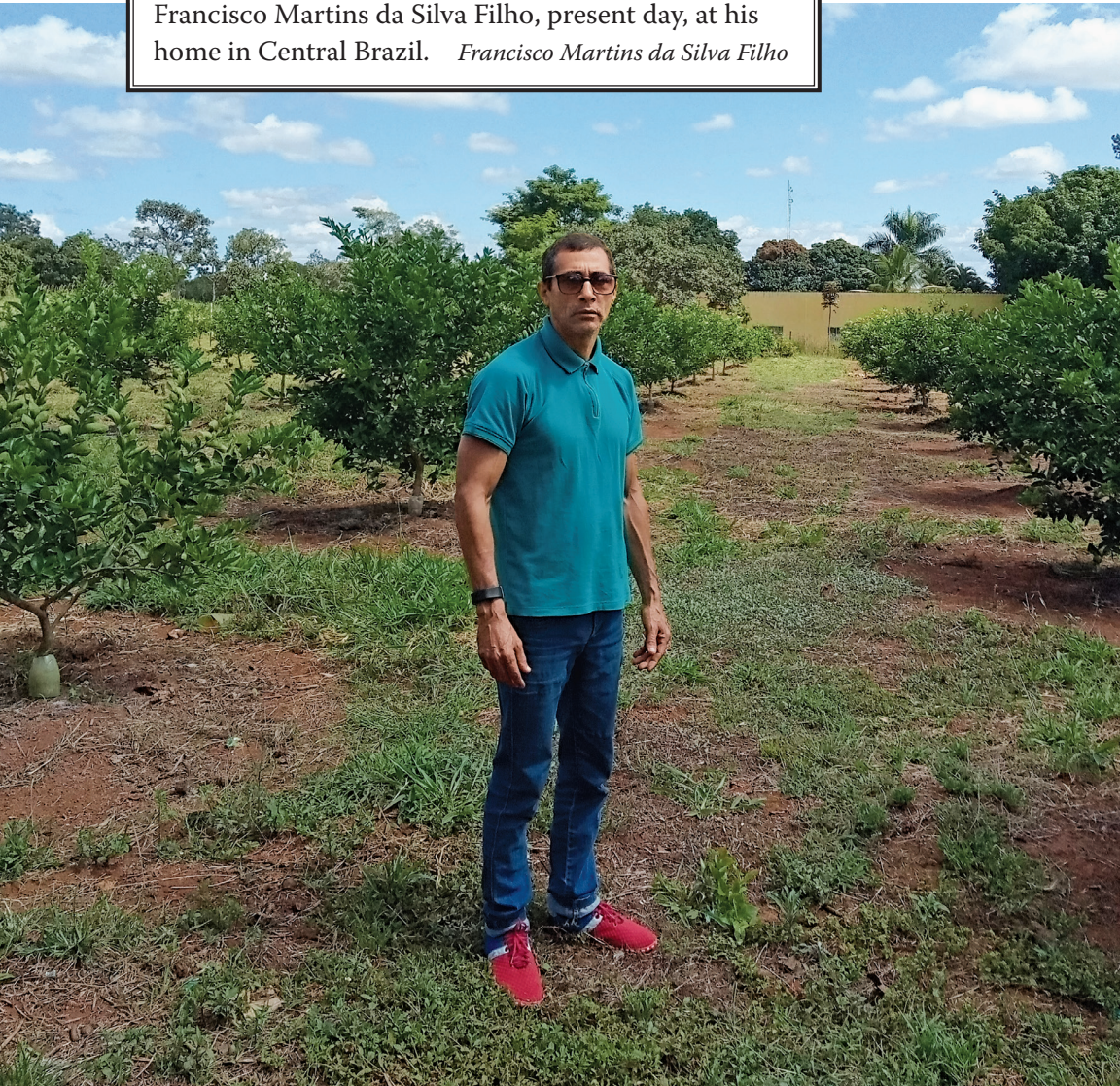




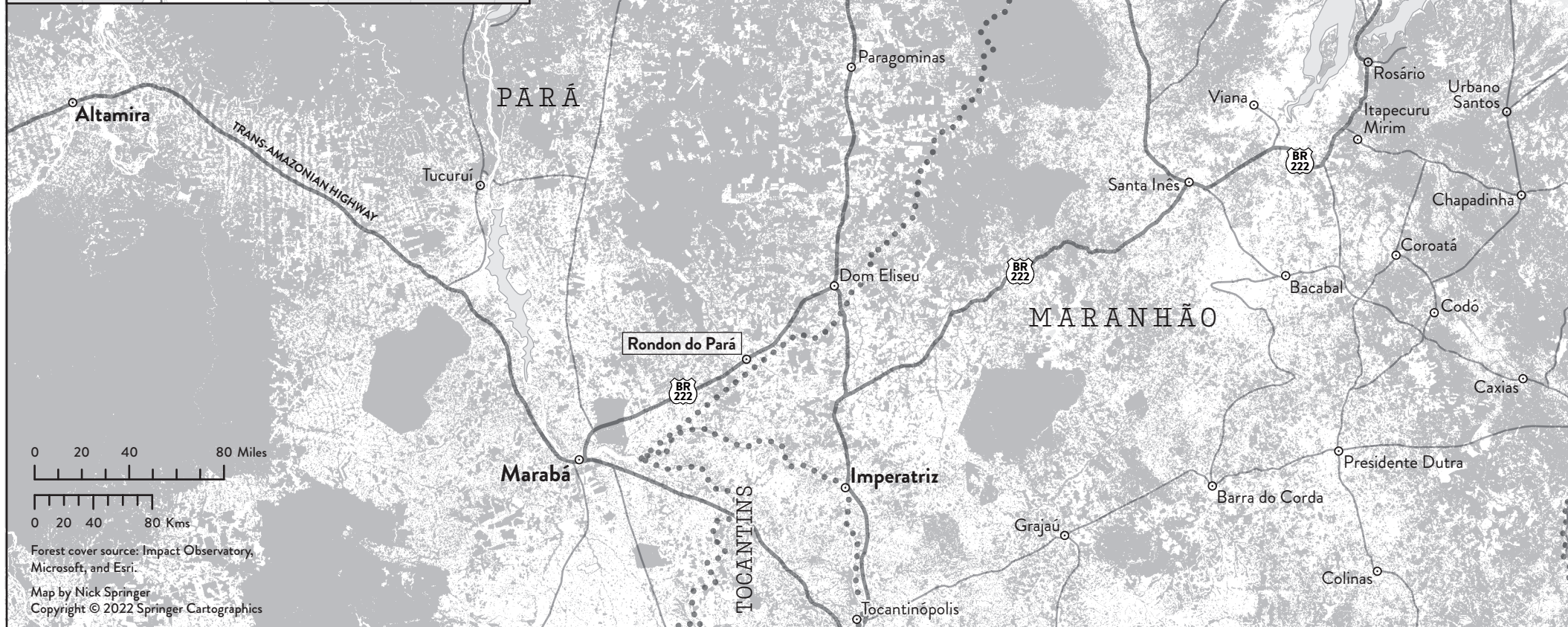
Key witness Francisco  
testifying at the jury  
trial of Nunes, August  
13, 2019.

*Tribunal de Justiça do  
Estado do Pará*

Francisco Martins da Silva Filho, present day, at his  
home in Central Brazil. *Francisco Martins da Silva Filho*









## Acknowledgments

My first thanks go to G.S., O.B., and C.S. I feel incredibly lucky to have crossed paths with them. This is family.

Many people in Rondon do Pará helped me in researching this story. I could fill several pages with their names, but most have chosen not to be identified. I'm grateful to all of them.

Maria Joel and her family submitted to repeated interviews and never refused to answer questions. Brito was of crucial importance in understanding the rise of Dezinho at the Sindicato. Lawyers Carlos Guedes and José Batista Gonçalves Afonso played a decisive role in helping me understand the story of Dezinho and Maria Joel. Francisco devoted many hours to reply to my tough questions about him and his brother Pedro.

I'm thankful to Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro, Judge Jônatas dos Santos Andrade, Detective Antônio Carlos Corrêa de Faria, and state prosecutor Franklin Lobato for telling me their stories and devoting time to explain their tenacious work to enforce the rule of law. A special thanks to Judge David Guilherme de Paiva Albano and all the other officials at the state justice of Pará and Espírito Santo who granted me access to court files. Also thanks to Camila Pitanga, Salete Hallack, Father Ricardo Rezende, and Wagner Moura for replying to my queries.

The work of many people at archives and libraries made it possible for me to access confidential files that validated events and details of this story. At the CPT office in Marabá, I owe a lot to Batista, Iranete, Andreia, and Clara; in Vitória, to historian Tiago de Matos Alves from



the Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo; in Pará, to Valdecir at the Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará. In Brasília and Rio de Janeiro, I was very lucky to receive help from committed public servants preserving Brazil's memory and history in the extraordinary Arquivo Nacional and Biblioteca Nacional.

Several people were critical in helping me to reach sources. Renata M., E. Rodrigues and Matheus F. were of great importance.

To the extraordinary Veronica Goldstein, my agent—this book is the result of her confidence in the project. And thanks to Peter Hubbard, Molly Gendell, Andrew Jacobs, Kell Wilson, Laura Brady, Emily Snyder, Yeon Kim, Aryana Hendrawan, and all the people at HarperCollins/Mariner who made this book better. Any errors are the author's alone.

To Hilary L. Gunning for her incredibly important work during the writing and editing of this book. She's determined, patient, and remarkably talented. And *grazie* to the great G.S.

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Scholars and journalists have previously explored social and economic aspects of Pará that were important for writing this book. I'm grateful for the work of the missionary and historian Jean Hébette and the reporters and photographers of *A Província do Pará*, *O Liberal*, *Folha do Norte*, *Folha Vespertina*, *A Gazeta*, *Jornal do Brasil*, and *Diário do Pará* who covered some of the early chilling episodes of the fight for land in Vila Rondon. The complex issue of land-grabbing or *grilagem* was—and remains—a central one in the Amazon, and I was lucky to benefit from the groundbreaking work of scholars like Girolamo Treccani, one of the top experts in Brazil on the issue, and of Jeremy M. Campbell, a professor of anthropology at George Mason



University, who has written a great book on grilagem titled *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon*. The work of geographer Susanna Hecht, historians John Hemming and Barbara Weinstein, and reporter Sue Branford was also very important. Last but not least, a great thanks to Danicley de Aguiar, from Greenpeace Brazil, who first made me aware of Maria Joel's story.



## A Note on Sources

This book is a work of nonfiction, and no dialogue or event is invented. The unfolding of events is also presented in the real chronological order.

Very few works exist on the history of Vila Rondon. Most studies are prepared as master's and doctoral dissertations. Therefore, the backbone of my research stems from two categories of sources: the testimony and accounts of some two hundred interviews, mostly performed by me in Rondon do Pará and other areas of Brazil, and about 100,000 pages of documents, most of them unpublished, drawn from Brazilian state and federal courts, notary public offices, press clippings, and private and public archives and libraries located in five Brazilian states, Italy, and the United States.

Oral sources—especially the living memories of pioneers who were willing to talk to me—were crucial for re-creating some passages, events, and places in the most detailed and faithful way possible, which I believed was important to tell this story. Whenever possible, I gave voice to eyewitnesses, but hearsay accounts from secondary sources, like the relatives of dead victims, were also important. Officials were equally central to writing this book, and I interviewed dozens of former ministers, current and former state and federal lawmakers, law enforcement agents, federal and state judges, and prosecutors. Most interviewees were willing to talk on the record, but others asked to remain completely anonymous.

Individual memory is fallible, especially when sources are recollecting events from several decades prior, and the debate over land



ownership and frontier expansion in the Amazon is polarized and controversial. For instance, many used the word *fazendeiros* or large landholders as a euphemism for a world of people who are half rural businessmen and half criminals. (Of course when I refer to a person in this book as a fazendeiro, that by no means indicates that he is an outlaw or someone who has ever committed a crime. Most Brazilian fazendeiros are law-abiding citizens and successful and ethical businessmen.) Therefore, I have undertaken extensive cross-checking and have tested the memories of my most important sources in order to write an account as close to the facts as possible. Maria Joel, Brito, and Francisco, for example, were interviewed multiple times. When possible, I also corroborated oral accounts with documentary evidence. As a result, this book contains a large number of endnotes.

Brazil and its constitutional and legal framework allowing journalists to access public information and documents deserve credit, and the evidentiary lattice of this work would have been much different otherwise. Through Brazil's freedom of information act (Lei de Acesso à Informação, or LAI), I filed dozens of requests for access to documents from the municipal, state, and federal governments, and, in most cases, I received the information I requested. LAI helped validate many stories I was told orally in Rondon do Pará. Some of the most sensitive material of this book, however, was already available to the public in the extraordinary Arquivo Nacional, especially hundreds of confidential dossiers produced by several information agencies during the military dictatorship (1964–1985).

Accessing court documents proved slightly more difficult and time-consuming. I had to hire lawyers to get access to some court cases archived in Rondon do Pará's house of justice, and the files of the "chainsaw case" were not found in the archives when I was granted access by the president of Pará's justice system. But in general terms, and despite some bureaucratic snags, I felt that the right to information prevailed in most cases, and civil servants and judges granted me unrestricted access to information crucial to writing the book.

According to written official records, Josélio de Barros Carneiro ad-



mitted to his participation in five murders: three in Espírito Santo and two in Rondon do Pará.<sup>1</sup> Several reliable accounts attribute many more crimes to him, though. This myriad of accusations made it difficult for me to verify what was true and what was perhaps an exaggeration or part of a defamation campaign, as Josélio often claimed. Therefore, to tell the most controversial parts of his personal story, I have relied almost entirely upon written records from official sources, such as the documents of some twenty civil and criminal cases. They validated, in most cases, what I had heard about Josélio from sources in both Pará and Espírito Santo.

Understanding the backgrounds of Josélio and Nunes was fundamental, and I have also relied on oral sources sympathetic to them. One of Josélio's brothers, José Francisco de Barros, was interviewed twice. His information proved fundamental to understanding Josélio's early days and the story of his family in the complex and volatile Espírito Santo of the 1950s and 1960s. However, none of Josélio's daughters or his son cooperated with the research for this book. I was particularly interested in interviewing Shirley Cristina, who was Rondon's mayor in addition to Josélio's most trusted daughter, because she had her own story to tell. But she never responded to my requests, although she has given many interviews to the media over the years. Only one of Josélio's six children ever replied to my emails, phone calls, or letters—but only to say that she'd never say a word to me, and that if I persisted in requesting an interview, she would sue me.

I also contacted Décio José Barroso Nunes through one of his brothers and, more important, through his lawyers, but I failed to get an interview with him. The two attorneys who represented him in the 2014 and 2019 jury trials for the murder of Dezinho, Roberto Lauria and Antônio Maria Freitas Leite Jr., respectively, also declined to be interviewed.

Still, this book is largely built on information from Josélio and Nunes. Both fazendeiros have been involved in civil and criminal litigation for several decades. Their version of the facts was in tens of thousands of court files, as well as in occasional interviews with the press, so I have



incorporated their words in the text and duly annotated the sources. Some of Nunes's defense attorneys in civil cases also granted me interviews.

Anything that appears in the text between quotation marks has been told to me during interviews or is sourced in police files, court documents (including transcripts and informant statements), diplomatic cables, and files from the Brazilian congress and senate, the Indian Protection Service (SPI), the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA), the Land Institute of Pará state (ITERPA) and the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). I've also drawn upon a wide range of documents from institutions such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); Centro Missionario—Diocesi di Piacenza Bobbio; the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT); and Armazém da Memória. They are all mentioned in the notes.

When I attribute some thoughts to the sources, it is because those sources expressed them to me or to an interviewer like a police officer, a judge, or an attorney, or I read about it in official documents. At times, the thoughts of some characters were conveyed to a third person I have later interviewed. This is the situation, for example, with Maria Joel (Dezinho) and with Francisco (Pedro).



# Notes

## PREFACE

1. Rondon do Pará has 8,246 square kilometers, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).
2. In Brazil, the main source for data on land-related murders is the Pastoral Land Commission, which the author cites extensively in the book. However, for a global comparison, the author has chosen here the data provided by Global Witness on annual reports from 2002 to 2021.
3. For a global overview of the conflicts and the roots of violence against campaigners, see Arnim Scheidel et al., “Environmental Conflicts and Defenders: A Global Overview,” *Global Environmental Change* 63 (2020): 102104. DOI: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102104. Also important to note is the data from the Environmental Justice Atlas database ([www.ejatlaser.org](http://www.ejatlaser.org)).
4. Data from Seth Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 8.
5. “Making Sense of Amazon Deforestation Patterns,” undated, Earth Observatory, NASA <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/145888/making-sense-of-amazon-deforestation-patterns>.
6. Jochen Schöngart et al., “Age and Growth Patterns of Brazil Nut Trees (*Bertholletia excelsa* Bonpl.) in Amazonia, Brazil.” *Biotropica* 47, no. 5 (2015): 550–58. DOI: 10.1111/btp.12243.
7. On the pet jaguar story, pictures showed to the author by pioneers.
8. Referring to the small town of Buriticupú, near the border between Pará and Maranhão.
9. Referring to the city of Novo Progresso, in Pará. On the bullets, see Jesse Hyde, “The Lawless Frontier at the Heart of the Burning Amazon,” *Rolling Stone*, September 17, 2019. On the attacks against helicopters and vehicles, see “Manifestantes invadem sede do Ibama no Pará,” *G1*, April 5, 2011, and *Folha de S. Paulo*, July 7, 2011. For a larger story of the city, see Mauricio Torres, Juan Doblas, and Daniela Fernandes Alarcon, “‘Dono é quem desmata’:



- Conexões entre grilagem e desmatamento no sudoeste paraense,” Instituto Agrônomo da Amazônia, 2016, [https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/dono\\_e\\_quem\\_desmata\\_conexoes\\_entre\\_gril.pdf](https://www.socioambiental.org/sites/blog.socioambiental.org/files/nsa/arquivos/dono_e_quem_desmata_conexoes_entre_gril.pdf); and Jeremy M. Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).
10. Quote is from Professor Clifford Welch in Global Witness, *Deadly Environment* (London: Global Witness, 2014).
  11. Barbara Demick, *Eat the Buddha: Life and Death in a Tibetan Town* (New York: Random House, 2020). Quote is from the Author’s Note.
  12. Carl Bernstein, *Chasing History. A Kid in the Newsroom* (New York: Henry Holt, 2022). The quote is from chapter 20. His colleague Bob Woodward offered a slightly different but equally valid definition for journalism: “the best obtainable version of the truth.”

#### 1: THE ESCAPE

1. Gil’s account based on statements provided to the police on June 28, 1995, and July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará state.
2. On the meeting with Manuel and the bonfire, Gil’s statement to the police. Description of the place using police photographs filed in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046. Also based on author’s interviews with Luiz Cavalcante and Sueny Feitosa.
3. On his previous fears, Gil’s statement to the police on June 28, 1995, and July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046. He would say to law enforcement that it was whispered that “when Josélio didn’t like a laborer or didn’t want to pay them, his hitmen killed them.”
4. The ranch’s description is based on author’s interview with former laborers and police photographs filed in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
5. Diana Jean Schemo, “Amazon Is Burning Again, as Furiously as Ever,” *New York Times*, October 12, 1995.
6. Gil’s statements to the police on June 28, 1995.
7. Gil’s statement to the police on July 5, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
8. Ceará’s story and description is based on the information provided by Gil to the police and police report 95-DRPA-018/95, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
9. John Hemming, *Tree of Rivers: The Story of the Amazon* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), quote from chapter 10.
10. The recruiter’s full name was Francisco das Chagas Abreu. Here I refer to his statement to the police on July 27, 1995, and *Correio do Tocantins. O Jornal de Carajás*, July 21–27, 1995. Josélio confirmed in his statement dated August 18, 1995, that Chico recruited laborers for his ranches.
11. In his statement to the police on July 27, 1995, Chico admitted he recruited

- workers in hotels in Paragominas to work as laborers in Josélío's land and paid their bills.
12. On the size of the fazenda, see Escritura Pública, Livro 113, Folha 106, Cartório Condurú, dated May 20, 1987, and contained in civil court case 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046, Rondon do Pará. About the meaning of Te-Chaga-U, Juan Francisco Recalde, "Vocablos designativos de relações e contatos sociais nas linguas tupi e guarani," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, September 1937.
  13. Gil's statement on June 28, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  14. Josélío's physical description based on confidential file ACE 3582/83, August 28, 1975, and eyewitnesses.
  15. Gil's statement on June 28, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
  16. Gil's statement on June 28, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  17. Gil's statement on June 28, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  18. Gil's statement to the police on June 28, 1995, and July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  19. Gil's statement to the police on July 5, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
  20. Luiz Cavalcante and Sueny Feitosa, interviews with the author.
  21. Gil's statement to the police on July 5, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
  22. Gil's statement to the police on July 5, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
  23. Gil's statement to the police on June 28, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  24. The name of Sueny Feitosa Cavalcante is cited in police statements as "Sueli," but in interviews with the author, the source said it had been misspelled.
  25. Luiz and Sueny, interviews with the author.
  26. Sueny in statement of July 5, 1995, and Luiz of June 28, 1995, and July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  27. Quote by Sueny in statement of July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  28. Luiz's statement of July 5, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
  29. *Diário do Pará*, April 27, 1990, and May 17, 1990.
  30. Interviews with the author and Luiz's statement on 05/07/1995.
  31. Sueny's interviews with the author.
  32. Luiz's interviews with the author.
  33. Quote is from author's interview with Sueny. Her claim seems to be confirmed by the statement of Amaro José de Sousa, a Te-Chaga-U worker who said that he had health problems and received no help. Statement provided by Amaro to the police on July 14, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.



34. "Sindicalista é jurado de morte," *O Trabalhador Rural*, CONTAG, June 1993.
35. According to the author's interviews with Rita Serra, a FETAGRI leader, Dezinho had told her that "a friend who works on the ranch tells me that people enter that fazenda but never leave." On Dezinho's suspicions regarding Josélia Leontina, author's interviews with Maria Joel Brito, Zé Geraldo, Rita Serra, and Sergio Galiza.
36. The exact date of departure wasn't recalled by Sueny and Luiz in interviews with the author, but the information is consistent with accounts provided—to either the author or the police—by Brito, Gil, Zé Geraldo, and Rita Serra.
37. "Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Brazil," the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, OEA/Ser.L/V/II.97, Document 29, revision 1, September 29, 1997.
38. Sueny and Luiz in interviews with the author.
39. *A Província do Pará*, July 17, 1991.
40. *A Província do Pará*, July 17, 1991.
41. Author's interview with Zé Geraldo.
42. Author's interview with Zé Geraldo.
43. For a historical background on Brazil's forced labor, see International Labor Organization, *Fighting Forced Labour: The Example of Brazil* (Geneva: ILO, 2009).
44. For the working conditions in the rubber areas or *colocações*, see Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon*, and the classic book on the topic: Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983).
45. On the exchange of goods for work during the colony, see Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920*, chapter 1, "Tappers and Traders." For the importance of rubber made out of natural latex, see also review by Patricia Perkins, "The Amazon Rubber Book 1850–1920 by Barbara Weinstein," *Technology and Culture* 26, no. 4 (1985): 865–67.
46. Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 72.
47. For a history of abolition in the Americas, see Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). See also chapter 4 of Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
48. "Slavery, Debt Bondage and Forced Prostitution in Brazil: ASI Reports," Anti-Slavery International press release, April 30, 1992.
49. Data on number of cases is from "Contra exploração, desapropriação," *O Globo*, January 16, 1996.

50. The source for the 80 percent data is "FHC cria um grupo para combater trabalho escravo," *Folha de S. Paulo*, June 28, 1995. On land-related violence, see 1994 and 1995 annual reports of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT).
51. International Labor Organization, *Fighting Forced Labour: The Example of Brazil* (Geneva: ILO, 2009). On the confidential report, "OIT acusa o Brasil de não punir trabalho escravo," *O Globo*, November 17, 1995.
52. On Mrs. Barros Lopes being a shareholder, see information in *Processo NUP*—28.650/003657/91, SUDAM.
53. State legislator Zé Geraldo's report of the mission, July 3, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
54. *A Província do Pará*, May 25, 1995.
55. This issue will be explained later in the book, but the statement is sustained by information on court cases numbers 0000443-15.1995.8.14.0039 and 0000667-78.1995.8.14.0039, Pará state.
56. Detective Moraes, interview with the author.
57. State legislator Zé Geraldo's report of the mission, July 3, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
58. On the ski mask, information provided by Rita Serra, who was with Gil in the van. Also, Termo de Assentada, Detective Moraes, June 28, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
59. Description provided to the author by eyewitnesses Rita Serra, Sergio Galiza, Zé Geraldo, and Detective Moraes. Also, based on photographs taken that day by law enforcement and contained in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
60. The contents are described using the forensic information (reports Laudo de Ossada and Laudo de Exame) in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
61. *Relatório de missão determinada pela portaria n 763/95-DGPC*, Joao Nazareno Nascimento Moraes, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
62. On the illicit arms trade, see James L. Cavallaro and Anna C. Monteiro, *Fighting Violence with Violence: Human Rights Abuse and Criminality in Rio de Janeiro*, Human Rights Watch Short Report (1996).
63. This issue is detailed later in the book, but the statements were given by Brito and Dezinho to officer Raimundo Wilson Souza Rêgo on August 28, 1996.
64. State legislator Zé Geraldo's report of the mission, July 3, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
65. State legislator Zé Geraldo's report of the mission, July 3, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
66. State legislator Zé Geraldo's report of the mission, July 3, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
67. Detective Moraes, interview with the author.
68. Police report dated June 29, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.



69. On the content of the human remains found by the police, see Ofício n.001/IPL 018/Depol Rondon/PA, July 3, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
70. Judge Ana Lúcia Bentes Lynch, July 5, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and police inquiry 95-DRPA-018/95.
71. Judge Lynch's rule on July 5, 1995.
72. *O Liberal*, editions from June 29, 1995, to July 7, 1995; *A Provincia do Pará*, editions from June 29, 1995, to July 1, 1995.
73. *Folha de S. Paulo*, June 30, 1995.
74. *Diário do Pará*, July 30, 1995.
75. "Secretario pede a apuração de mortes," *O Liberal*, July 4, 1995.
76. On the announcement of an antislavery task force, see *Folha de S. Paulo*, July 28, 1995.
77. *Folha de S. Paulo*, July 28, 1995.
78. Fax dated on June 29, 1995, sent to *O Liberal*, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
79. Afonso Dias Soares's statement to the police on July 13, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará.
80. *Relatório de Missão*, Miguel Tomaz Neto, November 8, 1997, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
81. Afonso Dias Soares's statement to the police on July 13, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
82. Josélio de Barros's statement to the police in Maceió, on July 17, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
83. Josélio de Barros Carneiro's statement on August 18, 1995.
84. *Correio do Tocantins*, *O Jornal de Carajas*, July 21–27, 1995.
85. Eliana Vilaça de Lima, motion filed on August 25, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
86. Petition dated July 11, 1995, contained in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
87. Statement of Armando Novaes Viana, July 14, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
88. Eliana Vilaça de Lima, motion filed on August 25, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
89. State attorney Aline Moreira Barata, September 26, 1995.
90. Ofício n.001/IPL 018/Depol Rondon/PA, July 3, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
91. Police report 97-SUS, February 18, 1997, filed in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
92. Police report 97-SUS, February 18, 1997, filed in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
93. Judge Paulo Cesar Pedreira Amorim, May 27, 1999, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.

94. Motion of district attorney Raimundo Antonio Silva Aires, March 22, 1999, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
95. Rita Serra, interviews with the author.

## 2: THE CRIMINAL SYNDICATE

1. On Josélio's age and physical description, ID documents and photographs contained in court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
2. "Nova Almeida: distrito da Serra já foi município e 'resume' história do Brasil," *A Gazeta*, October 26, 2019, and "História município Serra," IBGE Cidades.
3. Statement given by Josélio de Barros on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
4. Physical descriptions from photographs published from newspaper *A Gazeta* from March 19 to March 29, 1967.
5. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
6. Family description given by one of Major Cavalcanti's daughters, Rossana Ferreira da Silva Mattos, to journalist Paulo César Dutra in "Morte do Major Orlando Desencadeou uma Série de Execuções," *Folha Diária*, February 24, 2017.
7. Statements in court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo, and *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
8. Statement given by Fausto Ferreira Santos on May 28, 1967.
9. *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.
10. See, for instance, feature stories published by magazine *Revista Alterosa* in January 1958 and the series on the Contestado by the newspaper *Última Hora* published daily from November 1 to November 13, 1958.
11. Quote from "Morte do Coronel Binbim ativou a guerra entre os pistoleiros," *Jornal do Brasil*, June 12, 1968.
12. For a general picture of political-related violence, see Wallace Tarcisio Pontes, *Conflito agrário e esvaziamento populacional: A disputa do Contestado pelo Espírito Santo e Minas Gerais (1930-1970)*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2007; also Hélio dos Santos Pessoa, *O Negociador de Vidas na Saga do Rio Doce. II. As Lutas* (Belo Horizonte: Plurarts, 2001); and Antonio Carlos Corrêa de Faria, *O Sangue do Barão: As Histórias de Nossa História* (Belo Horizonte, self-published, 2007).  
For a nationwide context of political polarization in the 1960s previous to the coup, see Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
13. *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.
14. Journalists of *A Gazeta* who went into the field wrote that twelve shots killed him; on June 12, 1969, *Jornal do Brasil* said that he was hit by fifteen bullets.
15. Statement given by Fausto Ferreira Santos on May 28, 1967, and *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.



16. Statement given by Fausto Ferreira Santos on May 28, 1967, and *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.
17. *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.
18. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967. About the jeep's rushed departure, see *A Gazeta*, February 28, 1967.
19. About the time of arrival, see police report by major and detective José Tavares, quoted in Corrêa de Faria, *O Sangue do Barão: As Histórias de Nossa História*, 217–18.
20. *Jornal do Brasil*, June 12, 1969.
21. *A Gazeta*, March 22, 1967.
22. The details of the escape are from the statement given by Fausto Ferreira Santos on May 28, 1967.
23. For details on the escape plan, see police report by major and detective José Tavares, quoted in Corrêa de Faria, *O Sangue do Barão: As Histórias de Nossa História*.
24. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
25. Statements of the three outlaws, contained in court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo, and *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
26. *A Gazeta*, March 13, 1967.
27. *A Gazeta*, March 21, 1967.
28. *A Gazeta*, March 21 and 22, 1967.
29. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
30. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
31. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
32. *A Gazeta*, March 29, 1967.
33. In a signed statement addressed to the court in Espírito Santo, Josélio admitted to the murders of two alleged hitmen who were about to kill his father in Baixo Guandu's train station. The signed statement and the motion filed by his defense attorney, Mario Rocha, is in the files of court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
34. Statement given by Josélio de Barros on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
35. State attorney Romualdo Cola's address to the judge on December 14, 1971, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
36. On the officers and the ten crimes, see *Correio Braziliense*, December 4, 1967.
37. Ministério do Exército, CMA 80 RM, ACE 3582/83, August 28, 1975.
38. Author's interviews with Chico.
39. Author's interviews with Chico.
40. Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 6.
41. Author's interviews with Chico.
42. Jório de Barros Carneiro, FGV CPDOC, accessible at <http://fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/jorio-de-barros-carneiro>.

43. Statements by several teachers and the school's directors, contained in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
44. Chico's interview with the author.
45. Chico's interview with the author.
46. On Barros's election, see *80 Anos Baixo Guandu. 1935–2015*, undated. Magazine published by the municipal council of Baixo Guandu. On the consequences for the Barroses, author's interview with Chico.
47. For an account of the suicide and the Vargas era, see Richard Bourne, *Getúlio Vargas of Brazil, 1883–1954: Sphinx of the Pampas* (Knight, 1974); Robert M. Levine, *Father of the Poor? Vargas and His Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Lira Neto, *Getúlio (1945–1954): Da volta pela consagração popular ao suicídio* (Companhia das Letras, 2014). Also chapter 9 of Lyman L. Johnson, ed., *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Body Politics in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).
48. Vitória Amylton de Almeida, *Carlos Lindenberg: um estadista e seu tempo* (Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo, 2010), 426
49. "Delay in Finding Killers Irks Rio," *New York Times*, August 8, 1954.
50. Sam Pope Brewer, "Vargas Commits Suicide After Ouster by Military; Violence Flares in Brazil," *New York Times*, August 2, 1954.
51. Referring here to the Revolta de Jacareacanga. Quote is from Lília M. Schwarcz and Heloisa M. Starling, *Brazil: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018).
52. The hijack and rebellion were known as Revolta de Aragarças, an isolated spot in Central Brazil where the insurgents organized. Quote is from "Brazil Airmen Rebel and Seize 5 Planes," *New York Times*, December 4, 1959. See also "Em 1959, militares sequestraram avião com passageiros e tentaram derrubar JK," *Agência Senado*, December 2, 2019.
53. See, for instance, historian Antonio Barbosa, from the University of Brasília. "Morte de Getúlio, em 1954, adiou o golpe em 10 anos, diz historiador," *Senado Notícias*, August 22, 2014.
54. *Última Hora*, November 5, 1958.
55. Tarcisio Pontes, *Conflito agrário e esvaziamento populacional*, 45.
56. Tarcisio Pontes, *Conflito agrário e esvaziamento populacional*, 16.
57. Tarcisio Pontes, *Conflito agrário e esvaziamento populacional*, 52.
58. Tarcisio Pontes, *Conflito agrário e esvaziamento populacional*, 52.
59. "Morte do Coronel Binbim ativou a guerra entre os pistoleiros," *Jornal do Brasil*, June 12, 1968.
60. *Século*, November 21, 2021.
61. Although a work of fiction, Adilson Vilaça's novel *Cotaxé* (Vitória: SEJUC/SPDC/ISNJJN, 1997) is often mentioned as a reference to learn about the little-known story of the Union of Jehovah and its founder, Udelino Alves de Matos.



62. Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21–23.
63. Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. 2: *Colonial Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 594.
64. Gabriel Bittencourt, *História Geral e Econômica do Espírito Santo: do engenho colonial ao complexo fabril-portuário* (Vitória: Multiplicidade, 2006), 11.
65. José Teixeira de Oliveira, *História do Estado do Espírito Santo* (Vitória: Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo, 2008), 185.
66. Teixeira de Oliveira, *História do Estado do Espírito Santo*, 517–18.
67. Francieli Aparecida Marinato, *Índios imperiais: os botocudos, os militares e a colonização do Rio Doce (Espírito Santo, 1824–1845)*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Vitória, 2007.
68. Teixeira de Oliveira, *História do Estado do Espírito Santo*; Bittencourt, *História Geral e Econômica do Espírito Santo*, 162. For a story of Baixo Guandu's foundation, see Manoel Milagres Ferreira, *Histórico do Município do Baixo Guandu* (Baixo Guandu: Prefeitura Municipal, 1958).
69. H. S. Espindola and M. T. B. Vilarino, "'O tempo é a minha testemunha': só as pedras estavam aqui, todo o resto é imigrante," in M. Gerhardt, E. S. Nodda, and S. P. Moretto, eds., *História ambiental e migrações: diálogos* [online] (São Leopoldo: Oikos; Editora UFFS, 2017), 225.
70. Julia Louisa Keyes, *Nossa vida no Brasil. Imigração norte-americana no Espírito Santo 1867–1870* (Vitória: Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo, 2013). For data on number of migrants, see 28 and footnotes.
71. Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, eds., *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995).
72. Eugene C. Harter, *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 63.
73. Dawsey and Dawsey, *The Confederados*, quote from chapter 3.
74. "Vargas Proposes Coffee Export Tax," *New York Times*, July 25, 1951. And *Brazilian Bulletin*, October 15, 1962.
75. Description based on photographs published by the press of the time. See, for instance, *Última Hora*, May 11, 1958.
76. Author's interview with Hélio dos Santos Pessoa, the son of an influential politician in Aimorés and the author of *O Negociador de Vidas na Saga do Rio Doce As Lutas*.
77. *Correio da Manhã*, April 24, 1964.
78. *Jornal do Brasil*, June 12, 1968, 14.
79. Minas Gerais's legislator Sebastião Cypriano do Nascimento, nicknamed Toto, was elected in 1954, 1958, and 1962. *Dados Estatísticos: eleições federais e estaduais*, from the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE). He would admit to journalists that he had led a group of gunmen.
80. On the 500 gunmen, see *Última Hora*, October 31, 1958. On the 8,000 deaths and gunmen on election day, see magazine *Século*, November 21, 2001.

81. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 6, 1968.
82. Author's interviews with Chico.
83. Author's interviews with Chico.
84. On the funeral, see *Século*, November 21, 2001; on the homage, see *Correio da Manhã*, April 24, 1964.
85. To understand the consequences of Bimbim's death, see the work of journalists Rogério Medeiros and Paulo César Dutra, both interviewed by the author. For example, "O início do crime organizado no Estado e a onda de crimes." *Eshoje*, February 24, 2017.
86. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 6, 1968.
87. Josélio's signed statement in court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo. Also Hélio dos Santos Pessoa, *O Negociador de Vidas na Saga do Rio Doce. II. As Lutas*.
88. Josélio's written statement on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Espírito Santo.
89. Josélio's written statement on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Espírito Santo. The resemblance of Josélio and the victim was confirmed by the author with photographs of the time.
90. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 6, 1968, and author's interviews with Josélio's younger brother, José Francisco de Barros.
91. Author's interviews with Chico.
92. Author's interviews with Chico.
93. *A Gazeta*, April 9, 1967.
94. *A Gazeta*, April 9, 1967.
95. *A Gazeta*, April 9, 1967.
96. Letter sent by Josélio to a politician named Celso Borges on October 4, 1966, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
97. Letter sent by Josélio to a politician named Celso Borges on October 4, 1966, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
98. No transcription of Josélio's statement before the jury was found by the author in the court files, so the author quoted a later signed deposition of Josélio to present his views to judges: statement given by Josélio on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
99. *A Gazeta*, June 21 and 29, 1968.
100. *Acordão*, Revisão criminal n 1.383, Vitória, September 24, 1970.
101. Decision by *desembargador* Crystallino de Abreu Castro, Tribunal de Justiça di Espírito Santo, on March 7, 1972.
102. *O Jornal*, January 26, 1966.
103. *Jornal do Brasil*, January 26, 1966.
104. Murder of officer José Scardua in February 1973. See *O Estado de S. Paulo* April 2, 1973, and *A Gazeta* 04 and February 6, 1973. Josélio would declare himself to be Scardua's friend in his written statement to the court, March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, TJES.



105. Author's interviews with Chico.
106. Josélio's letter to the court in Espírito Santo, December 10, 1973.
107. Josélio's written statement on March 2, 1970, court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
108. Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 120.
109. The size of the Amazon biome differs from the political boundaries (Legal Amazon) or the Amazon Basin. Here I refer to the data provided by the minister of transportation, Mário David Andreazza, quoted in *Jornal do Brasil*, November 29–30, 1970. For a study on population in the Amazon, see Stephen G. Perz, "Population Growth and Net Migration in the Brazilian Legal Amazon, 1970–1996," in *Deforestation and Land Use in the Amazon*, Charles H. Wood and Roberto Porro, eds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002).
110. Statement of Mário David Andreazza quoted in *Jornal do Brasil*, November 29–30, 1970.
111. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*, 112–14.
112. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*, preface.

### 3: TERROR ON THE NUT ROAD

1. NASA's "July 20, 1969: One Giant Leap for Mankind," released on July 20, 2019.
2. For an overview of the Gaviões' history, see Expedito Arnaud, *Os índios Gaviões do Oeste. Pacificação e Integração*, Museu Goeldi (Publicações Avulsas no. 28), 1975; and the work of Brazilian anthropologist Iara Ferraz, like *De 'Gaviões' a comunidade 'Parkatêjê': uma reflexão sobre processos de reorganização social*, dissertation, UFRJ, 1998.
3. The fleeing of colonists is based on reports by *Folha do Norte* and *Jornal do Brasil* on July 29, 30, and 31, 1969. Also, Lamartine Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão de observação sobre ocorrências verificadas nas circunvizinhanças da rodovia PA-70—entre o grupo Kyikatêjê—"Gavião"—e as frentes de expansão da sociedade nacional*, Fundação Nacional do Índio, September 18, 1969.
4. Lamartine Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*. Also based on reports by Brazilian newspapers *Folha do Norte* and *Jornal do Brasil*.
5. "Morte no Tocantins," *Itatocan*, January 1953, n. 31, 15.
6. "O povo Gavião," *Itatocan*, year II, July–August 1954, n. 10.
7. Author's interview with pioneer Rita Belem.
8. Quote from author's interview with Rita Belem in Rondon do Pará, formerly Vila Rondon. On the purpose of the road, the source is the official report of the project written by DER-PA and provided by DER-PA to the author, undated.

9. Based on Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
10. Rita Belem's statement to the author. In reports of FUNAI officials, it is claimed that it was Cotrim who informed the authorities.
11. Travel log of Antonio Cotrim Soares, personal archive, and author's interview with Cotrim.
12. Lykke E. Andersen et al., *The Dynamics of Deforestation and Economic Growth in the Brazilian Amazon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 15.
13. Based on Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*. Also on eyewitnesses like journalist José Ribamar Fonseca, interviewed by the author and present at the DER camp the day of the events.
14. The growing tension in the area, from as early as 1968, was described by Cotrim in the report Protocolo 1748, 28/11/1968, 2ª Inspetoria Regional—Pará, sent to Joao Oscar Henriques.
15. "Funai nao responde se muda índios mediante indenização," *Jornal do Brasil*, August. 1, 1969.
16. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*. Also, *Folha do Norte*, July 22 and 23, 1969.
17. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*. Also, *Folha do Norte*, July 22 and 23, 1969.
18. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
19. Details and account from Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
20. Details provided by *Folha do Norte*, July 29 and 30, 1969, and August 1, 1969.
21. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
22. Description based on Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*, and photographs published by *Folha do Norte*.
23. Description based on Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
24. The sound was described by a reporter of *Folha do Norte* in a piece published on August 1, 1969.
25. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
26. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
27. *Folha do Norte*, August 1, 1969.
28. On the local fauna, see the comprehensive *Plano de Controle Ambiental*, BR-222/PA, Marabá-Dom Eliseu, SETRAN, June 1999.
29. *Folha do Norte*, August 1, 1969.
30. *Folha do Norte*, August 1, 1969.
31. Ribeiro de Oliveira, *Relatório da Missão*.
32. Author's interview with Rita Belem.
33. Rubens Valente, *Os fuzis e as flechas: História de sangue e resistência indígena na ditadura* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017). Background information and quote from chapter 1.
34. Work contract signed on August 30, 1968, Fundação Nacional do Índio. Source: personal archive of Cotrim.



35. Although the author interviewed Sydney Possuelo, the quotation is from chapter 9 of Scott Wallace, *The Unconquered: In Search of the Amazon's Last Uncontacted Tribes* (New York: Crown, 2011).
36. Jonas Gregorio de Souza et al., "Pre-Columbian Earth-Builders Settled Along the Entire Southern Rim of the Amazon," *Nature Communications* 9, no. 1 (2018): 1125.
37. Charles R. Clement et al., "The Domestication of Amazonia Before European Conquest," *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 282, no. 1812 (2015): 20150813.
38. Charles R. Clement et al., "The Domestication of Amazonia Before European Conquest."
39. Charles R. Clement et al., "The Domestication of Amazonia Before European Conquest."
40. Charles R. Clement et al., "The Domestication of Amazonia Before European Conquest."
41. Report written by Cotrim and sent to FUNAI, 2a Inspectoria Regional, Pará, on November 28, 1968.
42. Travel log of Cotrim, personal archive.
43. "Relatório. Assunto: Epidemia gripal que assolou comunidade indígena e suas consequências," communication of Cotrim with Dr. Paulo Monteiro, personal archive.
44. John Hemming, *Tree of Rivers: The Story of the Amazon* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008). Quote from chapter 1.
45. For a short story of the Gaviões' interaction with mainstream society, see Expedito Arnaud, "O comportamento dos índios Gaviões de Oeste face a Sociedade Nacional," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Série Antropologia* 1, no. 1 (1984): 5–66.
46. Travel log of Cotrim, personal archive.
47. Author Candice Millard, who wrote a book about Roosevelt's trip to the Amazon, argued that "Rondon's success in the Amazon had depended on this dictum. It was the only reason the Indians had ever dared to trust him." Candice Millard, *The River of Doubt: Theodore Roosevelt's Darkest Journey* (New York: Broadway Books, 2005). Quote from chapter 9.
48. Travel log of Cotrim, personal archive, and the author's interview with Cotrim.
49. On the size of gardens, see Arnaud, *Os índios Gaviões de Oeste pacificação e integração*, 43.
50. Antonio Cotrim's personal, unpublished chronicle of the contact.
51. Cotrim's interview with the author.
52. Decreto no. 63.515, October 31, 1968.
53. *Jornal do Brasil*, July 31, 1969.
54. Cotrim's interview with the author.

55. "Os Gaviões apossados pela civilização, atacam colonos nas margens da PA-70," *Jornal O Marabá*, November 3, 1968.
56. *Folha do Norte*, July 29, 1969.
57. *Folha do Norte*, July 22, 23, and 25, 1969.
58. Cotrim went back to the jungle on July 30, 1969, as reported by *Jornal do Brasil*, July 31, 1969, and *Folha do Norte*, July 31, 1969.
59. *Folha do Norte*, August 9, 1969, and *Jornal do Brasil*, July 9, 1969.
60. Quotes from Antonio Cotrim's personal unpublished chronicle of the contact.
61. *Folha do Norte*, August 9, 1969.
62. *Jornal do Brasil*, August 10–11, 1969.
63. *Jornal do Brasil*, August 10–11, 1969.
64. "Conferência de paz deve acabar hoje com a guerra entre brancos e índios," *Jornal do Brasil*, August 2, 1969.
65. See *Folha Vespertina*, August 4–9, 1969.
66. The mayor was identified as Simpício Miranda and the event apparently took place in 1956. Source is Cotrim.
67. The meetings between FUNAI officers and the governor of Pará was reported by *Folha Vespertina*, August 8, 1969. *Jornal do Brasil* said on August 12, 1969, that Governor José Sarney, future president of Brazil, had meetings with federal officers and FUNAI to abort the mission. Quote is from Paul Montgomery, "Killing of Indians Charged in Brazil," *New York Times*, March 21, 1968.
68. Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, 1977).
69. Montgomery, "Killing of Indians Charged in Brazil."
70. Montgomery, "Killing of Indians Charged in Brazil."
71. "Lost" report exposes Brazilian Indian genocide, April 25, 2013, Survival International (<https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/9191>).
72. "Documento recuperado após décadas aponta crimes contra índios," *Globo-News*, April 27, 2013.
73. Elena Guimarães, *Relatório Figueiredo: entre tempos, narrativas e memórias*, Rio de Janeiro, 2015. Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.
74. Guimarães, *Relatório Figueiredo: entre tempos, narrativas e memórias*.
75. *Folha do Norte*, August 14, 1969.
76. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, August 2, 1969.
77. Antonio Cotrim's personal unpublished chronicle of the contact.
78. *Memo 011/COORD. GT/86*, FUNAI, March 21, 1986. For an overview of the reservation, see *Terras Indígenas no Brasil*, ISA, <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3750>, accessed June 24, 2022.
79. *Jornal do Brasil*, August 10–11, 1969.

80. The exact date of the removal wasn't published by the press. Contacted by the author, FUNAI claimed having no report or details on the process of removal of the Indigenous group.
81. On the pictures, source is Father Giuseppe Castelli, interviewed by the author and whose camera was taken by the army.
82. Author's communication with FUNAI, May 2019.
83. *Jornal do Brasil*, May 20, 1972.
84. Scott Wallace, *The Unconquered*. Quote from chapter 9.
85. Bo Akerren, Sjouke Bakker, and Rolf Habersang, *Report of the ICRC Medical Mission to the Brazilian Amazon Region* (May–August 1970). Geneva, October 1970, 47–48.
86. Akerren, Bakker, and Habersang, *Report of the ICRC Medical Mission to the Brazilian Amazon Region* (May–August 1970), 47–48.
87. Camilo M. Vianna, "Vila Rondon." *Projeto Rondon*, Belém, October 13, 1970.
88. Quote from *Diário de Notícias*, February 22, 1970.
89. Jean Hébette, *Area de fronteira e conflito. O leste do médio Tocantins* (Belém: NAEA, 1983).
90. Interview with the author.
91. Sue Branford and Oriel Glock, *The Last Frontier: Fighting Over Land in the Amazon* (London: Zed Books, 1985), 55.
92. *Intentional Forest Fires and Covid-19*, fact sheet of the virtual briefing "What Happens When Forest Fires and Covid-19 Collide," hosted by the Columbia Earth Institute on June 17, 2020. <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1fE1zyImGqm5QY6SIId4iqCqQ6RRCyS-w6DvoxMXPVMGk/edit>.
93. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*, 38. An excellent work on the use of fire by Indigenous tribes in the southern edge of the Amazon is the work of the anthropologist James R. Welch. For instance, James R. Welch, "Xavante Ritual Hunting: Anthropogenic Fire, Reciprocity, and Collective Landscape Management in the Brazilian Cerrado," *Human Ecology* 42, no. 1 (2014): 47–59.
94. In Guimarães, *Relatório Figueiredo*, a FUNAI official noted: "The devastation of the forest was dramatic."
95. In interviews with the author, other pioneers, like Lourival de Souza and his wife, Dona Rosa, confirmed the existence of "clandestine nightly burials" in early Vila Rondon.
96. Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 138.
97. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*.
98. On the international loans, see Davis, *Victims of the Miracle*.
99. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985*, 9.
100. *Jornal do Brasil*, October 9, 1970.
101. Branford and Glock, *The Last Frontier*, chapters 2 and 3.
102. Branford and Glock, *The Last Frontier*, chapters 2 and 3.



103. According to Minister of Transportation Mário David Andreazza, Brazil's federal, state, and municipal roads totaled 62,000 kilometers in 1973. *Jornal do Brasil*, January 26, 1977.
104. Data from Jeremy M. Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), chapter 1.
105. *O Jornal*, April 16, 1970.
106. Alfonso Henriques, "The Awakening Amazon Giant," in Athens Center of Ekistics, vol 34, no. 202 (1972).
107. Campbell, *Conjuring Property*, 32–33.
108. Greg Grandin, *The End of the Myth: From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2019).
109. Seth Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil: State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and Xavante Indians, 1937–1988* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 156–57.
110. "Amazônia: Chega de lendas, vamos faturar!" Official propaganda published in newspapers, for instance, in *Jornal do Brasil*, December 7, 1970. "Integrar para não entregar" and "Amazônia: Desafio Que Unidos Vamos Vencer" were also common slogans.

#### 4: THE CHAINSAW MURDER

1. Interview with the author.
2. Castelli's interviews with the author.
3. Pioneer interviewed by the author, who preferred to remain anonymous.
4. For instance, João Moreira, said to be a member of a gang who came from a tiny village in the contested area in Minas Gerais called Carlos Chagas, had moved to Vila Rondon with his relatives and had brought, according to historians, "some money and the weapons of the Far West pioneers. . . . In a short time, they managed to control the whole valley south [of] the road. . . . Everyone who moved into the area did it with their approval." Another feared man was Veríssimo Correa Gusmão, called Vivi, an "arrogant" land-grabber who was said to operate with total impunity. "He is the owner of almost the whole Vila Rondon: speculates, practices loan-sharking. . . . He lives threatening the authorities who oppose to him," wrote a group of scholars who visited the area. Jean Hébert, *Area de fronteira e conflito: O leito do médio Tocantins* (Belém: NAEA, 1983).
5. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*, 123.
6. On the American families, the author refers to the story of John Weaver Davis and its early conflicts, told to the author by John Weaver Davis Jr. At the time, it was reported in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, November 4, 1971, and *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 24, 1975. On the early use of pistoleiros in Vila Rondon, see *O Estado de S. Paulo*, August 18, 1973, *Diário do Paraná*, August 26, 1973, and *Jornal do Brasil*, August 18, 1973, and August 23, 1973. On debt

- bondage, see *Jornal do Brasil*, February 25 and 28, 1972, April 11, 1973, and July 29, 1972.
7. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, December 22, 1974.
  8. *A Província do Pará*, August 17, 1973.
  9. Pedro dos Santos's account was published by *A Província do Pará*, August 17, 1973. Estimates about his ranch and the labor from Lamartine, *Relatório da Missão*.
  10. *A Província do Pará* published stories on the case on August 17, 21, and 23, 1973.
  11. Data from *Diário do Paraná*, May 19, 1972.
  12. *Diário do Paraná*, August 26, 1973.
  13. Ersilio Fausto Fiorentini, *Con il Cuore in Brasile. Missioni diocesane piacentine: quarant'anni in terra brasiliana (1967–2007)* (Edizioni Berti, 2007), 266–68.
  14. Informação 006/74, January 8, 1974, PM/PA, Ministério da Aeronautica.
  15. The memoirs of Father Fontanella, *Pellegrini Sulle Strade del Mondo* (self-published, nd).
  16. *Diário do Congresso Nacional*. Seção I. Ano XXVIII, n. 98, September 5, 1973.
  17. *A Província do Pará* published stories on Vila Rondon on August 17, 21, and 23, 1973.
  18. Milton Honório Pinheiro, a twenty-one-year-old peasant, declared that his father had been slaughtered after their family farm was set alight by gunmen operating on Alves's orders. After the murder, the widow had decided to remain on the plot, but not for long. "We continued to be harassed by the fazendeiro, and my mother decided to sell her land," explained Pinheiro, who criticized the police for never catching the killer or solving the case. *A Província do Pará*, August 21, 1973.
  19. *A Província do Pará*, August 21, 1973.
  20. *A Província do Pará*, August 21, 1973.
  21. *A Província do Pará*, August 21, 1973.
  22. On when Josélio moved to the Amazon, see Informação 341/E2/75 (ACE.3582/83), confidential report by the Ministry of the Army, August 28, 1975.
  23. *A Província do Pará*, September 3, 1975.
  24. João Hébette and José Alberto Colares, "Small-Farmer Protest in the Greater Carajás Programme," in David Goodman and Anthony Hall, eds., *The Future of Amazonia: Destruction or Sustainable Development* (New York, Macmillan, 1990).
  25. *A Província do Pará*, September 3, 1975.
  26. Author's interviews with Conceição dos Reis.
  27. Author's interviews with Conceição dos Reis.
  28. Letter published in *A Província do Pará*, October 9, 1975.
  29. *A Província do Pará*, September 10, 1975.

30. *A Província do Pará*, September 10, 1975.
31. *A Província do Pará*, September 10, 1975.
32. Quote from state legislator Antônio Teixeira published by *A Província do Pará*, September 9, 1975.
33. State legislator Gerson Peres's speech in Para's state legislature on September 9, 1975.
34. *A Província do Pará*, September 11, 1975.
35. *A Província do Pará*, September 12, 1975.
36. For a comparative study on the social role of hitmen in the Amazon, see Ed Carlos de Sousa Guimarães, *A violência desnuda: justiça penal e pistolagem no Pará*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2010; and Violeta Refkalefsky Loueiro and Ed Carlos Guimarães, "Reflexões sobre a pistolagem e aviolência na Amazônia," *Revista Direito GV* 3, no. 1 (2007): 221–46.
37. "Fazendeiros guardam orelhas como troféu," *Jornal dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra* 6, no. 59 (1987).
38. On Alves's previous criminal record, see Informações 238671/ABE/75, December 22, 1975, and Informação 0386/71/ABE/76, March 11, 1976.
39. On Canuto, see *A Província do Pará*, September 3, 1975. On Canuto's criminal record, see Informação 0351/08/ABE/83, Serviço Nacional de Informações, May 3, 1983.
40. "He makes illegal land transactions," read a confidential police file on Antônio Fernando Machado da Cunha. Source: Informação 044402/ABE/75, in ACE 3561/83, March 10, 1975.
41. On the support of Marechal Joaquim Justino Alves Bastos for Antônio Fernando, see letter addressed February 6, 1975, by the high-ranking military officer, filed in confidential file ACE3582/83. On Alves Bastos's role in the 1964 coup, see biography of Justino Alves Bastos in Fundação Getúlio Vargas CPDOC.
42. *A Província do Pará*, September 3, 1975.
43. Josélio declared to the police that he had settled in Paragominas in 1973. Report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December of 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
44. Relatório, Ace 2582/83, December 1975.
45. Confidential report by the Ministry of the Army, number 34/E2/75, August 28, 1975.
46. Confidential report by the Ministry of the Army, number 34/E2/75, August 28, 1975. The policeman was Carlos Alberto Rufino.
47. On Josélio's contacts, Informação 34/E2/75, Ministry of the Army, ACE 3582/83, August 28, 1975.
48. Report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
49. Version of facts provided by detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, in his Relatório of December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.



50. Report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
51. Report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
52. Report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
53. Account by Canuto to the police, quoted in report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
54. See, for instance, *Brasil de Fato*, December 1–7, 2011.
55. Afonso Dias Soares, statement to the police on July 13, 1995, contained in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
56. Author's interviews with Conceição dos Reis.
57. Goodman and Hall, eds., *The Future of Amazonia*, 292.
58. Goodman and Hall, eds., *The Future of Amazonia*, 292.
59. Account by Josélio to the police, quoted in report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
60. Account by Josélio to the police, quoted in report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
61. Account by Canuto to the police, quoted in report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
62. Account by Canuto to the police, quoted in report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
63. The dates of when Josélio presented himself before the notary public are found in his record files as a jailed man, in the court files found in case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo.
64. Relatório by detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83.
65. *A Província do Pará*, September 12, 1975.
66. *A Província do Pará*, October 1, 1975.
67. Informação 0386/71/ABE/76, March 11, 1976.
68. *O Diário do Pará*, December 30, 1975.
69. Informação 009/117/Ago/SIN/82, Serviço Nacional de Informações, April 30, 1982.
70. Informação 34/E2/75, Ministry of the Army, confidential report, August 28, 1975.
71. Informação 009/117/Ago/SIN/82, Serviço Nacional de Informações, April 30, 1982.
72. On his alleged participation on the arms disappearance, see Informação 009/117/Ago/SIN/82, Serviço Nacional de Informações, April 30, 1982.
73. On the relocation, see "Lincoln empossado na PF," *Correio Braziliense*, March 11, 1976.
74. Letter addressed by Epitácio Ramalho Alves to the president of Brazil, Ernesto Geisel, August 10, 1976.

75. Ministry of Justice file 065799, August 18, 1976, available at the Arquivo Nacional.
76. Letter addressed by eighteen smallholders, contained in confidential file ACE 3583/83.
77. Letter addressed by eighteen smallholders, contained in confidential file ACE 3583/83.
78. Informação 1232/116/ABE/76, Serviço Nacional de Informações, August 12, 1976.
79. During those years other settlers along the PA-70 contacted the Brazilian president to report land-related crimes near Vila Rondon. See, for instance, Informação 0274/117/ABE/81, Serviço Nacional de Informações, May 19, 1981.
80. Sue Brandford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2002). Quote from sociologist José de Souza Martins is from p. 6.
81. On Fontanella, see Informação 006/74, January 8, 1974, PM/PA, Ministério da Aeronautica. Also, Encaminhamento 007/75-SI/SR/DPF/PA, March 3, 1975.
82. The authorities offered a series of financial incentives to companies setting up ranches in the region before the end of 1974. These included “a 50 percent reduction in their corporate income taxes earned in other parts of Brazil if they reinvested taxable monies in the Amazon,” a supplementary ten-year exemption from income tax for the new enterprise based in the rainforest, the levying of duties on imported machinery for farming, and a permissive attitude toward environmental and labor practices. See K. Bertha Becker, *Amazônia* (São Paulo: Ática, 1990); *As Amazônias de Bertha K. Becker* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond, 2015), 22–24. For data on tax incentives and the companies who benefited, see Anthony Hall, *Developing Amazonia: Deforestation and Social Conflict in Brazil's Carajas Programme* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1991), 21–24; S. G. Bunker, *Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange, and the Failure of the Modern State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), chapter 3; and F. H. Cardoso and G. Müller, *Amazônia: expansão do capitalismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Edelstein de Pesquisas Sociais, 2008). Quote from Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 37. The 1.7-million-acre ranch was the Suiá Missu, whose size appears in Davis, *Victims of the Miracle*, 115.
83. <https://www.cptnacional.org.br/quem-somos/-historico>.
84. In southern Pará, the rural workers' union in Paragominas was infiltrated for years. The source is the author's interview with Father Castelli and several confidential files of the secret services—for instance, Informação 1590/750/ABE/76, October 21, 1976.
85. According to his own account, Fontanella went to Marabá to inform Bishop

- Estêvão Cardoso de Avelar, a well-connected reformist. Father Fontanella's memoirs, *Pellegrini Sulle Strade Del Mondo* (self-published, nd).
86. Informe 001/77/AG-SI/CR, January 31, 1977. INCRA.
  87. Josélio was "detained for ten months" but later was "simply freed without further consequences," according to Jean Hébette, *Area de fronteira e conflito: O lesto do médio Tocantins* (Belém: NAEA, 1983), 25. The same outcome is mentioned in Hébette and Colares, "Small-Farmer Protest in the Greater Carajás Programme."
  88. Since 2018, and up until the delivery of the final manuscript in mid-2022, the author searched for the court records containing the police reports, interviews, and eventual court transcriptions. He visited the central archive in Belém and Marabá and successfully requested the president of the justice system of Pará to order comprehensive research in the archives of court-houses located in several municipalities of the state. The author also asked the military authorities for any information on the case. The court records of the double homicide weren't found.
- Following the lead of the Lincoln case, made public in documents found in the Arquivo Nacional, the author filed a freedom of information act request that the federal police grant access to the case. The petition was refused several times under the argument that personal information, even if it involved dubious public officials, was classified for a hundred years.
89. Deed contained in processo 2002/60712, ITERPA, Pará.
  90. Escritura de compra e venda, República Federativa do Brasil, Cartório de Paragominas, Fls 39/42. Deed contained in processo 2002/60712, ITERPA, Pará.
  91. Informe 001/77/AG-SI/CR, January 31, 1977. INCRA.
  92. *O Liberal*, December 14, 1976.
  93. Informe 132/S102-A3-CIE, Ministerio do Exército, April 8, 1976.
  94. *Il Nuovo Giornale*, no. 47, December 22, 1976.
  95. Father Fontanella self-published his memoirs in *Pellegrini Sulle Strade Del Mondo*.
  96. On Josélio's alleged role in the priest's deportation, the author interviewed multiple sources in Rondon do Pará. A local scholar claimed that he had once interviewed Josélio, and the cattleman had apparently said, referring to Fontanella, "Yes, we managed to get that terrorist out of Rondon!" While the case against the Italian priest for allegedly faking his resident permit was being built by the authorities, Josélio's friend Lincoln had occupied the post of superintendent of the federal police in Brasília.
  97. The author has investigated the story of the Davis family accessing declassified files in both Brazil and the United States. He also interviewed John Weaver Davis Jr. For an English-language account of the case, see *Washington Post*, December 26, 1987. Also a cable from the American embassy in Brasília to State Department, December 13, 1976, in the National Archives.



98. Relatório, secretaria de estado de segurança pública, Governo do Estado do Pará, July 5, 1976.
99. On the claims of the bereaved family, interviews with John Weaver Davis Jr. On the police investigation, Inquérito policial 50/76, SR/PA, Superintendência Regional do Pará, Polícia Federal.
100. "Squatters Ambush Rancher and Sons," Associated Press, July 16, 1976. Jonathan Kandell, "Violence in the Amazon: Brazil Echoes U.S. West," *New York Times*, July 20, 1976.

#### 5: THE BOOMTOWN

1. Quotes, descriptions, and accounts in this chapter are from the author's interviews with Maria Joel and her family.
2. Data on the number of sawmills from Maria Lúcia do Amor Divino Xavier, *O declínio das indústrias madeireiras no município de Rondon do Pará*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2003, and interviews of the author with Rondon's timber industry researcher Maria Lúcia do Amor Divino Xavier.
3. Quote from author's interview with pioneer José Coutinho de Queiroz.
4. Author's interviews with sawmill owner Odeb Moreira.
5. Documentary on Rondon's cinema directed by Ricardo Tavares D'Almeida: *Cine Ideal: Memórias de um cinema de rua de Rondon do Pará*, 2016.
6. Statement by Gildeu Miranda, Rondon's first mayor, in interview with the author. Miranda claims to have made himself the first census of the town. Data consistent with *Censo Demografico 1991, resultados preliminares*, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Rio de Janeiro, 1992.
7. For an account of Rondon's early health problems, see F. C. Dos Santos Silva, *História, Trabalhos Pastorais e Sociais da Paróquia Nossa Senhora Aparecida, 1968 a 1995*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2003.
8. Data compiled by the author from daily editions of *Diário do Pará* from June 1984 to September 1985. For a general overview of violence during those years, see *Situação sócio-econômica na região sul do Pará, Rondon do Pará*, ACE 068291 88, October 24, 1987.
9. The rancher's murder was published by *Diário do Pará* on September 11, 1984; the peasants' killing and amputation by *Diário do Pará* on December 4, 1984; the rape and subsequent killing by *Diário do Pará* on May 24, 1985.
10. *Diário do Pará*, October 28, 1984.
11. *Diário do Pará*, October 7, 1984.
12. Interviews of the author with Maria Eva dos Santos Dias.
13. Author's interviews with sawmill owner Odeb Moreira.
14. Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 230.
15. *Inflation, consumer prices (annual %)—Brazil*, World Bank. <https://api.worldbank.org/v2/en/indicator/FP.CPI.TOTL.ZG?downloadformat=excel>.

16. *Economic Cycle Dating Committee*. Fundação Getúlio Vargas and Instituto Brasileiro de Economia, Rio de Janeiro, May 27, 2009.
17. Fernando de Holanda Barbosa, "Economic Development: The Brazilian Experience," in Akio Hosono and Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, eds., *Development Strategies in East Asia and Latin America* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 69–87.
18. Aristides Monteiro Neto, César Nunes de Castro, and Carlos Antonio Brandão, organizers, *Desenvolvimento regional no Brasil: políticas, estratégias e perspectivas* (Rio de Janeiro: Ipea, 2017). Details for Pará can be found in chapter 4, Valdeci Monteiro dos Santos, "A economia do sudeste paraense: evidências das transformações estruturais." Also, Lykke E. Andersen et al., *The Dynamics of Deforestation and Economic Growth in the Brazilian Amazon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17.
19. On the LSE scholar, Anthony L. Hall, *Developing Amazonia: Deforestation and Social Conflict in Brazil's Carajas Programme* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 41. Quote is from Cesar Cals, minister of mines and energy, in Warren Hoge, "Big Amazon Project Unfolds," *New York Times*, November 18, 1981.
20. Hall, *Developing Amazonia*.
21. Alan Riding, "Mining for Profits in the Jungles of Brazil," *New York Times*, May 19, 1985.
22. Hall, *Developing Amazonia*, 41.
23. Pere Petit Peñarocha, *Chão de promessas: elites políticas e transformações econômicas no estado do Pará pos-1964* (Paka-Tatu, 2003), 264.
24. Anthropologist David Cleary notes that the discovery of the mine is "encrusted by legend." David Cleary, *Anatomy of the Amazon Gold Rush* (London: Macmillan, 1990). For a history of the mine, Antonio Carlos Prado, "A alucinante corrida do ouro de Serra Pelada," *Istoé*, July 19, 2019, <https://istoe.com.br/a-alucinante-corrida-do-ouro-de-serra-pelada/>, and *Folha de S. Paulo* July 8, 2019. Also the documentary by Victor Lopes, *Serra Pelada: Gold Rush*, or in Portuguese, *Serra Pelada—A Lenda da Montanha de Ouro*, 2013.
25. *Time*, September 1, 1980.
26. About the number of gold seekers, see *New York Times*, August 23, 2004. About the crater size, see *New York Times Magazine*, June 7, 1987. On Bolsonaro's father, see Simone Preissler Iglesias and Bruce Douglas, "Amazon Gold and Army Suspicion Fuel Bolsonaro's Rainforest Rage," *Bloomberg*, August 28, 2019.
27. Author's interview with I., who remains anonymous at the source's request.
28. Relatório da Comissão Interministerial, Criada pelo decreto no. 99.386, de 12 de julho de 1990, sobre o garimpo de Serra Pelada, in ACE 39490/84, Arquivo Nacional.
29. David Cleary, *Anatomy of the Amazon Gold Rush*, 172.

30. Prado, "A alucinante corrida do ouro de Serra Pelada."
31. Susan Bright and Hedy van Erp, *Photography Decoded: Look, Think, Ask* (London: Ilex Press, 2019).
32. On murderous land slippages, see *Jornal de Jacundá*, October 16–30, 1986. On female teenagers being smuggled, see *O Marabá*, no. 733, December 31, 1985. Also interview with journalist José Ribamar Fonseca, who claimed to be one of the early Brazilian journalists in visiting the mine.
33. *Time*, September 1, 1980.
34. *Time*, September 1, 1980.

#### 6: EARLY CHALLENGES

1. Dezinho's background and early life account based on author's interviews with his brother Valdemir Dutra da Costa and Maria Joel.
2. Data on population and number of college degrees from *Censo Demográfico: Maranhão* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1982).
3. On the detention and judgment of French priest Xavier Gilles de Maupeou d'Ableiges, see *Jornal do Brasil*, August 29 and October 8, 1970.
4. The lack of capital or access to loans was mentioned to the author by multiple migrants in Rondon do Pará as a reason for failing to become smallholders. For smallholders' struggles to access credit in Brazil, see the study about the northeast region, which shares common trends with the Amazon of those years. G. Howe and D. Goodman, *Strategies for the Alleviation of Rural Poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean: Smallholders and Structural Change in the Brazilian Economy* (Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture, 1992).
5. F. C. Dos Santos Silva, *História, Trabalhos Pastorais e Sociais da Paróquia Nossa Senhora Aparecida, 1968 a 1995*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2003, 35.
6. Data on the arc, in general agreement among sources, come from *FAO Meeting on Public Policies Affecting Forest Fires*, FAO Forestry Paper 138, October 28–30, 1998. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), 97.
7. Quote from John Hemming, *Tree of Rivers: The Story of the Amazon* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009). The study on the impact of chainsaws in Pará can be found in *Amazônia: Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Agrícola* (Brasília: Embrapa-SPI, 1998), 161–85.
8. On the number of fires, Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 44. On deforestation rates, see S. G. Perz, "Population Growth and Net Migration in the Brazilian Legal Amazon, 1970–1996," in *Deforestation and Land Use in the Amazon*, Charles H. Wood and Roberto Porro, eds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002).



9. *Intentional Forest Fires and Covid-19*, fact sheet of the virtual briefing “What Happens When Forest Fires and Covid-19 Collide,” hosted by the Columbia Earth Institute on June 17, 2020.
10. The speeches of the minister of transport, Mario David Andreazza, represent a good example of the thinking. See, for instance, the speeches reproduced by *Jornal do Brasil*, November 29–30, 1970, and *Jornal do Brasil*, January 26, 1977.
11. Data from Gilbert King, “Where the Buffalo No Longer Roamed.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. July 17, 2012. Quote is from Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz and Dina Gilio-Whitaker, “*All the Real Indians Died Off*”: And 20 Other Myths About Native Americans (Boston: Beacon Press, 2016), 142.
12. Steven R. Weisman, “Reagan Warns Japanese on Trade,” *New York Times*, October 28, 1989.
13. Author’s interview with former nurses in Rondon who wish to remain anonymous.

#### 7: CRICKETS AND CATTLE

1. Data on number of political parties from U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1988*, February 1989. On the number of voters, see *O Globo*, November 15, 1988.
2. “O Oligarca perfeito,” *Revista Veja*, April 4, 2009. On Sarney’s background, see Marlise Simons, “Man in the News; The Reluctant Successor,” *New York Times*, April 23, 1985.
3. Simons, “Man in the News; The Reluctant Successor.”
4. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1988*, February 1989.
5. Lilia M. Schwarcz and Heloisa M. Starling, *Brazil: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2018), chapter 18.
6. *Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil*, 3rd ed., Biblioteca Digital da Câmara dos Deputados, 2010.
7. *The Brazilian Indians*, Survival International, 2021.
8. *Falling Short: Donor Funding for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities to Secure Tenure Rights and Manage Forests in Tropical Countries (2011–2020)*, Rainforest Foundation Norway. For a recent study on the crucial role of Indigenous peoples in protecting the environment, see *Forest Governance by Indigenous and Tribal People: An Opportunity for Climate Action in Latin America and the Caribbean*; FAO and FILAC, 2021.
9. Alan Riding, “Brazil Opposition Parties Win Important Cities in Elections,” *New York Times*, November 17, 1988.
10. Information about Lula’s biography based on Richard Bourne, *Lula do Brasil: A História Real* (São Paulo: Geração Editorial, 2009); John D. French, *Lula and His Politics of Cunning: From Metalworker to President of Brazil* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2020); multiple articles in the Brazilian media; and information available at Instituto Lula.

11. Age is from Lula's own account of the accident. "Como Lula perdeu o dedo?" January 7, 2022. <https://lula.com.br/como-lula-perdeu-o-dedo/>.
12. "Bodas de chumbo," *Época*, edition 251, March 10, 2003, and "O nada e o ódio," *El Pais*, March 7, 2017. See also French, *Lula and His Politics of Cunning*, 164.
13. French, *Lula and His Politics of Cunning*.
14. On Volkswagen, "Exclusive: Volkswagen spied on Lula, other Brazilian workers in 1980s." Reuters, September 5, 2014.
15. On Walesa, "Making Trouble on Human Rights," *New York Times*, November 30, 1981. Quote is from James Brooke, "Workers' Advocate, a Front-Runner in Brazil, Shows He Thinks Like a Boss," *New York Times*, April 30, 1989.
16. "Between 1966 and 1976 Brazil's annual GDP growth averaged an impressive 9.2%, yet income inequality rose sharply. From 1960 to 1977 inequality increased from 0.50 to 0.62 on the Gini coefficient scale." M. Carter, ed., *Challenging Social Inequality: The Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) and Agrarian Reform in Brazil*, Centre for Brazilian Studies, University of Oxford, 2007.
17. On inflation rates, data from World Bank.
18. Brooke, "Workers' Advocate, a Front-Runner in Brazil, Shows He Thinks Like a Boss."
19. José de Souza Martins, "A reprodução do capital na frente pioneira e o renascimento da escravidão no Brasil," *Tempo Social* 6, no.1–2 (1994): 1–25.
20. *Trabalho Escravo no Brasil do Século XXI*, ILO report, 2006.
21. Chained workers were discovered by police in Fazenda São Judas Tadeu, near Paragominas. This was reported by *Jornal do Brasil*, August 13, 1988.
22. *Diário do Pará*, July 10, 1990, and *Correio Braziliense*, February 7, 1997. The use of pigs by the Italian Mafia to eat corpses has been reported in several media and books. Here, I quote Arcangelo Badolati, *Mamma 'ndrangheta. La storia delle cosche cosentine dalla fantomatica Garduña alle stragi moderne*, 2nd ed. (Pellegrini, 2020), chapter 22.
23. Relatório "Visita a Carvoarias no Pará," Brasília, Congressman Orlando Fantazzini, December 6, 2001.
24. Relatório "Visita a Carvoarias no Pará," Brasília, Congressman Orlando Fantazzini, December 6, 2001.
25. Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon*, 107.
26. Jeremy M. Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).
27. See Campbell, *Conjuring Property*, 61 and subsequent for context. Quote on 1850 land policy is from *Brazil Land Governance Assessment*, World Bank Report 89239-BR. June 2014, 28.

28. Sue Branford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2002). Quote from historian P. Monbeig is from p. 55.
29. On the size of the fraud in Rondon, see Informação 0451/01/ABE/75, Serviço Nacional de Informações, March 11, 1975. On the size of London, some 607 square miles or 388,480 acres, see [www.cityoflondon.gov.uk](http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk).
30. Philip M. Fearnside, "Spatial Concentration of Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon," *Ambio* 15, no. 2 (1986): 74–81.
31. Fernando H. Cardoso and Geraldo Müller, *Amazônia: expansão do capitalismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Edelstein, 2008), 130.
32. *O Liberal*, April 3, 1989.
33. Stephen G. Bunker, *Underdeveloping the Amazon: Extraction, Unequal Exchange, and the Failure of the Modern State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
34. Campbell, *Conjuring Property*. Regarding the comparison with the United States, Professor Campbell writes: "When Frederick Jackson Turner declared the US frontier 'closed' in 1893, he was using a conceptual category—the frontier—that had itself been a product of a unifying state vision and a material process of state building. Before homesteading, railroad profiteering, or land-jobbing was allowed in the American West, congressionally mandated surveyors sketched a grid of the country and brought it back to centralized land offices that were beholden to Washington. Little more was needed to establish the legal priority of the state's claim on resources. Though genocidal violence, forced removal, and rampant land speculation were the engines of US conquest of Native American territories, the discursive grid for expropriation was established with the humble cadastre, an instrument to which all future claims and disputes would refer. If Turner could imagine the frontier as closed, it was because there was a log, a map, and a registry that said so: the state's unity backstops the frontier's unity as an economic and demographic fact."
35. Author's interviews with Professor Girolamo Domenico Treccani. Based also on confidential reports of the Brazilian police and the author's examination of documents and reports from INCRA, ITERPA, and documental evidence gathered in the cartório of Rondon do Pará.
36. Comissão Camponesa da Verdade, *Relatório Final: Violações de direitos no campo 1946 a 1988*, Brasília, December 2014, 183.
37. Campbell, *Conjuring Property*, 63.
38. *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 6, 2000. According to the CIA World Factbook, Cuba has 110,860 square kilometers, and Honduras, 112,090.
39. Felipe Lobo, "O latifundiário fantasma," *(o)eco*, September 10, 2007. [https://oeco.org.br/reportagens/2060-oeco\\_24013/](https://oeco.org.br/reportagens/2060-oeco_24013/).
40. *O Livro Branco da Grilagem de Terras no Brasil*, Ministério da Política Fundiária e do Desenvolvimento Agrário, 1999, 57.



41. Informações 044402/ABE/75, ACE 3561/83, and 0356/08/ABE/83, Serviço Nacional de Informações, found in Arquivo Nacional.
42. Informações 044402/ABE/75, Serviço Nacional de Informações, March 10, 1975.
43. Quote is from Informação 0356/08/ABE/83, May 4, 1983.
44. *O Tablóide*, October 6–13, 1975.
45. Informe 001/77/AG-SI/CR, January 31, 1977. INCRA.
46. Informação 0316/119/ABE/78, Serviço Nacional de Informações, February 23, 1978.
47. ITERPA's Relatório de Análise de Documento 188 and ITERPA's president letter, dated February 28, 1979, found in processo 05264/78.
48. Instituto Nacional de Criminalística, Laudo 9763, February 9, 1973, and contained in Land Institute of Pará (ITERPA) processos 2002/96.387, 2002.60712, 2008.121168, and 2008.458543. Also, report of ITERPA official Yara Maria Ribeiro Chaves, January 2, 1979.
49. See Land Institute of Pará (ITERPA) processo 2002/96.387 and *Diário Oficial do Pará*, 88o da República, no. 23.975, March 15, 1979.
50. Informação 0316/119/ABE/76, Serviço Nacional de Informações, February 23, 1978.
51. In 1978, Josélio asked the authorities to issue a certificate stating that he was the legal owner of the land, probably to access tax incentives or cheap loans to make improvements in his fazenda, but officials rejected his demand on the basis that the deed he had provided was fake. Josélio's written request to ITERPA was made on December 20, 1978, and is found in ITERPA *processos* 05264/78 and 2008/121168.
52. Certidão 0037, ITERPA, issued to Josélio on March 5, 1987.
53. On Hugo's police records, see Informação 667-S/102-A7-CIE.
54. The author contacted Pará's land agency, ITERPA, for information on faked deeds for Josélio's ranches and was informed that the Fazenda Serra Morena (processo 2002/96387) was confirmed as being based on a forged deed. On state subsidies enjoyed by the Te-Chaga-U, information provided by the Ministry of Regional Development to the author through the freedom of information act, petition no. 59011.000007/2021-88. Processo 28.650/003657/91, Fazenda Te-Chaga-U Agropecuaria S.A., SUDAM.
55. The Te-Chaga-U Agropecuaria SA received \$764,000 from February 1989 to November 1994, according to information provided by the Ministry of Regional Development to the author through the freedom of information act, petition 59011.000007/2021-88. Processo 28.650/003657/91.
56. Jean Hébette, *Area de fronteira e conflito: O lesto do médio Tocantins* (Belém: NAEA, 1983).
57. The candidate for vice-mayor was Jairo Marçal de Moura, and his murder was reported in *Alguns casos de violência cometidos em Rondon do Pará, pelo fazendeiro Josélio de Barros Carneiro contra trabalhadores*, unsigned,

undated document, CPT, Marabá. The author confirmed that Marçal had been murdered in 1984 and requested access to the case from the court in Rondon do Pará, but the request was never answered by the judge.

58. The settler was Antonio Roldão, a smallholder who lived on a farm adjacent to one of Josélio's estates, according to Brito's interviews with the author. He said that he knew Roldão personally. Some details of the story were also reported by the advocacy group Justiça Global in Sandra Carvalho, *Direitos humanos no Brasil 2003. Relatório anual do Centro de Justiça Global* (Rio de Janeiro: Justiça Global, 2004), 58.
59. *Diário do Pará*, June 4, 1984.
60. On the death of Fonteles, see police confidential report ACE6154/87.
61. On the family claims, see *O Estado de S. Paulo*, May 14, 1993. For an account of Fonteles's murder, see Comissão Camponesa da Verdade, *Relatório Final: Violações de direitos no campo 1946 a 1988*.

#### 8: NO LONGER MEEK

1. *O Globo*, November 16, 1988, and *Folha de S. Paulo*, November 16, 1988.
2. *Folha de S. Paulo*, November 16, 1988.
3. Author's interview with former Workers' Party leader and mayor candidate Maria de Jesus Silva Moura.
4. Ata do I Congresso dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, March 17–18, 1993.
5. Documentary "Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta," Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Pará (FETAGRI) and Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), 2006.
6. Interview with Carlos Guedes, friend of Dezinho and lawyer of the CPT.
7. Branford and Rocha, *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil*, 254.
8. John L. Hammond, "The MST and the Media: Competing Images of the Brazilian Landless Farmworkers' Movement," *Latin American Politics and Society* 46, no. 4 (2004): 61–90.
9. Branford and Rocha, *Cutting the Wire*. Data on 90 claims that "about 100,000 families" lived in MST settlements by 1999.
10. Wilder Robles and Henry Veltmeyer, *The Politics of Agrarian Reform in Brazil: The Landless Rural Workers Movement* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 97.
11. Miguel Carter, "The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Democracy in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review* 45, Special Issue: Living in Actually Existing Democracies (2010): 186–217.
12. Carter, "The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Democracy in Brazil."
13. *Jornal do Brasil*, 08/12/1985.
14. Written statement by Laércio José Segatti, president of the Associação, on March 19, 1997, found in case number 046.1997.2.000029-0, Justice of Pará.

15. A written statement by the president of the Associação Agropecuária Rondonense in 1995 and presented to the justice by Josélio's lawyer in the Te-Chaga-U case indicated that the rancher was president from 1987 to 1988 and from 1993 to 1994.
16. Author's interview with Odeb Moreira.
17. See *A Gazeta do Comércio*, August 2004, and *Evolução*, July 12–18, 1999.
18. The names of all sources interviewed by the author giving details or opinions on Barroso Nunes have been omitted for their anonymity and safety.
19. *Correio do Tocantins*, December 5–9, 2000.
20. Certidão, 10/03/1994, no. 378, fls. 078, Livro 2-B, Registro Geral, Cartório do Único Ofício de Rondon do Pará.
21. Nunes declared to the justice that the combined value of the Fazenda Lacy, including machinery, houses, the land, and the timber, was \$107 million. See 566–80 of the federal court case 0006677-95.2012.4.01.3901/PA, TRF1. Also based on the police report on the Fazenda Lacy by Sergeant Claudio Marino Dias, November 25, 1999.
22. On the size of the ranch, see *O Liberal*, March 21, 1995.
23. Information provided by Josefa de Oliveira Avila, wife of rancher José Hilário, in her statement to the police on February 21, 1995, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará criminal justice.
24. File AGE/ANO 77679/94, Arquivo Nacional.
25. Ofício AQA/804/93, CONTAG, July 22, 1993.
26. Of. 005/93, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, signed by Dezinho, August 3, 1993.
27. State legislator Nonato Guimaraes communication of June 16, 1993, and author's interview with Guimaraes.
28. Ofício AQA/804/93, CONTAG, July 22, 1993.
29. Ofício AQA/804/93, CONTAG, July 22, 1993.
30. Of. 005/93, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, August 3, 1993.
31. Family account and statement by Dezinho on file 005/93, STR, August 3, 1993.
32. Eugene Linden, "The Road to Disaster," *Time*, October 6, 2000.
33. Ofício 005/93, 03/08/1993, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará.
34. Author interview with Carlos Guedes.
35. Josélio communication with ITERPA on October 19, 1993. ITERPA case 2009/194655.
36. José Dutra da Costa's communication with FETAGRI and judge Rosana Lúcia Canelas Bastos, March 21, 1994.
37. Relatório sobre a problemática da posse na área denominada Fazenda São Jorge, localizada na Vila Gavião. Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Rondon do Pará, March 1995.



38. In March 10, 1994, Hilário sold Nunes a piece of land in Rondon, according to Escritura Pública de Compra e Venda, livro 027, folhas 057 e 058, Cartório do Único Ofício de Rondon do Pará. Quote from Rita Serra in interview with the author.
39. On Josélio's friendship with Souza, whose real name was Adélcio Nunes Leite, I quote Josélio in his statement to the police on August 18, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará.

#### 9: HUNTING SOUZA

1. Unless otherwise stated, the source for the account of facts, quotes, and data in this chapter is the author's multiple interviews with Detective Antônio Carlos Corrêa de Faria, his personal blog (cyberpolicia.com.br), and his memoir: Antônio Carlos Corrêa de Faria, *O Sangue do Barão: As Histórias de Nossa História* (Belo Horizonte, self-published, 2007).
2. On the number of homicides, see *Hoje em Dia*, May 3, 1994. On the quote, see *Estado de Minas Gerais*, July 17, 2020.
3. See, for instance, *Diário Mercantil*, June 13, 1974, and *Diário do Rio Doce*, April 29, 1981.
4. On the support of the military, see *Estado de Minas Gerais*, July 17, 2020.
5. *O Globo*, December 28, 1991.
6. *Diário Mercantil*, September 13, 1974.
7. *Estado de Minas*, May 3, 1997.
8. *Estado de Minas*, July 17, 2020.
9. Globo Reporter, 1990. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVyqnbFXvDA>.
10. *Estado de Minas*, July 17, 2020.
11. *O Globo*, July 20, 1990.
12. *O Globo*, July 25, 1990. On karate and Mello, see James Brooke, "Brazil Labor Chief Gets Place in Runoff," *New York Times*, November 20, 1989.
13. *Estado de Minas*, May 20, 1990.
14. *Estado de Minas*, June 12, 1993.
15. *Estado de Minas*, June 12, 1993.
16. *Estado de Minas*, June 12, 1993.
17. Author's interview with Paulo Orlando Rodrigues de Mattos, retired detective of the Minas Gerais police. He's the person who originally received the tip about Faria.
18. *O Estado de Minas*, December 29, 1993.
19. *O Estado de Minas*, December 29, 1993.
20. Correa de Faria, *O Sangue do Barão: As Histórias de Nossa História*, 214.
21. Photographs provided to the author by officer Faria; one of the photographs of Josélio as described can be found in the file court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
22. *Estado de Minas*, editions of June 15 through 25, 1994.
23. *Estado de Minas*, editions of June 15 through 25, 1994.

24. Adélcio Nunes Leite interrogation, August 7, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará.
25. Adélcio Nunes Leite interrogation, August 7, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará.
26. *Estado de Minas*, editions of June 15 through 25, 1994.
27. Adélcio Nunes Leite interrogation, August 7, 1995, court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046, Pará.
28. *Estado de Minas*, September 29 and 30, 1994.
29. “Indulto a condenado a 229 anos,” *O Tempo*, September 11, 2013.
30. *Estado de Minas*, September 29 and 30, 1994.
31. Account provided to the author by retired officer Paulo Orlando Rodrigues de Mattos; he’s also a distant relative of the Cordeiros.
32. On the police suspicion of Josélino, court cases numbers (CNJ) 0000443-15.1995.8.14.0039 and 0000667-78.1995.8.14.0039, Pará state. The media also wrote he was a suspect. *O Liberal*, May 25, 1995, June 13, 1995, and *A Província do Pará*, May 25, 1995.
33. Judge Amorim ordered Josélino’s arrest on March 19, 1997, and granted him an habeas corpus the day later, according to documents in court case number 046.1997.2.000029-0, Justice of Pará.
34. Author’s interview with Maria Joel, Rita Serra, and Zé Geraldo. Zé Geraldo’s suspicions about Mrs. Barros were also reported by *Diário do Pará*, June 30, 1995.
35. On May 22, 1995, state legislator Zé Geraldo and members of FETAGRI met with the attorney general of Pará to request Josélia Leontina’s transfer, according to a press release from Zé Geraldo’s office dated July 3, 1995.
36. “Certidão” from Rosilda Pacheco e Silva, ministério público do Estado do Pará, February 6, 2002, court case AREsp 518863/PA (2014/0116742-0).
37. “Certidão” from Rosilda Pacheco e Silva, ministério público do Estado do Pará, February 6, 2002, court case AREsp 518863/PA (2014/0116742-0).
38. See Relatório sobre a participação do Deputado na diligência em Rondon do Pará, Zé Geraldo, July 3, 1995. Quote is from Geraldo’s interviews with the author, 2018 and 2019.
39. Court case AREsp 518863/PA (2014/0116742-0).
40. Sentence by judge Guísela Haase de Miranda, December 13, 2002, court case AREsp 518863/PA (2014/0116742-0).
41. Recurso Extraordinário com Agravo 869.180, Pará, May 10, 2015.
42. The internal affairs office of the Public Ministry of Pará informed the author that there had been four disciplinary processes against Josélia Leontina de Barros Lopes: 03340/2003, 36801/2017, 42214/2019, and 17587/2020.
43. Procuração Publica, Cartório Condurú, livr 292, folha 107, 09/12/1992, contained in ITERPA processo 2009.194655, and Procuração, Cartório of Rondon do Pará, livro 028, Folha 168, dated September 9, 1996, and contained in ITERPA public processo 2002.96387.

44. On the jobs of Josélío's daughters, see the self-declaration by each of them in *Escritura Pública de nomeação de inventariante*, Livro 191, fohas 057/058, ato 095, cartório Travessa Três de Maio n 1503, Belem, Pará. The quote is from a source in Rondon do Pará who prefers to remain anonymous.
45. On the murders attributed by the media to Josélío on May 1995, see *A Província do Pará* and *O Liberal*, May 25, 1995, and *O Liberal* and *Diário do Pará* on June 13, 1995. The quote of Shirley Cristina is from *Tocantins. O Jornal de Carajas*, June 21–27, 1995.
46. Based on documentary evidence in criminal court case 046.1997.2.000029-0, Pará, like motions filed by attorney Vilaça with the letterhead *Barros & Vilaça Lawyers*. The address is the same as the one printed on Josélío's business card. The author attempted to contact Mrs. Vilaça to get her comments, but she never responded.
47. Motion filed on April 29, 1997, in the documents of court case 046.1997-2.000029-0.
48. José Antônio da Silva's statement to the police on February 12, 1997, in court case 046.1997-2.000029-0.
49. Josélío's statement to Detective Moraes, August 18, 1995, in court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046.
50. Documents contained in court case 046.1997-2.000029-0, Pará justice.
51. Rai was freed by order of Judge Amorim on May 2, 1997, according to the documents in court case 046.1997.2.000029-0, Justice of Pará.

#### 10: NOWHERE TO HIDE

1. The statement of eyewitness Jorge Pereira da Silva to the police on February 14, 1995, criminal court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
2. Quote from Josefa de Oliveira Avila statement to police on February 21, 1995, criminal court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401. The author attempted to verify this information. He contacted Denilson Carlos dos Santos and José Alexander Bastos Dyna, attorneys of the family of Hilário. Olivandro de Oliveira Avila, son of Hilário, was interviewed by the author.
3. Information provided by Josefa de Oliveira Ávila, statement to the police, February 21, 1995.
4. Information provided by Josefa de Oliveira Ávila, statement to the police, February 21, 1995.
5. Author's interview with Elizinete Lopes da Silva.
6. *O Liberal*, February 23, 1995.
7. José Dutra da Costa (Dezinho) statement to the Rondon do Pará police, March 24, 1995, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará criminal justice.
8. Relatório, IPL, 001/95-DPRP, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará criminal justice.
9. On the use of violence, "Violências da PM preocupam deputados," *O Liberal*, March 24, 1995.



10. Author's interview with Sergio Galiza.
11. Raimundo Nonato Rocha statement to the police, March 24, 1995, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
12. Raimundo Nonato Rocha statement to the police, March 24, 1995, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
13. Raimundo Nonato Rocha statement to the police, March 24, 1995, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
14. Elias Dias do Nascimento, mentioned in *Carta Denúncia*, FETAGRI, released on May 18, 1995.
15. Ofício 007/95, FETAGRI, July 10, 1995.
16. Ata do II Congresso dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, May 10–11, 1996.
17. Quote from Fetagri-PA/AP and Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará joint communication, undated.
18. Ofício 032/96, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, August 11, 1996.
19. Quote from Ofício 032/96, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, August 11, 1996.
20. Quotes, descriptions of the scene, and thoughts from author's interviews with José Soares de Brito.
21. José Soares de Brito, interview with the author.
22. Brito statements to police officers in Belém on August 28, 1996.
23. Brito's and Dezinho's statements to police officers in Belém on August 28, 1996.
24. Lawmaker Paulo Rocha, Diário da Câmara dos Deputados, August 28, 1996.
25. FETAGRI communication to Pará's secretary of public security, October 7, 1996.
26. FETAGRI communication to Pará's secretary of public security, October 7, 1996.
27. Luiz Pacheco Neto, "Piaui," statement to the police on October 14, 1996, contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
28. Request by officer Raimundo Jose Rodrigues Souza, October 17, 1996.
29. Rule by Judge Margui Gaspar Bittecourt, October 17, 1996.
30. Luiz Pacheco Neto, "Piaui," statement, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
31. Luiz Pacheco Neto, "Piaui," statement, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
32. "Carta Denúncia: Director do STR de Rondon do Pará está ameaçado de morte," February 6, 1997.
33. "Mais um Trabalhador Rural Assassinado no Município de Rondon do Pará," CPT release, March 14, 1997.

#### 11: NOTHING SHINING IN ELDORADO

1. Larry Rohter, "Serra Pelada Journal; Brazilian Miners Wait for Payday After Diet of Bitterness," *New York Times*, August 23, 2004.

2. Numbers of police officers and demonstrators vary greatly among sources. The author has chosen to use the data given in chapter 8 of Miguel Carter, ed., *Challenging Social Inequality: The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Agrarian Reform in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
3. *Folha de S. Paulo*, April 17–20, 1996.
4. Larry Rohter, “Acquittals in Massacre Arouse Brazil,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1999.
5. *O Globo*, April 19, 1996.
6. Sue Branford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire*, chapter 7.
7. Carter, ed., *Challenging Social Inequality*, chapter 8. On the name tags, see also Larry Rohter, “Acquittals in Massacre Arouse Brazil,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1999, and Matthew Teague, “Police Massacre Case Turns Back Tide of Injustice in Brazil,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2012.
8. On police abuses, see James L. Cavallaro and Anna C. Monteiro, *Fighting Violence with Violence: Human Rights Abuse and Criminality in Rio de Janeiro*, Human Rights Watch Short Report no. 2, 1996. On the historical use of violence by elites in Brazil, see R. S. Rose, *The Unpast: Elite Violence and Social Control in Brazil, 1954–2000* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005).
9. *O Globo*, April 19, 1996.
10. *O Globo*, April 19, 1996.
11. “Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Brazil,” the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, OEA/Ser.L/V/II.97, Document 29, rev.1, September 29, 1997.
12. Data from *Conflitos no Campo Brasil 1996*, CPT, Goiânia, June 1997.
13. *Conflitos no Campo Brasil 1996*, CPT, Goiânia, June 1997.
14. Rose, *The Unpast*, 226.
15. Diana Jean Schemo, “Violence Growing in Battle Over Brazilian Land,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1996.
16. Jeremy M. Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon*, 60. According to Professor Campbell, “the violence and fraud commonly associated with *grilagem* have delivered much of Brazil’s public patrimony into private hands, accentuating the nation’s inequality and pushing macroeconomic trends toward greater concentration of wealth.”
17. Miguel Carter, “The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Democracy in Brazil,” *Latin American Research Review* 45, Special Issue: Living in Actually Existing Democracies (2010):186–217.
18. Carter, ed., *Challenging Social Inequality*, 165–67.
19. See *Folha de S. Paulo*, April 15–20, 1997.
20. *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 16, 1999.
21. See, for instance, *Folha de S. Paulo* on March 30, 1998, and *O Liberal*, April 27, 1998.

22. Manifesto, April 23, 1996, Associação Agropecuária de Rondon do Pará e o Sindicato Patronal de Rondon do Pará.
23. On the reasons causing concern, author's interview with Brito. Data of the MST occupation is from "Sem Terra celebram 30 anos da primeira ocupação realizada pelo MST," MST, October 28, 2015.
24. Data for the context is from *Plano Plurianual—PPA 2002/2005*, Município de Rondon do Pará.
25. On the depletion of reserves, see A. Veríssimo, E. Lima, and M. Lentini, *Pólos Madeireiros do Estado do Pará* (Belém: Imazon, 2002).
26. In 1995, Pará produced 5,375,000 cubic meters of logs for a total of 11,926,000 for Brazil. Source: IBGE, Censo Agropecuario, 1995. On the black market, author's interviews with former Rondon loggers.
27. On the crisis, see Maria Lúcia do Amor Divino Xavier, *O declínio das indústrias madeireiras no município de Rondon do Pará*, dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2003, 45 and 59. Pará doubled its herd from 1985 to 1995, according to Valdeci Monteiro dos Santos, *A economia do sudeste paraense: fronteira de expansão na periferia brasileira*, dissertation, Instituto de Economia da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2011. See tables on 88 and 96.
28. In 1980, the municipality of Rondon do Pará, which includes the town and its interior, had a population of 27,600, and in 1991, of 52,200. By 2000, the population had declined to 39,800. Sources: IBGE Censo Demográfico of 1980, 1991, and 2000.
29. Dezinho's speech contained in footage provided by the CPT. For an overview of the crisis and its consequences, see Valdeci Moneiro dos Santos, "A economia do sudeste paraense: evidências das transformações estruturais," in Aristedes Monteiro Neto, César Nunes de Castro, and Carlos Antonio Brandão, organizers, *Desenvolvimento Regional no Brasil: políticas, estratégias e perspectivas* (Rio de Janeiro: Ipea, 2017).
30. *O Liberal*, November 20, 1997.
31. Carter, ed., *Challenging Social Inequality*, 274. On the date of the occupation and the motives for it, interview with lawyer Batista and annual reports from CPT for 1997, 1998, 1999.
32. *Conflitos no Brasil 1998*, CPT annual report.
33. CPT communication: "Pistoleiros atiram em trabalhadores rurais da fazenda Jerusalem no município de Rondon do Pará." Marabá, December 16, 1997.
34. Police report by officer James Moreira de Sousa, Delegacia Especializada de Conflitos Agrários (DECA), December 22, 1997.
35. "Queremos Paz em Rondon," pamphlet, unsigned and undated but distributed by late January or early February of 1998. This document was part of the dossier of Petition 1290-04, November 30, 2004, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States.



36. Quote from *Correio do Tocantins*, January 27–29, 1998; on the accusations about Josélio as the “articulador” of a larger group, see also *Correio do Tocantins*, March 21–26, 1997.
37. Letter addressed February 3, 1998, by the Sindicato, the CPT, and other peasant organizations. Cited in *Petition 1290-04*, November 30, 2004, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States.
38. On the occupation, *Conflitos no Campo Brasil 1999*, CPT annual report.
39. Denunciation filed by Jucelino Favoreto on February 12, 1999, to the police of Rondon do Pará, case number 59928.
40. Injunction number 063/99, Judge Amorim, March 4, 1999.
41. *Opinião*, May 20–21, 1999.
42. Mandado de prisão, signed by Judge Amorim, May 18, 1999.
43. *Opinião*, May 20–21, 1999.
44. About the number of people in the demonstration and Dezinho’s public complaints, see *O Liberal*, June 2 and 3, 1999, and *Correio do Tocantins*, June 4–7, 1999.
45. This version of facts was supported by organizations like Justiça Global, Terra de Direitos, and the CPT. The quote is from the brief by the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights and Partner Organizations as Amicus Curiae in Support of *Jose Dutra da Costa v. Government of Brazil*—Claim JG/RJ no. 294/04, February 21, 2006.
46. Complaint (FO) no. 460173, June 9, 1999. The author put in requests to both the police and the military police of Pará for access to the complaint but was informed that documents from prior to 2008 had been destroyed. Still, it is mentioned in the official Relatório Fazenda Lacy Barroso (November 25, 1999), found in appendices to the *Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito da Reforma Agrária e Urbana*. Brasília, November 2005.
47. Complaint (FO) 460178, June 15, 1999.
48. The date of FETAGRI’s report on the Fazenda Lacy is October 14, 1999. Source: Relatório Fazenda Lacy Barroso (November 25, 1999), in appendices to the *Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito da Reforma Agrária e Urbana*. Brasília, November 2005.
49. Processo Administrativo Disciplinar (PAD) 19993006475-1. Also the story “Cooperativa usa títulos podres para pagar dívida,” published by *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 14, 2000.
50. About the forced retirement of Mr. Amorim, see Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará, Acórdão 72075, ruled on June 4, 2008.

## 12: DEATH AND SALVATION

1. In Wellington’s statements to the police, the killer referred to the murder as “the service,” and so the author uses this word here.

2. Wellington's first statement to police, December 22, 2000, and Wellington's statement on January 25, 2001, both files contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
3. Maria Joel's description of the crime is from author's interviews with her.
4. Wellington's first statement to police, November 22, 2000, 9:00 a.m., court case 200620326535, Pará state.
5. *Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta*, Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Pará (FETAGRI) and Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), 2006.
6. Maria Joel's description of the crime from interviews with her.
7. Dr. Antônio Lopes de Angelo statement to police, December 12, 2000, contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
8. Superior Electoral Court, Brazil, *Results of Rondon do Pará, municipal elections, 2000*.
9. Quote from the author's interview with Maria Joel.
10. Quote from the author's interview with Maria Joel.
11. Maria Joel's statement for *Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta*, Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Pará (FETAGRI) and Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), 2006.
12. Joelson's statement in the documentary *Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta*, Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Pará (FETAGRI) and Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), 2006.
13. Joelson's account to the author.
14. Joélina's interviews with the author.
15. Statement from *Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta*, FETAGRI.
16. Shirt description from Laudo de Exame n 018/2001, January 16, 2001, case number 200620326535, Pará state.
17. Gun description given by Raimundo Nonato da Silva, December 27, 2000, court case 200620326535. On the killer's attitude, recollections from Maria Joel's interviews with the author.
18. Maria Joel's interview with the author.
19. Maria Joel's first declaration to police, November 22, 2000, 9:00 a.m., court case 200620326535, Pará state.
20. Quote from Maria Joel's statement in *Dezinho: Vida, Sonho, e Luta*, Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Pará (FETAGRI) and Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT), 2006.
21. Maria Joel's first declaration to police, November 22, 2000, 9:00 a.m., court case 200620326535, Pará state.
22. Wellington's first statement to police, November 22, 2000, 9:00 a.m., contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
23. Witness Magno Fernandes do Nascimento's statement to the police, November 22, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
24. *Diário do Pará*, November 25, 2000.

25. Thoughts and unfolding of events prior to the murder conveyed by Wellington in his first statement to police, November 22, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
26. Maria Joel's interviews with the author.
27. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, on judgment for court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
28. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
29. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
30. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
31. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
32. Relatório Fazenda Lacy Barros (November 25, 1999), contained in appendices of *Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito da Reforma Agrária e Urbana*. Brasília, November 2005.
33. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias statement on April 23, 2019, on judgment for court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
34. Author's interview with Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias.
35. The certificates or diplomas of the police of Pará awarded to Josélio are found in the court case 0000272-32.1997.8.14.0046 and were presented to the justice by the rancher as a proof of his good behavior.
36. Author's interview with Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias.
37. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará, and author's interview.
38. Joelminha's interviews with the author
39. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
40. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
41. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
42. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
43. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
44. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
45. Autopsy carried out by Instituto Médico-Legal Renato Chaves, November 22, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
46. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's statement on April 23, 2019, on judgment for court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.

### 13: AN UNUSUAL CASE

1. *O Liberal*, November 22, 2000. Statement by public official Miguel Thomaz.
2. *Diário do Pará*, November 25, 2000.
3. Larry Rohter, "Brazilian Prison Revolt Exposes a Crumbling System," *New York Times*, March 5, 2001.

4. Rohter, "Brazilian Prison Revolt Exposes a Crumbling System."
5. According to a judicial certificate issued on March 9, 2001, Wellington da Silva had no criminal or judicial record. Certidão issued by Maria Nildes Fernandes Chaves, March 9, 2001, contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
6. *Diário do Pará*, November 25, 2000.
7. Maria de Jesus Silva's statement to the jury, November 13, 2006, contained in court case 200620326535.
8. According to the police records, Wellington was accompanied by attorney Adriana Andrey Lopes de Lima on November 22, 2000. Quotes are drawn from that statement. Mrs. Adriana Andrey Lopes was contacted by the author but didn't reply for comment.
9. Statement based on interviews with Sergeant Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias.
10. Francisco de Assis Solidade Da Costa, interview with the author.
11. Joelina's TV interview with *Jornal Record*, April 2011.
12. Joelminha's interview with the author.
13. *Diário do Pará*, November 23, 2000. Quote from Airtton Luiz Faleiro, presidente of FETAGRI.
14. Statement by Italo Macola, chief of office of Pará state, to the press. *Província do Pará*, November 24, 2000.
15. On minister Raul Jungmann's political career, see Sue Branford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2002). For the quote, see *Diário do Pará*, November 23, 2000, and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, November 24, 2000.
16. *Diário do Pará*, November 23, 2000, and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, November 24, 2000.
17. Wellington de Jesus's statement on November 22, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
18. *O Liberal*, November 23, 2000.
19. On the number of people, see *O Estado de S. Paulo*, November 24, 2000, and *Jornal do Brasil*, November 24, 2000.
20. Descriptions based on accounts of Dezinho's children, Maria Joel, lawyers Carlos Guedes and José Afonso Batista, photographs and chronicles of newspapers *Província do Pará*, *Diário do Pará*, *O Liberal* on November 24, 2000, and footage from Globo TV stations.
21. *O Liberal*, November 24, 2000.
22. Descriptions based on accounts of Dezinho's children, Maria Joel, lawyers Carlos Guedes and José Afonso Batista, photographs and chronicles of newspapers *Província do Pará*, *Diário do Pará*, *O Liberal* on November 24, 2000, and footage from Globo TV stations.
23. Unless stated otherwise, quotes and statements from detective Walter Resende come from his interviews with the author.



24. On the number of detectives and cops, see *O Liberal*, November 24, 2000.
25. *Conflitos no Campo Brasil*, 2000, CPT, 38.
26. Relatório, Walter Resende de Almeida, December 1, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará state.
27. Fax sent by Shirley Cristina de Barros to detective Resende on December 20, 2000, in court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
28. Fax sent by Shirley Cristina de Barros to detective Resende on December 20, 2000, in court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
29. On Chico's election, *80 Anos Baixo Guandu. 1935–2015*, undated. Magazine published by the municipal council of Baixo Guandu. Also, Josélio's statement to the police on December 27, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará state.
30. Maria Joel Dias da Costa's statement to the police on November 25, 2000, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
31. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias, interview with the author.
32. About Francisco Martins da Silva Filho's working for Décio José Barroso Nunes and being the brother of the gunman Pedro Alves, see statement given by Francisco Martinson the day of the judgment, June 29, 2014. Video of the decision is available at the website of Pará's tribunal of justice. Concerning Josélio de Barros Carneiro, see his statement to the police on December 27, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
33. File in court case 046.2000.2.000012-7, Pará justice.

#### 14: THE EVIDENCE MAN

1. Unless otherwise stated, quotes from Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from interviews with the author and Martins da Silva's statement in court on April 29, 2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.
2. Court case 046.2000.2.000012-7.
3. Francisco provided this information to the author.
4. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from his statement in court on April 29, 2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará. 03:49:00.
5. Quotes from Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from his statement in court on April 29, 2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.
6. Detective Resende's interviews with the author.
7. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho's statement on November 27, 2000, court case 200620326535.
8. Statement given by Olávio Silva Rocha to the police on December 20, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
9. Dezinho referred to Manoel Lopes in *Correio do Tocantins*, January 27–29, 1998. João Lopes de Angelo was from 1972 to at least 1975 mayor of Itanhém, Bahia state, according to official documents.
10. Statement given by Manoel "Duca" Lopes to the police on December 27, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.

11. Statements provided by João Lopes de Angelo and Antônio Lopes de Angelo on December 20, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046. The author reached out to Dr. Antônio for a comment, contacting him through the cell number and email addresses he had provided to Brazil's electoral court, but Dr. Antônio never responded. João's daughter, lawyer Adriana Andrey Diniz Lopes, didn't reply for comment.
12. Statement given by Manoel "Duca" Lopes to the pólice on December 27, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
13. Josélia Leontina married Marcos Vinicius Diniz Lopes on November 12, 1993, according to Escritura Pública, Livro 191, Folhas 057/058/ Ato 095, Cartório Condurú, June 18, 2014.
14. The defense attorney was Adriana Lopes de Lima, according to court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
15. Dr. Angelo had also been elected substitute state legislator in 1998, according to Pará's electoral court.
16. Lourival had attempted to use fake deeds to get a subsidized loan from a state-run bank back in the 1970s, but the ruse hadn't worked because it had been discovered by law enforcement. However, he remained in control of the land. Informação 22/1512-A/75, confidential report, Ministerio do Interior, November 5, 1975.
17. Resende interrogated Mr. Veloso on December 22, 2000. He admitted to having been arrested for violent robbery and for possession without a license, but denied having participated in Pedro's murder, though he admitted he knew Pedro personally. Resende charged him with murder. Years later, prosecutors found no reliable evidence and filed a motion to dismiss. Source is court file for Pedro's murder, number 046.2000.2.000012-7, Pará.
18. Police investigation 037/2000-DMRP, cited in motion of defense attorney Humberto Feio Boulhosa, April 9, 2001, court case 200620326535.
19. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho statement on November 27, 2000, court case 200620326535, and *Correio do Tocantins*, December 5–9, 2000.
20. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho's statement on November 27, 2000, court case 200620326535.
21. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho's statement on November 27, 2000, court case 200620326535.
22. Antônio Lopes de Angelo's statement to the pólice on December 20, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará state.
23. Quotes from Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from his statement in court on April 29, 2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.
24. Quotes from Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from his statement in court on April 29, 2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.
25. Quotes from Francisco Martins da Silva Filho are from his statement in court on 29/04/2014, case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.

26. Francisco Martins da Silva Filho's statement on November 27, 2000, contained in court case 200620326535.
27. Sue Branford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil* (London: Latin America Bureau, 2002), 12.
28. According to official information, Francisco joined the witness protection program on January 1, 2001. See Ofício SEJU/SDDH/PROVITA/PA no. 74/2001, September 3, 2001, contained on 388 of court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
29. Olivandro de Almeida Ávila's statement to the police on November 27, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state. Based also on Olivandro's interview with the author.
30. Carlos Guedes's statement to the police on November 28, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
31. José Soares de Brito's statement to the police on November 28, 2000, court case 200620326535, Pará state.
32. *A Província do Pará*, December 1, 2000.
33. Autos Cíveis de Interdito Proibitório, requerente: Décio José Barroso Nunes e outros, Requerido: José Dutra da Costa da Silva e José Soares de Brito. Ruling on June 16, 1999, by Judge Paulo Cesar Pedreira Amorim, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, 3307–10.
34. Autos Cíveis de Interdito Proibitório, requerente: Décio José Barroso Nunes e outros, Requerido: José Dutra da Costa da Silva e José Soares de Brito. Ruling on June 16, 1999, by Judge Paulo Cesar Pedreira Amorim, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, 3307–10.
35. Autos Cíveis de Interdito Proibitório, requerente: Décio José Barroso Nunes e outros, Requerido: José Dutra da Costa da Silva e José Soares de Brito. Ruling on June 16, 1999, by Judge Paulo Cesar Pedreira Amorim, contained in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, 3307–10.
36. On the 15,000 reais, see *O Liberal*, November 26, 2000.
37. Detective Walter Resende's report dated November 29, 2000, contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
38. Detective Walter Resende's report dated November 29, 2000, contained in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
39. On the details of the arrest, Décio José Barroso Nunes's testimony in the trial, April 29, 2014, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
40. Termo de ratificação de separação consensual, processo 0460/00, November 17, 2000.
41. Décio José Barroso Nunes's statement to the police, November 30, 2000.
42. *O Liberal*, December 5, 2000.
43. On Brazil's special treatment of college graduates, "Presos com diploma, a elite carcerária do Brasil," *El País*, February 3, 2017. Nunes's level of education was provided by him to Resende.

44. Description and interview based on *O Liberal* photographs published on December 2, 2000.
45. Statement by Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias on April 23, 2019, in the verdict for court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
46. Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias's interview with the author.
47. Statement by Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias on April 23, 2019, in the verdict for court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
48. Relatório, detective Walter Resende de Almeida, December 28, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
49. Relatório, detective Walter Resende de Almeida, December 28, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
50. Ruling of Judge Otávio Marcelino Maciel, on Habeas Corpus 7429, December 14, 2000.
51. *Justiça Desmoralizada*, CPT, December 18, 2000.
52. *Correio do Tocantins*, December 5–9, 2000.
53. On the ranchers' association, see Ofício SIRPA no. 06/2000, Rondon do Pará, December 3, 2000. On celebrations of Nunes's release, see *O Liberal*, December 15, 2000.
54. *Correio do Tocantins*, December 5–9, 2000.
55. On the second habeas corpus and the suspension of the investigations, see Ofício no. 261/2001-SCCR-HC, signed by Judge Otávio Marcelino Maciel, April 20, 2001.
56. Ofício no. 072/03-GPT/IC, Centro de Perícia Científica "Renato Chaves," Belém, March 27, 2003.
57. *O Liberal*, December 17, 2000.

#### 15: A CAUSE LARGER THAN DEATH

1. Rosemary Masters, Lucy N. Friedman, and George Getzel, "Helping Families of Homicide Victims: A Multidimensional Approach," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 1, no. 1 (1988): 109–25. For a study of Brazilian victims, see Daniella Harth da Costa, Kathie Njaine, and Miriam Schenker, "Repercussions of Homicide on Victims' Families: A Literature Review," *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva* 22, no. 9 (2017): 3087–97.
2. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
3. Joelminha's interviews with the author.
4. Sue Branford and Jan Rocha, *Cutting the Wire*, 131.
5. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 13, 2001.
6. On Nunes's claims, author's interview with Humberto Feio Bulhousa, Nunes's defense attorney at the time.
7. On the confronted demonstrations, see *Jornal do Brasil*, December 13, 2001. Also based on author's interviews with Maria Joel, de Assis, and Batista.
8. Author's interview with Francisco de Assis Solidade.



9. *Nota a Imprensa. Assassinado mais um sindicalista em Rondon do Pará.* Signed by Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, CPT, FETAGRI, and CUT. February 7, 2004.
10. Data from Ofício JG/RJ 294/04, November 30, 2004, contained in the file of the case of Dezinho at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. This issue will be discussed later in the book.
11. For instance, labor court cases 107-JCJ-00627/99. A judge would say that in Josélio's fazendas, workers were treated "like animals." Rule by Judge Raimundo Itamar Lemos Fernandes Junior, June 25, 1999.
12. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 11, 2001.
13. Josélio de Barros Carneiro's statement to the police on December 27, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
14. Imposto sobre propriedade territorial rural 2001, Fazenda Serra Morena, Ministério da Fazenda, contained in ITERPA administrative processo 2002.96387.
15. Author's interview with Sergeant Claudio Marino Ferreira Dias. Mr. Marino also provided this account in court on August 13, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará.
16. Author's interview with Francisco Martins da Silva Filho.
17. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 11, 2001.
18. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 11, 2001.
19. *Jornal do Brasil*, December 11, 2001.
20. Idelma Santiago da Silva et al., *Mulheres em perspectiva: trajetórias, saberes e resistências na Amazônia Oriental* (Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2017).
21. Santiago da Silva et al., *Mulheres em perspectiva*, 76 and 96.
22. Vanessa Barbara, "Life as a Brazilian Woman," *New York Times*, April 23, 2014. Femicide rates from Shasta Darlington, "Domestic Abuse, Shown Blow by Blow, Shocks Brazil," *New York Times*, August 7, 2018.
23. In 2014, for instance, twenty-one out of twenty-seven rural unions in southern Pará were led by men, according to Santiago da Silva et al., *Mulheres em perspectiva*, 76 and 96. Also based on interviews with Maria de Jesus Silva Moura, former Workers' Party leader and a victim of gender discrimination.
24. According to Ata da Assembléia Geral Extraordinária, STR, August 9, 2002, this was a mandate for six months, but Maria Joel would be reelected in January 31, 2003, for a four-year term, according to Ata do IV Congresso do S.T.R. de Rondon do Pará.
25. Santiago da Silva et al., *Mulheres em perspectiva*, 101.

#### 16: THE LAW OF THE GUN

1. See Atas 19, 22, and 23 of the reunião do comitê de Decisão Regional do Incra/SR(27)MB, September 17 and November 25, 2002. Darwin Boerner Jr., at the time superintendent of INCRA in the region, declined to be interviewed for this book.

2. SEI SR-27/MBA 54600.002803/2002-39, INCRA.
3. On the INCRA funds, "Notícias do Sindicato," *Informativo do STTR de Rondon do Pará*, Ano 1, no. 1, March 2008.
4. Interview with Eliane dos Santos, born in Bahia and forty-seven years old in 2018, Projeto de Assentamento Unidos Para Vencer.
5. Number of members published by *O Estado de S. Paulo*, February 21, 2005.
6. Bianca Pyl, "Libertados 'coavam' insetos e girinos para poderem beber água," *Repórter Brasil*, August 29, 2008.
7. *Nota a Imprensa: Assassinado mais um sindicalista em Rondon do Pará*. Signed by Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, CPT, FETAGRI, and CUT, February 7, 2004.
8. On polls, *Jornal do Brasil*, January 28, April 14, and April 23, 2002.
9. Letter addressed by Shirley Cristina to ITERPA's president on March 14, 2002, in ITERPA processo 2002/60712.
10. The issue of the fake deed was published in Pará's official gazette on March 15, 1979. It included Josélio's full name.
11. Ofício 553/2002-PG, ITERPA, in processo 2002/60712.
12. Shirley Cristina's letter to ITERPA's president dated April 15, 2002, processo 2002/96387.
13. Court case number 0000805-91.2002.8.14.0046, Pará state.
14. Court case number 0000805-91.2002.8.14.0046, Pará state.
15. Statement given to the police by Luiza da Silva Barros, mother of the alleged killer Walisson Geronimo Rodrigues da Silva, contained in court case number 0000805-91.2002.8.14.0046, Pará state.
16. Statement given to the police by Adelina Fernandes do Nascimento, sister of the victim, contained in court case number 0000805-91.2002.8.14.0046, Pará state.
17. Ordem de Missão, Polícia Civil, dated on February 10, 2004, and contained in court case 0000526-73.2004.8.14.0046, Pará state. Also in *Diário do Pará*, February 10, 2004.
18. On the UN officer in Marabá, see UN Commission on Human Rights, *Civil and Political Rights, Including the Question of Disappearances and Summary Executions: Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions*; Report of the Special Rapporteur Asma Jahangir, January 28, 2004, E/CN.4/2004/7/Add.3. Also verbal note E/CN.4/2004/G/33. Although Maria Joel was not mentioned by name in the report, her meeting with Jahangir was confirmed to the author by activist Sandra Carvalho, who was also present in the meeting. Quote is from Maria Joel's interview with the author.
19. Court case 0000526-73.2004.8.14.0046, Pará state.
20. Maria Joel Dias da Costa statement on February 8, 2004, court case 0000526-73.2004.8.14.0046, Pará state.
21. Statement given by the union's director Cordiolino José de Andrade on February 11, 2004, court case 0000526-73.2004.8.14.0046, Pará state.

22. Josélío de Barros Carneiro's statement to the police on December 27, 2000, court case 200620326535.
23. Josélío de Barros Carneiro's statement to the police on February 16, 2004, court case 0000526-73.2004.8.14.0046.
24. Josélío's struggle to keep control of the land, including his eventual hiring of lawyers, is from documents found in ITERPA processos 2002/96387 and 2002/60712.
25. According to the office of the state attorney general of Pará, in communication with the author, the deed of the Fazenda Serra Morena had been declared a fake. Ofício no. 001242/2021-PGE-PFAM, 11/11/2021.
26. INCRA SR-27 communication to Ouvidoria Agrária Nacional, signed by Celso Aparecido Florêncio, January 31, 2005.
27. INCRA SR-27 communication to Ouvidoria Agrária Nacional, signed by Celso Aparecido Florêncio, January 31, 2005.
28. On the use of lawyers, see attorney João Sá's motion addressed to the president of ITERPA, October 9, 2007, in processo 2002/60712.
29. From a total budget of some 101,000 reais, Josélío de Barros Carneiro donated 30,000 reais to the campaign, according to the data published by Tribunal Superior Eleitoral.
30. Settlement (Projeto de Assentamento) Rainha da Paz, Gavião, and Mantenha. Data from Superintendência Regional do Estado do Pará, SR 27, INCRA.
31. *Carta Maior*, April 11, 2005.
32. On threats and slave labor, see annual reports from the CPT, *Conflitos no Campo Brasil*, for 2004 and 2005.
33. Quote from Report no. 71/08, Petition 1290-04, José Dutra da Costa Admissibility, October 16, 2008, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. The date of the litigation is from the original complaint, Ofício JG/RJ 294/04, November 30, 2004. For some reason never fully explained and based on often contradictory arguments, Sandra Carvalho, from the NGO Justiça Global, refused to grant the author access to the original denunciation and the supporting files. The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, responding to the several formal requests by the author, granted access to them.
34. Darci Frigo, 2001, Brazil, <https://rfkhumanrights.org/people/darci-frigo>. Also, Frigo's interview with the author.
35. Brief by the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights and Partner Organizations as Amicus Curiae in Support of *José Dutra da Costa v. Government of Brazil*—Claim JG/RJ no. 294/04, February 21, 2006. Supplied by the organization at the request of the author.
36. Letter to Nilmário Miranda, January 5, 2005.
37. *O Globo*, January 16, 2005.
38. *O Globo*, January 16, 2005.
39. Author's interview with Nilmário Miranda.

40. Author's interview with Nilmário Miranda, and Carlos Eduardo Gaio et al., *Na linha de frente: defensores de direitos humanos no Brasil, 2002–2005*, Justiça Global, 2006.
41. On Dorothy and Fontanella, author interview with Dorothy's colleague during her time in Vila Rondon, Rebecca Spires (Roberta Lee Spires).
42. Soybeans are typically grown in temperate climates, but new varieties of seeds and improvements in the often poor Amazon soil, such as the use of lime, made the crop resilient against the tropical heat. See, for instance, A. M. Buainain et al., *O mundo rural no Brasil do século 21. A formação de um novo padrão agrário e agrícola* (Brasília: Embrapa, 2014).

#### 17: LAND OR WE BURN THE JUNGLE

1. "The Great Brazilian Land Grab," *Forbes*, July 25, 2005.
2. For a story of the colonization process of the BR-163, see Mauricio Torres, Juan Doblas, and Daniela Fernandes Alarcon, "*Dono é quem desmata*" (Altamira: Instituto Agronômico da Amazônia, 2017), and Jeremy M. Campbell, *Conjuring Property: Speculation and Environmental Futures in the Brazilian Amazon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).
3. The story that better illustrated the lawlessness around the BR-163 was that of Márcio Martins da Costa, a man who in the late 1980s and early 1990s left his own mark under the name "Pará's Rambo." His story is briefly presented in *Conjuring Property*. Also, *Veja*, October 10, 1991.
4. Daniel C. Nepstad, Claudia M. Stickler, and Oriana T. Almeida, "Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation," *Conservation Biology* 20, no. 6 (2006):1595–603.
5. *Eating Up the Amazon*, Greenpeace International, April 2006. On Mato Grosso's geography, Alexandre José Cattelan and Amélio Dall'Agnol, "The Rapid Soybean Growth in Brazil," *OCL* 25, no. 1 (2018): D102. <https://www.ocl-journal.org/articles/ocl/pdf/2018/01/ocl170039.pdf>.
6. Nepstad, Stickler, and Almeida, "Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation."
7. "In 2003 China imported 21 million tons of soybeans, 10% of world production and 83% more than it imported in 2002; 29% of this soy came from Brazil." Nepstad, Stickler, and Almeida, "Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation." On droughts in the United States, Ralph Mondesir, "A Historical Look at Soybean Price Increases: What Happened Since the Year 2000?" *Beyond the Numbers: Prices & Spending* 9, no. 4 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 2020).
8. Nepstad, Stickler, and Almeida, "Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation."
9. S. L. Woodgate and R. G. Wilkinson, "The Role of Rendering in Relation to the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy Epidemic, the Development of EU Animal By-Product Legislation and the Reintroduction of Rendered Products



- into Animal Feeds,” *Annals of Applied Biology* 178, no. 3 (2021): 430–41. Also, information from the Center for Food Safety, <https://www.centerforfoodsafety.org/issues/1040/mad-cow-disease/mad-cow-disease-q-and-a>.
10. Sandra Blakeslee and Marian Burros, “Danger to Public is Low, Experts on Disease Say,” *New York Times*, December 24, 2003.
  11. On being undetectable, “BSE Frequently Asked Questions,” U.S. Department of Agriculture, <https://www.usda.gov/topics/animals/bse-surveillance-information-center/bse-frequently-asked-questions>. Also, Woodgate and Wilkinson, “The Role of Rendering in Relation to the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy Epidemic, the Development of EU Animal By-Product Legislation and the Reintroduction of Rendered Products into Animal Feeds.”
  12. Suzanne Daley, “Europe Takes Toughest Steps to Fight Mad Cow Disease,” *New York Times*, December 5, 2000. Quote is from Woodgate and Wilkinson, “The Role of Rendering in Relation to the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy Epidemic, the Development of EU Animal By-Product Legislation and the Reintroduction of Rendered Products into Animal Feeds.”
  13. Nepstad, Stickler, and Almeida, “Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation.”
  14. “The Great Brazilian Land Grab,” *Forbes*, July 25, 2005, and “Why Soybeans Are the Crop of the Century,” *Financial Times*, June 20, 2017.
  15. Nepstad, Stickler, and Almeida, “Globalization of the Amazon Soy and Beef Industries: Opportunities for Conservation.”
  16. *Jornal do Brasil*, January 24, 2005.
  17. Quote is from Miguel Carter, “The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Democracy in Brazil,” *Latin American Research Review* 45, Special Issue: Living in Actually Existing Democracies (2010): 186–217.
  18. On the 500 percent increase, “Amazônia Ganha Unidades de Conservação e 10. Distrito Florestal Sustentável,” Ministry of Environment of Brazil, press release, February 12, 2006.
  19. The quote is from Scott Wallace, “Last of the Amazon,” *National Geographic Magazine*, January 2007.
  20. Susanna B. Hecht, “From Eco-Catastrophe to Zero Deforestation? Interdisciplinary, Politics, Environmentalisms, and Reduced Clearing in Amazonia,” *Environmental Conservation* 39, no. 1 (2012): 4–19.
  21. *Jornal do Commercio*, Manaus, February 4, 2005.
  22. *Jornal do Commercio*, Manaus, February 2, 2005.
  23. Campbell, *Conjuring Property*.
  24. Larry Rohter, “Brazil, Bowing to Protests, Reopens Logging in Amazon,” *New York Times*, February 13, 2005. On the arms, *Jornal do Commercio*, Manaus, February 1, 2005.
  25. On “blood will flow” see *O Globo*, February 4, 2005. The quote is from Luciano de Meneses Evaristo, former head of the department of environmental protection at IBAMA, in interview with the author.

26. "Last of the Amazon," *National Geographic Magazine*, January 2007.
27. On the kidnapping of the head of Brazil's National Fund for the Environment, see Philip M. Fearnside, "Brazil's Cuiabá-Santarém (BR-163) Highway: The Environmental Cost of Paving a Soybean Corridor Through the Amazon," *Environmental Management* 39, no. 5 (2007): 601–14.
28. On Senator Flexa, see *O Globo*, February 4, 2005; the quote from the *Times* is from Rohter, "Brazil, Bowing to Protests, Reopens Logging in Amazon."
29. Rohter, "Brazil, Bowing to Protests, Reopens Logging in Amazon."
30. Roseanne Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon: The Life of Sister Dorothy Stang* (Ossining, NY: Orbis Books, 2007).
31. Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon*.
32. Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon*.
33. Larry Rohter, "Brazil Promises Crackdown After Nun's Shooting Death," *New York Times*, February 14, 2005. Also, author's interviews with Tom Stang, one of the brothers of Sister Dorothy.
34. Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon*, 78.
35. Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon*, 119.
36. Murphy, *Martyr of the Amazon*, 122.
37. Author's interview with Nilmário Miranda.
38. "Sister Dorothy's Killers," *New York Times*, March 2, 2005.
39. On the number of troops sent by Lula, Stephan Schwartzman et al., "Social Movements and Large-Scale Tropical Forest Protection on the Amazon Frontier: Conservation from Chaos," *Journal of Environment & Development* 19, no. 3 (2010): 274–99.
40. "Governo conclui obras de pavimentação da BR-163, no Pará," Agência Brasil, November 28, 2019.
41. On the size of the protected areas and quote, see Marina T. Campos and Daniel C. Nepstad, "Smallholders, the Amazon's New Conservationists," *Conservation Biology* 20, no. 5 (2006): 1553–56.
42. Campos and Nepstad, "Smallholders, the Amazon's New Conservationists."
43. On the size of the reserves, "Amazônia Ganha Unidades de Conservação e 10. Distrito Florestal Sustentável," press release from the Ministry of Environment, February 12, 2006. Quote from Schwartzman et al., "Social Movements and Large-Scale Tropical Forest Protection on the Amazon Frontier: Conservation from Chaos."
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46. On the impacts, see Marina Piatto and Lisandro Inakake de Souza, *10 anos da moratória da soja na Amazônia: História, impactos e a expansão para o Cerrado* (Piracicaba, SP: Imaflora, 2017). Also Lisa Rausch and Holly K.

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47. Official data provided by INPE. <http://www.obt.inpe.br/OBT/assuntos/programas/amazonia/prodes>. See also "10 Years Ago the Amazon Was Being Bulldozed for Soy—Then Everything Changed," Greenpeace USA press release, 2016.
  48. Official data provided by INPE. <http://www.obt.inpe.br/OBT/assuntos/programas/amazonia/prodes> Also, Boucher et al., *Deforestation Success Stories*, chapters 1 and 2.
  49. Quote is from Boucher et al., *Deforestation Success Stories*, 5.
  50. *O Globo*, February 14, 2005.
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  52. "Só uma pessoa tem proteção policial no Pará," *Folha de S. Paulo*, February 14, 2005.
  53. Henry Chu, "Light Shines on State Called Brazil's Heart of Darkness," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 2005.
  54. Quote and data on attendees from the account of Renato Pita, published by Movimento Direitos Humanos, <http://www.humanosdireitos.org/atividades/historico/117-Ato-Cultural-em-Rondon-do-Para-.htm>
  55. *Opinião*, April 12-13, 2005.
  56. Author's interview with Mrs. Pitanga.
  57. Account of the meeting from Ricardo Rezende, who that day was referring to Father Josimo Moraes Tavares, killed in 1986.
  58. President Lula's answer was confirmed by eyewitnesses Father Rezende and Maria Joel in interviews with the author.

#### 18: AMAZONIAN JUSTICE

1. Descriptions based on *Diário do Pará* and *O Liberal*, November 11, 2006.
2. Forensic report in criminal court case number 200620326535, Pará.
3. Author's interview with Américo Lins da Silva Leal in Belém.
4. Quote from documentary *They Killed Sister Dorothy* (2008) by Daniel Junge.
5. On the obscene gestures, see *Jornal do Brasil*, August 24 and 25, 1999; on the acquittal, *Folha de S. Paulo*, August 19, 1999.
6. "Coronel que liderou massacre de Carajás é preso após 16 anos," *Folha de S. Paulo*, May 8, 2012. See also Matthew Teague, "Police Massacre Turns Tide of Injustice in Brazil," *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2012.
7. *O Liberal*, October 11, 2006.
8. For pictures of the demonstration, see *Amazônia Hoje*, *O Liberal* and *Diário do Pará* from November 13 and 14, 2006.
9. *Amazônia Hoje*, November 14, 2006.
10. *Jornal Amazônia*, November 14, 2006.

11. Wellington de Jesus Silva's statement to the court on November 13, 2006, court case number 200620326535.
12. *O Liberal*, November 14, 2006.
13. Wellington de Jesus Silva's statement to court on November 13, 2006, court case number 200620326535.
14. Maria de Jesus Silva's statement in court, November 13, 2006, court case number 200620326535.
15. Sentence signed by Judge Raimundo Mosés Alves Flexa on November 13, 2006, court case 200620326535.
16. *O Liberal*, November 14, 2006.
17. *Amazônia Hoje*, November 14, 2006.
18. *Amazônia Hoje*, November 14, 2006.
19. *Amazônia Hoje*, November 14, 2006.
20. Lawyer Américo Leal's interview with the author.
21. Leal's interview with the author.
22. Description of Wellington's clothing based on photographs published by *Amazônia Hoje* on November 14, 2006.
23. Maria Joel interviews with the author.
24. *Amazônia Hoje*, November 14, 2006.
25. On the district attorney's request to the judge, see Alegações finais, signed by Promotoria de Justiça da Comarca de Rondon do Pará on November 14, 2006, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046. Contacted by the author multiple times for comment, the prosecutor never replied.
26. On the district attorney's request to the judge, see Alegações finais, signed by Promotoria de Justiça da Comarca de Rondon do Pará on November 14, 2006, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
27. On the federal police report, see the report by Luiz Eduardos Navajas Telles Pereira signed on August 9, 2005.
28. In their statements, Nunes's brother-in-law, Nilvan Moreira Costa, and his father-in-law, Manoel Ferreira Costa, as well as the brother of the latter, Geovano Ferreira da Costa, supported the supposition that Hilário's family and Lourival were the masterminds. Statements of the forementioned are found in court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0401, Pará state.
29. Alegações finais, December 4, 2006.
30. OMP no. 1699/2011—DPF/MBA/PA, MJ—Departamento de Polícia Federal—SR/PA.
31. Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito criada através do requerimento no. 13, de 2003-CN. Ata da 28a Reunião realizada em 6 de abril de 2005, Diário do Senado Federal, Suplemento. August 12, 2006.
32. OMP no. 1699/2011—DPF/MBA/PA, MJ—Departamento de Polícia Federal—SR/PA.
33. The list of assets and when they were acquired is found in OMP no. 1699/2011—DPF/MBA/PA, MJ—Departamento de Polícia Federal—SR/PA.



34. Nunes declared to the justice that the combined value of the Fazenda Lacy, including machinery, houses, the land, and the timber was 107 million reais. See 566–80 of federal court case 0006677-95.2012.4.01.3901/PA, TRF1.
35. Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito criada através do requerimento no. 13, de 2003-CN. Ata da 28a Reunião realizada em 6 de abril de 2005, Diário do Senado Federal—Suplemento. August 12, 2006.
36. For a list of alleged wrongdoings of Nunes during those years, see Sérgio Sauer, *Violação dos direitos humanos na Amazônia: conflito e violência na fronteira paraense* (Rio de Janeiro: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2005), 70–80.
37. OMP no. 1699/2011—DPF/MBA/PA, MJ—Departamento de Polícia Federal—SR/PA.
38. Interview under the condition of anonymity.
39. On the dangers endured by civil servants, see, for instance, “Fiscalização de rotina vira inferno,” *O Liberal*, August 20, 2006, and “Ibama destaca as irregularidades,” *Diário do Pará*, October 21, 2006.
40. Termo de Ajustamento de Conduta no. 79/2005, Ministério Público do Trabalho, Procuradoria do Trabalho do Município de Marabá.
41. For a list of labor lawsuits against Nunes covering years from 1995 to 2013, see pages 3023–3032 of court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará. For a detailed official account of some of these suspected wrongdoings, see, for instance, Auto de Infração no. 01927129-8, Ministério Público do Trabalho, Procuradoria do Trabalho do Município de Marabá, 2010.
42. Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito criada através do requerimento no. 13, de 2003-CN. Ata da 28a Reunião realizada em 6 de abril de 2005, Diário do Senado Federal, Suplemento, August 12, 2006.
43. Report on Nunes’s businesses by attorney Maurel Mamede Selares, April 18, 2013, Public Labor Prosecution Office of Brazil.
44. Carvoaria Chapadao Ltda was added in the “dirty list” in 2011, according to data provided to the author by the Ministry of Economy (Brazil’s freedom of information act request number 03005.037879/2021-26). According to police files (OMP no. 1699/2011—DPF/MBA/PA, MJ—Departamento de Polícia Federal—SR/PA), Carvoaria Chapadao was located within the Fazenda Lacy and was owned by Nunes’s second wife.
45. “Brazil to issue ‘dirty list’ of employers using slave labor based on court findings,” Reuters, July 3, 2019.
46. *Senzalas na Amazônia*, Correio Braziliense, May 2, 2006.
47. *Senzalas na Amazônia*, Correio Braziliense, May 2, 2006.
48. The CPT reported in 2004 some 274 cases of slave-like labor conditions on eleven ranches and for charcoal kilns in Rondon; in 2005, the number was 149. Data from annual reports from CPT, *Conflitos no Campo Brasil*, 2004, 2005, and 2006.
49. *O Liberal*, December 14, 2006, and “Premiação sem discurso de Lula não mereceu atenção da mídia,” *Carta Maior*, December 15, 2006.

50. Maria Joel's interviews with the author.
51. Sentença, March 26, 2007, contained in court case files 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
52. Appeal filed on April 9, 2007, court case 046.2000.2.000004-4.
53. Press release from Terra de Direitos and CPT, April 24, 2007, and "Presos pistoleiros contratados para matar sindicalista em Rondon do Pará," *Repórter Brasil*, April 26, 2007.
54. Motion filed on April 25, 2007, Lucinery Helena Resende Ferreira, court case files 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
55. The author contacted Mrs. Resende Ferreira for comment, but never received an answer.
56. Report no. 71/08, Petition 1290-04, José Dutra da Costa Admissibility, October 16, 2008, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States.
57. Maria Joel's interview with the author.
58. *Diário do Pará*, January 2008.
59. Certidão carcerária issued by Luiz Correa Jr. on April 11, 2006, in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
60. Certidão carcerária issued by Ruberval Lopes da Silva on October 5, 2006, in court case 200620326535, Pará state.
61. *O Liberal*, June 6, 2011.
62. On jobs lost, see "O aumento do desemprego no setor formal na indústria da madeira no estado do Pará—2008," Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos (DIEESE), January 30, 2009. On population estimates, IBGE "População residente estimada—Rondon do Pará," 2008.
63. In 2001, Rondon do Pará had a budget of 14.5 million reais; in 2010, it was 44.6 million. About 5 percent of that amount was generated by local taxes, the remaining 95 percent coming from transfers from either the federal or the state government. Plano Plurianual—PPA 2006/2009 (lei n.478/2005, December 27, 2005) and 2014/2017 (lei n.665/2013-PE, December 12, 2013). In 2001, Rondon do Pará spent 7.3 million reais on staff expenses; by 2010, that number had climbed to 23.8 million. Plano Plurianual—PPA 2006/2009 (lei n.478/2005, December 27, 2005) and 2014/2017 (lei n.665/2013-PE, 02/12/2013).

19: SINK OR SWIM

1. Author's interview with Francisco de Assis Soledade da Costa.
2. Author's interview with Francisco de Assis Soledade da Costa and federal lawmaker Beto Faro.
3. Author's interview with Maria de Jesus Silva Moura, former leader of the Workers' Party in Rondon do Pará.
4. Author's interview with Rondon-based reporter Ivan Santana.

5. Divulgação de Candidaturas e Contas, Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, Rondon do Pará, 2008.
6. Divulgação de Candidaturas e Contas, Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, Rondon do Pará, 2008.
7. Judge Therezinha Martins da Fonseca ruling, May 29, 2008, court case files 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046.
8. “Jornal de Campanha. Informativo da Campanha da ‘Frente Popular Transforma Rondon,’” August 2008.
9. For a socioeconomic overview of some of these areas, see “1.3. Aspectos econômicos,” Plano Plurianual—PPA 2010/2013, Município de Rondon do Pará.
10. On her campaign, “Jornal de Campanha. Informativo da Campanha da ‘Frente Popular Transforma Rondon,’” August 2008. Also, interviews with eyewitnesses.
11. Julio Jacobo Waiselfisz, *Mapa da Violência 2013. Homicídios e Juventude no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Latino-Americanos, 2013). Data on homicides in Rondon do Pará for 2009, 2010, and 2011 is on 62.
12. Results provided by Brazil’s top electoral court ([www.tse.jus.br](http://www.tse.jus.br)).
13. “TRE casa mandato de prefeito de Rondon do Pará,” *Diário do Pará*, August 18, 2010.
14. Recurso especial eleitoral n. 4851-74.2009.6.14.0000, Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, May 8, 2012.
15. “Um prefeito é cassado a cada 16 horas no país,” *Época*, May 5, 2009.
16. F. Daniel Hidalgo and Simeon Nichter, “Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate Through Clientelism,” *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 2 (2016): 436–55.
17. Simeon Nichter, “Vote Buying in Brazil: From Impunity to Prosecution,” *Latin American Research Review* 56, no. 1 (2021): 3–19.
18. *Opinião*, April 12–13, 2005.
19. *Opinião*, April 12–13, 2005.
20. Agribusiness exports data provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, years 2002 and 2010, respectively. Quote from Mr. Powell is from Larry Rohter, “Brazil Is Ready to Use Clout to Get a Fair Deal,” *New York Times*, December 12, 2005.
21. Wilder Robles and Henry Veltmeyer, *The Politics of Agrarian Reform in Brazil: The Landless Rural Workers Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 4–6. Also, author’s interview with minister of agrarian development Guilherme Cassel, and data quoted by him in Marco Weissheimer, “‘Um dos objetivos do golpe é quebrar a agricultura familiar,’ diz Guilherme Cassel,” *Sul 21*, June 21, 2017. <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2017/06/21/um-dos-objetivos-do-golpe-e-quebrar-a-agricultura-familiar-diz-guilherme-cassel/>.

22. Robles and Veltmeyer, *The Politics of Agrarian Reform in Brazil*, 4–6.
23. Miguel Carter, “The Landless Rural Workers Movement and Democracy in Brazil,” *Latin American Research Review* 45, Special Issue: Living in Actually Existing Democracies (2010): 186–217.
24. Censo agropecuário 2017: resultados definitivos, IBGE, 2019.
25. Ata da Eleição e Posse da Diretoria e Conselho Fiscal da FETAGRI, March 28, 2009.
26. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, June 11, 2011.

#### 20: THE WIDOW MUST FALL

1. Author’s interviews with Zudemir Santos Jesus, and *Diagnóstico sobre as situações de ameaças de morte contra trabalhadores e trabalhadoras rurais do sul e sudeste do Pará*, CPT, 2012.
2. Author’s interviews with Zudemir Santos Jesus and her daughters now living in the United States.
3. Data from “Carta à população de Marabá,” June 17, 2011, FETAGRI, MST e FETRAF, in *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011).
4. Author’s interview with Antonio Gomes, nicknamed Pipira, a land activist under threat of death and FETAGRI coordinator.
5. See, for instance, “Um exemplo do descaso com a Reforma Agrária,” in *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011).
6. Felipe Milanez, “The Death of Zé Cláudio and Maria,” *Vice*, November 6, 2011.
7. Tom Phillips, “Amazon Rainforest Activist Shot Dead,” *The Guardian*, May 24, 2011.
8. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, May 25, 2011.
9. The Forest Code was one of the most controversial pieces of environmental legislation in Brazil during these years. One of the main requirements that the Forest Code established to tame deforestation was that landowners in the Amazon would have to set aside no less than “80 percent of their property (land area) in native vegetation,” which caused disappointment among many fazendeiros. Still, the moratorium was perceived by campaigners as a way to provide impunity to environmental offenders and foster further grilagem. Andrea A. Azevedo et al., “Limits of Brazil’s Forest Code as a Means to End Illegal Deforestation,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114, no. 29 (2017): 7653–58.
10. Congressman José Sarney Filho. “Eles morreram pela floresta,” *Época*, May 27, 2011.
11. “Faroeste brasileiro,” *Folha de S. Paulo*, June 1, 2011.
12. Sue Branford, “Brazil high court Forest Code ruling largely bad for environment, Amazon: NGOs,” Mongabay, March 1, 2018.
13. “Cronologia da violência,” *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011). Also, “Líder camponês é assassinado a tiros em Rondônia,” *Gi*, May 27, 2011.



14. The name is Almirandi Pereira Costa. "Cronologia da violência," *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011), and "Liderança do Quilombo Charco sofre tentativa de assassinato," *CPT Maranhão*, May 30, 2011.
15. The name of the victim is Herenilton Pereira. "Cronologia da violência," *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011).
16. "Trabalhador é encontrado morto no mesmo assentamento de José Cláudio e Maria do Espírito Santo," *CPT*, May 30, 2011.
17. "Cronologia da violência," *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011).
18. The victim was Obede Loyola Souza. "Cronologia da violência," *Pastoral da Terra* 36, no. 204 (April–June 2011), and "Quinto trabalhador rural é assassinado em 20 dias no Pará," *Folha de S. Paulo*, June 15, 2011.
19. *O Liberal*, June 16, 2011.
20. "Manifestação de acampados do Pará dura 46 dias," *CPT, Conflitos no Campo* 2011.
21. Events in May and June 2011 were described to the author by Maria Joel, Joelson, lawyer Batista, lawmaker Beto Faro, Zudemir, and a policeman who requested to remain anonymous.
22. Camila Penna de Castro, *Conexões e controvérsias no INCRA de Marabá: o Estado como um ator heterogêneo*, dissertation, Universidade de Brasília, 2013, 48–50.
23. Author's interview with lawmaker José Roberto Oliveira Faro.
24. Motions by Nunes's defense attorney Miguel Szaroas Neto in Supreme Court case HC 103867.
25. Documentary *SMS para Brasília SOS para Dona Joelma*, Movimento Humanos Direitos, September 2011.
26. *Fantástico*, TV Globo, July 31, 2011.
27. Moura's interview in *Conversa com Bial*, TV Globo, July 11, 2017.
28. Mr. Moura's communications with the author.
29. "Brazilian actor Wagner Moura joins campaign to end modern slavery," International Labor Organization, press release, August 4, 2015.
30. On the meeting, see "Brasília: Encontro com Ministra dos Direitos Humanos e Ministro da Justiça—filme," Movimento Humanos Direitos, July 7, 2011.
31. Quotes from Minister Cardozo and Maria Joel extracted from the videos recorded during the meeting.
32. "Rondon do Pará—PA: O MHuD esteve presente em Ato Público por Dezinho—filme," Movimento Humanos Direitos, November 26, 2011.
33. Report no. 71/08, Petition 1290-04, Jose Dutra da Costa Admissibility, October 16, 2008, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States.
34. Documents of the case were shared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after submitting a FOIA request.
35. Tabela de Análise das Demandas Oriundas da Justiça Global, Sindicato dos

Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará e Comissão Pastoral da Terra. Obtained by the author through Maria Joel's lawyers.

36. Tabela de Análise das Demandas Oriundas do Justiça Global, Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará E Comissão Pastoral da Terra.

21: "LOAD THE TRUCKS"

1. *Acórdão*, August 9, 2011, Supreme Court case HC 103.867.
2. In 2010, officials from the Ministry of Labor had inspected Nunes's sawmills for nine days and found 171 workers in an irregular situation. Some didn't receive payment on time, while others didn't have the right to paid vacation or had been terminated without receiving their paychecks. Relatório de Fiscalização, Madereira Urubú LTDA-EPP, March 10–19, 2010, Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego.
3. Ruling by Judge Jônatas dos Santos Andrade on February 17, 2012, Labor Court case number 0001053-26.3011.5.08.0117.
4. The alleged use of Nunes's children to hide assets was raised by Judge Abeilar dos Santos Soares Jr. in his ruling of May 7, 2012, in Ação de Execução 0001053.26.2011.5.08.0117 and Embargos de Terceiros 0000820-92-2012.5.08.0117; 0000819-10.2012.5.08.0117; 0000801-86.2012.5.08.0117 0000798-34.2012.5.08.0117; 0000803-56.2012.5.08.0117.
5. Serviço Público Federal, Departamento de Polícia Federal-SR/PA, OMP N. 1699/2011-DPF/MBA/PA.
6. Author's interview with R.O.F. Except for Judge Jônatas dos Santos Andrade, the real name of the officers working at the labor court of Marabá have been changed to avoid potential retaliation.
7. Ação Publica Civil 0006677-95.2012.4.01.3901, Tribunal Regional Federal 1.
8. Ação Publica Civil 0006677-95.2012.4.01.3901, Tribunal Regional Federal 1.
9. Nunes's statement presented to the jury on August 14, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
10. Serviço Público Federal, Departamento de Polícia Federal-SR/PA, OMP N. 1699/2011-DPF/MBA/PA.
11. Data on number of people and trucks, see *O Liberal*, January 20, 2012.
12. Author's interview with F.O.J.
13. Author's interview with S.O.J.
14. On the quotes about the cattle, <http://www.braziliancattle.com.br/english/> On the herd owned by Mr. Nunes, see Serviço Público Federal, Departamento de Polícia Federal-SR/PA, OMP N. 1699/2011-DPF/MBA/PA.
15. See, for instance, Natacha Simei Leal, "About Zebus and Zebuzeiros: Value and Price, Influences and Substances in Elite Cattle Auctions," *Vibrant* 13, no. 2 (2016): 95–109.
16. Natacha Simei Leal, "About Zebus and Zebuzeiros."
17. "Vaca é vendida por quase R\$3 milhoes em Minas," *O Estado de S. Paulo*, May 12, 2010.

18. On the Parla appreciation, see “Vaca nelore alcança valorização de R\$ 7 milhões,” *CanalRural*, October 31, 2016.
19. Case number 2881-85.2015.4.01.3903, Federal Justice, Altamira, Pará, Brazil. Also based on author’s interviews with Luciano Evaristo, former head of IBAMA’s environmental protection department.
20. Quote is from “MP denuncia novamente o maior desmatador da Amazônia à Justiça,” *G1*, December 7, 2016.
21. On prosecution, see Ação Civil Pública 001503-60.2016.4.01.3903, Tribunal Regional Federal da 1a região. Contacted by the author in 2019 and 2022, defense attorney Rubens Silvera Neto didn’t reply to requests for comment.
22. Nunes’s statement to the judge, April 29, 2014, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
23. On Vale’s size, see “Petrobras foi a nona empresa mais valiosa do mundo em 2009,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, January 9, 2010; on the ruling of Judge Jônatas against Vale, see “Vale faz acordo para não pagar R\$300 mi no Pará,” *Folha de S. Paulo*, July 24, 2010.
24. Certidão, signed by Rodrigo Xavier de Mendonça on February 16, 2012, and contained in court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, Tribunal Regional do Trabalho da 8a Região.
25. Declaração, Associação Agropecuaria Rondonense, March 9, 2009, in court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0046, Pará.
26. “Nota de repúdio da OAB—Subseção de Rondon do Pará,” January 12, 2011.
27. Certidão, signed by Rodrigo Xavier de Mendonça on February 16, 2012, and contained in court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, Tribunal Regional do Trabalho da 8a Região.
28. Author’s interview with officers from the Tribunal Regional do Trabalho da 8a Região.
29. Auto de arrematação em Leilao no. 03/2012 and 04/2012, court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
30. Inventory made by Mr. Nunes’s lawyer, Marli Siqueira Fronchetti, court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
31. Appeal by lawyer Marli Siqueira Fronchetti, signed on February 18, 2012, court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região. Also based on author’s interview with attorney Fronchetti.
32. Appeal by lawyer Marli Siqueira Fronchetti, February 18, 2012, court case 0001053-26.2011.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
33. Appeal by lawyer Marli Siqueira Fronchetti, signed on February 18, 2012.
34. According to Nunes’s lawyers, the value of the 948 cows seized was 2.08 million reais.
35. Author’s interview with Nunes’s attorney, Marli Siqueira Fronchetti.
36. *O Liberal*, February 20, 2012.
37. Author’s interview with F.O.J.

38. Report from Prosecutor Maurel Mamede Selares, April 18, 2013, Procuradoria Regional do Trabalho da 8a Região.
39. Report from Prosecutor Maurel Mamede Selares, April 18, 2013.
40. *O Liberal*, August 21, 2013.
41. Labor court cases 00001673-67.2013.5.08.0117 and 0000262-18.2015.5.08.0117, 2a Vara do Trabalho de Marabá.
42. See, for instance, federal labor cases 0001396-81.2013.5.08.0107, 0001342-85.2013.5.08.0117, 0001330-71.2013.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
43. Statistics and information dashboard of labor inspection in Brazil, Radar SIT, 2012.
44. See “Ministra Eleonora participa da entrega do Prêmio Direitos Humanos 2012,” press release, Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República. Quote is from “Entrevista Juiz Jônatas Andrade,” Tribunal de Justiça de Santa Catarina (TJSC), November 11, 2016.
45. Quote from court case 0000067-97.2016.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
46. Statement of Nunes’s former lawyer quoted in ACP 0000067-96.2016.5.08.117, Procuradoria do Trabalho da 8a Região, 2016.
47. Author’s interview with lawyer O.R. At the request of the source, his name has been changed to guarantee anonymity.
48. Certidão, 2a Vara do Trabalho de Marabá, undated court document.
49. Certidão, 2a Vara do Trabalho de Marabá, undated court document.
50. *O Liberal*, July 25, 2013.
51. “Juiz denuncia que está sendo ameaçado de morte em Marabá, PA,” *GI*, July 25, 2013.
52. *O Liberal*, July 24–30, 2013.
53. Relatório, Inquérito Policial n.0208/2013-4-DPF/MBA/PA, October 9, 2013, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046, Pará State.
54. Nunes’s statement to the judge on August 14, 2014, criminal court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0401, Pará state.
55. Author’s interview with attorney Marli Siqueira Franchetti.

## 22: SHE IS OUT

1. Her program is available at Brazil’s top electoral court: <https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/divulga/#/candidato/2012/1699/05738/140000021219>.
2. Official data from Tribunal Superior Eleitoral for the 2012 mayoral election.
3. Official data from Tribunal Superior Eleitoral for the 2012 mayoral election.
4. Detalhamento dos Bens, Brazil’s top electoral court: <https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/divulga/#/candidato/2012/1699/05738/140000021219/bens>.
5. Detalhamento dos Bens, Brazil’s top electoral court: <https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/divulga/#/candidato/2012/1699/05738/140000021219/bens>.



6. <https://www.tse.jus.br/hotsites/estatistica2012/quadro-votacao.html>.
7. *Diário do Pará*, January 4, 2013.
8. Descriptions based on photographs of the event and interviews with eye-witnesses Joelminha and Maria Joel.
9. Termo de posse da prefeita municipal, registered at the Cartório Elcira Oliveira, January 7, 2013.
10. *Diário do Pará*, January 4, 2013.
11. Unless stated otherwise, all quotes are from the author's interviews with Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro.
12. Court case 0001093-59.2009.8.14.0046, TJPA, Pará State.
13. Court case 0001093-59.2009.8.14.0046, TJPA, Pará State.
14. Report from Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro to the president of the judges of Pará State, Dr. Paulo Roberto Ferreira Vieira, September 23, 2009.
15. Civil court case 0000741-10.2006.8.14.0046 (2006.1.000865-6), Pará justice. Rule published by the official gazette of the justice of Pará (*Diário da Justiça TJPA*) no. 5123/2012, October 2, 2012.
16. Civil court case 0000741-10.2006.8.14.0046 (2006.1.000865-6), Pará justice.
17. Civil court case 0000741-10.2006.8.14.0046 (2006.1.000865-6), Pará justice.
18. Civil court case 0000737-30.2006.8.14.0046 (2006.1.000862-6), Pará justice.
19. Civil court case 0000737-30.2006.8.14.0046 (2006.1.000862-6), Pará justice.
20. Request published by the official gazette of the justice of Pará (*Diário da Justiça TJPA*) no. 5123/2012, 02/10/2012. Also, based on Banco da Amazônia's answers to the author, who filed a request through Brazil's freedom of information act.
21. Author's interview with attorney André Souza.
22. According to lawyer Patrícia Severo, who represented Shirley Cristina and some of her sisters in a civil case, and to the official communication of Banco da Amazônia to the civil court of Rondon do Pará on February 18, 2020, the unpaid debts at that point amounted to 18.2 million reais. Documents contained in court case number 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046.
23. On the pirate radio station and the suspected use of illegal propaganda, see processo administrativo no. 408-19.2012.6.14.0051, 405-64.2012.6.14.0051, Ação Cautelar no. 404-79.2012.6.14.0051; Ação de propaganda irregular no. 578-88.2012.6.14.0051; AIJE no. 416-93.2012.6.14.0051 and AIJE no. 417-78.2012.6.14.0051. On the use of public resources, Acórdão 27.266 and Recurso Eleitoral 418-63.2012.6.14.0051, Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Pará. Also, *Jornal Opinião*, September 15–17, 2012.
24. *Jornal Opinião*, September 18, 2012.
25. Acórdão 27.266 and Recurso Eleitoral 418-63.2012.6.14.0051, Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Pará. Also, author's interviews with Judge Gabriel.
26. On potential violations and the removal from office of Mayor Shirley Cristina

- de Barros Malcher, see processo administrativo no. 408-19.2012.6.14.0051. 405-64.2012.6.14.0051, Ação Cautelar no. 404-79.2012.6.14.0051; Ação de propaganda irregular no. 578-88.2012.6.14.0051; AIJE no. 416-93.2012.6.14.0051 and AIJE no. 417-78.2012.6.14.0051. On Mayor Shirley Cristina's claims, see lawyer Marcelo Araujo de Alburquerque's appeal to the judge, electoral court case 418-63.2012.6.14.0051, Pará state.
27. See, for instance, court cases 0001442-05.2012.814.0046, 0000200-28.2012.814.0046 (exceção de suspeição 2013.3.007333-3), 0000149.89.2012.814.0046 (exceção de suspeição 2013.3.007348-2), 2013.7.001617-9 (reclamação disciplinar c/c pedido de afastamento liminar), 0001442-05.2012.814.0046.
  28. Court case 0001489-50-2012.814.0046 (ação de suspeição 2013.3.017073-3).
  29. Reclamação disciplinar c/c pedido de afastamento liminar, corregedoria do tribunal de justiça do estado do Pará, 2013.7.001617-9.
  30. Reclamação disciplinar c/c pedido de afastamento liminar, corregedoria do tribunal de justiça do estado do Pará, 2013.7.001617-9.
  31. Processo 2013.7.001617-9, sindicancia administrativa 005/2013.
  32. Judge Gabriel's motion, May 24, 2013, in processo 2013.7.001617-9, sindicancia administrativa 005/2013.
  33. Decision by Judge Maria de Nazaré Saavedra Guimaraes, July 31, 2013, processo 2013.7.001617-9, sindicancia administrativa 005/2013.
  34. See, for instance, Exeção de suspeição 2013.3.007333-3, Câmaras Cíveis Reunidas, TJPA.
  35. See, for instance, Exeção de suspeição 2013.3.007348-2, Câmaras Cíveis Reunidas, TJPA.
  36. Notas Taquigraficas da Exceções de Impedimento n.s 83-10, 82-25, Sessão Ordinária de Julgamento do Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Pará, May 16, 2013. Quote from Judge Leonardo de Noronha Tavares.
  37. Notas Taquigraficas da Exceções de Impedimento n.s 83-10, 82-25, Sessão Ordinária de Julgamento do Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Pará, May 16, 2013. Quote from Judge Leonardo de Noronha Tavares. Contacted by the author, the office of Judge Noronha declined to comment.
  38. Contacted by the author, former senator Flexa didn't reply to requests for comment.
  39. Court case 83-10.2013.614.0051, Agravo de Instrumento, September 30, 2014. Gilmar Ferreira Mendes, Tribunal Superior Eleitoral.
  40. Ruling by Judge Gabriel Costa Ribeiro, October 16, 2014, case (AIJE) 418-63.2012.6.14.0051, 51 Zona Eleitoral, TRE. Also, Ação Cautelar 404-79.2012.6.14.0051, Ação por propaganda Eleitoral irregular 578-88.2012.6.14.0051, Ação de Investigação Judicial Eleitoral 416-93.2012.6.14.0051 and 417-78.2012.6.14.0051.
  41. Description and quotes based on a video of the event.
  42. AIJE 577-06.2012.6.14.0051, 51 Zona Eleitoral, TRE.

43. REsp no. 418-63.2012.6. 14.0051/PA, Judge Gilmar Mendes, Superior Electoral Court of Brazil.
44. Electoral court case 0600947-79.2018.6.14.0000, 0601356-45.2018.6.00.0000/PA and Recurso Ordinário no. 0600947-79, Superior Electoral Court of Brazil.

### 23: THE TRIAL

1. "Assento de óbito," Cartório Cerqueira Cesar, São Paulo, Livro C-0071, no. 41926, Folha 035V, 29/04/2014.
2. José de Barros Neto was elected in 2012. Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, eleição municipal 2012.
3. "Morre Josélio Barros (1933–2014)," Rogério Medeiros, *Século Diário*, April 29, 2014.
4. "Morre Josélio Barros (1933–2014)," Rogério Medeiros, *Século Diário*, April 29, 2014.
5. *Século Diário*, April 29, 2014.
6. *Século Diário*, April 29, 2014.
7. Author's interview with Paulo Orlando Rodrigues de Mattos, retired police detective of Minas Gerais.
8. "Indulto a condenado a 229 anos," *O Tempo*, September 11, 2013.
9. *Estado de Minas*, July 17, 2020.
10. Requerimento no. 451, 2014, Senado Federal, published in the *Diário do Senado Federal*, 30/04/2014.
11. Requerimento, Wandenkolk Gonçalves, May 13, 2014, Câmara dos Deputados.
12. On the transfer of land to his children, see ITERPA processos 2017/189100, 2017/285945, 2017/250779, and 2017/228200.
13. On the will or testament, see Assento de óbito, Cartório Cerqueira Cesar, São Paulo, Livro C-0071, no. 41926, Folha 035V, April 29, 2014.
14. Civil court case 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046, Rondon do Pará.
15. On the problems of the deeds, see ITERPA processos 2017/189100, 2017/285945, 2017/250779 and 2017/228200.
16. See ITERPA processos 2017/189100, 2017/285945, 2017/250779, and 2017/228200.
17. Case number 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046 and 0800845-93.2020.8.14.0046, civil court of Rondon do Pará.
18. Planilha, Laudo de Avaliação do Processo 192015730001091-0, Shirley Cristina de Barros, contained in civil court case 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046.
19. Ruling by Judge Tainá Monteiro da Costa, July 30, 2021, court case 0010474-32.2017.8.14.0046, Pará.
20. Ata do 70 Congresso Geral Ordinária do Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Rondon do Pará, 30-31/01/2014.

21. Court case 0000711-34.2000.814.004601, trial jury celebrated on October 24, 2013.
22. *Jornal Liberal*, April 30, 2014
23. Attorney Roberto Lauria declined to be interviewed for this book, but attorney Marcos Noboru, who was also in the courtroom and had represented Nunes since early in the case, was interviewed by the author for purposes of context and to provide the reader with the defendant's perspective of events.
24. Prosecutor Franklin interview with the author.
25. "Temido latifundiário e madeireiro do Sudeste do Pará é condenado a 12 anos de prisão pelo homicídio do sindicalista Dezinho," press release by Justiça Global, May 2, 2014.
26. *Jornal Liberal*, Globo TV, April 29, 2014.
27. About the use of hearsay evidence in Brazil, see Recurso Especial no. 1.373.356–BA (2013/0097292-2), Superior Court of Justice.
28. Video recording of the trial jury, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401.
29. The outcome of Neto's case is mentioned in documents of court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
30. Geovano Ferreira da Costa's statement on June 15, 2004, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
31. Video recording of the trial jury, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, time 02:09:00 to 02:15:00.
32. Video recording of Nunes's second trial jury, celebrated on August 13 and 14 of 2019, time code 04:33:00 and onward.
33. Francisco Martins da Silva's interview with the author.

#### 24: A CERTAIN SENSE OF JUSTICE

1. See Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 36 Vara Cível, court case 19.404/95, and announcements published in *Jornal do Commercio*, December 12, 1995, A8.
2. Several witnesses testified to the police that Pedro worked for Nunes, for instance, Daniel Matciulevitz, Luiz Carlos Aviz de Oliveira, and Maria Regina Rodrigues da Silva, court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004, Pará state.
3. Video recording of the trial jury, August 13, 2019, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, time 03:58:00–04:00:00.
4. Police investigation 037/2000-DMRP, cited in motion of defense attorney Humberto Feio Boulhosa, April 9, 2001, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
5. Luiz Carlos Aviz de Oliveira admitted in a statement provided to the police on December 15, 2000, that he was with Pedro the night of the murder. He denied any involvement in the killing. Court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004, Pará state.



6. José Lopes de Angelo's statement to the police on December 20, 2000. Court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
7. Statement of Luiz Carlos Aviz de Oliveira, December 15, 2000, in court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004, Pará state.
8. Statement of Daniel Matciulevicz, November 28, 2000, court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004, Pará state.
9. Dr. Joaquim statement to Detective Resende on December 20, 2000, in court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004.
10. Antônio Lopes de Angelo, statement to Detective Resende on December 20, 2000, court case 0000700-89.2000.8.14.0046. Dr. Antônio didn't respond to requests for comment.
11. Report by Detective Resende, December 27, 2000, in court case number 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004.
12. Laudo de Exame de Corpo de Delito: Exumação/Necropsia, Liv 1138 Fls 074, June 8, 2005, court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004.
13. Motion by prosecutor Mauro José Mendes de Almeida, September 22, 2005, court case 0000421-29.2000.8.14.004, Pará.
14. Transcription of the audiotapes on Favoreto are on 790–96 of criminal court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, Pará state.
15. Video recording of the trial jury held on April 29, 2014, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, time 06:14:00 to 06:30:00.
16. Video recording of the trial jury, April 29, 2014, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, time 06:14:00 to 06:30:00.
17. Video recording of the trial jury, April 29, 2014, court case 0000700-89.2000.814.0401, time 09:11:00 onwards.
18. *Jornal Liberal*, 2nd edition, TV Globo Pará, April 30, 2014.

#### EPILOGUE

1. Acórdão 20160445432208, 1a Camara criminal isolada, Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará.
2. "Tribunal de Justiça do Pará apura supostas transgressões de juízes," *O Liberal*, July 17, 2019.
3. Data on the number of jury trials provided by attorney Lauria in the closing arguments presented to Pará's court on October 13, 2021.
4. *Ofício* 728/2019-MP/PGJ, by attorney general Gilberto Valente Martins, July 16, 2019.
5. Representação, protocolo 2015.6.003753-9, Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará.
6. Video recording of the jury trial, April 23, 2019, case number 0000700-89.2000.814.0046.
7. For the defense of Mr. Lauria, see the video recording of the 46 sessao ordinária, Tribunal Pleno, Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Pará, December 4, 2019.

8. Pedido de Provicências 0005099-14.2019.2.00.0000, Corregedoria da Região Metropolitana de Belém.
9. Pedido de providências case number 0005099-14.2019.2.00.0000, Pará justice.
10. Pedido de providências case number 0005099-14.2019.2.00.0000, Pará justice. Data on the number of jury trials provided by attorney Lauria in the closing arguments presented to Pará's court on October 13, 2021.
11. Revisão Disciplinar 0008381-89.2021.2.00.0000, CNJ.
12. Video recording of the jury trial is available at the TJPA's official website: <https://webcast.overseebrasil.com.br/tjpa/#ondemand//watch/?v=2428078d9fc58416aa36>. The incident described takes place at time 03:24:00.
13. Video recording of the jury trial, August 13, 2019, case number 0000700-89.2000.814.0046.
14. State prosecutor Franklin interview with the author, and "Viúva de líder da luta contra grileiros vive há quase 20 anos sob proteção policial," *Record TV*, November 16, 2020.
15. Ruling by Judge Ronaldo Marques Valle, February 14, 2022, court case 0000700-71.2000.8.14.0046, Pará.
16. Alex Cuadros, *Brazillionaires: The Godfathers of Modern Brazil* (London: Profile Books, 2016). Quote from chapter 2.
17. *Conflitos no Campo Brasil 2020*, CPT, May 2021.
18. On his unpaid taxes, see the federal public database (<https://www.listadevedores.pgfn.gov.br/>) and Pará's Secretaria de Estado da Fazenda (<https://app.sefa.pa.gov.br/consulta-divida-ativa/#/>). On the Fazenda Lacy, federal case 0006677-95.2012.4.01.3901, TRF1.
19. The environmental fines refer to IBAMA's Auto de Infração ZAGo4W12, GS3VJQ9I, JH4oY3XD, BWIF7oUB. On the labor case, ruling by Judge Amanda Cristhian Mileo Gomes Mondença, November 8, 2021, ACP Civ 0000301-15.2015.5.08.0117, TRT 8a Região.
20. On the transfer of ownership to R. C. Moreira Costa, the author cites information provided by the Ministry of the Economy of Brazil via Brazil's freedom of information law (case number 13035.100497/2021-42). Data on exports from Brazilian Beef Exporters Association (ABIEC). <http://abiec.com.br/en/exports-consult/#>.
21. On the investigations on the meat plant, the Ministry of Agriculture claimed the "right to privacy" in denying the author access to the investigations Procedimentos de fiscalização e inspeção no. 21000.003278/2021-41, 21000.003304/2021-31, 21000.044832/2020-60, 21000.065973/2020-16; Relatório de fiscalização no. 21000.003291/2021-09; Auto de Infração no. 21000.009034/2021-72, 21000.043115/2021-00, 21000.017251/2021-36, 21000.080633/2020-15, 21000.076914/2020-73, 21000.060051/2020-12, 21000.030523/2020-11, 21000.033280/2020-64, 21000.049513/2020-41, 21000.027148/2020-13, 21000.024236/2020-63, 21000.007363/2020-06,

- 21000.079465/2019-81, 21000.042280/2019-11, 21000.048499/2018-43, 21000.048499/2018-43. On the tax incentives from Pará state to the meat plant, see *Diário Oficial* April 12, 2019, number 33.850 and June 8, 2020, number 34.247.
22. Statement contained in the court case 0002843-13.2012.8.14.0046, Pará state.
  23. Ruling by Judge Tainá Monteiro da Costa, March 17, 2022. Court case 0800422-02.2021.8.14.0046, Pará state.
  24. Data from CPT compiled by the author, 2017–2022.
  25. On the environmental activists, see “IACHR and UN Human Rights Condemn Murders of Environmental Activists and Quilombolas in Brazil,” release 017/22, January 24, 2022.
  26. *Brasil de Fato*, February 11, 2022.
  27. Nathalie Butt et al., “The Supply Chain of Violence,” *Nature Sustainability* 2, no. 886 (2019): 742–47.
  28. Data from Brazil’s top electoral court. <https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/divulga/#/candidato/2018/2022802018/PA/140000625297>.
  29. Data on foreign trade, both general and agribusiness, compiled by the author from the databases of Comex Stat ([comexstat.mdic.gov.br/pt/comex-vis](http://comexstat.mdic.gov.br/pt/comex-vis)) and the Ministry of Agriculture of Brazil (<http://indicadores.agricultura.gov.br/agrostat/index.htm>).

#### A NOTE ON SOURCES

1. In a signed statement addressed to the court in Espírito Santo, Josélio had admitted to the murder of the two alleged hitmen about to kill his father in Baixo Guandu’s train station and the murder of Major Cavalcanti. The signed statement and the motion by his defense attorney, Mario Rocha, is in the files of court case 1.277/67, Vitória, Espírito Santo. According to the report of detective Adonias Marques dos Santos, December 1975, in classified file ACE 3582/83, Josélio also admitted to have hired out the murders of Reis and Vieira, in the so-called chainsaw murder.