

MOMENTS IN THE TRAJECTORY OF THE STATE IN THE AMAZON: PREAMBLE BETWEEN THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION MODEL AND THE SECTORIAL INVESTMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL FINANCE FUND FOR THE NORTH AND THE AMAZON DEVELOPMENT FUND IN CARAJÁS, PARÁ

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze two moments in the trajectory of investments by the State in the Amazon, more specifically in the region of Carajás, which united experiences for Brazilian economic integration and productive modernization and that reverberated throughout the phenomena of underdevelopment. In relation to the first moment, from 1972 to 1988, the gestation period of the export poles in the Amazon, an analysis was conducted of institutional documents from SUDAM: PDA, Polamazônia, and the Great Carajás Program. With regard to the second moment, from 2003 to 2018, reports from the Constitutional Finance Fund for the North (FNO), the activities developed, and the results obtained for the years 2012 to 2018 were compared with reports from the Amazon Development Fund (FDA), together with the Evaluation Reports for 2006-2014 and 2015-2016. With a review of the distribution of resources by the FNO and the FDA it was possible to verify that the productive dynamics, such as mining, agriculture and livestock and electricity infrastructure, historically encouraged by the State, conditioned the concentration of these resources in Carajás, aligned in a vicious circle of political and economic dependence on these activities.

Keywords

FNO; FDA; the Amazon; Carajás; Territorial Inequalities.

MOMENTOS DA TRAJETÓRIA DO ESTADO NA AMAZÔNIA: PREÂMBULO ENTRE O MODELO DE INTEGRAÇÃO ECONÔMICA E OS INVESTIMENTOS SETORIAIS DO FUNDO CONSTITUCIONAL DE FINANCIAMENTO DO NORTE E DO FUNDO DE DESENVOLVIMENTO DA AMAZÔNIA EM CARAJÁS, PARÁ

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Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo analisar dois momentos da trajetória de investimento do Estado na Amazônia, especificamente em Carajás, que conjugou experiências para a integração econômica brasileira e para a modernização produtiva, e que reverberaram em fenômenos do subdesenvolvimento. No que se refere ao primeiro momento, de 1972 até 1988, período da gestação dos polos de exportação na Amazônia, foram analisados documentos institucionais da Sudam: PDA, Polamazônia e Programa Grande Carajás. No tocante ao segundo momento, que se estendeu de 2003 a 2018, cotejaram-se os relatórios do Fundo Constitucional de Financiamento do Norte (FNO), das atividades desenvolvidas e dos resultados obtidos no exercício de 2012 a 2018, assim como os relatórios do Fundo de Desenvolvimento da Amazônia (FDA), de avaliação 2006-2014 e 2015-2016. A apreciação da distribuição de recursos do FNO e do FDA permitiu constatar que as dinâmicas produtivas, como mineração, agropecuária e infraestrutura em geração de energia, historicamente incentivados pelo Estado, condicionaram a concentração desses recursos em Carajás, alinhadas ao círculo vicioso de dependência política e econômica de tais atividades.

Palavras-chave

FNO; FDA; Amazônia; Carajás; Desigualdades Territoriais.

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1. Introduction

The organization of the State in orchestrating development policies in Latin America has a long history, and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), created in 1949, was a pioneer in formulating planning techniques according to the specificities of the economic and social structures of peripheral countries in Latin America.

Understanding the economic formation of Latin America is fundamental in order to comprehend the underdevelopment beaoned by scales, both international and national, through the international division of labor, as a result of the productive specialization of mining activities and agricultural production. Within this analytical scope, the State has played a priority role in formulating the diagnosis of underdevelopment and of the characteristics of dependence in Brazil to support public policies through a policy of import substitution for productive modernization.

In Brazil, underdevelopment was complexified by regional inequalities, and the Amazon has an emblematic position within this process, by reconciling a trajectory of State action through the implementation of regional policies from the 1950s through to the present day. In 1953, the Superintendency for the Economic Valorization Plan of the Amazon (SPVEA)¹ was created, which institutionalized

1. Throughout the entire article, all Brazilian acronyms have remained in their original form in Portuguese.

the First Five-Year Plan in 1955. From 1966 to 1988, the Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon (SUDAM) defined the structure of regional policies for this region as a result of implementing projects for logistics infrastructure, ore extraction, the construction of hydropower plants and investments in agriculture, all of which led to the formation and consolidation of productive poles exporting raw materials. Outstanding among the experiences that took place in the Amazon is the sub-region of Carajás, in the state of Pará, which resulted from pioneering projects aimed at mineral extraction in Serra dos Carajás. Initiated in 1973, through the actions of the Great Carajás Program (PGC) and by the Amazon Finance Fund (FINAM), it currently stands out as one of the main mining projects in Latin America, with an expansion of iron ore extraction through the S11D project, under the guidance of the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, currently known as Vale, in Canaã dos Carajás.

With regard to the phases along the trajectory of planning experiences by the State for the Amazon, this article aims to make a balance between two different moments in order to verify whether there have been any changes in how state investments have been directed toward economic activities. The first, covering a period from 1972 to 1988, is considered the moment of gestation for the export poles in the Amazon, in view of the mining and logistical infrastructure projects for national economic integration, composed of state plans, of the Amazon Development Plans (PDAs) on a regional scale, of the sectoral programs of the POLAMAZÔNIA (Program for the Agricultural/Livestock and Agromineral Poles in the Amazon) on the sub-regional scales and the master plans of industrial districts on territorial scales of the municipalities. The second moment covers the period from 2003 to 2018 and compares the distribution of the Amazon Development Fund (FDA) and the Constitutional Finance Fund of the North (FNO) per productive sector in the federative units of the particular region in question.

The two moments may be understood as part of the institutional trajectory of statehoods in the Amazon, led by SUDAM during the military governments, with a proposal to promote favorable economic and institutional arrangements for the phenomena of territorial inequalities. When planning was resumed by the State to articulate public policies from the time of the first Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula) government, in 2003, institutional channels were strengthened with the emergence of the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) and the strengthening of the Ministry of National Integration (MI), both of which founded the territorial strategic planning. From this standpoint, the article sets out to discuss whether

the dynamics of investments by the FDA and FNO finance funds strengthened or held back the productive spatialization of commodities in the Amazon, taking the municipalities of the Carajás region as an empirical case.

The decision to highlight the Carajás sub-region is due to the fact that it represents a case of State action that has implemented programs and projects aimed at mineral extraction since 1970, elaborated, however, under a logic of spurious productive deconcentration, which directed state investments according to the locational comparative advantages of natural resources. From the 1990s onwards, large mining enterprises, such as Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), strengthened logistical infrastructure with the intention of expanding the capacity of ore extraction and productive outflow. Combined with the economic dynamics produced by agriculture and livestock, these actions reinforced a productive structure that generated territorial asymmetries.

The methodology applied in the development of this article was divided into two stages of analysis. The first refers to the collection and qualitative analysis, theoretical in nature, of the institutional documents formulated by SUDAM, which were consulted at the Inocência Machado Coelho Library, from which the following materials were selected: the Development Plan for the Amazon II: details of the second National Development Plan (1975-79), of 1976; the POLAMAZÔNIA Carajás Project, of 1976; the Carajás Amazônia Mineração S.A. Company Project, of 1973; the Great Carajás Project, of 1982; the Master Plans for the Industrial Districts of Barcarena, Tucuruí and Marabá, of 1982; and, lastly, the Evaluation of the FINAM Investment Policy in Brazil's Legal Amazon, of 1988. In the second stage, data were collected that referred to the distribution of projects and productive activities funded by the State through the FNO and the FDA, considered one of the few funding sources in operation for the regional and urban development of municipalities. Investment data were extracted from the FNO reports, for each year, during the period from 2006 to 2018, and from the FDA reports: Evaluation Report 2006-2014, published in 2016, and the Evaluation Report 2015-2016 – potential results, of 2017.

The article, in addition to this introduction and the final considerations, contains three sections. The first presents a review of the literature on the analytical categories of State, Forms of Domination and Scales, with a view to providing an understanding of the phenomena associated with territorial inequalities in the Amazon. In the second, the organizational structure of the State is revealed when formulating FINAM, responsible for funding the projects of the PDA II, POLAMAZÔNIA and programs in Carajás. The following section presents data on the distribution of the FNO and the FDA from 2006 to 2018, as well as the projects implemented in the Carajás sub-region. Lastly, the final considerations are made.

2. The analytical categories for interpreting the multiscalarity of the phenomena of underdevelopment

This topic specifies the categories that enable an understanding of underdevelopment and its impacts on the territories. At the outset, three categories are assigned that may collaborate in carrying out this task: (i) the State; (ii) the scale; and (iii) the forms of domination. The State acts as a fundamental actor in formulating the epistemic rationality of planning, by holding jurisdiction over the exercise of decision-making with regard to elaborating public policies and to granting funds for projects. However, the action of the State is modulated by the scales of national and global capitalism, transacting between the agents that make up the political elites in dialogue with the agents representing the fractions of foreign capital. In other words, the phenomena of the capital accumulation process may delimit the State's performance on the periphery, due to the effects brought about by the State's rescheduling on a global scale. Because of this, multiscalarity may be positioned as an instrument for exercising forms of domination and asymmetries generated by capitalism on the periphery.

The aforementioned categories may help to understand the vicissitudes of the actions of the State in the Amazon, through its mobilization, as well as the formation and modernization processes that have resulted from applying public policies in the previously mentioned territories. The category proposal stems from an effort to seize upon the way in which the economic, social and political structures have been shaped, complying with the phenomena originating from the periphery of the capitalist system in the presence of state action. The varieties of capitalism constitute the catalyst that operates in different spaces and territories, under the dynamics of the classic center-periphery system, but its metamorphoses originate from variations in capital accumulation through the international division of labor on a global scale.

The ECLAC theory emerged from two moments related to economic crises on the periphery. The first consisted of opening the historical gap that occurred after the 1929 crisis in Latin America, which enabled these peripheral countries to exercise national sovereignty in formulating an economic policy for development. The second took place during the period after the Second World War, through ECLAC theorizing a critical ideology of the periphery in relation to the underdevelopment propagated by the unequal international trade between central and peripheral countries, under the guidance of Prebisch commanding the composition formed by the ECLAC historical-structural method. This method combined an analysis of the historical formation of the economic, social and political structures of Latin American countries vis-à-vis the dynamics of the accumulation of capitalism, with

the advent of their insertion into the international division of labor, through the export of raw materials. Thus, the concentration of income was amplified in the productive poles and in the territorial structural heterogeneities of peripheral countries (CANO, 2000; PREBISCH, 2011).

Underdevelopment in Latin America was resignified by Furtado (2008) during the 1970s based on economic and cultural dependence mediated by forms of power domination generated by the expansion of forms of capital accumulation in the relationships between central and peripheral countries. Two axes that dominated industrial civilization were boosted on the periphery: (i) the decision-making centers were responsible for originating and propagating destabilizing processes in national economies and, also, for concentrating the power of large transnational corporations, which determined the appropriation of surplus by agents in international transactions and commanded the geographic concentration of income; (ii) national economies, on the periphery, which, through their subordinate position in the system of the international division of labor, received the effects of cultural mimicry through the use of savings to generate income concentration for the elites. It should be highlighted that this was used to reproduce forms of consumption in central countries and to strengthen social inequalities in peripheral countries.

The changes generated by the processes of capital accumulation moved through the peripheral countries from the global to the national and local scale, which encouraged the reconfiguration of the role of the State in formulating regional policies in Latin America. In the early 1990s, the state apparatus underwent significant changes, due to the problems caused by the internationalization of the economic, financial and technological circuits of globalized capital. This weakened the national decision-making centers, and the particularities that form the local space were submitted to the “demands” of globalization. Investments selected places for the exercise of accumulation through the use of the three “exs”-: the exploitation of labor, and the expropriation and extraction of incomes and natural resources. The global scale occupied a central position in the hierarchy of forms of domination constituted through the phenomena of homogenizing capital reproduction, integrating productive structures, polarizing productive forces and hegemony based on a correlation system of social and political forces, represented by limitations in the spaces of power for decision-making (BRANDÃO, 2007).

For García and Rofman (2013), the category of space assumed a central position in understanding forms of domination, centered on agents representing dominant sectors of the economy. Technological transformations formed the basis of an important aspect of generating surplus by the dominant actors, who,

through the Myrdal-style cumulative circular causation of capital circulation flows, exponentially increased their rates of profit. In addition, for these authors, it is essential to compare the arrangements between social actors on a territorial scale, which underlie networks to replicate the reproduction of capital centered on the exploitation of production and the extraction of natural or primary resources, granted by the autonomy and control of the land by transnational companies.

When addressing the State category, Fernández (2018) considers that multi- and transcalar approaches help to understand the varieties of capitalism, referring to the specificities of national trajectories in peripheral spaces. The process of capital accumulation is manifested through the global scale, hierarchical under decision-making centers. These are replicated to the periphery through institutional networks and strategies, on two important fronts: (i) via the relationship with the State and social actors, with the decision concentrated within the orbit of the state under a rentier and market profile, combined by a short-term, partisan and clientelistic strategy of political elites; (ii) via actors representing the fractions of the capital of transnational companies, whose dynamics consist of implementing relocation processes, which spatially comply with the selective option of territories in the periphery for the center to operate the productive dynamics with just their own interests in mind.

The State takes on the role of the recipient of decision-making assumed exogenously by foreign capital; this designates the economic actors and reveals how they should act and organize themselves under the logic of rentier behavior. Thus, the State positions itself as an essential part in installing the behavior of actors in modalities associated with the rollback and rollout forms of neoliberal commodification. The configuration of State action on the periphery relinquishes its role as a configuring core of endogenous projects, giving way to the implementation of global economic and political networks; thus, regional spaces are reconfigured through neoliberal commodification mechanisms (FERNÁNDEZ; CARDOZO, 2012).

For Brandão (2018), the territorial approach must consider the spatial scales so as to understand the formations of power coalitions and the decisions taken by the agents that represent the fractions of capital in the territory. Hence, it is possible to question the nature of the national scale on the periphery when faced with the dismantling of state institutions, reinforcing dependence and its impacts with regard to territorial inequalities established by the international division of labor. Brandão designates the term scale to define an analytical category and a political praxis, so that the scale is a political arena where power and hegemony are exercised. In terms of the *territory*, this would be the arena of political struggles, where the rescaling strategies of the actors who play a role in this sphere are

determined. The national scale assumes importance within this framework, since it represents the juridical-legal institutionalities; more than that, it is where the concertation takes place of the space of power and of the arena for the constitution of interests that dialogue with the federal entities in a sovereign manner in relation to the private interests of the elites.

During the twentieth century, the strategy of the State in Latin American countries boosted productive specialization based on neoextractivism, by mobilizing public and private resources for the overexploitation of natural, non-renewable goods, such as hydrocarbons (oil and gas), metals and ores and agricultural products, combined with hydropower projects, waterways, ports and interoceanic corridors. Neoextractivism was aligned with projects for transport and energy logistics infrastructure, positioning the Amazon as a strategic point for projects of this nature, such as the Integration of South American Regional Infrastructure (IIRSA), within a hierarchization context exercised by the central countries in the world economic system. The Amazon axis was important for exploiting and extracting natural resources, as a way of commodifying the biome through logistical projects consisting of river, road, sea and air transport networks, with the generation of electricity resulting from the installation of a hydropower plant on the Madeira River (CECEÑA; AGUILAR; MOTTO, 2007; SVAMPA, 2019).

Brandão (2019) evaluated the period from 2003 to 2015 as being characterized by state investments, mainly by the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES) and the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) for the agroindustry sectors, for large projects in the segments of automobile plants, steel, petroleum, shipbuilding, refineries and mineral extraction. The sub-region of Carajás represented the productive dynamics that reconciled state investments in works for transport and electricity infrastructure, as well as in enclaves for the extraction of natural resources, in productive activities in commodities, agriculture, minerals, metals and energy.

In the conception of Michelotti (2019), Carajás has occupied a strategic position since the formation of export poles through state action implemented by the Great Carajás Program, in 1982, with the construction of the Tucuruí Hydropower Plant and the Carajás Railroad, in addition to agricultural and livestock production. The beginning of the twenty-first century strengthened the strategic position of the southeast region of the state of Pará by entering the spatial circuits of accumulation, in which the economic dynamics became an expression of a new version of the hegemonic field project, whose capitalist production in space is related to the production of commodities, soy, beef and mining, in a restructuring of the hegemonic pact for the latifundia.

3. The Amazon development model: a strategy to polarize the mining projects in Carajás (1972-1988)

From 1972 to 1984, the institutional organization of the State in the Amazon became centralized, whereby decision-making took place under the aegis of the authoritarian centralism of the military governments and their decision-making instances. The National Development Policy (PND) occupied a strategic position within the governmental structure for formulating public policies.

Before the period of the military governments, the theme of the region had been a priority on the agenda of those interpreting the problematization of underdevelopment through diagnosing plans and programs and forming new administrative instances, empowered by creative autonomy for formulating autonomous regional policies, detached from ideological and institutional moorings of the federal government. The extinction of the Superintendency for the Economic Valorization Plan of the Amazon (SPVEA) in 1966 and its replacement by SUDAM provoked inflections in the ideology surrounding the regional policy for the Amazon. Operation Amazon prioritized the modernization of this region as an *economic rationale*, inspired by Hirschman's thesis of the growth poles (1960), and SUDAM's autonomy was subordinated to decision-making deliberated by the Ministry of Planning. The economic integration model was guided by the comparative locational advantages of the Amazon's natural resources, which supported authoritarian, centralized planning, emanated by the National Development Policy (PND) for the PDAs and the POLAMAZÔNIA projects, supported by FINAM funding.

The organizational structure of the State's public policies for the Amazon was organized according to the autonomy of decision-making, ranging from the PND, specifically linked to the Ministry of Planning, which, in hierarchical terms, was one of the most powerful ministries throughout the military governments, and permeating the Ministry of the Interior, with the ability to align national plans with a regional perspective. The Land Redistribution and Agroindustry Stimulus Programs for the North and Northeast (PROTERRA) and the National Integration Program (PIN), aimed at the North and Northeast regions, were those that concentrated the greatest efforts of the Ministry of the Interior. Although regional planning was governed by the superintendencies, they were limited to the function of administrating regional finance funds, as exemplified in the case of FINAM in the Amazon, with little state capacity and autonomy in order to formulate regional policies with the potential for structural transformation in the regions.

As of 1964, two finance funds operated in Amazonia, FIDAM (Fund for Private Investments in the Development of the Amazon) and FINAM, for providing

financial loans to entrepreneurs. According to Mahar (1978), FINAM played a leading role in investments in agricultural activities in the Amazon. Although there was an alternation between the *modus operandi* of each fund, priority was given to stimuli for economic activities that mobilized natural resources as a capital stock to generate foreign exchange from exports from the productive poles in that region.

The PDA II was the basis of the model for economic integration in the Amazon and synchronized its guidelines with the sub-regional programs installed in Carajás, through POLAMAZÔNIA Carajás, the company Carajás Amazônia Mineração S.A., the Great Carajás Project and the Master Plans of the Industrial Districts of Barcarena, Tucuruí and Marabá. The combined strategy of this plan with the sub-regional programs was guided by the implementation of logistical means of connection between Pará, Maranhão and Goiás, with the land being occupied by large mining enterprises, in Serra dos Carajás, underlying the installation of the Tucuruí Hydroelectric Plant and the Carajás Railroad. Mining projects boosted the expansion of urbanization in Marabá, with housing support and services for the workers. The PDA II implemented the economic dynamics conditioned to comparative advantages by expanding the scale of logging, livestock and mineral extraction, called the Amazon Development Model (SUDAM, 1976a).

The aim of the SUDAM PDA macro-regional policy was to implement the economic model for the Amazon based on primary export activities. Selecting the Serra dos Carajás was not random, since the mineral reserves represented a strategic position for the location in view of its insertion in the international division of labor, on a global scale. Because of this, the POLAMAZÔNIA program was implemented with the aim of presenting a program for the sub-regions that held comparative locational advantages. These were beacons by mining projects and logistical infrastructure, such as power generation and rail and road transport.

The POLAMAZÔNIA program was responsible for institutionalizing the projects linked to the PDA guidelines in the territories, by implementing infrastructure and urbanization. The said program was instituted in 1974 and implemented in territories with potential natural resources. Mineral reserves were identified at the Carajás and Xingu-Araguaia² poles, with a variety of ores, potentialized by the iron deposits of the Serra dos Carajás, estimated at 18 billion tons. The Companhia Amazônia de Mineração was responsible for beginning operations in 1977. The forecast for generating resources was 2 billion dollars,

2. Represented by the municipalities of São João do Araguaia, Conceição do Araguaia, Marabá, São Félix do Xingu and Santana do Araguaia.

estimated in thirty years for the depletion of mineral resources. This project was associated with the PIN for the occupation of land and the construction of cities adjacent to the mine and the railroad (SUDAM, 1976b).

The POLAMAZÔNIA investments for the economic integration of the Amazon were directed toward the Belém-Brasília Highways, the BR-230 Trans-Amazonian, the BRs 222-235-158, PA-150, PA 279 highways and the Carajás-Itaqui Railroad, as well as the master plan for expanding urbanization in Marabá, considered to be the nucleus of the ore extraction project in the Serra dos Carajás, underlying the spatial and sectoral complementarity with the development model of the Amazon (SUDAM, 1976b).

On a local scale in the Serra dos Carajás, programs were implemented with the aim of connecting the planning ideas of the PDA, the macro-regional plan for the Amazon, to actions across the territories. The institutionalization of the Great Carajás Program, together with the Industrial Master Plans in the adjacent municipalities of the aforementioned mining reserve, established a logic of mining extractivism under the guidance of the State. Urbanization proceeded based on this logic, of the productive activity of mining, within a rationale of robust investments by the state sphere in logistical infrastructures that met the productive polarization generated by mining in the Serra dos Carajás.

The company Amazônia Mineração S.A. (AMZA) was a pioneer, in 1973, in prospecting for the location of ores through the Carajás Project. The subsidies from this project contributed to the implementation, in 1982, of the Great Carajás Program (PGC), governed by exclusive incentives for the enterprises and acting in the territorial management of mining and logistics enterprises. Under the name Constellation of Great Carajás Projects, the strategic positioning of the Carajás Iron Project and zoning, in order to install the industrial productive segments, were carried out. The municipalities of Barcarena, Marabá, Serra dos Carajás, Tucuruí, in Pará, and Imperatriz and São Luís, in the state of Maranhão were defined as industrial zones in the strategic territory of the Great Carajás Program (BRASIL, 1982).

In 1982, the Technological Research Institute (IPT) of São Paulo organized the master plans of the industrial districts of Barcarena, Tucuruí and Marabá, based on the installation of production units supported by the infrastructure logistics of the Carajás Project, due to the regional comparative advantages of the industrial districts. The key industries were prospected by the input-output matrix, with a view to identifying the probable connections and the industrial interrelationship required by the flow of goods and by the technological linkage of the productive processes. In addition to these industries, others were generated by linking backwards and forwards, implemented as a result of the existence of the urban

center of Marabá, which was able to perform functions as an industrial and service population center, as a regional pole (IPT, 1982).

From 1972 to 1988, the State's strategy to polarize investments was backed by the macro-regional plan for the Amazon, for prospecting and identifying productive poles equipped with natural resources, for the subsequent formulation of sectoral and sub-regional plans and programs aimed at the productive specialization of these poles for export (Box 1). Investments in logistical infrastructure in Serra de Carajás were developed on the urban axis, in the municipality of Marabá, which served as a repository of labor stock, due to the arrival of migratory flows of workers coming from the Northeastern and Central-Southern regions of Brazil.

The report entitled *Evaluation of FINAM's investment policy in the Legal Amazon* presented data referring to state investments granted to enterprises, from 1966 to 1985. Fifty-four percent were granted to the industrial sector, 18% to the tertiary sector and 16% to agriculture and livestock. The states of Pará, Amazonas and Mato Grosso concentrated, respectively, 43%, 27% and 16% of FINAM resources, in a total of 86% (SUDAM, 1988).

In the division of FINAM resources per federative unit, Pará received 53% in the industrial sector, followed by the service sector, with 22%, and by the agricultural sector, with 10%. In the state of Amazonas, the industrial sector concentrated 89%, and, in Mato Grosso, the agricultural sector received 57%, followed by the services sector, with 15%. In terms of the number of projects, the largest recipient was Pará, with 380 projects, followed by Mato Grosso, with 235 projects, and by Amazonas, with 115. These federative units concentrated almost 77% of the total number of projects.

In this analysis of the trajectory of planning in the State of Amazonia, based on institutional documents formulated by SUDAM, it is possible to conclude that the notions of categories are present, which enables us to sharpen the analytical view of the Amazon region and in the territories of Carajás. The State, according to Fernández (2018), may be interpreted by the multiscalarity of its performance, by complying with the hierarchy of decision-making, in a rentier logic and the dictates of the market, by conditioning its planning strategy to the exploitation of natural resources, composing a spurious planning program.

As presented in Table 1 it is possible to infer that priority was given to investments in the industrial sector in Pará in terms of FINAM's financial resources from 1966 to 1985. Combined with the intentions of the State to implement mining projects in Serra dos Carajás, a nucleus of investments allocated for the constitution of the mining complex was created. This, in subsequent years, was modernized and became the main vector for generating resources and attracting investments via the federal government. This will be observed in the following topic.

| | Planning | Development strategy | Objectives |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Macroregion | Development Plan II for the Amazon (1975-1979), of 1976 | | Prospecting territories with natural resources, guided by subregional programs specialized in mineral, forestry, agricultural and agroindustrial productive activities. Complementing investments for gestation in urban infrastructure and logistics to support productive activities. |
| | The Carajás POLAMAZÔNIA, of 1976 | Sectorial investments in territories with natural resources, named comparative advantages for export | The concession of land for the cultivating agriculture and titling for the settlement of the population. Formulation of master plans in São Félix do Xingu, Conceição do Araguaia, Tucuruí and Marabá, aligned with mining projects in Serra dos Carajás. Implementation of a road and rail bridge infrastructure over the Tocantins River, in Marabá. Construction of a bridge over the Araguaia River (integration of Pará and Goiás). Construction of an access road to Serra dos Carajás (Serra Norte). Construction of roads and side roads for logistic integration between the states of Pará and Mato Grosso. Construction of the port of Marabá. Construction of the São Félix do Xingu, Conceição do Araguaia and Marabá airports. |
| Subregional – Carajás | The Carajás Amazônia Mineração S.A. Company Project, of 1973 | | Implementation of two cities and expansion of the urbanization in Marabá as intermediaries to provide housing for workers and for the maintenance of the railroad between the flow of the ore mine and the Port of Madeira. |
| | The Great Carajás Project, of 1982 | Potentializing investments in infrastructure for mining project in Carajás | Network of logistical infrastructures for managing the mining complex, with the installation of the railway from Serra de Carajás to Porto da Madeira, in São Luís. Implementation of a deep-water port, in Porto da Madeira, and the river port in Vila do Conde (Belém). Installation of a hydropower plant and lock on the dam in Tucuruí, on the Tocantins River. |
| Municipal – Marabá | Master Plans for the Industrial Districts of Barcarena, Tucuruí and Marabá, of 1982 | Sectorial investments in the installation of the steel industry, determined by the macrolocation and microlocation of the mining projects | Installation of the steel industry in connection with the alumina and aluminum projects, by Albrás and Alunorte, underlying the secondary cellulose and civil construction industries propelled by the road-hydro-railway projects in Marabá. |

Box 1. Sectorial planning and the polarization of projects in the Amazon and in Carajás

Source: Own elaboration, based on Brasil (1982), IPT (1982), AMZA (1973) and SUDAM (1976a; 1976b).

| Federative Units | Number of projects | | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-------|----------|-------|-----|
| | Agriculture and livestock | | | Agro-industry | | | Industry | | | Sectorial | | | | Services | | |
| | No. | Value | No. | Value | No. | Value | No. | Value | No. | Value | No. | Value | | No. | Value | No. |
| Amazonas | 24 | 231,760,692 | 2 | 4,646,621 | 82 | 9,772,924,378 | 2 | 217,504,312 | 5 | 623,161,417 | 115 | 10,849,997,420 | | | | |
| Rondônia | 11 | 33,539 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 83,076,800 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 365,404,224 | 25 | 482,020,312 | | | | |
| Roraima | 06 | 95,991,218 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 60,736,424 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 69,660,126 | 11 | 226,387,768 | | | | |
| Acre | 19 | 97,373,330 | 1 | 69,329,278 | 5 | 51,542,799 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 245,884,257 | 27 | 464,129,664 | | | | |
| Amapá | 28 | 89,992,985 | 3 | 31,307,569 | 4 | 100,637,678 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 267,599,686 | 38 | 489,537,918 | | | | |
| Maranhão | 25 | 93,435,081 | 6 | 38,584,826 | 33 | 603,773,704 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 836,254,741 | 67 | 1,571,948,352 | | | | |
| Goiás | 51 | 342,866,829 | 3 | 296,862,925 | 4 | 233,895,090 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 90,953,450 | 61 | 964,578,294 | | | | |
| Mato Grosso | 210 | 3,886,169,156 | 5 | 720,354,789 | 13 | 963,565,322 | 2 | 26,100,393 | 5 | 1,044,780,516 | 235 | 6,660,970,176 | | | | |
| Pará | 210 | 1,879,207,311 | 24 | 965,761,787 | 119 | 9,307,496,255 | 16 | 951,726,013 | 11 | 3,993,571,358 | 380 | 17,097,762,724 | | | | |
| Total | 376 | 6,750,335,890 | 44 | 2,126,335,890 | 274 | 21,177,648,450 | 22 | 1,195,330,718 | 35 | 7,557,169,775 | 959 | 38,867,332,628 | | | | |

Table 1. Approved projects and total investment by FINAM per sector and federative unit of the Amazon (Cr\$ mil)

Source: Own elaboration based on SUDAM (1988).

The economic structure formed as a result of these actions and of financing State projects in the territories of Carajás demonstrates the existence of significant approximations with the interpretation by Brandão (2007) regarding forms of accumulation based on the exploitation of labor, and on the expropriation and extraction of incomes and natural resources. The scale may be interpreted as a fundamental category in order to understand the radiography of established forms of domination from the global to the local scale. In addition, Brandão determines the effects of capital accumulation triggered by the global scale, by the international division of labor, intermediated by the national scale for the territories, which are the movements carried out by homogenization, as occurred in the implementation of mining extraction in Carajás, in the rescaling productive dynamics to their range of effects so as to increase productivity.

Polarization is important because it is the manner through which both state and private resources are harnessed in order to increase the logistical sophistication of transport and the generation of electricity to supply the extraction of minerals. Integration is seen here as a means of conducting planning through transport logistics and electricity generation through state investments, as in the case of the infrastructure implemented by the PDA and POLAMAZÔNIA. Hegemony may be understood from the global scale, but it is on the territorial scale that it occurs using violence, the result of imposing forms of productivity agreed by the State and agents representing the productive forces of foreign capital onto social actors, exercised by the bias of the economy and conflicts over the struggle for land, which is recurrent in Carajás.

The category covering the forms of domination may be understood by the authors García and Rofman (2013) as a synthesis of the process of underdevelopment and dependence on the periphery, with the positioning of the Amazon in the international division of labor. This synthesis was replicated in the case of Carajás in two important moments. The first dates back to the period between 1964 and 1984, during which the State assumed the role of a progenitor of implementation through productive mimicry, arising from technologies from central countries, by financing projects related to the mining industry, meeting the demand of the international market. The rationale behind implementing this productive structure, combined with the integration of national and international logistics, made it possible to condition the Amazon to decision-making spaces associated with forms of capital accumulation. The insertion of new productive activities into the territories was conditioned to establishing networks between the social actors who were in charge of the productive branches. Subsequently, in the second moment, between 2006 and 2020, the productive structure was anchored in the productivity generated by

mining, but with the productive structure expanded in view of the insertion of cattle raising as a means of capital accumulation. Thus, under the guidance of the State through financing public funds, such as the FNO, and infrastructure, such as the FDA, it enabled the strengthening of the network between social actors representing fractions of foreign capital, enhancing the forms of domination imposed by the global onto the territorial scale.

4. The FNO and FDA coalition in strengthening sectorial investments in Carajás (2006-2018)

In 2014, the Constitutional Finance Funds (FCs)³ completed 25 years of being implemented. Macedo, Pires and Sampaio (2017) indicated that in the first phase of action, from 1989 to 2002, there was little structuring capacity. The second phase took place from 2003 to 2006, during which reforms were implemented focusing on the market for operating funds, in accordance with the Basel Accord (1988). The third phase, which began in 2007, followed the methodology of the National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR), which determined the application of funds according to the typology of micro-regions.

The FCs and the Development Funds (FDA and FDNE [Northeast Development Fund]) were linked to the application guidelines of the PNDR, as designated by Decree No. 6047 (BRASIL, 2007). The FDA was an operating instrument of SUDAM, regulated by Decree No. 7,839 (BRASIL, 2012), conceived by Provisional Measure No. 2157-5 (BRASIL, 2001), to replace FINAM. The FDA constituted a finance instrument for PNDR infrastructure projects in the states that make up the Legal Amazon.⁴

The FNO and FDA funds assumed a priority role in financing projects related to the PNDR guidelines, after the Chamber of Federal Deputies refused to approve the National Regional Development Fund (FNDR), which compromised the implementation of macro-regional and sub-regional plans in low-income, stagnant territories, considered to be more socioeconomically vulnerable. The FNDR proposal was sent to the Special Commission of the Chamber of Deputies as Proposed Constitutional Amendment (PEC) No. 233, in 2008, as part of the tax reform formulated by the federal government. The report was approved by the Special Commission but did not move forward for evaluation by a plenary session of the Chamber of Deputies (BRASIL, 2008).

3. The Constitutional Finance Funds (FCs), composed of the Constitutional Funds of the North (FNO), of the Northeast (FNE) and of the Midwest (FCO), were constituted, and regulated for Law No. 7.827, of 1989.

4. The states that make up Legal Amazon are Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins, and Maranhão.

The typology generated by the PNDR was initially formed by a group of high-income micro-regions, which were found predominantly in the South and Southeastern regions. The second group was that of dynamic micro-regions, with a rarefied presence in the South and Southeast and more predominantly in the Midwest and Northeast. The third was that of stagnant micro-regions, with a dispersed presence throughout the national territory, although they predominated in the South, Southeast and Midwest. The last group, that of low-income micro-regions, was concentrated in the North and Northeastern regions, in a combined situation of poverty and economic debility (BRASIL, 2005).

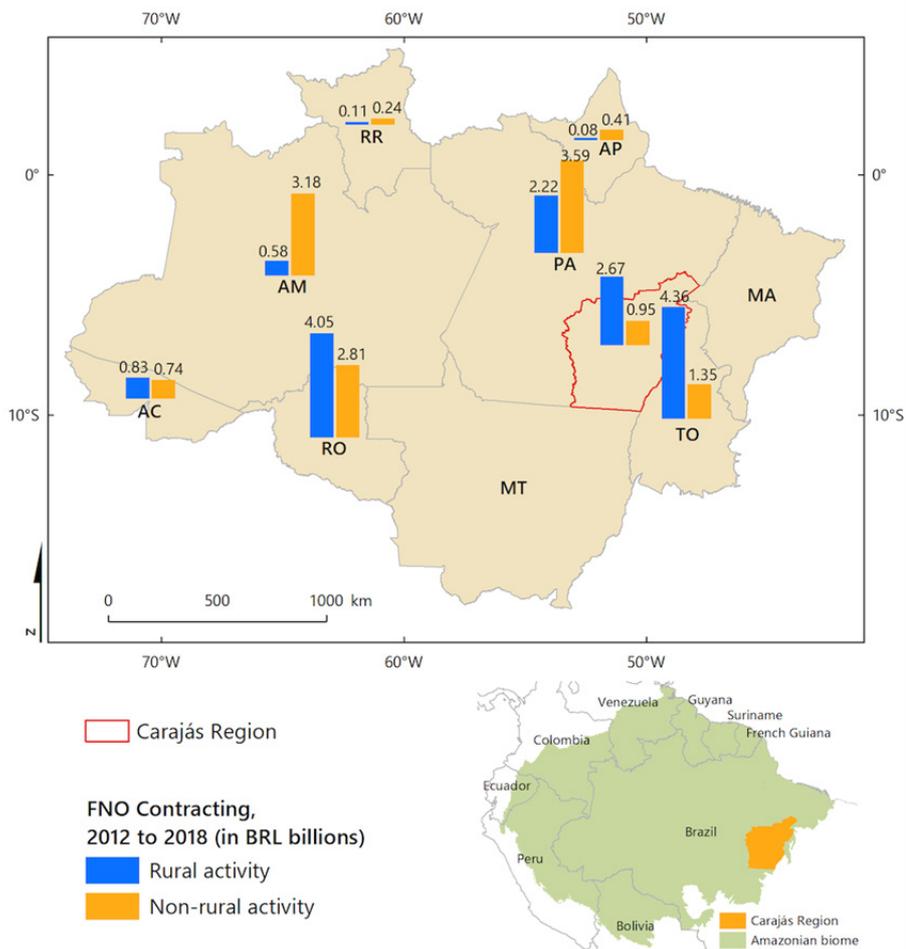
An investigation by Macedo and Porto (2018) presented a new typology of the PNDR territories, including changes in the classification of 207 micro-regions, 58.5% of which were located in the North and Northeast. This balance indicated, as a change in this typology, that the micro-regional productive dynamics in these two regions had receded. The new PNDR classification reported changes in six micro-regions in the Amazon: (i) high income to stagnant in the Roraima border strip; (ii) low income to dynamic in the eastern portion of the Amazon; (iii) low income to stagnant in Roraima and Pará; (iv) dynamic to low income disseminated in the Northwest of Pará, in the Southeast of Amazonas and in the central portion of the states of Rondônia, Amapá and Roraima; (v) dynamic to stagnant in Amapá and southeastern Pará; (vi) stagnant to dynamic in the Carajás sub-region and Western Pará, with some patches in Eastern and Central Amazonas.

The dynamism of Carajás differs from the average income of the municipal GDP per capita and the household income of the Amazon due to the participation of the Manufacturing Value (VTI), represented by the industrial productive concentration in Amazonas and Pará. In the latter, the growth rate was attributed to the extractive industry of ferrous minerals in Carajás, whose territory is called Potential Industrial Agglomerations (AIPs) (MONTEIRO NETO; SILVA; SEVERIAN, 2019).

Although the micro-regions of Carajás are characterized as dynamic, there may be a recurrence of the problem analyzed by Macedo and Porto (2018), in relation to the high indicators of GDP and per capita income of the dynamic municipalities, thereby making those with low economic indicators, located in the same micro-region, invisible. The mining municipalities Canaã dos Carajás, Parauapebas and Marabá potentialized the asymmetries in the micro-region in which they are located, given the high productive dynamics generated by mining, in contrast to the dependence of smaller municipalities, in the territorial adjacencies, and which are positioned as a labor stock for the economic activities resulting from this production process.

In an analysis by Monteiro e Silva (2021), the Carajás region was designated by the integration and productive modernization and rearticulation of the political coalition with fractions of foreign capital. In Carajás, the forms of capital accumulation were conformed characterized by a primary economy, linked, above all, to cattle raising and mining.

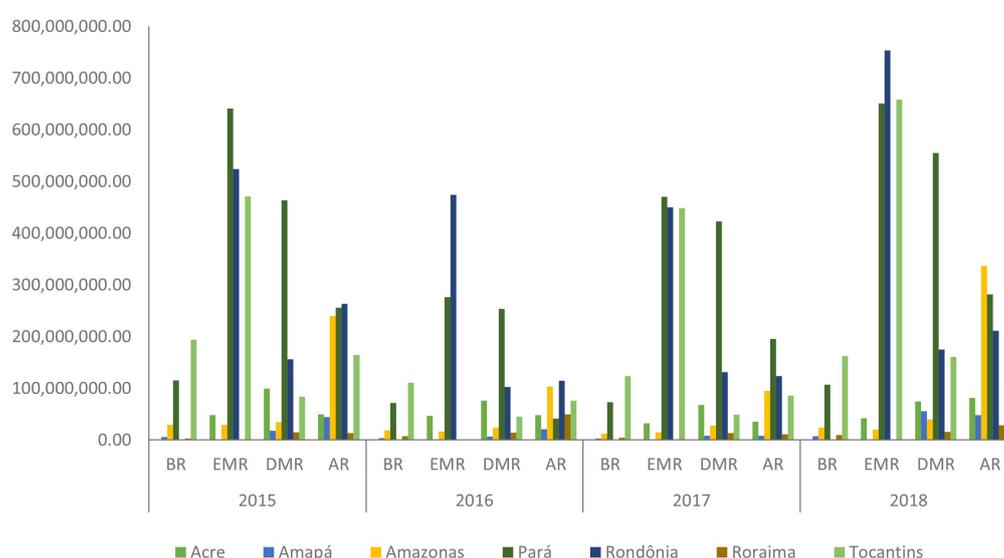
Graph 1 presents the sectoral distribution of FNO resources per federative unit, highlighting two relevant aspects of analysis. The first concerns the difference in the profile of productive activities contracted by the FNO compared to other federative units, specifically in contracting non-rural activities by the states of Amazonas and Pará. The second is related to the contrast between the contracting profile of Pará and that of the sub-region of Carajás, in which hiring related to rural activities represented almost three times the value of the others.



Graph 1. Total value of FNO contracts per federal state, state of Pará (excluding Carajás) and the region of Carajás, from 2012 to 2018 (current values)

Source: Own elaboration based on the FNO Activity Reports/Banco da Amazônia (2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

The phenomenon of concentrating funding for the FNO activities of agricultural production characterizes the productive fragmentation of the territory, re-signified in forms of territorial asymmetries. This issue becomes evident when assessing a new filter for analyzing FNO distribution according to the typology of the PNDR, presented in Graph 2, in which investments prioritized stagnant middle-income (EMR) territories and dynamic middle-income (DMR) territories in the years 2015 to 2018, with relevance in the application of financial resources in Pará, Rondônia and Tocantins. In the group of high-income (AR) territories, there were benefits for the three aforementioned states plus that of Amazonas. Despite the confluence of lending volumes for projects in the EMR and DMR territorial groups, there was a low volume of funds invested in low-income (BR) territories.

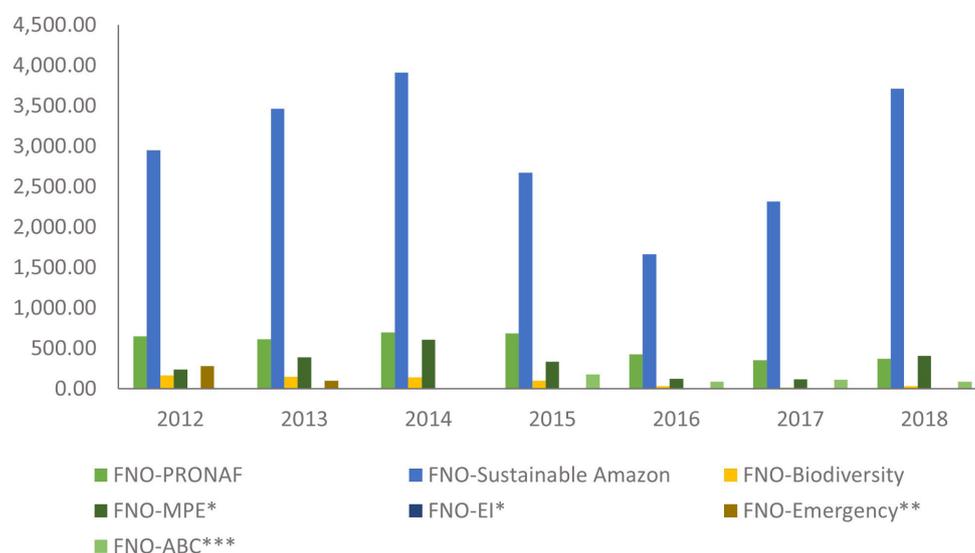


Graph 2. Contracting per municipality according to the PNDR and Federal Unit typology

Source: Own elaboration based on the FNO Activity Reports/Banco da Amazônia (2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

In Graph 3, the centralization of financial resources is evident in the Sustainable Amazon Program in relation to the others. The program in focus covers the rural productive segments, agriculture, green energy and fishing and aquaculture, and non-rural activities, described by trade and services, agribusiness, science, technology and innovation, infrastructure, tourism, industry and culture. The FNO adherence primarily to the Legal Amazon Program endorses the performance of the state entities of the Banco da Amazônia and SUDAM, which managed this fund,

fully associated with productive agricultural activities, with greater profitability in the market and risk reduction, which converges with the analysis by Fernández (2018) on the State's rationality in relation to the market.

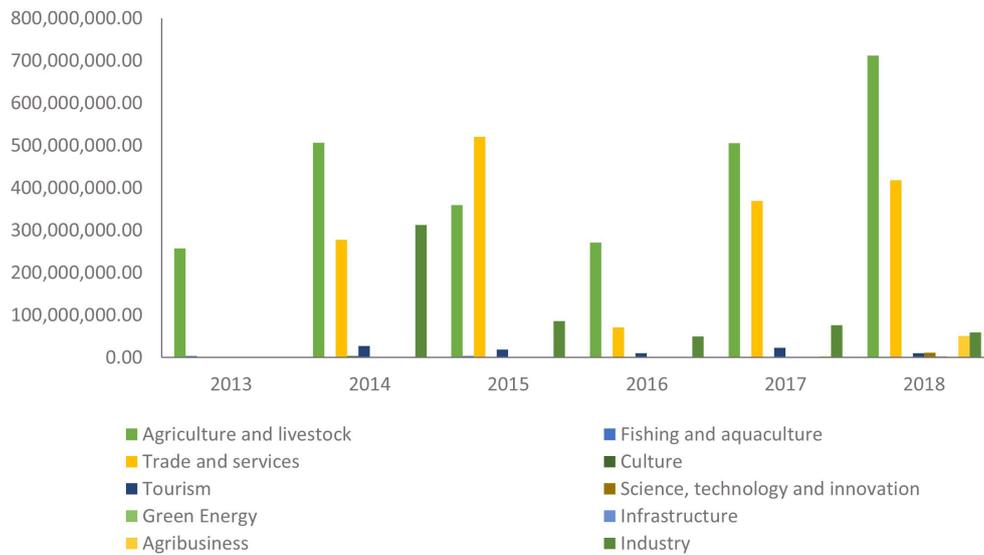


Graph 3. Amounts disbursed per program (BRL million)

Notes: *FNO-MPE and FNO-EI began being counted together from 2014 onwards and were called FNO-MPE/EI. Soon after they were called FNO-MPEI; **FNO-Emergency has no longer been presented since 2014; ***FNO-ABC has only been presented since 2015.

Source: Own elaboration based on the FNO Activity Reports/Banco da Amazônia (2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

Contracting through lines of credit in the Sustainable Amazon Program in Pará increased from 2013 to 2015, although in 2016 there was a decrease, although growth was resumed in 2017 and 2018. Agriculture and livestock, followed by trade and services, was the activity that contracted this line of financing the most. The industrial productive activity was in second place in receiving resources specifically in the year 2014, but returned to third place in contracting over subsequent years. As presented in Graph 4, it is possible to compare the amounts spent by the FNO on agricultural activities on two scales of analysis. The sub-region of Carajás obtained 54.6% of the investments relative to the state of Pará, which demonstrates that productive activities in agriculture are, to a large extent, located in Carajás.



Graph 4. Contracting FNO lines of financing – Sustainable Amazon in Pará (BRL million)

Source: Own elaboration based on the FNO Activity Reports/Banco da Amazônia (2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

In Box 2 the FNO-funded projects in Pará, were divided into livestock, cassava and trade activities. In the area of social spending, health and education are most prominent. From 2013 to 2018, priority was given to mining, forest management and reforestation in the Carajás sub-region for the commercialization of timber, livestock and cassava cultivation. In relation to these productive activities, there was little diversification of investments made by SUDAM since the 1970s, and the extractive base of ore and timber, as well as the expansion of cattle raising, were maintained as a productive specialization across the region.

In the meantime, it may be inferred that there was a prevalence of FNI stimuli in dynamic economic activities in the market, contrary to the territorial specificities in Pará, which could be enhanced by incentives for the diversity of rural production, specialized in the extractive and productive tradition of traditional communities, such as *quilombolas*, riverside people, indigenous people, family farming production and productive verticalization through the development of innovations allied to the Amazon Forest biome.

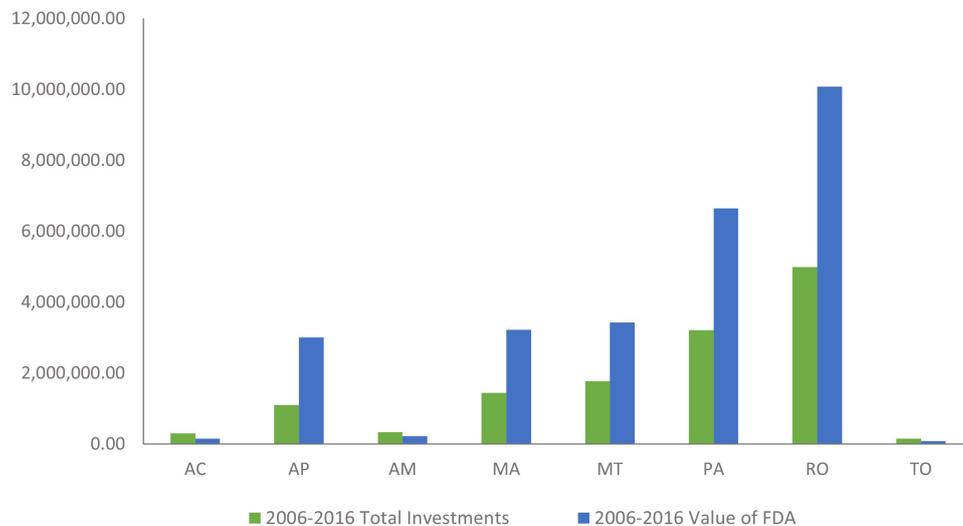
For Portugal and Silva (2020), the resources that stimulated regional policy from 2003 to 2020 were constitutional funds. However, these were complementary to the PAC in energy generation projects in the Amazon. The FNO was limited to the inertia of plans implemented by SUDAM during the 1970s and 1980s.

| Range of productive chain | Productive activities | Year |
|--|--|-----------|
| Marabá, Eldorado dos Carajás, Parauapebas, Canaã dos Carajás | Livestock (meat and dairy) | 2013 |
| The State of Pará, particularly in the south and southeast | Livestock (meat and dairy) | 2014-2016 |
| The State of Pará | Cassava cultivation | |
| Marabá | Planted forest (eucalyptus, parica) | |
| The State of Pará | Trade and services | 2017 |
| | Health and education | |
| | Cassava cultivation | |
| Eldorado do Carajás, Canaã dos Carajás, Parauapebas, Curionópolis, Bom Jesus do Tocantins, Marabá and the municipalities in its micro-region | Timber (forest management and reforestation) | |
| The State of Pará, particularly in the south and southeast | Livestock (meat and dairy) | |
| Marabá and the municipalities in its micro-region | Mining (pig iron) | 2018 |
| The State of Pará | Trade and services | |
| | Health and education | |
| | Cassava cultivation | |
| Eldorado do Carajás, Canaã dos Carajás, Parauapebas, Curionópolis, Bom Jesus do Tocantins, Marabá and the municipalities in its micro-region | Timber (forest management and reforestation) | |
| The State of Pará, particularly in the south and southeast | Livestock (meat and dairy) | 2018 |
| Marabá and the municipalities in its micro-region | Mining (pig iron) | |

Box 2. Priority local productive arrangements and potentialities in the Carajás integration region

Source: Own elaboration based on the FNO Activity Reports/Banco da Amazônia (2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

Graph 5 presents the FDA's Additional Invested Value (VADI) for projects distributed per federative unit in the Legal Amazon, from 2006 to 2016. The states of Pará and Rondônia were those that received the highest contributions in terms of total investments, respectively, of BRL 6,644 billion and BRL 10,073 billion. In turn, the FDA contribution was lowest in Pará, with BRL 3,211 billion, and highest in Rondônia, with BRL 4,985 billion. Once again, the state of Pará is most prominent as one of the largest recipients of public resources, mainly oriented towards infrastructure projects for transport logistics and electricity generation, as a scaffolding to support investments in agricultural activities and mineral extraction.



Graph 5. Additional Invested Value (VADI) per federal unit 2006-2016 (in millions of BRL)
 Source: Own elaboration based on SUDAM (2016; 2017).

Box 3 presents the thirty projects funded by the FDA during the period from 2006 to 2016, divided into federative units and per PNDR typology. The infrastructure projects were directed toward the generation and transmission of electricity, with two thermal power plants, in Manaus, in the state of Amazonas, a hydropower plant in Santo Antônio, in the state of Roraima, a rectifier station in Porto Velho, in Rondônia, and a small hydropower plant (PCH) in Mato Grosso. In the infrastructure sector, there was a road rehabilitation project in Primavera, in the state of Mato Grosso, and a project for a metal, and rebar and droplet factory in Barcarena, in Pará, in addition to a tannery project in Mato Grosso. The power transmission lines connect the networks from Oriximiná (PA) to Macapá (AP), from Tucuruí (PA) to Jurupari (AM) and from Oriximiná (PA) to Itacoatiara (AM) and Manaus (AM).

The projects installed in low-income municipalities were a thermal power plant in Miranda do Norte, Maranhão, and a hydropower plant (73 thousand kW) in Rolim de Moura, in Rondônia, in addition to a PCH (30 thousand kW) in Dianópolis, in Tocantins. Supplementing the distribution of projects are those of agroindustry in Tailândia, Tomé-Açu and Mãe do Rio, in Pará, and a refrigeration plant in Pimenta Bueno, in Rondônia, considered low-income micro-regions.

| Project | Municipalities/ Federative units | PNDR Typology | Year |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------|------|
| Administration Center | AC | | 2015 |
| Optical Links | | | |
| Thermal power plants (UTE) – Geraoeste Usinas Elétricas do Oeste | Manaus (AM) | High income | 2006 |
| Thermal power plants (UTE) – Companhia Energética Manauara | | High income | |
| Gas production | AP | | 2015 |
| 2 Thermal power plants – Geranorte – Geradora de Energia do Norte | Miranda do Norte (MA) | Low income | 2009 |
| Private mixed-use terminal | MA | | 2015 |
| Highway repairs in Primavera | MT | High income | 2013 |
| Tannery – Brazservice Wet Leather | Pedra Preta (MT) | Dynamic | 2006 |
| Small hydropower plant (PCH) – Geraoeste Usinas Elétricas do Oeste | Juscimeira (MT) | Dynamic | |
| Usina Elétrica do Nhandu | Guarantã do Norte (MT) | Stagnant | |
| Brasnorte Transmissora de Energia | Diversos (MT) | | |
| Ethanol plant | MT | | 2015 |
| Sorghum and maize industry | | | |
| Crop-livestock project | | | |
| PCH | | | |
| Alubar Metais | Barcarena (PA) | Stagnant | 2006 |
| Usimar – Usina Siderúrgica de Marabá | Marabá (PA) | Dynamic | 2008 |
| Vegetable oil production plant – agro-industry | | Low income | 2014 |
| 2 power transmission lines | | | 2010 |
| 1 power transmission line | PA | | 2011 |
| Port terminal | | | 2015 |
| Agro-industry project | | | |
| Hydropower plant (UHE) (3.150,40 MW) | RO | High income | 2006 |
| Rectifier station | | High income | 2011 |
| Refrigeration plant – Minerva Indústria e Comércio de Alimentos | Rolim de Moura (RO) | Stagnant | 2008 |
| Hydropower plant (73 mil kW) | RO | Stagnant | 2010 |
| PCH – Porto Franco Energética | Dianópolis (TO) | Stagnant | 2006 |
| Sanitation - Saneatins – Cia. de Saneamento do Tocantins | Diversos (TO) | | |
| Telecommunications - Telemar Norte Leste | AP/AM/MA/PA/RR | | |

Box 3. Distribution of FDA projects per federative unit and PNDR (2006-2016)

Legend: Acre (AC); Amazonas (AM); Amapá (AP); Maranhão (MA); Mato Grosso (MT); Pará (PA); Tocantins (TO); Rondônia (RO); Roraima (RR).

Source: Own elaboration based on SUDAM (2016; 2017).

The projects implemented as of 2015 helped to expand the distribution of FDA resources and productive diversification. In Acre, projects for Administrative and Optical Link Centers were implemented. Amapá received gas production projects. Maranhão, in turn, gained a mixed private use terminal project;

Pará was responsible for the port terminal and the agro-industrial project. The state that received most projects was Mato Grosso, with an ethanol plant, the sorghum and maize industry, a crop-livestock project and a PCH.

Infrastructure projects hosted by the FDA were polarized into high-income and dynamic micro-regions, in municipalities classified as poles or sub-poles in the urban hierarchy. Despite a greater distribution of FDA projects in low-income micro-regions as of 2015, the projects that were implemented strengthened productive specialization through infrastructure in the generation and transmission of energy, a refrigeration plant and the production of vegetable oil, restricted to agriculture and livestock activities in the Amazon.

5. Final considerations

In this article, the two moments in the trajectory of the State in formulating public policies in the Amazon conciliate similarities in the orientations of state investments in the productive sectors of agriculture and mineral extraction within different contexts. The investments managed by the State during the years 1966 to 1988 enabled the mining projects in Carajás to become consolidated and to position itself as one of the fronts of economic integration in the Amazon, substantiated by productive dynamics in agriculture and in the tertiary sector, with the strengthening of the organizational structure of the labor market by nucleating the expansion of urbanization.

The historical trajectory of State action in the Amazon through a succession of plans, programs and projects during the aforementioned years was instituted through the framework of the Amazon Development Plans, triggered by investments initially managed by FINAM via POLAMAZÔNIA Carajás in rural productive activities and infrastructure logistics, thereby complementing the implementation of the productive nucleus of the mining extraction enterprise in Serra dos Carajás. The state-owned company AMZA and, later, the Great Carajás Program undertook plans for prospecting and extracting ores with strong capillarity within the inter-regional system of the Brazilian economy, chiefly directed toward international trade. The master plans that constituted the cities and industrial districts in Carajás laid the foundations for the logic of productive dynamization in the mining enterprise, with urbanization projects, delimited by the logistics of the highways, bringing new shape to the expansion of urbanization in the Southeastern region of Pará.

In FNO Sustainable Amazon Program, the state of Pará commanded the highest percentage of resources, intended for agricultural activities and trade and services. The economic structure of Carajás was modernized by the intentionalities of the

State during the 1970s and 1980s, based on assumptions to economically integrate the Amazon with the national economy system and the international division of labor. This induced the circumscription of state investments via the FNO during the years 2000 to 2010 due to the inertia of the economic dependence of Carajás' on productive activities such as livestock, cassava production and mining. The attempt to verticalize these economic dynamics by generating industrial plants for metallic alloys, such as pig iron, demonstrated that these productive matrices were strengthened across the territories, which reverberated in territorial asymmetries, supported by the accumulation of capital through real estate speculation and the use of land for the expansion of cattle ranching. This upper circuit of the economy was used as a synergy to mobilize capital in correlated activities, with dynamics associated with land income.

In addition to the activities encouraged by the FNO, the distribution of FDA resources in the Amazon was directed toward high-income and dynamic micro-regions, according to the designation of the PNDR, in the vicinity of the micro-region of medium-sized cities and in state capitals. The FDA strengthened infrastructure projects in power generation and transmission projects (UHE, UTE, PCH and transmission lines) in the states of Amazonas, Rondônia, Maranhão and Tocantins. In a corresponding trend of implementing the FNO in specialized economic activities in mining and agriculture in Carajás, the FDA investments were concentrated in Pará and Rondônia in energy generation projects, refrigeration plants, steel and mining, as well as in agricultural activities.

The approach of the specialized literature has been fundamental in organizing the analytical categories, namely: the State, through the interpretation of Fernández (2018); scales, interpreted by Brandão (2007; 2018); and that of forms of domination, elaborated by García and Rofman (2013). Additionally, significant support has been provided in analyzing the effects generated as a result of the analysis of public policies and data on investments by the FNO and the FDA.

The evaluation of the FNO achieved by analyzing the distribution of resources through the scale of the federative units has demonstrated a polarization of these financial resources in Pará, Tocantins and Rondônia. In these last two states, productive activities were concentrated in rural activities, while in Pará, there was a preponderance of non-rural activities on a state scale. However, in a comparison with the resources received by the municipalities of Carajás, the logic was reversed, with a predominance of rural activities.

From this analytical perspective, it is important to emphasize that a homogenization is underway of agricultural productive activities originating from the Midwest toward the Amazon. The approach involving scales, as proposed

by Brandão (2007; 2018), makes it possible to understand the movements of the processes of capital accumulation driven by large foreign enterprises, responsible for aligning their locational investment interests with the administrative structure of the State, by directing financial resources of funds, such as the FNO, toward agricultural activities.

The category of State used in the definition by Fernández (2018) and Fernández and Cardozo (2012) is positioned with the aim of helping to understand the networks between the interests of fractions of foreign capital in the territories, articulated through public policies, as with the FDA investments in infrastructure in municipalities that represent high-income territories, such as capitals or regional capitals, strengthening infrastructure logistics and electricity generation. Therefore, the State and the scale enables an understanding of the process of implementing the productive forces in the territories, limiting the spaces for participatory popular deliberation surrounding the formulation of the public policy agenda.

The investigation by García and Rofman (2013) into the forms of domination have enabled analytical advances to be made beyond the productive structure, by seeking to understand the articulations that occur among the actors in the territories in order to assimilate the impacts of decision-making made on both the global and national scales.

As a continuation of this research agenda, a database has been created with reference to the investment resources of the federal government through programs, projects and finance funds (FNO and FDA) that make up the networks of projects in infrastructure and industries in the Carajás region, in Pará, seeking to map out the municipalities included in this productive regionalization. The objective is to continue the studies that have been conducted, making advances in the organization of the networks that make up this production complex, enhanced by the modals of logistics and electricity generation, which feed back to the circuit of productive activities of commodities.

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