

EXTRACTIVE RESERVE:

A common law of the traditional extractivist population

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BASA	Banco da Amazônia - <i>Bank of Amazonia</i>
BB	Banco do Brasil - <i>Bank of Brazil</i>
BID	Banco Interamericano de Desenvolvimento - <i>InterAmerican Development Bank</i>
BNDES	Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social - <i>National Bank of Social and Economic Development</i>
CAT	Centro Agroambiental do Tocantins – <i>Agro-Environmental Center of Tocantins</i>
CEDOP	Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa na Amazônia – <i>Documentation and Research Center in Amazônia</i>
CNPT	Conselho Nacional das Populações Tradicionais – <i>National Council of the Traditional Population</i>
CNS	Conselho Nacional dos Seringueiros - <i>National Council of Rubber-tappers</i>
CPDA	Centro de Pós-graduação em Desenvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedade - <i>Pos Graduation in Development, Agriculture and Society Centre</i>
CPT	Comissão Pastoral da Terra - <i>Pastoral Land Commission</i>
FETAGRI/PA	Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Pará - <i>Pará Agricultural Workers Federation</i>
FINEP	Financiadora de Projetos – <i>Agency to Finance Projects</i>
GTINAM	Grupo de Trabalho para a Integração Nacional da Amazônia - <i>Work Group for National Integration of Amazônia</i>
IARA	Administração dos Recursos Pesqueiros no Médio Amazonas - <i>Fishing Resources Administration in the Middle Amazon</i>
IBAMA	Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis - <i>Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Resources</i>
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - <i>Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics</i>
IEA	Instituto de Estudos Amazônicos - <i>Institute of Amazon Studies</i>
INCRA	Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária - <i>National Institute for Colonization and Land Reform</i>
MDB	Movimento Democrático Brasileiro - <i>Brazilian Democratic Movement</i>
MIRAD	Ministério da Reforma Agrária e do Desenvolvimento - <i>Ministry of Land Reform and Development</i>
MMA	Ministério do Meio Ambiente - <i>Ministry of the Environment</i>
MPEG	Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi - <i>Emilio Goeldi Pará Museum</i>
ONG	Organização Não Governamental - <i>Non-Governmental Organization</i>
ONU	Organização das Nações Unidas - <i>United Nation Organization</i>
OXFAM	Comitê de Oxford pela Eliminação da Fome – <i>Oxford Committee for Famine Relief</i>
PAE	Projeto de Assentamento Agro-Extrativista - <i>Agro-Extractivist Settlement Project</i>
PCdoB	Partido Comunista do Brasil - <i>Communist Party of Brazil</i>
PDS	Projeto de Desenvolvimento Sustentável - <i>Sustainable Development Project</i>
PIN	Programa de Integração Nacional - <i>National Program Integration</i>
PND	Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social - <i>Social and Economic Development National Plan</i>
PNUD	Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento - <i>United Nation</i>

	<i>Development Program</i>
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores - <i>Labor Party</i>
RDS	Reserva de Desenvolvimento Sustentável - <i>Sustainable Development Reserve</i>
RESEX	Reserva Extrativista - <i>Extractive Reserve</i>
SCA	Secretaria da Coordenação da Amazônia Legal - <i>Coordenation Secretary of the Legal Amazon</i>
SUDAM	Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Amazônia - <i>Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon</i>
SUDHEVEA	Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Borracha - <i>Superintendency for Rubber Development</i>
UC	Unidade de Conservação - <i>Conservation Unity</i>
UDR	União Democrática Ruralista - <i>Rural Democratic Union</i>
UFRRJ	Universidade Federal Rural de Rio de Janeiro - <i>Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro</i>
ULTAB	União dos Lavradores e Trabalhadores Agrícolas do Brasil - <i>Alliance of the Agriculture and Rural Workers of Brasil</i>
UNEP	Programa das Nações Unidas para o Meio Ambiente - <i>United Nation Environment Program</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The document laid ahead express a reflection of academic nature – as it is up to its authors - about the creation process and development of the Unidades de Conservação, UCs , which are denominated Reservas Extrativistas – Extractive Reserves – (RESEXs) created or about to be created in the Oriental Amazon with special reference towards the Tapajos-Arapiuns extractive reserve (Puxirum Project). It answers to a request made by the Conselho Nacional dos Seringueiros / National Council of the Rubber-tappers,(CNS), of whom the authors would like to thank for the unlimited freedom to research and to share opinions that were given to them aiming an independent analysis.

To elaborate this document the authors have relied on a number of documents given by the CNS (see list at the annex.) besides verbal information received in four meetings with the directors and the technicians from this entity. They were also able to rely on a relatively vast literature about the origin and the history of the RESEXs and about the itinerary of the CNS along its 20 years of acting in the Amazon. Unfortunately it was not possible to the CNS, the responsible for the Extractive Reserve Project, to provide them with a short trip to that reserve.

The authors have vast experience in research, partnership and scientific advisory jointly with rural communities in various estates of the Amazon and of acquaintanceship with national, international, governmental and non-governmental entities, which has provided them with the direct knowledge concerning social and environmental projects.

The documentation available and the personal knowledge did not allow the authors to accomplish a quantitative analyses of the Puxirum Project and of the results obtained. Thence this “reflective” characteristic assigned to this paper. It is believed that despite its limitations this reflection will allow a highlighting of the positive and stimulant aspects of the on-going process and will offer suggestions and orientation towards improvement and correction, whatever useful, of the methodology of approval, creation, implementation, development and accompaniment of the Amazon RESEXs- excluding there the marine RESEXs, because of its particularities.

The text is put together in two main parts - one of them refers to the construction of the extractivism social movement against the expansion of the mineral, agricultural and cattle-raising

borders within the Amazon; the other part analyzes the process of construction and development of the Extractivism Reserves as a result of that movement.

PART I – INVESTIGATING THE PAST IN ORDER TO INTERPRET THE PRESENT

1. The Amazon context in the 1970-1980s: the socio-political phenomenon of the frontier

It was the end of December in 1988 and one of the authors was in Europe. When he was listening to the radio in the morning, reading the papers and watching the news on the television, he was informed that Francisco Alves Mendes Filho, known amongst the Brazilians as Chico Mendes, has been murdered. The victim of this savage and gratuitous aggression was barely known by the Brazilian people; a victim of a senseless barbaric act - senseless as all barbaric acts are –which, sooner or later, turns against itself.

It was senseless when it comes to the authors of the crime, but explainable in social and political terms.

Since the beginning of the 70s, the Military Government installed in command by the 1964 Insubordination, put in practice a Program of “National Integration” (PIN), integrating the Nation’s marginal regions (North and Northeast) with the country’s economically hegemonic and supposedly more advanced region (South and Middle-South). The logic of the “way of life” derived from the hegemonic regions should work as role model, a guide into the future for the population of the “underdeveloped” regions and, therefore - as it would suit the power regimen – inflict upon these delayed ones. This logic was called “development”. The regionally hegemonic model, which expressed it and should be expanded, was called “the national economy” (Edict law number 1.106 which has created the PIN). Some of the actions of this program consisted of “the immediate construction of the Trans-Amazônica and Cuibá-Santarem roads”; “the colonization and the land reform within a strip of land of up to 10km to the left and to the right away from the new roads, using the PIN resources (30% of the Fiscal Incentives from the Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Amazônia / Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon (SUDAM)) already institutionalized since 1966”; “the adequate occupation of land aiming at productive economic exploitation” (Hébette, 1974, p. 47), understanding that, until then, it has not been “productive”. The connecting road to Acre was predicted to be built through the construction,

starting in 1973, of the Perimetral Norte roads, the BR 210, which would connect Macapá with the Colombian borders and the BR 307 which would link Cruzeiro do Sul, in Acre, to the Venezuelan borders. (Ibid.p.58). As we shall see, history did not wait for the Perimetral Norte works to arrive in Acre. As it was suggested some years later, by the title of an excerpt of denunciatory analyses, "Things is (were) getting tight" (Hébette, 1991).

The destiny of Amazon was set .By law decree!

According to the "Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social /National Plan of Economic and Social Development (PND) 1972-1974, introduced in September 15th, 1971, to the National Congress: "at the same time that it consolidates the developed nucleus in the Center-south [...] it will be implanted new regional plans, specially the South agriculture-industrial plan, the Northeast industrial plan and the cattle-raising / farming of the Planalto Central and of the Amazon, specially agro-mineral" (Hébette, 1974, p. 48). An agriculture-farming destiny – rejecting the extractivism into the dustbin of the past.

The fiscal incentives had already anticipated itself to the plans. A decree-law number 61.330 of September 11, 1967 had established a Work Group for the National Integration of the Amazon / Grupo de Trabalho para a Integração Nacional da Amazônia (GTINAM) to define the political master line for the region (Hébette, 1974,p.50). Obviously the economic groups from the country hegemonic pole were not unaware of what was being planned during the GT's recess -of which one can even guess that they were taking part in it .To the Center-South speculators, the fiscal incentives were a golden business; it financed an imaginative buy of lands by showing phantasm projects to the SUDAM regarding the conversion of the forest into "productive activity" – it is understood that this conversion was laying down land forest into pasture. The Amazon lands which were not foreseen to be used towards colonization were shared among the most diverse economic groups from the South and from the Center-South: banks, air and road transport companies, agriculture-food enterprises, migration agencies and families of great farmers (Hébette, 2004, p.23-264).

Acre was out of the colonization plans, but the large estates (*latifudium*) were advancing in giant steps along the Cuiabá-Porto Velho highway, the BR 364. (Hébette; Acevedo, 2004, p. 245-310). From Porto Velho the road bifurcated towards the Acrean capital, Rio Branco, and, again, on to the

municipalities of Basiléia and Xapuri, through the BR 317. It is on those municipalities that the speculators found their first mass resistance. It came from the rubber-tappers.

2- The rubber-tappers movement

2.1- A precise resistance: the “empates / hinders”

How can one understand this resistance that was coming precisely from workers derived from a business sector in decline? At the end of an ephemeral boom of rubber exploitation during which it was called “the battle of the rubber”, backing Brazil’s support to the war strategies of the allies (1942-1945), rubber-tappers had transferred their possessions to other sectors, including cattle-raising/farming. As a consequence of this abandonment, the “rubber soldiers”, as how they were nicknamed, heroes of this battle, had freed themselves from the bosses subordinate almost subservient work and from the wounds of the *aviamento*¹ regimen : they had become “free people”, according to the terminology made by them, or “autonomous”, according to the classification stated by the statistic and public management organs from the work economy.

Life was not easy at the Acrean ‘seringais’- rubber-tree plantation. Throughout the 1970s up to the 1980s many of the rubber-tappers abandoned the ‘seringais’ in order to strive for a supposedly better life, especially at the near State capital, Rio Branco, settling at this huge city periphery, which surrounded this small town of only 34.531 inhabitants in 1970 (IBGE, 1971).

It is not by chance that the resistance came from Basiléia and Xapuri, the two municipalities holding the largest concentration of rubber-tappers in the State (Vergolino; Gomes, 2004, p.454). The rubber-tappers had known the temporary production apogee of the 1940s due to the support from the government. It was recorded in their memories the image of the richness of the forest which had turned the explorers into wealthy people. Through practice and inheritance from their parents they had developed a “seringueira”/rubber technology. Their livelihood, which was technologically well known to them, was suffering a qualitative transformation by the incorporation of values inherent in recent professional autonomy and in living in solidarity without interference of bosses and foremen. The rubber-trees were at their command; at their command was, as well, the process of

¹ Aviamento is when the landlord sells supplies to the rubber tappers, generally at exorbitant prices. About this regimen in general, see Santos (1968) and about specifically ‘aviamento’ in the ‘seringais’, see Weinstein (1993, p.19-51) and Vergolino; Gomes (2004, p. 455-457).

reorganization of their collective livelihood .The reader of the 20th century -three decades after the opening of the frontiers - may suspect that within these life conceptions there were some *utopia* of a bucolic simplicity, of an illusory perception of the feelings of freedom .It is up to the “modern” reader to suspect that or not....

The fact is that the rubber-tappers from Basiléia and Xapuri, with or without illusion, but with the conviction of what they wanted, decided to resist, what Martins (1991, p.15-33; 1993, p.61-82) called in a fortunate expression: “the arrival of the stranger”. The rubber-tappers found it extremely strange this new way of being and living of those speculators who were invading their lands - contrary to their own extractivist way of being and living. They knew that for those strangers:

It is not about *introducing* something into the lives of these people, but to *take away* what is vital for their survival ,not only in terms of economy: land and territories, means and conditions of material, social, cultural and political existence .It is as if they did not exist or in existing, were not allowed the right of acknowledgment of their humanity (Martins, 1993, p. 63).

These rubber-tappers were aware of the suffering undergone by their fellow comrades who had moved to the capital shantytowns or the land reform settlements, set up in great haste by the Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agrária / Land Reform National Institute (INCRA). They had to make a choice: “either migrate to the affected areas or get organized amongst themselves in order to fight the violence perpetrated against them” (Bakx, 1990, p.53) they opted for the resistance, but a pacific one (Grzybowski, 1989, p. 38–40). Such a difference in style! They started a strategy of “empate” or “hinder”- a strategy “which left them to their own devices and consisted of taking the blame for the obstruction of the deforestation in the region (thence the term “hinder”: to hind, to obstruct; (Menezes, 1989, p. 18). As pointed out by Bakx (1990,p.56) “initially, the empates/hinders were found, but in 1976 it had already taken the proportion of the whole State. Squatters from all over the municipalities had already gathered displaying manifestation of solidarity. According to Menezes,”it was such an uneven fight because ,out of the 45 “empates” performed up until now (1989)only 15 managed to obstruct deforestation”.

But, even so,“over more than one million of hectare”(1 hectare=10.000 sq meters = 2.471 acres).What is not something to make little account of.

2.2- The First steps of a stable organization: the STRs.

The struggle against the large state owners was not compatible with chance and spontaneity - it required a permanent organization, a constant mobilization of the militants. It required a more refined definition of the strategies. This organization fell on a set of actors whose names became obscure by the sudden international recognition of Francisco Alves Mendes Filho, aka Chico Mendes. Several of them were murdered, like his companion and friend Wilson Pinheiro (Grzybowski, 1989, p. 19-23). In this effort to get organized, both had to face lots of adversities coming from different sectors: from those companions who had incorporated an attitude of submission as part of their professional experience; (Pierre Bourdieu “Habitus”, 2002.); from the local elite party and from the priest of Xapuri himself: “In 1968 I tried to do a work of fight for the autonomy of the rubber-tappers and had to face lots of troubles...”[...]. I found great difficulties even to manage to awake the conscience of my companions” (Mendes, 2004, p. 73).

Chico Mendes had been initiated into organized labor (syndicalism) by his master Euclides Tavora, a former expeditionary from the “Coluna Prestes”, self exiled and clandestine inside the Acre jungle after having escaped from Fernando de Noronha island high-security penitentiary and with whom Chico’s father had developed a friendship. Before the local resistances there was no condition to create a Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais/Rural Workers Labor Union, STR inside that municipality. Chico had to move from Xapuri to Basiléia in order to take part in the creation of the STR, as Xapuri did not belong to the jurisdiction area within that municipality. Thus in 1975 the STR of Basiléia was created, under the presidency of Elias Reseno, having Chico taking over the function of secretary and Wilson Pinheiro, the Fiscal Council (MENDES, 2004, p. 73-74).

In 1977, in a more favorable atmosphere, it was created the SRT of Xapuri, the next to the last in the State to be created. Chico had already returned to his own municipal district, answering to the invitation of the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro / Brazilian Democratic Movement, MDB, to constitute the candidate slate running to be the councilmen. This was not an easy decision taken by him in front of his companions from Basiléia. He was elected. He contributed towards choosing the directors board for the SRT, this time counting on the support of the Catholic Church, as the “reactionary” priest had left. Chico did not have a political-party judgment - his judgment was related to syndicalism, the organized labor. In Acre, he got together with the intellectuals.

He swapped parties: from MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) to the PC do B, (Communist Party of Brazil), the Brazilian Communist Party. And in 1979 he would swap to PT, the Labor Party, of which he run as candidate to be mayor in 1985 -which was not successful- and to State

Deputy in 1986, whilst the SRT in Basiléia had stronger links to the MBD party. Bakx (1990, p. 61-62) establishes a coherency between the respective parties and union strategies from the two municipalities: PT (Labor party) and the STR of Xapuri adopted a radical posture of non-cooperation with the federal policies set by INCRA and by the Superintendencia do Desenvolvimento da Borracha / Superintendence of Rubber Development (SUDHEVA) whilst INCRA has not made up a decision in favor of the land situation of the rubber trees. In some moments, this indecision generated an awkward situation among the municipality militants and even their rupture, according to Maxwell (2004, p. 56).

During this period Mary Allegretti, who had gone to Acre in 1978 to carry out some field work for a Master's degree dissertation, had been seduced by the idea of setting up a literacy learning school for the rubber-tappers, which came to happen with the Rubber-tappers Project, in 1981, the same year Chico had been elected president of the STR (Nakashima, 2004, p. 63; Allegretti, 1989, p. 22). Later she created the Instituto de Estudos da Amazonia / Amazon Studies Institute, the IEA, in Paraná - a Non-Governmental Organization (ONG) which deals with studies and consultancy.

In accordance with Bakx (1990, p. 62), the STR extremist attitude in Xapuri would have been one of the outcomes of the educational program developed by the Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa na Amazônia / Amazon Center of Documentation and Research, CEDOP, within the pedagogical orientation of the popular educator, Paulo Freire and funded by the British NGO OXFAM (Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) through the NGO researcher and representative, Tony Gross (Maxwell, 2004, p. 56). Some groups of community commerce would have emerged from this program, such as the groups supported by the Comissão Pastoral da Terra / Pastoral Commission of the Land, CPT, created by the Catholic and Lutheran churches in 1975 (Bakx, 1990; Maxwell, 2004).

2.3- From STR to the National Council of the Rubber-tappers (CNS)

The case held by Chico Mendes was the trade union movement (syndicalism). In the case of Acre, an union of “freedmen” or “self-employed, autonomous” rubber-tappers, neither with a boss nor subordinated to one, did not coincide with the orthodoxy of the SRT - in Chico's own point of view- because it welcomed not only the self-employed worker, but also peasants, partners, boarders, etc. There were indeed an entity linked to rubber exploration, the Conselho Nacional da Borracha/ National Council of the Rubber, CNB, but this entity was consisted of rubber-tappers

representatives and government - there was no place for a common rubber-tappers. The União dos Lavradores e Trabalhadores Agrícolas do Brasil / Agriculture and Farm Workers Alliance -ULTAB had solved this class problem by unfolding itself: the rural workers had been detached from the rural entrepreneurs, originating two class entities: STR, Rural Worker Labor Union and the SPR, Rural Producers Union (mainly entrepreneurs). The matter of the rubber-tappers from Acre was solved not in a similar way - a council was created parallel with the rubber council and, curiously, also “national”, although bearing very different functions: the CNS, the National Council of the Rubber-tappers.

The creation of a Council was a decision of the 1st National Meeting of the Amazon Rubber-tappers / I Encontro Nacional dos Seringueiros da Amazônia held in Brasília, in October, 1985 of which 130 workers took part whose “majority had never gone out of the forest” (Allegretti, 1989, p. 3). As stated by, “Mary was left taking care of this matter in Brasília” (Grzybowski, 1989, p. 22). The Meeting also, “cared for the presence of national and international observers” (Mendes, 2004, p. 88). Chico was already befriended with Tony Gross and with filmmaker Cowell, who put Mary Allegretti in touch with American environmentalists. At that Meeting, as it is pointed out by Chico (Mendes, 2004) “it started to grow an awareness of alliances [...] with the Indians”. According to Nakashima (2004, p. 63), Chico Mendes then “becomes its [from CNS] main reference”. He, however, did not seem to get all involved in this CNS: his political arena place was Acre.

It is a time when this yet little national but Amazon ‘reference’ is “sucked in” a national and – above all- international whirlwind in accordance with his friends and advisers orientation. Observe: only in 1987, members of the ONU committee had the chance to visit Xapuri, in January. Thanks to subtle articulation from his friends, pretending to be a journalist Chico takes part in an annual meeting of the BID- Banco Interamericano de Desenvolvimento/ InterAmerican Development Bank – financier of great works, where he denounces the financial intervention from multilateral Banks. In July of the same year, Chico “receives in London the Global 500 awards, granted by the Environmental Program of the United Nations (UNEP). In New York, the television chain CNN renders homage to him. (Nakashima, 2004, p. 65; Menezes, 1989, p. 18).

The travels of Chico Mendes provided the movement with plenty of funding, but his new friends concerns were not the same as his. They were interested in the conservation of the Amazon vegetation cover and Chico was “the reference” for their campaign, now international. As stated by Nakashima, (2004, p. 51),” Chico was getting tired of been called “ecologist” by the press”. He

declared once: “I am not protecting the forest because I am worried that in 20 years to come the world will be affected. I am worried about the people who live here and depend upon the forest” (Ibid. p. 52). In conformity with Maxwell (2004, p. 61), it would have been Cowell, through Mary Allegratti, who would have suggested Chico to “change his message”: “instead of the ‘old vindication of social justice and land reform’ [...] he should now ask for preservation of the Amazon”.

Whatever were the interpretations from the writers, it is undeniable that the Rubber-tappers council was born amidst an atmosphere of reflection and discussion derived from rubber-tappers and intellectuals, mirroring contrasting ideologies, which has marked the history of the CNS. Paradoxically and in contrast with Chico Mendes statements, the CNS seemed like it was forced sometimes to take advantage of the ecology ‘flag’ – Nature conservation – in order to find support to its actions as it was from the Organizations and from the Environmental programs that it received more sympathy and financial support. As early as 1989 (Allegratti, 1989, p.4), it made a list of nothing less than nine institutions – all international – which supported the extractive reserve methodology as “the most adequate idea in order to guarantee the conservation of the forest resources of the Amazon”. Somehow since its origin, the “identity” of the CNS carried an undefined tone, which it is reflected over its documents.

2.4- A proper space at the Government: the CNPT

In 1992, an Edict of the Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e Recursos Renováveis / Brazilian Institute of the Environment and of the Renewable Resources (IBAMA), number 22-N, from February, 10, 1992 creates the Conselho Nacional das Populações / National Council of the Population -CNPT. In Edict, these populations are identified as “those who traditionally and culturally have their subsistence based on the extractive of natural goods”. It is about a “traditional population who inhabit areas of Environmental Conservation managed by the IBAMA [...] respecting the free purpose over their cultural profile evolution” (Brasil, 1992).

In this sense within the ministry structure, the CNPT coincide perfectly to what is the CNS in the civil society, thus establishing itself as the institutional coherency of dialogue and cooperation between government and society, two instances resting in tension at first, when not in conflict of interests, according to the social movement theory.

2.5-Movement, CNS and CNPT: a common commitment and identity?

With all the rubber-tappers movement in Acre, all particularly occupied with the traditional population, extended to the “extrativists”, to the Rubber-tappers Council and the CNPT, would all of them have interests and commitments in common? Or would it be confused? Some comments inspired by the social movement theory could be added here to contribute to further reflection.

In 1989, Alegretti (1989, p.) spoke about the rubber-tappers struggles in this manner “this social movement emerged in the 1970s in Acre. It consisted in “a peculiar and unknown phenomenon, not only to the researches but for the common public as well”. Chico Mendes insistently repeats his “will”, this word: movement”.

The National Council of the Rubber-tappers, CNS, originated in 1985, some ten years after the beginning of the movement, mentioned by Allegretti when the latter had gained international reputation and should present visibility in order to obtain support, taking advantage of this visibility to make pressure over the State (Executive, Legislative and Judiciary). The movement, in full strength, needed a representative. Thence it resulted in the creation of that Council. In the course of the time however, little was spoken – in writings at least – about the movement, although it kept existing and expanding. On speeches it started losing visibility for the benefit of the CNS. It was a surprise to re-encounter it in some of the internal documents at CNS consulted.

In these documents it is written about the “movement” in various moments and also about the Rubber-tappers Council as its representative. This distinction is never explained and probably slips away from the mind of a lot of extractivists. It would deserve an elucidation. It deals with entities and functions, two things whose comprehension conditions action

Literature of the social movements emphasizes that a social movement can not get mixed up with a given entity. The social movement is characterized by the mobility of people who believe in a cause capable to motivate them and who are inclined to fight collectively in favor of it. In the studied case, the reference made by Alegretti were the “empates/hinders” which mobilized men, women, grown-ups and even children. The rubber-tappers leaders felt a necessity of an entity that would take over the organization and the representative responsibilities. As we have seen before, initially it was the Rural Workers Union; further it was idealized a new entity which could offer a better visibility to the specific identity of the rubber-tappers: the CNS.

One may ask if through the years the entity would not have been replaced the movement - the means surpassing the end. As it is common to happen, some leadership -exception given to Chico Mendes - were absorbed by administrative and organizational functions, including governmental offices. However, the leadership corporations inside the government and the undeniable “advantages” of its presence amongst official instances, would not have led, to some extent, to the dismissal of the pressure and the fight from the bases of the movement? Plenty of those who were induced to make this option must have asked themselves how to make an inside action compatible with an outside action. To what the current CNS leaderships are concerned, their coming back can be considered positive the ‘movement’ and the renewing of the Council directing board allowing a return to the foundations of those who have devoted part of their militant life to administrative function and letting new leaderships be benefited from their accumulated experiences.

The reports however did not make it clear as to the idea that the extractivists who asked for the creation of a reserve, perceived the distinction in the functions and responsibilities between the movement of which they take part of (supposedly) and the functions and responsibilities of their representative, CNS. Disturbing in this aspect, the Resolution set by the “Congress of the Extractivist population and sustainable development of the Amazon Region-Production and management Unit of the Amazon Forest.”, held in Manaus, from 29/11 to 02/12/2005, the same date of the celebration of the 20 years of existence of the Council. At this Congress were gathered “representatives from all the modalities of collective use of the land”. RESEX/ RDS/ PAE/ PDS.

A Final Resolution lists a great number of resolutions taken by the participants directly to the CNS, that is, to the representative. Apart from some resolution such as “to promote national mobilization adjoined to the federal institutions, member of the congress and associated organization (p.5) it is solicited to the CNS – the CNS directors -“to vindicate”, “to demand”, “to charge” from the official boards as if it was a representative entity duty to undertake functions and activities which belong to the to the communities who get involved in the movement; or, still “to create and to strengthen the extractivists producers association “or“to use all possible sorts of resources and ways to inform, to spread out the word, and to amplify the knowledge of a great number of the community members.” Is it not the mobilization and the organization of the basis who make the strength of a movement? And is it not a strong internal organization of the extractivist producers at its basis, one of the fundamental assurances of a RESEX success, as one can notice following its strategies?

It is true that the constant mobilization of the basis and the experience holders availability to “qualify and capacitate the extractivists social organization” (Resolution 9, related to the item “basis organization”) demands not only people generosity and dedication but equipments and financial funding as it became clear for the RESEX Tapajos-Arapiuns, for instance, when acquiring a boat of vital importance to make the contacts easier or by means of virtual communication. As consequence it would be of ultimate importance that the sources of finance funding – governmental or non-governmental - understand first the fundamental importance of the work of basis and second, the huge difficulties of this work considering the physical, structural and cultural of the Amazon.

Yes, cultural conditions too! Not as it is frequently interpreted, in a pejorative and depreciative way, but in a constructive sense, as it is precisely these cultural values belonging to these population that allow them to oppose themselves to the modernist consuming and predatory culture, at the same time this involving modernization demands “an acculturation” of these population, in particular from its leaders basis- how difficult and slow!- to the management and planning of methods of entrepreneurship. Fortunately –and of this the authors of this paper are testimonial subjects – there are supportive organisms open to this understanding.

PART II- THE ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGES

3. The Extractive Reserves -RESEXs

3.1- The creation of the RESEXs

The resolution to create an extractivist reserve was presented at the 1st Rubber-tappers meeting in 1985. It was a result out of the preparatory regional meetings held from June to October in the States of Amazon, Acre and Rondonia, that is, mainly around the BR-364 road, where the first rubber-tappers struggles had emerged. There were some discussion over these meetings about reserving proper lands for the rubber-tappers with some references to, in some meetings, the endogenous people (Indians) reserves of which they have some characteristics in common, such its collective use and a territorial extension appropriated to their livelihood and their reproduction based on the sustainable use of the natural resources (Allegratti, 1989, p. 2). The land reform settlement forms from INCRA’s were excluded as they were based on agriculture

and small cattle rising and there were an antagonist rejection regarding the figure of the “colono” (settler) associated to them (Ibid). The reference to extractivism already went beyond the exploration of rubber-trees alone. It was included as ‘extractivist resources’ fruits such as Brazil-nuts, ‘buriti’, ‘babaçu coconut’, and animals like the tapir, peccary (wild pigs), caititus (Ibid. p. 14). The ideas had advanced and had organized themselves rapidly; it also spread to some governmental, Federal and State competences (Ibid., p. 17).

Curiously, it was the Ministry of Land Reform and Development/Ministério de Reforma Agrária e Desenvolvimento (MIRAD) through the Edict number 627, from July, 30, 1987 (BRASIL, 1987) that it was instituted the modality of an Extrativist Settlement Project / Projeto Assentamento Extrativista (PAE), assigned according to the office, to answer to the demands of the extractivist producers (Allegretti, 1989, p. 23) Curiously because the first rubber-tappers fights had been against INCRA’s proposals; the adhesion matter of INCRA’s settlement projects had provoked a serious misunderstanding between the open STRs in Basiléia and the STR in Xapuri – irreducibly against the INCRA’s proposals. It was only INCRA though, which had the competence to reserve land, or put in better words in this case, a “territory”, an essential component of the proposal. In conclusion to the Seminars promoted by a Work Group created by the Edict number 41/96, from INCRA, this WG stated that “ INCRA, in admitting the need to answer to the constant and just plea made by the inhabitants of the Extrativist Settlement Projects (PAEs)[...] presented the proposal of a “Projetos Agro-extrativistas”/Agro-extractivist Project”(or Agro-extractivist Basis Project). The practices adopted by INCRA since its creation in 1970 however did not favor the attendance towards the settler’s expectations who considered them [the practices] excessive restricted to extractivism. They were effectively created by INCRA’s Edict number 268 and 269 (BRASIL, 1996a; 1996b) from October 23rd, 1996, both of authorship of the Extra-ordinary State Minister of Land Reform Policies, Mr Raul Jungmann Pinto who, at the same time was also president of INCRA. It brought as novelty a new component introduced at the previous PAE modality, from 1987 – and revoked at that same date – the “agro component”, transforming the denomination from ‘Projeto de Assentamento Extrativista’ to ‘Projeto de Assentamento Agro-Extrativista ‘ (INCRA, 1996, p. V-VII.).

In between the years 1987 and 1996, it had been consummated the Constitutive Law along with irritated fights among the representative of the social-rural movements and the União Democrática Ruralista /Rural Democratic League (UDR), an office of the large state owners. Surprisingly, almost without the latter knowledge, the article 20 II and 225II had been approved by the new Constitute

Law (Brasil, 1988) – the first article refers to the UNIÃO goods, among which “the vacant lands indispensable [...] to the environmental preservation defined by law”, and the second relates to the Environment, concerning, in its paragraph 4th to the “Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest.

Using these lawful institutes in January 30th, 1990, the President Jose Sarney revoking the dispositions to the contrary, issue the Edict number 98.897 which gives to the Executive Power the right to create extractive reserves conceived as “territorial spaces designated to the sustainable exploration and conservation of its natural resources, by extractivist population [...] leaving the IBAMA responsible for the necessary expropriation”. The INCRA ghost was exorcized! Not totally so, though, because some competences related to the large states (*latifundium*) were INCRA’s matter – a problem very complex and still pendent - as in 2002, “after 12 years of the creation of first Extrativist Reserve it has not been possible to sign an single contract of Concession of Rightful Use / Concessão de Direito Real de Uso (MMA, 2002, p. 13).

By the Edict number 628 it had been created: the PAEs of São Luíz do Remanso, the PAE Santa Quitéria, the PAE Cachoeira, all in Acre; the Paes Maracá I, II, III in Amapá; and the PAE Antimari and Terruão, in Amazonas. Pratically all have been converted into RESEX (see Table 1 below, and Map 1, annex).

New RESEXs came in sequence as the ones in Porto de Moz, de Ipaú/Anilzinho and de Riozinho do Anfrísio, a total of 21 today (see table 1).

3.2- The Questions

Once the wave of euphoria promoted by the Developed World environmentalists - serving their conservationists goals- was gone, the “rationalism” and the “viability” of this new way of exploring the forest resources were being questioned entirely. In accordance with the place from where the interpreters were speaking from, diverse were these “rationalism” and “visibility” issues in question.

Table 1- Extractivist Reserves existing in the Brazilian Amazon

NUMBER	NAME	CITY/STATE	AREA (ha)
1	Alto Juruá	Cruzeiro do Sul/AC	506.186
2	Alto Tarauacá	Jordão and Tarauacá/AC	151.199
3	Chico Mendes	Rio Branco, Xapuri, Brasiléia, Assis Brasil, Sena Madureira and Capixaba/ AC	970.570
4	Rio Cajarí	Laranjal do Jari, Vitória do Jari and Mazagão/AP	481.650
5	Rio Ouro Preto	Guajara-Mirim and Nova Mamoré/RO	204.583
6	Barreirinhas Antas	Guajara-Mirim/RO	107.234
7	Rio Cautário	Guajara-Mirim/RO	73.817
8	Lago do Cuniã	Porto Velho/RO	52.065
9	Extremo Norte	Carrasco Bonito/TO	9.280
10	Mata Grande	Senador La Roche/MA	10.450
11	Quilombo Frexal	Mirinzal/MA	9.542
12	Ciriáco	Cidelândia/MA	7.050
13	Tapajós-Arapiuns	Santarém e Aveiro/PA	647.610
14	Verde para Sempre	Porto de Moz/PA	1.300.000
15	Ipaú-Anilzinho	Baião/PA	60.000
16	Riozinho do Anfrísio	Altamira/PA	736.000
17	Mapuá	Breves/PA	
18	Arioca Pruanã	Oeiras do Pará/PA	
19	Auti-Paraná	Fonte Boa/AM	146.950
20	Baixo Juruá	Juruá e Uarini/AM	187.982
21	Médio Juruá	Carauari/AM	253.226

Source: CNPT/IBAMA, 2001, updated by the authors in 2005

3.2.1- The rationalism

For the rubber-tappers the rationalism of their fight and their claims resided in the lawful right won over by generations of rubber-tappers, to live, work and abode in the ‘seringais’; a right based on their taming work of the forest. (Is it not suggestive that within the ‘seringais’ the word taming was given a new meaning – amazonic Brazilian according to ‘Aurelio Diccionary’, of “the preparation done in the seringais before extending the little leave mugs at the trees in order to start the harvesting”. It is a right inherited in the name of Brazil during the fight for boundaries recognition with Bolivia. A right therefore to stay in their territories.

To those environmentalist allied to the rubber-tappers, the rationalism based itself upon the rightfulness of the present and future human beings generation to survive comfortably in the planet, threaten today by Global Warming resulted of gas emission and by a visible set of atmospheric unbalances. A right that begins to be considered as involving an international right of intervention and control, based on the Kyoto Protocol- which in contradiction was refused by the government of the agent of pollution potentiality in the world.

To the environmentalists, extractive reserves are a technological delay, a fundamental contradiction set against the objectives of progress and modernization of a Nation, which wants to ascend to a “Developed Nation” status – an objective and a right well understood which is up to the State to promote it in the Nation’s name.

3.2.2- The viability

The most argued question was in fact about “viability”. But, which viability?

To the conventional economist and for the development people, it is about the economic viability, which is measured up in money. In capitalism terms, it means maximum efficiency in allocating “factors”, compared to alternative allocation. In this sense, the progress for the Amazon would be the industry.

To that extractivist who opted for the extractivist reserves, this viability is of their permanence in a territory where they can live according to their values, which, obviously, are not the same values of their antagonists. It is the viability of refusal of the “development” model promoted by the governments over their lands since 1970 – a model which they denied since then; a model that put most part of the population into a marginal situation and deepens the abyss of social disparities, as it proved by social indicators from official international institutions. A model that multiplies the shantytowns settled immediate around the wealthy areas (BAKX, 1990) and generates violence. It is in favor for the viability of its permanence that the extrativists struggle everyday through its organization.

At the second half of the 20th century, some micro-economists came with this invention in opposition to thee great economy classics (Adam Smith, David Ricardo) of a “theory of the consumer’s preference“ which includes - in the economical decisions and in the consumer choices -

an element of freedom that takes on account the subjective preferences of the agents. The reference does not mean adherence to the theory, but it serves to remind the economists that the rational choices in the economic field do not obey strictly economic factors only. And if these extractivists have chosen or are choosing to do so to whom and in the name of what should one contest against? Or why? And in the name of whom should one contest those – peasants, intellectuals, researchers, assessors and governments- who support them?

It must be clear that what is defended here is the interested free choice, that is, the extrativists themselves. And then, inevitably, may be evoked the social and eventually political conditioning which regulates the freedom of choice. The better sign of freedom of choice by the population, it not a simple request petition or simply some leadership conviction; these are the fights already fought, before any “demand” of creation, sometimes influenced by perspectives of material advantages. It is speculated then about this preliminary partnership prior to the creation of a new reserve.

Hasty creations without proved foundation in collective practices run the risk of fragility or even failure. Thence the importance of previous official research demanded by the CNPT. And of its quality. And of its “scientific” and human competence of its elaborators. These qualities are not always shown in the official research. Among those that were possible to read, it stands out the socio-economic and population survey prior to the creation of the RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns, (CNPT, 1998) which could serve as example for future projects .Why? The answer is in the excerpt below.

By insisting on the social dynamic of mobilization and participation, it does not make it smaller the importance of productivity improvement through a more efficient exploitation of the natural resources traditionally explored: such as rubber, nuts, timber, vine, seeds, oils, and medicine plants, or through the introduction or genetic adaptations of vegetal species.

**Socio-economic and population Survey
Resex Tapajós-Arapuins, Santarém. 1998
A Critic Comment**

The socio-economic and population survey was taken in the period of October / 1997 to February / 1998. The research was coordinated by a scholar of the Amazon riverside community – holder of a Master degree by the Post Graduation Course in Development, Agriculture and Society / Curso de Pós-graduação em Desenvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedade – (CPDA) from the Universidade Federal Rural de Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ), having an adviser and six field researchers, "most of them", graduated in Social Sciences.

The objective: "to outline a historical, socio-economic and cultural descriptive picture of a human population and their existing grouping in the given area". The manner that the objectives were formulated expresses the originality and the pertinence of the research focus, regarding a RESEX (page 5).

Explaining: a RESEX is an expression of an option - whether right or wrong, naive or a well pondered reflection of a population who has the right to demand respect for their self-determination to stay at the territory where they live and work. Democratic option derived from a population of whom it will be up to assume collectively its fate. It is up to this population to judge, considering their past experiences, the viability and validity of their project, not from abstract analyses but within a concrete global context, holding alternatives –social, economic and political- which is offered by it. To achieve that, the population relies on qualified Governmental instances support concerning the infrastructure, the economic, social, technological and political point of view. Therefore to these instances correspond the right and the duty to verify, by its turn, the conditions of viability of the project, within also the tangible perspectives and present alternatives, as they should know, that this kind of work relies on, before anything, on a political "willingness" of the interested parts. There it lies the importance of a very well-done socio-economic and cultural study - without looking down on some other form of viability analysis, such as a biological report, well conducted as well, or a technical study of technological alternatives

The survey followed a very interesting logic/methodology: after a fast actual demographic description, it starts at the very dynamic historical roots of the Tapajós-Arapuins area, giving place to a "history as perceived by the riverside people". Following, it approaches the "production" which is seen not only from a material point of view (kind of products, trade income) but also as a social process whose foundation lies on the storage of the available resources and in its use- mainly directed towards family's sustainability, within the classical peasant model. The following chapters give emphasis to the community organizations. They are divided in: "society" regarding its general aspects; "person and freedom"; "the riverland people imaginary"; "art and leisure" (it includes "language").

Within the theoretical rudiments which reflect itself on the summary introduced above, the team coordinators made an issue of getting the inhabitants of that area involved in order to make the survey: 21 of them were distributed alongside the Arapuins River and 27 alongside the Tapajó River – only 4 women among these groups. These inhabitants went through a training that would assure the quality of the collected data. Questionnaires were applied to 2.695 out of the 3.076 families –an accomplishment, if one considers all the difficulties related to access to the scattered families, and, even more, the problem of collecting quantitative data translated into usual measurements in IBGE language.

As one can see, it was not about, as it can happen sometimes, a simply gathering of numerical information about population size, its sex division, its age pyramid, the lawful situation of the couple, the identification of the old category "head/master of the house" – a kind of mini-census. What matter is the interpretation of the facts due its specific function: let it be known to the communities themselves to the CNS, the CNPT, the advisers, the favorable or non-favorable conditions toward creation and development of the reserve, problems of social nature that need to be solved, divisions or struggles within, authoritarian leadership, insufficient participation motivation especially material and immediate ones. One document to be used and talked about in meetings with those interested in helping take decisions realistically. In this sense it is also praiseworthy another Report which has verified the lack of the necessary condition towards the creation of another reserve.

The pedagogical use of a document of this quality and its contribution potential to the extractivist reserve management suggests the necessity of human resources, means of transportation and equipments serving these communities, aiming information, development and mobilization from its leaderships.

4- The RESEXs in Pará and the Puxirum Project

4.1- Why does Pará delay the implementation of the RESEXs?

The first extractivism reserves were created in the Occidental Amazon. This is explained by the origin of the struggles and by personal stubbornness of Chico Mendes and his companions. From there they expanded to the Amazon and to Rondonia up until Amapá. Why did it take so long to be implemented in Pará? Pará always had strong representativeness over the successive National Meetings of the rubber-tappers. Now, in terms of assurance of the native population permanence in their place and guarantee the continuity of the extractivist practices, the principal conquest of the State of Pará had limited itself, during years, to the matter of consuetudinary rights towards the women babaçu-breakers who had access to the babaçu áreas

Is it known that the Pará governments, defenders of the timber companies, have always resisted to the extractivist reserve policies. One can also conjecture that the massive presence at the 3rd National Meeting of the Seringueiros in 1992, with representatives from Pará (47 delegates) and from Amapá (10 delegates) – the presence of both of them equals Acre (57 delegates) – in total 147, had decisively influenced towards the adoption of strategies giving more emphasis to the agro-extractivist projects which would contemplate the land reform beneficiaries and the INCRA settlements, threatened of excessive deforestation contrary to the rules set by INCRA.

Chico Mendes had always insisted on the rural workers union role towards the rubber-tappers struggle. Now, it was precisely the STRs union people who represented the majority of Pará and Amapá, which confirmed by the conquest of the position of preside at the national Council by representatives from these two States the 1992-94 mandate. This election reflected the positioning of the majority at the Assembly who with stress had extended the typical extractivists sphere to the agro-extractivists “the unique representatives in struggle for survival of those populations who traditionally live in the Brazilian Amazon” (CNS, 1992). At the same time, it was insisted over the CNS role regarding the land reform realization in a general way, in the ambit of which “the extractivist reserves historically were conceived”, according to an interpretation of the CNPT (2002, p.15), “the second biggest objective [being] the environment defenses” (Ibid. p. 15).

As result of this strategic option and of the pressure coming from the movement over the Federal Government, INCRA decides to “introduce an ‘agro’ component in its activities as a means to

development” ,and to create a substitute to the ”Projeto de Assentamento Extrativista”/the Extractivist Settlement Project. This substitute would be the new “Projeto de Assentamento Agro-Extrativista”/Agro-Extractivist Settlement (INCRA, 1996). Would it have been INCRA maneuvering in order to keep the monopoly of the land reform, taking away from CNS hands? Or was it an answer to the extremism of the Acrean rubber-tappers movement in Xapuri refusing INCRA’s agro-extractivist settlement proposal, as it was seen above? For INCRA and in coherence with its institutional mission, these settlements were not aimed only to native population but they were extended to “population who occupy or will occupy the mentioned areas”- that is, population derived from an agricultural frontier.

It was during the management of Minister Mr. Saney Filho, with a new ministry board and with the pioneer militants participation, that the policy of reserves strictly extractivist came back to scene: a time when the international environmental pressure was growing against the ongoing growing deforestation. It was when “support was given from PPG-7 toward four reserves [strictly] extractivist, as it is stated at the 5° National Rubber-tappers Meeting report (1988, p.7.

Notice that there has always been in the CNS and among its advisers an oscillatory movement between the primacy given to environmental issue and the interests of traditional population –two question evidently interconnected. In Para this oscillation possibly had to do with the efforts concentration the Rural Workers Labor Union (STRs) from Pará in the conquest of agriculture land and peasant cattle-raising, being of late and of second instance its concern with the sustainable use of nature resources, whilst the STRs in Acre, Rondonia and Amazonas got mobilized for the preservation of their territories of abode and of collective use natural resources.

It was also in the same time of the PPG-7 manifestation – coincidence or not – that the Republic of Finland government, with no regards to the PP-7, decided to apply resources toward the development of the RESEXs.

The Puxirum Project , a result out of the Agreement between the Brazilian government and the Republic of Finland through the Development Program of the United Nations (UNDP), set reversal to this project and having the CNS giving priority to Pará the preservation of the traditional territories belonging to population typically extractivist, not without backing and motivate some other forms of respect towards the environment by diffeent part of producers,such as Agro-Extractive Project (PAEs) and Sustainable development Project (PDSs), in fact more direct ted to

INCRA. In this case, this ambivalence would have not given the desire to an certain duplicity or overlapping in objectives and functions?

Though this support Project by the Finish Governmet, the CNS contributed positively with the creation process, in Pará, of the Tapajós-Arapiuns, Verde Para Sempre, Paú/Anilzinho, Mapuá e Arioca-Pruanã RESEXs and for the information, motivation, formation and organization associative of other extractivist organization, besides the creation of diverse marine reserves along the coast of the Northeast of Pará and in the Marajo Island.

Initially, four extractivist-only reserves were created – RESEXs: Médio Juruá (in Amazonas), Tapajós-Arapiuns (in Pará), Lago do Cuniã (in Rondônia) and Alto Tarauacá (in Acre). It was also from this moment on that they started to extend effectively in Pará, being created recently one in Porto do Moz, one in Baião and one Altamira, and it is in study some other municipalities, beside the Marine Extrativist Reseves in Marajó and on the State north-east coast.

It must be said that, given the total opposition of Pará government, these new reserves are a result of a strong pressure from the interested communities, with decisive support at that time and with orientation, from the Council.

4- The Brazil-Finland agreement and the “Puxirum Project”

In a interview for “O Paraense” in 2002, when Mary Alegretti was still answering for the Secretary of Coordination of Legal Amazon / Secretaria da Coordenação da Amazônia Legal (SCA) and of Ministério do Meio Ambiente (MMA), she declared that “today Pará is the most critical State in the Amazon, spaking of the tendencies and strategic importance which Pará has in the Amazon [...].The [State of] Amazon depends upon what happens here [in Pará]. Adding: “what is happening here worry us and we have not managed to establish a partneship here in the State yet” (O Paraense, 2002).

This is the concern of the former secretary who answered to the Agreement for Forest Conservation and Sustainable Development Cooperation / Acordo de Cooperação para Conservação Florestal e Desenvolvimento Sustentável at State of Pará-BRA 02.009 between the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) and the Republic of Finland government, signed on the 2nd of

August, 2002 and aimed to mainly to the Tapajó-Arapiuns RESEXs created on the 6th of November, 1998.

The incumbency of execution of the Project during the forty months of its existence was designed to CNS, the traditional population movement legitimate representative fighting for its permanence on their traditional livelihood environment, and, as such, had taken part in the negotiations. Its presence in various points in the State of Pará, its structure and its experience enabled it to assume this responsibility. The Project administration was assigned to an Executive Team composed by a director indicated by the CNS and by a technician indicated by the Finish Government.

The goals of the Agreement, is the norm, should attend the interest of both parties and have, therefore, both signature .In accordance to the Agreement, the general objective of the Project was “to contribute towards the conservation of the forests in the State of Para, by means of a social-economical development of the traditional population and the out/marginal groups”. It corresponded to the original goals of the rubber-tappers struggle and their firs leaders: the permanece of the population here designed traditional, leaving an opening –not precise yet- to the support to the marginal groups non-specified. The conservation of the forest, means of permanence of these populations, was considered also as part of the objeotive correspondoing to the concerns of general envionment.

The Agreement involved also more ambitious perspectives, such as “to create, to test and to disseminate a model of development sustainable which was good for the development of extractive reserves.”(CNS, 2005). It was about, obviously, an objective only reached within longer terms than that the forty months of the Agreement. In fact this term, short enough, would allow only to implement the basic condition for definition and pre-test of such model. The stimulating aspect so this enterprise was that it was precisely how the rubber-tappers wanted back in the 1980s and other extractivist communities of today to elaborate and test an alternative model of “development”.

Two elements deserves distinction: the institutional strengthening of the alliances of the Tapajó-Arapuins reserve, as well as the advanced posts from CNS located in other reserves and the strengthening of the Secretary of Women [at CNS]” and the participation of women in the Project. In this perspective, the Project counted on the participation of eight Regional Coordination from CNS in Brasilia, Santarem, Belém, Ilha de Marajó, Marabá, Tucuruí, Breves and Soure.

It is not in our power to make known and evaluate with precision the results of the Project, but otherwise to give distinction to the meaning and the importance of the reserves within the CNS perspectives and of the population who prepares for this challenge.

See in the excerpt below some examples of participative acting prior to the creation of RESEXs, which were favorable to its implementation.

Anticipating and laying the ground

Collective action initiatives prior to the creation of the extractive reserves created today: some cases pinpointed in socio-economic official papers, reports and personal testimonies.

“The sustainable development model [...] in order to stay throughout the time must back on and get as basis the local values, the local deeds, the local conquests”(Relatório do CNS, 2005).

“For the past 20 years [...] the inhabitants had to defend the forest against the timber companies” (Socio-economic Survey for the RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns).

“We had asked for surveillance [at the river]. We got the leaders together here. The first time, it did not happen. Then, got together once again and went [...] we entered the fishing boats [...] “No, you will leave now [...]. They said they had documents. They spoke as if they could have documents, but we command “(Testimony - M, 1998, Socio-economic Survey for the RESEX Verde Para Sempre).

“An evidence that hunting does not have a commercial purpose is that 97% of those who hunt keep steady the tradition of sharing the meat among friends and relatives [...] within a tradition of reciprocity called ‘putauá’ (Socio-economic Survey for the RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns).

“We have made a decision: the community is going to make a Law. Leadership has made a law [...] when in 1992 there was this dream of forbidding [...] net fish and headlights“ (Testimony for the Socio-economic Study for RESEX Verde para Sempre).

“Those suspected of using this practice [net fishing] will be warned, as there are established rules in the Statute of the communities” (Socio-economic survey for RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns).

“In 2002 hundreds of families – men, women, children- displayed a public demonstration of protest, closing up the mouth of a big river with their boats, obstructing the passage of ferryboats loaded with timber and [it was] covered by national media. A remembrance of the “empates” (Taken from the mídia on occasion of the fluvial blockage against the ferryboats loaded with illegal timber in Porto de Moz).

Before the creation of the RESEX, “there were the first encounters to discuss land demarcation and documentation” (Socio-economic Survey for RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns).

“Some years ago the “communities” [...] developed a work together with the population, of burnt woods areas prevention where there already are results in reduction of the provoked fire” (Testimony, C. B., 2005.)

“Between 1996 and 2002 ten community areas were delimited physically”- with delimiting trails inside the forest kept by the inhabitants until the present day” (Testimony, C. B., de Porto de Moz, in 2005.)

4.3- The Complexity of the commitments made at the Agreement

Adversaries in the area of conservation or even companions of the category, point out sometimes unilaterally, the failures, slowness in execution, failure of one or another conservation area, as if the industrialisation of the country had taken only a decade to happen, as if the modernisation of agriculture and cattle raising has advanced in large steps and without any damage known, and as if the education, even the fundamental education, have already expanded throughout the entire Amazon.

The formation and consolidation of the extractive reserves demand time – because of its structural complexity and the cultures of its main characters. But they do without the damages comparable to technical modernization.

Information and reports from Executive Team done during the whole year of 2003 and in the year 2004 in countless visits to the communities which were willing to create a RESEX, from the east to the west of Pará, normally reflects different degrees of success and various difficulties met which leave one to perceive the unique complexity of this kind of work in some context, which deserves reflection..

It is considerably visible - the contrary would seem strange for those who does know the region – the difference in preparedness of these communities concerning specially two aspects: 1) the complexity of the physical, socio-economic, cultural and political context conditioned frequently by a long historical process which can not be despised, and b) the existence – or not – of a practice from the population prior to the local collective repeated and persistent action, a better basis and assurance of exit in the future.

4.3.1- The complexity of the socio-economic and cultural contexts

4.3.1.1- The Local culture: advantages and conditions

The Survey (1998, p.36) preliminary to the creation of the Tapajós-Arapiuns reserve analyses with accuracy some of the historical characteristics belonging to the local society, when it describes: “The people find it difficult to live without a boss, a master – someone who would tell what to

produce, someone who would make the "aviamento", who offer work or buy the production [...] A lot of them are still waiting for the "development" of their community by means of work of another boss".

But, on the other hand, the document highlights the favorable disposition towards the reserve development: one of them – the practice of mutual help. This is exemplifying in the *puxirum*, a word that has turn into the reserve motto. The *puxirum* consists of a family gathering godparents, neighbours and friends who get together to do work demanding greater volume of manual labor and of greater density of work due the urgency of the tasks, such as the felling of a piece of the woods to plant or the harvest of the crop products. This organization is ruled by a complex ritual which involves the functional division of the tasks." This means that the culture of the capitalist society has not killed the traces of traditional solidarity" (Ibid.p.43). It lay stress on a similar manner over the *patuá*, which consists of a share of food such as hunt, fishing, crop among relative and friends and it "allows a narrowing of the social relation between kinship and neighborhood" (Ibid. p. 74). The sense of "collectiveness" is also present among these families cultures from Tapajós-Arapiuns; that is how they traditionally preserved a community forest.

It is the mature or the virgin part of the forest one where the riverland people hunt and collect fruits, vines, straws and medicine products. These area are of collective domain. Everyone can enjoy from its benefits [...] There are positive and spiritual (mithycal) rules which obstruct the usage of the resources, which could lead them to the depletion. (Ibid.: p. 47-48).

The same characteristics have been registered by Moreira (2004) at the communities of Porto de Moz. As a matter of fact, they are very common among the traditional population; and for that very reason, and not by chance, they are protagonists of the common use reserve organized and directed in a collective manner. This sociability is fruit of their tradition. These populations must understand, is true, that their spontaneous and traditional way of socialization must go under a process of cultural metamorphosis which integrates concepts proper from the instrumental and technical culture of the modern institutional universe – economic, administrative and politic – in which they are inserted by the adoption of the Reserve statute.

The adoption of a more systematized management and of a bureaucratic accountancy is one of the crucial elements of this metamorphosis. The team in charge of the survey at the future RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns have found it strange their difficulty regarding information along with the inhabitants, about the quantity of products used in their forms measured by the metric system (m,

km, l, hl), alien to their upbringing, used to measure in term of “cachos /bunches”, meio-paneirinho /half basket”, ”palmas/palm”, ”braças/arms”, ”tarefas /asks”. In fact it is not about simple words but their own mental form that, if not translated by the interlocutor, make the dialog between inhabitants and technician and advisers very complex - much more complex than it can be thought of. It can even be said of a representational universe.

4.3.1.2- Heterogeneous society

Regarding the heterogeneous society it must be reported the specific case of the islands in the estuary of the Amazon River .The Marajó islands and other islands closer to Belém city, for instance, exhibit specific problems; among them, it can be seen difficulties related to the important presence of urban inhabitants aboding there or with second house due to the proximity to Belem city. These inhabitants are people with a school level higher than the traditional communities; they have a more individualized social relationship, typical of urban centers. They are more inclined to discussion and more capable in debates – what allow them to prevail over the native people manifestation and interests, not necessarily subjectively the same. These city dwellers, different from the natives, do not depend upon natural resources for their survival, although these may contribute to the family comfort, but are not necessarily the same resources and its preservation that interest one another.

If the community of Paraíso, in the Island of Ilha de Mosqueiro, also close to Belém city looks more advanced in its project than other communities, one can conjecture that this has happened due to the centenary monopoly by the Belém wealthy urban classes, who since the end of the 20th century have chosen Mosqueiro as its summer destination and made the native the guardian of their possessions – the interests converged more easily then. The recently expansion of the built area and the installation of some pollutant industries may have touched the sensibility even of the summer vaccionists or neo-inhabitants towards the environmental question, thus favoring a defensive action of Nature - including the beaches.

4.3.1.3- The Socio-political tension

As for Marajó, it must be evoked the historical dominium – fundiary, economic and politic- from the ‘coroneis’ and from the great farm families which dates back to the 19th century. These owners are jealous of their historical prerogatives and power, of which they make it feel until now over the

work population, of whom, they submit. (See the book: “Marajó”, from local author, Dalcídio Jurandir). It is not rare for them [the farmers] to create restriction and embarrassment to the mobility and to the workers activities.

In underling this domain of which the farmers had over the island does not mean obviously, to raise question about the implementation of reserves, basically the marine ones- those are fundamental not only to the conservation of the mangroves as well as its resources but also the social reproduction of the population who live from them. It is about bring the particular social and political situation up, very different from those reserves over land. While the people of reserves like Tapajós-Arapiuns have lived for decades along their extense territory with large economic autonomy, despite their independence with business intermediators, the Marajoaran people lived for centuries surrounded by farms and the daily dependence upon the most conseravtive farmers of Pará who maintain, up to this day, a certain political influence in the State.

Independently of this social-politic context, the CNS study backing has allowed to create for example, at the municipality of Soure, a solid basis with the creation of the Marinha de Soure Extractive Reserve Users Association - ASSUREMAS which gives support to a dozen population nucleus covered by RESEX. In this sense, because it is quite recent, the organization associative of the inhabitants and the defense of their territories requires particular assistance during a relatively wide term to guarantee its success.

Regarding the "small' islands in Belém, it is worth to consider its great number and its dispersion, besides its very complex distribution concerning the respective location regarding municipality limits.

It is therefore undeniable the difficulty towards a persevering mobilization in a context of heterogenic population in terms of interests and in culture, and even more in a socio-economic and politically hierarchic society as it is known the rural society of Pará.

4.3.2- The persistent practice of collective action from the local population in relation to the natural resources preservation

In what is concerning the experience of collective action regarding the preservation of natural resources, it is registered, for example, the years of struggling by the communities of Tapajós against the timber companies as well as the struggle of communities of Porto de Moz, since the 1980s against predatory trade fishing and by the defense of their territory against the timber companies. These are undoubtedly promissory behaviour for the future of the RESEXs.

According to the Survey (1998) even before the RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns, there were community norms to control fishing resources such as the one related to net fishing with big nets.” To most of the riverland communities, the suspects who enjoy using this practice are warned, because there are rules established in the community statute forbid the net and dive fishing [...] considered predatory (Ibid.: p. 58).

After the building of the Tucuruí hydroelectric and the dam of the Tocantins River, fishing boats converged to Porto do Moz and the Xingu River, equipped with big nets, they were coming from Abaetetuba and Cametá, invading, by the passage of Aquiqui, the Lake of Urubu, the Rivers: Guajará, Majari, Maxipaná, Acarai, destroying aquatic life. The communities started to block the fishing boats entrance. One case of aggression, according to testimony given by an inhabitant of the Acaraí River, “the community obstructed the fishermen and asked the mayor for help, who sent two soldiers who did not make a stand”, then, they made a stand. The inhabitant continues:

[...] we have asked for surveillance [in the river]. We gathered here the leaderships. The first time, did not happen. Then we got together a second time and went. Then we talked. There were two fishing boats. They had houses already, families were supporting them. A second time [another case] we went. We got into the fishing boat. The owner was in Porto de Moz. ‘No, you are going now, half an hour you have to leave’. The said they had papers. We said that could have papers, but we command the river” Benedito Vieira said: ‘you have finished [the fish] on your own side’ (Manoel, 1988, citado em Moreira; Hébette, 2003, p. 47).

This happening allowed a better organization of the Acarai inhabitants. The community started to get organized, assuring the guarantee of survival by the fish preservation through a ‘decision’.

We made a decision: the community is going to make the law. The leadership has made one law [...] when in 1992, there was this dream of make it forbidden [...]of net fishing and headlights. Whoever went there with a torch, did not catch a thing, the own inhabitants [obstructed].(Agostinho,1988, Ibid. p.48).

As for the forest conservancy –source of a lot of vital resources for the Tapajós-Arapiuns- it was threatened by timber companies.” From the past 20 years start to face the challenge of forest, its resources, and rivers defense against unscrupulous companies which arrives destroying and felling and taking off the wood, exterminating the hunt and practicing predatory fishing [...]The invaders started to expel the natives in the area.[...]The natives measured up and confronted the Santa Isabel timber company”. Some years later, in 1996, two new timber companies came in: “They started [the inhabitants] to understand that they were losing their lands and the forest, from where they take out an essential part for their livelihood. They saw that it was time to react again in defense of the right of continuing living where they know and enjoy living.[they decided] to make a collectively boundary of the traditional lands” (Ibid. p. 10-11).

In Porto de Moz, from the 5th to 09th of June, 1996 there was a big event called “4th Natural Resources Seminar” (Timber and Fishery). “At that time there were frequent conflicts already, the timber man and farmers trying to expel the inhabitants of that area which they have been living for years.”(Moreira, 2004; p.148) “Urban and rural communities, local association took part [...]. It invited, and they make presence, government representatives, like the municipal Mayor, representative of SECTAM, IBAMA and from the Legislative Assembly of Pará, EMATER and [...] from PT. It was the first great attempt to get society and the Pará government involved in the discussions”, (Ibid.: p. 148-149). As result, lots of communities decided to delimit their traditional livelihood and production areas, opening the delimiting trails in the forest and around them, in order to protect it against invasion and to assure the preservation of their natural resources.

4.4- Confronting challenges

Many are the challenges to be faced by the groups who commit themselves with the RESEX success: distances, precarious or expensive means of transport, and the number of meetings.

4.4.1- The distances and the fragility of the transport system

The first challenge concerns distances and mobility of the groups responsible in different levels, either in or at the RESEXs. A challenge which results from the RESEX own characteristic: the Nature's realm.

It is very hard for someone who has never been to the Amazon or even only to Pará to imagine some of the problems and obstacle to be won over regarding dislocation to be accomplished by government agents, by the responsible for the social or environmental projects, and by advisers and not rarely, by voluntaries. Just to exemple: a flight trip in national line planes from Belém to the other two largest cities in Pará – Santarém and Mrabá.-takes one hour. A trip by a commercial boat from Belém to Santarém takes three days. In a municipality like Porto de Moz, with its 17.500 km², there is not a 100 km of road fit for horse-waggon. The RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns, with its almost 6.500 km² shelters and 800 families distributed in small villages but the “Arapiuns River in its basin is the only river navigable throughout the year and even during the draught periods the navigation is restrict to small boats” (Levantamento, p. 14). Within the 13.000 km² of the RESEX “Verde Para Sempre/Green Forever” live about 2.500 families scatered around 100 communities, some of them distant one or two days from the city by boat or from two to up to 15 hours by small planes (ver Mapa 2 em Anexos).

One can imagine the financial costs of theses dislocations concerning not only of local inhabitants heading to the city to take part in a meeting, but for the responsible for social movements leaving from the cities toward those places. The high costs of air travel frequently forces those responsible for local social movements to undergo painful displacement, day and night, by cheaper transportation, in order to initiate their activities as soon as they get at the destination point – if they still do not have to catch another transport to go to a even further destination. But it is not only the financial costs – there is also the costs in time of a round trip, the tiredness, the camp precarious lodging, no time schedule, and sometimes, diseases. Fortunately the weareness and the suffering do not reflected themselves on the reports of those two and three “simple” days of meeting or teaching a course.

Even so, members of local movements and their allies manage to gather three or four hundred of people to discuss their problem and to plan their actions. On the occasion of the visit of the Ministry Mrs. Marina Silva, from the Environment Ministry, in order to officially “install” the

RESEX, in February 2004, there was such an interest in it that it was counted more than one thousand people from the communities gathered together in a small place without proper infrastructure to hold such an event. One can imagine the creativity and commitment level from local and outside organizers all the more because the timber entrepreneurs had sent - having resources of greater magnitude- their workers families in order to contrapor ao community people. It is clear that such events implies a whole net of organizers, since the CNPT, the CNS, members of the Sustainable Development Committee, the local Union and the Agriculture Workers Regional Federation-FETAGRI, besides lots of communities.

It can not be calculated the numbers of visits by boat or small plan made by the STR President in Porto de Moz, by the Comitee Directors or by communities leaderships during the year 2004, looking for information among the inhabitants. Or, over the year 2005, soon after the Decree of RESEX creation, to undertake the family survey, to instruct them about the forms of organization and the natural reserves norms of use. For having taken part in some of these visits the authors of this document are able to avaliate the selflessness of these people.

It is inside of this vast universe, as if there were an emergency or a fear of missing on an opportunity and not be able to to attend all the demands, that the CNS team had relocated, moved a number of times to Altamira and Porto de Moz, over the Xingu River; to Afuá and Breves, to Soure, in Marajó Island; to the Ilhas do Combú and Mosqueiro em Belém; to Oeiras, Baião, Marabá and Nova Ipixuna on the Tocantins; besides some visits to the marine reserves of Curuçá, Maracanã, São João da Ponta, over the North-east coastof Pará. At the outlined table above it easy to understand how much of particular attention and power focusing were necessarily required from the CNS Coordination and its team in terms of team meetings, local visits and trainig courses

4.4.2- The Multiplicity of services attended by the CNS

4.4.2.1- The direct services at RESEXs

Because of the physical institutional context above referred it is necessary to highlight the accompaniment of such a great number of communities scattered in a area as vast the one which goes from Tapajós to Marajó Island and Oeiras in Pará, passing through Porto do Moz, Gurupá and Mosqueiro and going upwards towards Nova Ipixuna, at the River Tocantins. This accompaniment has demanded and, maybe, has gone beyond the normal effort of a small team justifying an

observation from a member from the director's board advisor about: "the importance of getting to know the communities better, more personal". If that was true for an adviser, it worth more for the direct undertakers of execution, and this would ask for certainly greater resources in human and time

The reading of the informs and of the Project Report make it clear the importance of the contacts over those diverse places, especially the courses and workshops done during the visits. It must be highlighted the multiple contacts of the CNS team with the more diverse susceptible entities of partnership. Among them: the Sindicatos dos Trabalhadores Rurais/Rural Workers Labor Union (STRs) and the Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Pará/Pará Agriculture Workers Federation (FETAGRI/PA), mandatory partners; the Public Ministry which, as Society judiciary representative, have been giving a fundamental support, even more appreciated in difficult dialogue situation and, sometimes, inexistent; with the instances in the State of Pará; the Bancos do Brasil/Bank of Brazil (BB) and of Amazônia/Bank of Amazonia (BASA) and the Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social/National Bank of Social and Economic Development (BNDES), the Project Financier/Financiadora de Projetos (FINEP), besides formal and informal contacts with regional politicians.

4.4.2.2-Institutional Contacts

But it is not the work at the reserves which demands travels and meetings- there is still the indispensable institutional networking contacts and the administrative meetings. The contacts among the CNS and the most diverse instances all over the Brazilian states –including the Public Ministry other governments and non-governmental organization, had multiplied. Thus it was considered then indispensable, a mobilization of the national institutions of research and of technical assistance aiming to value, to diverse, to amplify, and to adapt the technologies of sustainable exploration practiced by the extractivist population.

The Report of the Project Tapajós-Arapiuns mention contacts with Banks (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social/National Bank of Social and Economic Development (BNDES), Banco do Brasil/Bank of Brazil (BB), Banco da Amazônia/Bank of Amazonia (BASA), and with the development agencies, Agência de Desenvolvimento da Amazônia/Development Agency of Amazonia (ADA), Secretaria de Ciência e Tecnologia e do Meio Ambiente do Pará/Pará

Science and Technology and The Environment Secretary (SECTAM), with the City Halls, NGOs Project ‘Saúde e Alegria/Health and Happiness, in Santarém, Greenpeace, Ford Foundation).

Along with the leadership representative at Porto de Moz and along with the Deputy Mr. Ailton Faleiro, the authors of this document have been taking part in various important meetings in Belém with the Public and Federal Ministry and with SECTAM. Together with the same people joined by communities representatives, they took part on the 26th of February, 2003, answering a invitation of the Sustainable Development Committee and from the Rural Workers Labor Union / Comitê do Desenvolvimento Sustentável e do Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais, from the Public Audience about Environment Human Rights/Audiência pública sobre Direitos Humanos Ambientais, promoted by Brazil DhESC Plataform/Plataforma DhESC Brasil, connected to the United Nations Organization /Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU) and held at the Pará Legislative Assembly, where Edma Moreira showed a document denounce infraction done by the Mayor and by the timber companies in Porto de Móz – written by the authors of the present document.

4.4.3- Highlight: The informative and educative activities

Among the answers to the given challenges, it must be highlighted some of the most original and significative ones in terms of the RESEXs consolidation which can inspire other more recent RESEX communities.

The Tapajós-Arapiuns Report lay emphasis, with reason, on the technicians concern about appreciation of the traditional extractivists activities and even in revitalize them in a more favorable condition towards improvement of income, through a local processing operation of the raw material, the native rubber extract and processing operation, the Brazil nut collecting, the extract of wild honey and a variety of oils for domestic and medicine purposes with a selling perspective for pharmaceutical usage. The motto of the team is “Appretiation of what exists at the local place” – which does not exclude- on the contrary- the researches looking for introduction of new species native of equal ecosystems. Some concerns unfold when of the instalation of beehives in the cities, *chelonas* (fresh-water and land turtles) and fish re-population of lakes previously overexploited. In accordance to the Report the straw and seeds craft and the use of dead timber to manufacture rustic furniture already allow the export of products out of the region and it offers a significant rise in some families income.

At the same way it is worth to give recognition to the work of the technicians and researchers who aim to improve the production processes, micro-system installation of water supply, the diffusion of cashew-nut plantation – a common practice among the families, but in micro scale.

It was observed an initiative which, if kept it through, constitute the better guarantee of success: the training and qualification of local agents in economic and social development. For example, local health agents were trained the help from the NGO “Saúde e Alegria”/“Health and Happiness”; they were instructed by tourism technical guides able to make tourists sensitive toward the richness of the reserve biodiversity and to show the respectful yet productive treatment given to the Nature by the inhabitants, as inspiration for these tourists. Inhabitants who were successful at the wild honey production became instructors of their companions not yet familiar with the techniques. It can be added the qualification of environmental Agents prepared to orientate and inspect the Forest use.

In the same line of initiative are situated the different “oficinas”/ workshop. Among them, it stands out the workshops of: the management, strategic planning, gender and women’s health. The Ministry of the Environment, through the IBAMA or the CNPT, the Chico Mendes Memorial center, have been elaborating well informative booklets and copied-textbooks which can subsidize these workshops (see References). The biggest challenge of these meetings lay upon the pedagogical aspect involved: adaptation to the population own culture; to their representational universe, to their language, to their way of expressing. Unfortunately, in this kind of work, under the allegation of technical matters (agriculture, forest or fishing activities) an almost exclusive preference has been given to the “technical” staff, while it should be favor a multiple educational team made by technical and paired sciences, education or communicating people, all well prepared.

In Porto de Moz, the Rural and City Women Association (AMCC) has developed, since 2003, the Cipó Project, aiming the utilization use of this plant (*vines*) to make furniture. Two qualifying courses were given in 10 days and some visits happened to seven communities in order to socialize the results. The lack of these resources, though, made it difficult the growth of the project. The Juçara community Sustainable Development Community Association, in turn, managed to get a Development Project /type A, with equipments for the re-utilization of dead-timber aiming to manufacture doors and windows, furniture and crafts for internal purposes of the community and for trade in the city.

One thing that draws attention, expressed above, are the workshops coordinated with pedagogical tact by the CNC team regarding women’s health. The information - sometimes abundant in the

reports - about the workshops shows the quality of the chosen methodology and the active participation of everyone in the debates. Due to the culture and the hierarchical relation between genders, it can be said that this is a delicate theme among the traditional population. That is why the theme would postulate that the workshop should only be aimed to women but a mixed public should discuss it at least occasionally - as the theme involves both sexes.

4.5- A crucial challenge

The analysis and the reflections made up until now, in a most possible objective and critical manner, can not leave doubts about the contribution and the advances accomplished by RESEX in Pará, thanks to the Agreement with the Finish Government and thanks to the great effort and competence delivered by the Executive Team, towards supporting the beneficiary Extrativist population. It was not possible to the authors of these documents to get to know the new RESEXs, but what was possible to learn allow us to affirm it. This is true regarding people's effort, improvement of the organization, and the professional competence of the people in charge of a diversity of functions, the removal of the physical, economical and cultural obstacles.

The dimension of this Project and the size of the demanding tasks do not dismiss us from a crucial reflection: should this dimension be reduced, when it is verified, in other sense, the dimension and the velocity of the aggressive process towards the environment? Or should the CNS team be amplified, especially those trained in information, formation and orientation close to the basis, even inside the reserves? To begin with there would be no doubt about the precedence of the second choice, but the problems are not solved just "to begin with". They demand resources, and well spend resources. No doubt about it, the results shown by the Report plead in favor of newer resources susceptible of attending the traditional community demands and the broader interests of the habitants of this Planet.

5- Conclusion

As a foundation for the accomplished advances, this present document emphasized the fundamental importance of a proven social organization prior to the creation of a reserve as a guarantee of a future success, laying stress on the necessity of social economic reports which will take in consideration this organization process as well as the quality of the workshops led by the Project

team. It was registered the CNS effort concentration towards the RESEX, within its tradition line, and the necessity of resources which will correspond to the ambition of the task, especially in order to guarantee its presences at the “basis” (foundation).

Considering their performance and their courage, the traditional populations willing to guarantee a sustainable use of their environment, have, definitely, deserved these national and international attentions.

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Annex 1 – The RESEXs in Brazil



Annex 2 - The RESEXs area “Green forever- Verde para Sempre” in the municipality of Porto de Moz

