



# INVADERS

## PART II - POLITICIANS

PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THEIR FINANCIERS  
OWN LANDS OVERLAPPING INDIGENOUS  
TERRITORIES IN BRAZIL



AGRIBUSINESS  
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# MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR - JUNE 13TH, 2023

A federal Senator declares to own a farm that overlaps a ratified Indigenous Territory. Who are the invaders? A former state governor and his son, deputy in Minas Gerais state, own a large rural estate overlapping Kaxixó Territory. Who are the invaders in Brazil? Why does the Parliamentary Agribusiness Bloc talks about the sacred right to land when another deputies' company surpasses the demarcated boundaries of TI Iguatemipecuá I, in Amambai (MS), the scene of the murder of a Guarani Kaiowá man? Why do the deputies and senators do not investigate illegal evictions promoted by TV host Ratinho, father of Paraná state governor Ratinho Jr., who has grabbed land claimed by the Huni Kuin people, in Acre state? Why does the corporate press remains silent when it comes to political and economical invasion of ancestral land? Are there any boundaries to this expansionism and this charade in broad daylight, in the 21st century?

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De Olho nos Ruralistas/Agribusiness Watch June 2023

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# KEY FINDINGS

(Valter Campanato/Agência Brasil)

- From the cross-referencing of land databases from the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), Agribusiness Watch identified 1,692 farm overlaps on indigenous lands, as described in the first part of the dossier "The Invaders," published in April by the observatory.

- Of these, 42 belong to national and regional political clans. Together, they concentrate 96,000 hectares in areas overlapping with Indigenous Territories (TIs) — equivalent to the combined urban areas of Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte. Mato Grosso do Sul leads among the states with 17 cases, followed by Mato Grosso and Maranhão, with seven each.

- Three congressmen own farms on indigenous lands registered under the names of companies or relatives: Senator Jaime Bagattoli (PL-RO) and Deputies Dilceu Sperafico (PP-PR) and Newton Cardoso Júnior (MDB-MG). All three are members of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA), the institutional face of the ruralist bloc in Congress.

- Contrary to the occupations of land by Indigenous peoples and landless workers movements, the FPA is funded by invaders: 18 members of the front received BRL 3.6 million in campaign donations from farmers linked to overlaps on TIs. Among the beneficiaries are the front's president, Pedro Lupion (PP-PR), the vice-presidents Arnaldo Jardim (Cidadania-SP) and Evair Vieira de Melo (PP-ES), the political coordinator Tereza Cristina (PL-MS), former Minister of Agriculture, and eight other directors.

- Land invaders in Indigenous Territories heavily invested in Jair Bolsonaro's (PL) unsuccessful re-election campaign. Together, 41 farmers with detected overlaps donated BRL 1.2 million to his campaign. Among them are mega-businessmen from agribusiness and one of the instigators of the Caarapó Massacre in Mato Grosso do Sul.

- The family of the governor of Paraná, Ratinho Júnior (PSD), owns a mega-large rural estate in Acre, which overlaps with the limits of the Kaxinawá da Praia do Carapanã TI. Political allies of both Ratinho Júnior and his father, the presenter Ratinho, also appear on the list of overlaps.

- As the stage for the Resistance Auction and the birthplace of the Incra and Funai Parliamentary Inquiries, Mato Grosso do Sul is a central piece on this chessboard. The sons of former Governor Pedro Pedrossian, Deputy Zé Teixeira (PSDB), former Secretary Ricardo Bacha (Cidadania), and lawyer Luana Ruiz — with unrestricted access to the FPA — are involved in territorial conflicts with the Guarani Kaiowá and Terena peoples.

- Five Brazilian municipalities are governed by mayors linked to TI overlaps. The mayors of Linhares (ES), Tapurah (MT), and Sapezal (MT), as well as the vice-mayors of Campos de Júlio (MT) and Iguatemi (MS), are connected to farms that encroach upon indigenous territories — either directly or through their families. Twenty-three former mayors also have overlaps on indigenous lands.

- What do the politicians say? Who are the real land invaders in Brazil?





## FOREWORD

Director of FPA Alceu Moreira (MDB-RS) confronts indigenous leader. (Lula Marques/PT)

## POLITICIANS HOLD 96,000 HECTARES OVERLAPPING TIs...

Based on information from rural properties registered and certified by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), the research team at De Olho nos Ruralistas identified 42 politicians and their first-degree relatives as owners of rural properties found to overlap with Indigenous Territories (TIs). The information for 2021 was individually confirmed by comparing it with the land records from 2023. The data was obtained from three databases: the Land Management System (Sigef), the National Rural Cadastre System (SNCR), and the National Property Certification System (SNCI).

The list includes three influential members of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture: Senator Jaime Bagattoli (PL-RO), elected in 2022, and Federal Deputies Dilceu Sperafico (PP-PR) and Newton Cardoso Júnior (MDB-MG), historical leaders of the ruralist bloc. It also includes the Agropastoril RGM company, linked to the family of the governor of Paraná, Ratinho Júnior (PSD), which owns an irregular overlap of 13.82 hectares in the Kaxinawá da Praia do Carapanã TI in Acre; and the Petrópolis Farm, owned by the sons of former governor Pedro Pedrossian from Mato Grosso do Sul, with 1,172.81 hectares overlapping the Cachoeirinha TI. Properties linked to State Deputy Zé Teixeira (PSDB-MS), mayors of Linhares (ES),

Tapurah (MT), and Campos de Júlio (MT), and vice-mayors of Sapezal (MT) and Iguatemi (MS) were also identified.

In total, the 42 politicians, including those without mandates in 2023, hold 96,172.86 hectares of land overlapping with TIs. Together, these areas are equivalent to the combined urban areas of Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte, two of Brazil's largest cities. It is nearly the territory of Madeira Island in Portugal. This number represents 8% of the 1,187,214.07 hectares overlapping with demarcated territories by Funai, according to information from Incra now made available by De Olho nos Ruralistas.<sup>1</sup>

The size of politician's overlaps is noteworthy, with an average of 1,080.9 hectares each, compared to the general index of 701.66 hectares, which considers all 1,692 overlaps identified in the study.

## ... WHILE ATTACKING INDIGENOUS RIGHTS IN CONGRESS

These numbers were detected while Brazil is experiencing one of the biggest attacks on indigenous rights in its contemporary history. The humanitarian crisis caused by illegal mining in the Yanomami territory, the violent incursions of loggers against the Tembé and Guajajara peoples, the harassment of farmers against the Pataxó, and the attacks of soy farmers against the Guarani Kaiowá are direct reflections of a ruralist offensive in Brasília. Over the past seven years, the ruralist bloc and its allies have been trying to undermine territorial sovereignty and put an end to the demarcation of indigenous lands in the country.

The driving force behind this offensive is the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA), the institutional face of the ruralist bloc and the main advocate for the interests of corporations and large landowners within the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches. Over the past decade, it has become the most powerful political force in Congress. It promoted the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (PT) in 2016 and was a pillar of the governments of Michel Temer (MDB) and Jair Bolsonaro (PL).

This political bloc currently has 300 deputies and 47 senators, constituting the main opposition block to Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's (PT) third term. This number represents 58% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, more than enough to approve bills and establish Parliamentary Committees of Investigation (CPIs). This power was evident last month when they managed to create a CPI to investigate—and criminalize—the occupation of unproductive large

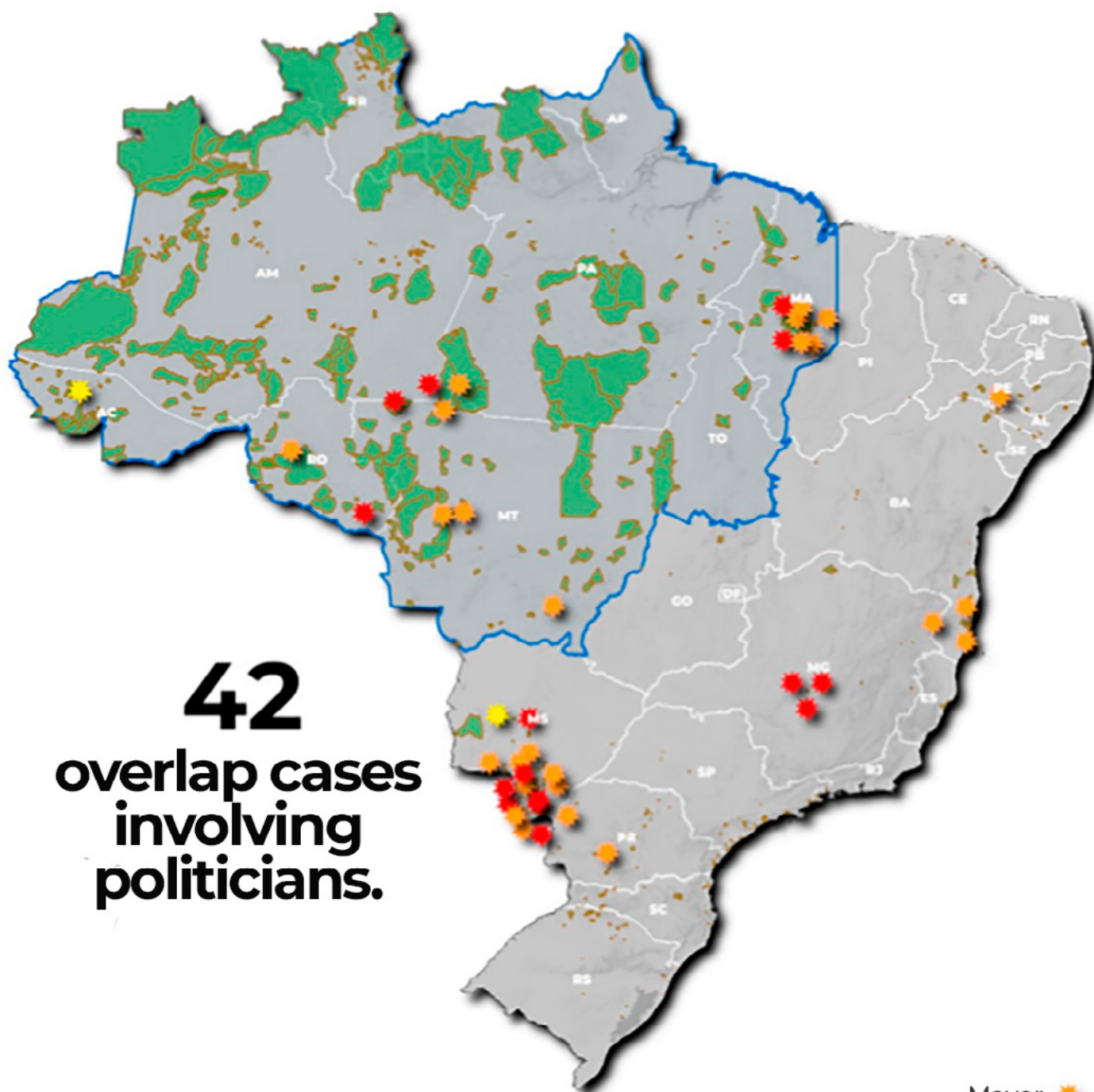
estates by the Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST) and other peasant and indigenous groups.

Just two weeks later, with the approval of the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), a member of the FPA, the bloc passed Bill No. 490/2007, known as the Land Demarcation Timeframe, which establishes the requirement to prove occupation or disputes over indigenous territories as of October 5, 1988, the date of the Constitution's promulgation, as a criterion for their demarcation—ignoring the long history of expulsions and centuries of violence suffered by indigenous peoples since the emergence of Brazil. The bill, currently under review in the Federal Senate, transfers to a legislature dominated by ruralists the authority to demarcate new Indigenous Territories.

It is in this political moment that the Agribusiness Watch launches the second part of the "The Invaders" project. A direct continuation of the first report, which focused on large corporations, this report reveals the direct involvement of senators, deputies, governors, and mayors in the dispossession of ancestral territories.








# POLITICIANS' OVERLAPS IN INDIGENOUS LANDS



**42**  
overlap cases  
involving  
politicians.

SOURCES:  
IBGE (2021)  
INCRA (2022)  
Funai (2022)



Mayor   
Governor   
Deputy/Senator   
Indigenous Land   
Legal Amazon Border 



## INVADERS FUND THE RURALIST BLOC

For the second stage of the study, Agribusiness Watch cross-referenced qualitative data about individuals and legal entities holding overlapping land rights with the records of campaign contributions granted by candidates in the 2022 elections to the Superior Electoral Court (TSE). We found that fifteen farmers with properties overlapping Indigenous Territories donated R\$ 3.59 million to eighteen members of the Parliamentary Front of Agriculture. Together, they own 36,111.45 hectares of overlapping areas, equivalent to the urban area of Curitiba, the country's fourth-largest city, and even larger than the territory of Granada.

Among the congressmen, twelve are part of the ruralist front's leadership, including President Pedro Lupion and Vice Presidents Arnaldo Jardim (Cidadania-SP) and Evair Vieira de Melo (PP-ES). Jair Bolsonaro's Liberal Party (PL) is the most recurrent, with seven of its lawmakers receiving 90.5% of the contributions from land invaders destined for FPA members. Notably, Senator Tereza Cristina (PL-MS), former Minister of Agriculture and political coordinator of the ruralist bench, received R\$ 50,000 from two businessmen caught with overlapping land.

Four members of the "CPI do MST" (the Parliamentary Committee investigating the Landless Workers' Movement) appear among the beneficiaries, all of them directors of the Parliamentary Front of Agriculture. Evair de Melo, one of the vice presidents of the commission, and Domingos Sávio (PL-MG) received donations from the same farmer, Adelar Mateus Jacobowski, who is disputing an area adjacent to the Menkü Indigenous Territory in Mato Grosso. The substitutes Marcos Pollon (PL-MS) and Rodolfo Nogueira (PL-MS) were funded by Rovilson Alves Correa and Walter Romeiro Beloto, respectively, both farm owners overlapping Indigenous Territories in Mato Grosso do Sul. Pollon is the coordinator of Security in the Countryside for the FPA.

In early April, the FPA used its logistical arm, the Instituto Pensar Agro (IPA), to launch an online campaign that labeled the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) and other land struggle movements as "invaders," as reported by Agência Pública.<sup>4</sup> With dozens of advertising pieces promoted on social media, the "Week of Combating Invasions in the Countryside" served as a trial balloon for the criminalization attempt imposed by the Parliamentary Committee of Investigation — whose steering committee, controlled by ru-



ralists, has been vetoing the summons of land grabbers and farmers convicted of invading Indigenous Territories, Agrarian Reform settlements, and Conservation Units.

The material distributed by the FPA, echoed by other agricultural sector organizations and the far-right Bolsonarist movement, attacked Indigenous retakeovers in Mato Grosso do Sul and Bahia, which, according to Evair de Melo, are also likely to become targets of the CPI.<sup>5</sup> All of this indicates a clear conflict of interests.

The donations from land invaders to members of the FPA have an ideological aspect. Among the farmers who supported ruralist campaigns, five financed Bolsonaro's re-election campaign in 2022. Agribusiness Watch identified 41 landowners with land overlapping Indigenous Territories who donated to the former president's campaign. This group owns a total of 107,847.99 hectares of overlapping areas — a territory as big as Hong Kong

The winner of this electoral campaign, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, did not receive any donations from land invaders.



Funded by a TI invader, Evair de Melo (right) promised to investigate indigenous retakes in the Committee (CPI). (Divulgação)



Retomada Guarani Kaiowá, no Mato Grosso do Sul.  
(Inst. Feminista para a Democracia)

## LOCAL POWER REITERATES THE EXPANSIONIST POLITICAL SYSTEM

Congress members and governors are not the only politicians involved in the invasion of indigenous lands. Throughout the country, mayors and vice mayors are also at the center of territorial conflicts with indigenous peoples. Using the land database of the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), *De Olho nos Ruralistas* identified 42 politicians—or their direct family members—as owners of rural properties found to overlap with Indigenous Territories.

The father of Mayor Bruno Margotto Mariani (Republicanos) of Linhares (ES), Zilmar, owns a farm that overlaps with 273.27 hectares of the Comexatibá Indigenous Territory in Bahia. The son of Mayor Carlos Alberto Capeletti (PSD) of Tapurah (MT) is one of the partners of Melhoramentos Agropecuários Tapurah, which owns the second-largest recorded overlap in the country: the Uga-Uga Farm encroaches on 47,000 hectares of the Manoki Indigenous Territory, occupying 18% of the demarcated area. And Mayor Irineu Marcos Parmeggiani (Patriota) of Campos de Júlio (MT) owns the Santo Reis Farm, which overlaps with the borders of the Vale do Guaporé Indigenous Territory, home to the Nambikwara people.

Two vice mayors holding office in 2023 encroach upon the Paresi Indigenous Territory: Claudio José Scariote (Podemos) of Sapezal (MT) and Zé Roberto Arcoverde (MDB) of Iguatemi (MS). Arcoverde previously served as mayor of Iguatemi for two terms. It is in this municipality that his sister and business partner, Ana Paula, declares nearly 2,000 hectares overlapping with the Iguatemipeguá Indigenous Territory of the Guarani Kaiowá people.

This report will also present 23 former mayors and vice mayors with overlaps in Indigenous Territories, as well as fifteen judges, doctors, and notary owners—common figures in local and regional spheres of power.

Many of these cases are concentrated in Mato Grosso do Sul, a state with a history of massacres and genocide against the Guarani Kaiowá, Terena, and Kadiwéu peoples. One of the masterminds behind the Caarapó Massacre, Jesus Camacho, was a campaign donor to Bolsonaro. The state assembly of Mato Grosso do Sul has two representatives with direct overlaps: Deputy Zé Teixeira (PSDB), a cattle rancher and owner of the Santa Claudina Farm, has been fighting against the demarcation of the Guýraroká Indigenous Territory for decades; and former deputy Ricardo Augusto Bacha (Cidadania), who served as Secretary of Finance during the Wilson Martins state government (1995–1998), owns a property overlapping with 536 hectares of the Buriti Indigenous Territory. The Congressional Inquiry into Funai and Incra, which inspired the current CPI (Parliamentary Committee of Investigation) on the Landless Workers' Movement (MST), was one of the recent major movements to criminalize the struggle for land in Congress. It arose from armed reactions by farmers against indigenous reoccupations, with the "Resistance Auction" as its epicenter in 2016. It also emerged from the political interface between these farmers and the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture, with the ruralist bloc.

As we will see, these key players continue to be involved in the crusade against indigenous peoples and have direct ties to invaders of indigenous lands.









(Agência FPA)

## 1. INVADERS FUND RURALIST LEADERS

Who are the real land invaders in Brazil? Popular movements fighting for agrarian reform and the demarcation of indigenous lands, rights enshrined in the 1988 Constitution? Or the land grabbers who invade millions of hectares in the Amazon, Cerrado, and other Brazilian biomes?

What has a greater impact on public security and the environment: the temporary occupation of a few hectares within unproductive farms, seeking to provoke a political reaction from the state, or mega invasions of public areas, often accompanied by deforestation, for purely speculative purposes?

Who benefits the most from the limitations on the demarcation of indigenous lands if not the invaders themselves? And the resulting political question: who legislates for them?

By cross-referencing data from the Incra land registry and from the electoral statements provided by elected representatives in 2022 to the Superior Electoral Court (TSE), Agribusiness Watch identified 57 donations from farmers and company partners that are included in the survey of 1,692 rural prop-

erties overlapping with indigenous territories, as identified in the report "The Invaders: who are the Brazilian and foreign businessmen with the most overlaps in indigenous lands."

In total, the financing provided by individuals who own properties overlapping with ancestral territories supported 29 campaigns for the Presidency, state governments, Congress, and state assemblies, totaling R\$ 5,313,843.44 (approximately U\$ 1,091,452).



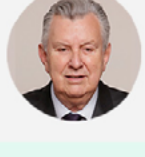
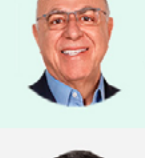
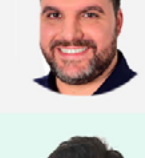


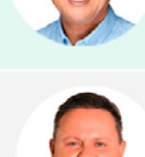
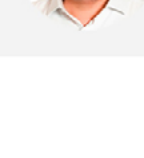
Of the 57 donations, eighteen were directed to members of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA). In total, fifteen farmers donated R\$ 3,644,831.95 to ruralist deputies and senators. Together, these farmers own 36,111.45 hectares in areas overlapping with eleven indigenous territories, with the highest incidence in Mato Grosso do Sul, the origin of the businesses of six FPA financiers.

In the case of the Senate, electoral data from 2018 was also analyzed, since 30 of the 47 FPA members in the Senate belong to the legislature that began in 2019.

Please see the infographic below for more information:

# PARLIAMENTARY INVADERS BLOC

Ruralist deputies and senators received R\$ 3,64 million from farmers who were caught overlapping indigenous lands

<b>ORLANDO VITORIO BAGATTOLI</b> (senator's brother and parter of Giomila Transports Ltd) 2,591,76 ha Overlap in TI Rio Omerê (RO)	R\$ 2.891.292,70	 <b>Jaime Bagattoli</b> (PL-RO)
<b>JAIME MAXIMINO BAGATTOLI</b> (Giomila Transports Ltd partner)	R\$ 300.000,00	 <b>Thiago Flores</b> (MDB-RO)
<b>WANDA INES RIEDI</b> I. Riedi director and Dianor Jacó Riedi's cousin 6.312,86 ha overlapping TI Kanela Memorturé and Porquinhos of Canela-Apãnjekra (MA)	R\$ 100.000,00	 <b>Luis Carlos Heinze</b> (PP-RS) Vogal
<b>CIRINEU DE AGUIAR</b> Calupa Ltd Agriculture and Livestock partner 2.500,83 ha overlapping TI Apiaká of Pontal and isolated people (MT)	R\$ 19.000,00	 <b>Arnaldo Jardim</b> (Cidadania-SP) Vice-presidente na Câmara
	R\$ 20.000,00	 <b>Pedro Lupion</b> (PP-PR) presidente da FPA
	R\$ 20.000,00	 <b>Fabio Garcia</b> (UNIÃO-MT) Coordenação Política na Câmara
<b>ANTONIO MARCOS MORAES BARROS</b> Elamar Participations and Agriculture and Livestock Ltd partner 1.570,70 ha overlapping TI Dourados-Amambai-pegua (MS)	R\$ 50.000,00	 <b>Luiz Philippe de Orleans e Bragança</b> (PL-SP)
<b>VALDIR ROQUE JACOBOWSKI</b> (Agriculture and Livestock São Gabriel Ltd partner)	R\$ 20.000,00	 <b>Luiz Nishimori</b> (PSD-PR) Vice-presidente para região Sul
	R\$ 20.000,00	 <b>Covatti Filho</b> (PP-RS) Coordenação Institucional

<b>NEWTON CARDOSO</b> (Father of deputy and partner of Pintangui Steel Company) 460,20 ha overlapping TI Kaxixó (MG)	R\$ 39.562,00	 <b>Newton Cardoso Jr</b> (MDB-MG) Vogal
	R\$ 22.500,00	 <b>Amália Barros (PL-MT)</b>
<b>ADELAR MATEUS JACOBOWSKI</b> (São Gabriel Agriculture and Livestock Ltd partner) 2,58 ha overlapping TI Menku (MT)	R\$ 20.000,00	 <b>Evair Vieira de Melo</b> (PP-ES) 2º Vice-presidente na Câmara
	R\$ 10.500,00	 <b>Domingos Sávio</b> (PL-MG) Vice-presidente para região Sudeste
<b>RENATO E. DE REZENDE BARBOSA</b> (Campanário S/A partner) 253,53 ha overlapping TI Dourados Amambaípeguá I (MS)	R\$ 30.000,00	 <b>Tereza Cristina (PL-MS)</b> Coordenação Política no Senado
	R\$ 20.000,00	
<b>JOHN FRANCIS WALTON</b> 1.258,61 HA OVERLAPPING TI DOURADOS AMAMBAIPEGUÁ I (MS)		 <b>Marcos Pollon (PL-MS)</b> Comissão de Segurança no Campo
<b>ROVILSON ALVES CORREIA</b> 34,36 ha overlapping TI Kadiwéu	R\$ 5.000,00	 <b>Fabio Garcia (UNIÃO-MT)</b> Coordenação Política na Câmara
<b>ANTONIO SANSÃO</b> 12,69 overlapping TI UMUTINA (MT)	R\$ 3.000,00	
<b>WALTER ROMERO BELOTO</b> 234,54 ha in TI Guyraroká (MS)	R\$ 1.000,00	 <b>Rodolfo Nogueira (PL-MS)</b>
<b>NORBERTO BELLODI</b> (Agriculture and livestock Itaguaí partner) 734,20 ha overlapping TI Dourados Amambaípeguá I (MS)	R\$ 1.000,00	 <b>André Fufuca (PP-MA)</b>
<b>EDGAR CHERUBINI</b> (Sinopema S/A partner) 20.570,01 ha overlapping TI Batelão (MT)	R\$ 1.000,00	 <b>Marcel van Hattem</b> (NOVO-RS)





Senator poured R\$ 1.88 million into political campaigns in Rondônia (Disclosure)

## DEPUTY BAGATTOLI HAS HIS OWN BLOC IN RONDÔNIA

The main beneficiary among the members of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture was Senator Jaime Bagattoli (PL-RO), elected in 2022 for his first public office. He received R\$ 2.89 million from his brother Orlando his partner at Transportadora Giomila Ltda, part of the Bagattoli Group—one of the largest conglomerates in Rondônia. It is under the name of this company that Fazenda São José is registered, which overlaps with 2,591.76 hectares of the Rio Omerê Indigenous Territory in Corumbiara (RO). As we will see in the next chapter, the property has a suspicious history, with two consecutive registration requests immediately after the demarcation of the indigenous territory. In addition to his brother's financial support, Jaime himself invested R\$ 300,000 in his own campaign.<sup>6</sup>

The senator was also the largest private donor in his state: he supported the campaigns of thirty candidates for the State Legislative Assembly of Rondônia (Alero), with contributions ranging from R\$ 4,000 to R\$ 182,800. The highest amount was donated to radio broadcaster and former deputy Edvaldo Rodrigues Soares (PTB), who was not elected.

In total, five state deputies were elected with Bagattoli's money: Affonso Candido (PL), Dra. Taíssa Sousa (PSC), Nim Barroso (PSD), Pedro Fernandes (PTB), and Ribeiro do Sinpol (Patriotas). Together, they received R\$ 282,060 from the senator—almost the same amount that the senator invested in his own candidacy.<sup>7</sup>

The businessman supported seventeen other candidates for the Chamber of Deputies in 2022, but only one was elected: police chief Thiago Flores (MDB-RO), former mayor of Ariquemes (RO), who received R\$ 50,000 from Bagattoli—who also campaigned on his behalf.<sup>8</sup> Like his main financier, Flores joined the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture immediately after taking office.



Senator Jaime Bagattoli was a political canvasser for Thiago Flores, for whom he donated R\$ 50,000 (approximately U\$



FPA deputies celebrate the approval, in the Chamber of Deputies, of PL 490/07, Land Demarcation Timeframe (Agência FPA)

## OWNERS OF OVERLAPPING LANDS DONATED R\$ 328,000 TO THE FPA LEADERSHIP

Senator Luis Carlos Heinze (PP-RS) appears right after Bagattoli as the main beneficiary of donations from farmers with overlapping lands in Indigenous Territories. A historical enemy of indigenous peoples and the author of a famous speech in which he referred to quilombolas, "Indians," gays, and lesbians as "everything that is wrong",<sup>9</sup> he was the president of the FPA from 2013 to 2014 and vice president from 2019 to 2020. He currently serves as a board member — a position equivalent to that of an advisor.

In 2018, he received a transfer of R\$ 100,000 from Wanda Inês Riedi, director of I. Riedi, one of the top 100 agribusiness conglomerates in Brazil in 2020, according to Forbes magazine.<sup>10</sup> Her husband, Ivo Ilário Riedi, is the son of one of the founders of the Paraná group and a first cousin of Dianor Jacó Riedi. Registered under the name of their daughter Christiane Riedi Daniel, Dianor's properties occupy 6,312.86 hectares within the proposed area for the demarcation of the Porquinhos dos Canela-Apãnjekra and Kanela Memortumré Indigenous Territories in Maranhão.

In 2014, Dianor was arrested on preventive custody for suspicion of bribing officials from the Brazilian Institute of the Environ-

ment and Renewable Natural Resources (Ibama) and the Maranhão State Environmental Secretariat to release illegally extracted timber from a protected area.<sup>11</sup>

In the other corner of the country, I. Riedi was listed by Funai in 2018 as a "non-indigenous occupant" in the identification study of the Tekohá Guasu Guavirá Indigenous Territory in Terra Roxa (PR).<sup>12</sup> In 2020, during the administration of the Bolsonaro supporter Marcelo Xavier, Funai succumbed to pressure from ruralist leaders and suspended the demarcation process, which was only resumed in April this year under the administration of former deputy Joênia Wapichana.<sup>13</sup>

In 2012, Wanda filed a request for repossession against the Avã-Guarani families of the Pohã Renda Village, awaiting a decision from the Supreme Federal Court (STF). According to a joint report by the Guarani Yvyrupa Commission and the Indigenous Work Center (CTI), the village residents face constant threats from gunmen and farm security personnel.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the conflict against indigenous peoples in Paraná, Wanda Riedi was honored in 2022 by Banco do Brasil with the Women in Agribusiness award.<sup>15</sup>





Main player in a conflict against the Avá-Guarani was awarded by Banco do Brasil in 2022. (Press Release)



Root Bolsonaroista, Luis Carlos Heinze was elected to the Senate with the support of a businesswoman from Paraná. (Disclosure)

It wasn't just for Heinze. Thirteen out of the 59 members of the current board of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture — including the aforementioned board members — received campaign funds from individuals connected to overlapping lands with indigenous territories. Among them is their president.

Deputy Pedro Lupion (PP-PR) was elected president of the FPA in 2022, succeeding Sérgio Souza (MDB-PR). He received R\$ 20,000 in donations from cotton producer Cirineu de Aguiar.<sup>16</sup> Cirineu is the brother of Paulo Sérgio de Aguiar, who presided over the Mato Grosso Association of Cotton Producers (Ampa) from 2019 to 2022, one of the organizations that contributes monthly funds to the Instituto Pensar Agro, the backbone of the FPA.<sup>17</sup>

Paulo Sérgio was replaced in 2023 at Ampa by Eraí Maggi Scheffer. The owner of the Bom Futuro group was one of the highlights of the first part of the "The Invaders" report due to the invasion of 20.15 hectares of the Enawenê Nawê Indigenous Territory by his brother-in-law and partner José Maria Bortoli.<sup>18</sup>

The Aguiar brothers are partners in Agropecuária Calupa. The company owns São Tomé Farm, which has its entire 2,500.83 hectares overlapping with the Apiaká do Pontal and Isolados Indigenous Territory, in the municipality of Apiacás (MT). Paulo Sérgio also owns another farm within the same territory: Serro Azul, with 3,000 hectares titled within the indigenous area, which has been awaiting the completion of the demarcation process since 2011.

Cirineu donated another R\$ 20,000 to Fábio Garcia (União-MT), the political coordinator

of the FPA in the Chamber of Deputies, and R\$ 19,000 to the vice president of the ruralist bloc, Deputy Arnaldo Jardim (Cidadania-SP). Led by Lupion and Jardim, the new board of the FPA assumed their positions promising to pass Bill No. 490/2007, which establishes the Land Demarcation Timeframe thesis for indigenous land demarcation.<sup>19</sup>

Another farmer with overlapping land in an indigenous territory who donated to high-ranking members of the ruralist front was Valdir Roque Jacobowski, owner of Agropecuária São Gabriel, which is part of the Jacó Agro group. His brother Adelar Mateus Jacobowski owns Frei Gabriel Farm, which overlaps with the boundaries of the Menkü Indigenous Territory in Mato Grosso. It encroaches on 2.58 hectares of the Myky people's territory, whose expansion was determined by a preliminary injunction by Supreme Federal Court Justice Edson Fachin in May 2022. His decision was not enforced by former Minister of Justice Anderson Torres.<sup>20</sup>

Together, Valdir and Adelar donated R\$ 70,500 to four directors of the front: Deputy Evair Vieira de Melo (PP-ES), vice president in the Chamber of Deputies, Deputy Domingos Sávio (PL-MG), vice president in the Southeast region, Deputy Luiz Nishimori (PSD-PR), vice president in the South region, and political coordinator Covatti Filho (PP-RS). The Jacobowski brothers also donated R\$ 22,500 to Deputy Amália Barros (PL-MT).<sup>21</sup>



FPA President, Pedro Lupion received a donation from a Mato Grosso farmer with overlaps in TI Menkü. (Aprosoja-MT)



## IPA FINANCIERS ALSO HAVE OVERLAPS

The money derived from the invasion of indigenous lands is not exclusive to campaign financing for deputies and senators. Behind the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture, there is a multimillion financing chain composed of 48 agribusiness associations that receive money from 1,078 Brazilian and multinational companies—and part of this funding is passed on to the Instituto Pensar Agro (IPA). This mechanism was detailed in the dossier "The Financiers of Destruction," published in July 2022 by Agribusiness Watch.<sup>36</sup>

JBS, Cargill, Syngenta, Bunge, Amaggi, and Bom Futuro are affiliated with multiple associations, where they hold executive and leadership positions. These IPA financiers are also some of the companies identified as being responsible — directly or indirectly — for the invasion of indigenous territories in Brazil, as exposed in the first part of this project, the report "**The Invaders.**"

In 2022, the US trading company Bunge sold a property overlapping with the Morro Alto Indigenous Territory in the port of São Francisco do Sul, Santa Catarina. The agrochemical and seed producer Syngenta owned a soybean farm overlapping with the Porquinhos dos Canela-Apãnjekra Indigenous Territory in Maranhão. One of the partners of the Amaggi group owns farms adjacent to the Tirecatinga Indigenous Territory. The observatory also analyzed direct overlaps involving suppliers of the Brazilian meatpacking company JBS and the grain trader Cargill, as well as cases involving partners of Itaú and Bradesco banks, companies in the timber industry, and coffee and fruit exporters.

The ruralist bench does not intend to investigate any of these companies—the financiers of IPA—in the "CPI do MST" (the Parliamentary Committee investigating the Landless Workers' Movement). Agribusiness and its political representatives are not fighting for "legal certainty" or "against impunity."

They want more land.





## FORMER MINISTER RECEIVES DONATIONS FROM INVADERS SINCE 2014

President of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA) between 2017 and 2018, Senator Tereza Cristina (PL-MS) holds the political coordination of the ruralist bloc in the Senate. She served as Minister of Agriculture during the Bolsonaro government. Since 2014, when she was first elected to the Chamber of Deputies, the politician from Mato Grosso do Sul has received donations from farmers with overlaps in Guarani Kaiowá territory.

In her first campaign, she received R\$ 15,000 from Renato Eugênio de Rezende Barbosa and R\$ 5,000 from John Francis Walton. The two increased their donations to Tereza Cristina in the following years. In 2018, Walton contributed the same amount as in 2014, and in 2022, he and Renato donated R\$ 20,000 and R\$ 30,000, respectively.

Renato is a partner at Campanário S/A, a group that controls the Campanário Farm, which covers 238.53 hectares within the Dourados-Amambaipeguá I Indigenous Ter-

ritory, which has been awaiting demarcation since 2016. He and his brothers Roberto and José Eugênio were owners of Nova América, whose sugarcane mills were incorporated into the giant sugarcane and energy company Cosan in 2009. The Rezende Barbosa family retained an 11.9% stake in the group's capital, second only to Rubens Ometto Silveira Mello, the controlling partner.

Alongside the Anglo-Dutch company Shell, Cosan controls the largest sugar and ethanol producer of the world, Raízen. When the company was internationalized, the family gradually sold their shares. Roberto de Rezende Barbosa was the last big individual shareholder that did not belong to the Ometto family, and has left the board of directors in 2019.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the corporate connection, Campanário is one of the main suppliers to Raízen. In August 2022, the multinational company honored Campanário with the title of "Producer of Excellence" and recognized it as a "sustainability management model" through the Elo Raízen program.<sup>23</sup> Rubens Ometto, the president of the Cosan group, was Tereza Cristina's largest campaign donor for the Senate, with a contribution of R\$ 100,000—twice the amount donated in 2018.<sup>24</sup>

Walton owns the Conchita-Cuê Farm, which



overlaps with the Dourados-Amambaipéguá I Indigenous Territory, covering 1,258.61 hectares, where the businessman has accused Guarani Kaiowá indigenous people of cattle theft.<sup>25</sup> His son, Marcelo Walton, who is also listed as a property owner, is married to Mariana Cunha Bueno, the daughter of former Deputy Cunha Bueno (PP-SP), one of the leaders of the São Paulo bench in the Chamber of Deputies for seven terms.<sup>26</sup>

The former minister under Bolsonaro has also received campaign contributions from Wilson Brochmann, owner of Agropecuária Maragogipe, which covers 1,470.49 hectares within the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Territory—an important figure among the ranchers listed in the first part of the report "The Invaders." He donated R\$ 10,000 to Tereza Cristina in 2018.

Another individual involved in conflicts with the Guarani Kaiowá in Mato Grosso do Sul is Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho, owner of the Brasília do Sul Farm, which completely overlaps with the Taquara Indigenous Territory in Juti (MS), covering 9,693.54 hectares. In 2022, Agribusiness Watch, in partnership with the British NGO Earthsight, published a report highlighting Jacintho's corporate and political connections. He was identified as the mastermind behind the murder of Tribal Chief Marcos Verón, who passed away in 2019.

The soybeans produced by tenants of Brasília do Sul Farm are sold to Lar Cooperativa Agroindustrial, the fourth-largest poultry slaughterhouse in Brazil. Between 2017 and 2021, Lar Cooperativa Agroindustrial exported over 115,000 tons of frozen and marinated chicken products to the European Union and the United Kingdom.<sup>27</sup>

During her tenure as Minister of Agriculture, Tereza Cristina promoted an unprecedented movement to open indigenous lands to agribusiness. She and the Bolsonaro government have been working to create Bill No. 191/2020, which regulates the exploitation of mineral, water, and organic resources in indigenous reserves, opening the doors to mining and the cultivation of genetically modified seeds in these territories.

To promote this measure, Tereza Cristina led a delegation of ministers to the Soybean Harvest Opening event attended by the Paresi, Nambikwara, and Manoki peoples. She also boosted pro-agribusiness indigenous leaders to delegitimize those who opposed the opening of indigenous territories. Considered unconstitutional by the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF), the bill was withdrawn from processing in February by the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.<sup>29</sup>



Tereza Cristina was elected with the support of farmers overlapping Indigenous Territories. (Poder 360)

## JAIR BOLSONARO RECEIVED R\$ 1 MILLION FROM LAND INVADERS

Donations from farmers who own properties overlapping with indigenous lands to politicians are not limited to members of the Parliamentary Front of Agribusiness. In addition to Senator Jaime Bagattoli's financing of the members of the Legislative Assembly of Rondônia, as mentioned above, Agribusiness Watch has detected other donations to Brazilian politicians.

Tereza Cristina's donors, John Francis Walton, and Renato Eugênio de Rezende Barbosa contributed to the election of two governors: Walton donated R\$ 15,000 to the candidacy of Eduardo Riedel (PSDB) for the governorship of Mato Grosso do Sul, while the former partner of Cosan sent R\$ 10,000 to Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos), the current governor of São Paulo.



Tarcísio previously served as the Minister of Infrastructure during the Bolsonaro government. He received two other donations from farmers identified in the research. Vincenzo Antonio Spedicato, director of Grupo Intelli, donated R\$ 25,000. He is a partner in Intelli Indústria de Terminais Elétricos and Coppersteel Bimetálicos, companies that overlap with 16,923.29 hectares of the intended area for the expansion of the Porquinhos dos Canela-Apãnjekra Indigenous Territory in Maranhão. In 2022, Spedicato received the international award "Pugliesi nel Mondo," a tribute to individuals born in the Puglia region of Italy who engage in economic and cultural activities in other countries.<sup>30</sup>

Another R\$ 10,000 for Tarcísio came from Marcos de Almeida Prado, the owner of Taquarussu Farm, which encroaches on the borders of the Dourados-Amambaípeguá I Indigenous Territory in Mato Grosso do Sul.<sup>31</sup>

On May 30, 2023, the date of the vote on the Land Demarcation Timeframe in the Chamber of Deputies, Tarcísio ordered the Military Police to attack a demonstration by the Guarani Mbya people who were blocking the Bandeirantes Highway in protest against Bill 490/2007. The police force's attack left women and children injured. In the same week, São Paulo's Secretary of Justice and Citizenship, Fábio Prieto, publicly defended the Timeframe.<sup>33</sup>

The campaign of the governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Eduardo Leite (PSDB), received a donation of R\$ 5,000 from Edgar Cherubini, a state businessman and one of the owners of Sinopema. This logging company is responsible for the fourth largest overlapping area in indigenous lands in Brazil, occupying 20,570.01 hectares of the Batelão Indigenous Land in Mato Grosso.<sup>34</sup> Two deputies from Mato Grosso received donations from the company: federal deputy Dr. Leonardo (Republicanos-MT) — who is not affiliated with the Parliamentary Agriculture Front (FPA) — and state deputy Janaína Riva (MDB-MT).

But nothing compares to the amount of money received by the defeated candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, Jair Bol-

sonaro. The former president received R\$ 1,163,385.00 (approximately U\$ 239,020) from 41 farmers identified with overlapping areas in indigenous lands.

Together, they control an area of 107,847.99 hectares, overlapping with 23 demarcated areas by Funai (National Indigenous Peoples Foundation). Some cases have already been mentioned, such as the Jacobowski brothers, Cirineu de Aguiar, and Edgar Cherubini. State deputy Zé Teixeira (PSDB-MS), protagonist of a historic conflict against the Guarani Kaiowá in Caarapó (MS), donated R\$ 10,000 from his own assets to Bolsonaro.

Among those with smaller amounts, the following politicians and their relatives are also listed: the daughter of former governor Pedro Pedrossian from Mato Grosso do Sul — whose case will be explored further; José Humberto Prata Teodoro Junior, partner of Terra Santa Propriedades Agrícolas, which holds 7,226.65 hectares within the Batelão Indigenous Land; Jesus Camacho, a ruralist leader accused of being one of the instigators of the Caarapó Massacre<sup>34</sup>; José Maria Bortoli, brother-in-law and partner of Eraí Maggi in the Bom Futuro Group; and Rafael Martinez Massa, son of TV presenter Ratinho and brother of the governor of Paraná, Ratinho Jr. (PSD) — another case that will be detailed in the next chapter. (It is true that despite the enormous wealth of the Massa family, Rafael only donated R\$ 100 to Bolsonaro's campaign).<sup>35</sup>



**Bolsonaro launched Tarcísio's campaign to São Paulo state government during an Agribusiness Convention, on top of a tractor. (Fabio Vieira/Metrópoles)**

Below are the names of the invaders who donated more than R\$ 10,000 to Bolsonaro's presidential campaign:



# THE INVADER'S CANDIDATE

Farmers with over property overlapping indigenous lands donated R\$ 1,16 million to Jair Bolsonaro.

TITULAR	NOME DA TERRA INDÍGENA (UF)	ÁREA SOBREPOSTA (EM HECTARES)	VALOR DOADO	
CIRINEU DE AGUIAR (Sócio da Agropecuária Calupa Ltda)	Apiaká do Pontal e Isolados (MT)	2.500,83	R\$ 300.000	
ADELAR, VALDIR e FERNANDO JACOBOWSKI (Irmãos e sócios da Agropecuária São Gabriel Ltda)	Menkü (MT)	2,58	R\$ 151.500	
ARI BASSO	Buriti (MS)	226,68	R\$ 100.000	
WALDIR DA SILVA FALEIROS	Cachoeirinha (MS)	13.626,94	R\$ 73.040	
DUILIO ANGELO GARLET	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	1,41	R\$ 50.022	
HELIO PEREIRA DE MORAIS FILHO (Sócio da Agropecuária São Domingos Savio Ltda)	Vale do Guaporé (MT)	10,19	R\$ 50.000	
CLODOVEU FRANCIOSI	Menkü (MT)	1.184,68	R\$ 50.000	
DOUGLAS GUEDIN	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	159,26	R\$ 30.000	
SILVIO EDUARDO BURANI (Sócio da Agropecuária Santa Mariana Ltda)	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	1.114,11	R\$ 30.000	
EDMUNDO AGUIAR RIBEIRO	Potrero Guaçu (MS)	21,29	R\$ 30.000	
LUIZ ANISIO BORTOLUZZI	Paresi (MT)	3,52	R\$ 30.000	
ALVAREZ E EDGAR CHERUBINI (Sócios da Sinopema S/A Ind. e Com. de Madeiras)	Batelão (MT)	20.570,01	R\$ 25.000	
VINCENZO ANTONIO SPEDICATO (Sócio da Intelli Ind. de Terminais Elétricos Ltda)	Porquinhos dos Canela-Apãnjekra (MA)	10.983,71	R\$ 25.000	
WILSON BROCHMANN (Sócio da Agropecuária Maragopipe Ltda)	Iguatemipectua I (MT)	1.470,49	R\$ 20.000	
ANTONIO LEMOS BERALDO	Paukalirajausu (MT)	66,21	R\$ 20.000	
MARCOS DE ALMEIDA PRADO	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	0,12	R\$ 20.000	
AROLD FERREIRA CORREA & FILHO	Buriti (MS)	1.626,50	R\$ 20.000	
MAURO AGUIAR RIBEIRO	Iguatemipectua I (MS)	141,53	R\$ 15.000	
SERGIO DE AZEVEDO BARROS	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	3,77	R\$ 15.000	
LUIZ CARLOS RIBEIRO LEMOS DE MELO	Paukalirajausu (MT)	311,76	R\$ 12.000	
LAIZ VIOLIN CICERI (Sócia de Antonio Dionisio Ciceri)	Dourados-Amambaipaguá I (MS)	936,34	R\$ 10.000	
CELSON ANTONIO FRARE (Sócio da Morro Chato Agropecuária Ltda)	Sombreiro (MS)	935,70	R\$ 10.000	
JOSE ROBERTO TEIXEIRA	Guyraroká (MS)	4.192,47	R\$ 10.000	
LUIZ ANTONIO STAUT VILAFANHA	Dourados (MS)	0,45	R\$ 10.000	
ROVILSON ALVES CORREA	Kadiwéu (MS)	34,36	R\$ 10.000	
TOTAL		60.124,91	R\$ 1.116.562	







## 2. FOXES IN THE HENHOUSE

(Divulgation)

### SENATOR ATTEMPTED TO LEGALIZE FARM IN ISOLATED INDIGENOUS TERRITORY

Jaime Maximino Bagattoli was elected senator of Rondônia in 2022 under the Liberal Party, the same party as Bolsonaro. With a declared wealth of over R\$ 55 million, the Santa Catarina native from José Boiteux owns the Bagattoli Group, based in Vilhena (RO). The company includes Transportadora Giomila, the Catarinense network of fuel stations, and several farms focused on soybean cultivation and cattle breeding.<sup>36</sup> Upon taking office, Bagattoli immediately became a member of the Parliamentary Agriculture Front.

On April 19, 2023, the International Day of Indigenous Peoples, Bagattoli proposed two bills, PL 2009/2023 and PL 1988/2023: the first aims to guarantee the farmer the right to "directly request the use of police force to remove invaders, regardless of a court order"; the second amends the Penal Code to include the invasion of rural properties in the section on crimes against property.

Agribusiness Watch reveals in this report that Bagattoli himself is a land invader.

In November 2007, Transportadora Giomila, owned by Jaime and his brother Orlando Bagattoli, attempted to register a farm of 3,716 hectares, of which 2,591.76 hectares encroached upon the Rio Omerê Indigenous Land, in the

municipality of Corumbiara (RO), which had been regularized since April 2006.<sup>37</sup> The property appears in Incra's database as "Lot No. 91 and No. 92 - Sector 10 - Gleba Corumbiara. Months earlier, in January 2007, the businessmen registered another property in the same location. Although it does not encroach as conspicuously on indigenous territory, the registration overlaps with the boundaries of the Rio Omerê Indigenous Land by 0.26 hectares, that is, 2,600 square meters. This second area was registered with Incra under the same code and was subsequently renamed Lots 91A and 92A.<sup>38</sup>

Neither of these areas was declared by the senator to the Superior Electoral Court (TSE). Despite such a scandalous conflict of interests, it will be up to Senator Jaime Bagattoli to evaluate Bill 490/2007, regarding the Land Demarcation Timeframe, which will be reviewed by the Senate after being approved on May 30 in the Chamber of Deputies. If approved and sanctioned by President Lula, the project will directly benefit the politician's business interests.



## OVERLAPS IN RONDÔNIA

### RIO OMERÊ INDIGENOUS LAND AKUNTSÚ AND KANOÊ PEOPLES

#### São José Farm

Registered jan/2007 - 1.118,03 ha

Registered nov/2007 - 3.716,03 ha

**City:** Corumbiara (RO)

#### Disputed by:

Transportadora Giomila Ltda

#### Company's partners:

Sen. Jaime Bagattoli (PL-RO)

Orlando Bagattoli (irmão)

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):

**2.591,76 ha**



SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021); Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000

Located in southern Rondônia, the Rio Omerê Indigenous Territory (TI) is home to the last survivors of the Akuntsu and Kanoê peoples, two ethnic groups with recent - and catastrophic - contact. During the 1970s, entire villages were decimated by the brutality of invaders and by diseases to which they had no immunity. To make matters worse, large portions of their land were stolen by farmers with the complicity of state agencies.

In 1985, indigenist Marcelo Santos from Funai found remnants of destroyed huts and broken arrows in the region, and obtained a protection order for a piece of land called Omerê, on the banks of the creek of the same name, one of the tributaries of the Corumbiara River. Ten years later, in 1995, he led an expedition that made contact with five Kanoê survivors and identified the Akuntsu for the first time. The people were unknown to indigenists and, at that time, had only seven survivors.

In an interview with *De Olho nos Ruralistas*, indigenous teacher Eva Kanoê recounts the

suffering of her ancestors caused by the division of the ethnicity, which split into two groups during the period of invasions — the branch that remained in the Omerê territory was practically decimated.

"My grandmother was forcibly relocated from the old territory to the Ricardo Franco Indigenous Land, on the Guaporé River," she recalls. "In this process of forced displacement, Kanoê families were separated, and many women went to unknown places. My grandmother was separated from her husband and, as punishment for 'misbehavior,' was taken to another Indigenous Land, Ribeirão." She tells that the elder did not like to talk about the past and, fearing further persecution, did not teach them the native language, which is now extinct. "There she worked as a seamstress and was forced to work as a prostitute. She suffered so much violence that she denied her own history afterward."<sup>39</sup>

After the initial contact in the 1990s, the territory was closed off by the Ministry of Justice. However, local farmers immediately reacted

by spreading the lie that the contact announced by Funai was a hoax, staged with “Indian actors”. The Federal Police in Rondônia opened an investigation into attempted genocide against the Ka-noê and Akuntsu. Subsequently, a Funai camp was established at the entrance of one of the forest reserves, along the banks of a small tributary of the Omerê, to exercise territorial surveillance and assist the survivors of both peoples.<sup>40</sup>

In 2011, a farmer who illegally occupied the TI area obtained authorization from the State Department of the Environment of Rondônia to remove 17,000 m<sup>3</sup> of native timber. The argument put forth by the state government to approve the logging was the delay in receiving compensation for “good faith improvements” within the territory. However, the authorization was canceled by the Federal Prosecutor’s Office specialized in Funai in the municipality of Cacoal.<sup>41</sup>

## THE BAGATTOLI CLAN FACES ENVIRONMENTAL CRIME CHARGES

Jaime Bagattoli is currently facing a complaint of abuse of economic power in the Electoral Court, based on evidence of tampering with values to circumvent campaign spending limits. Among the disapproved expenses, the senator claims to have spent only R\$ 300 on the rental of six cars for 43 days. If convicted, the action could lead to the loss of his mandate.<sup>42</sup>

The first months of his legislative activity in the Senate highlight his priorities in public life. Among his campaign commitments, Bagattoli promised to regularize all mining activities in Rondônia, including those located within indigenous territories.<sup>43</sup> In April, he took the floor to demand the government’s delivery of land titles in the state, blaming the delay — and the peasants — for deforestation.

“We need to solve this land regularization issue so that small producers do not continue to deforest areas that belong to the federal government,” he declared, without mentioning his private interest in the land.<sup>44</sup> Bagattoli



**FPA Member, Bagattoli articulates the approval of the “Poison Bill” in the Federal Senate. (Disclosure/Jaime Bagattoli)**

is part of the group of lawmakers who have been pressuring the President of the Senate, Rodrigo Pacheco (PSD-MG), to establish a Congressional Investigation into NGOs in the Amazon.<sup>45</sup>



In March, the senator filed an information request to the Minister of Justice and Public Security, Flávio Dino, seeking action in response to what he describes as an escalation of "violence in the countryside against private agricultural properties."<sup>46</sup> In the same month, Bagattoli requested a public hearing in the Committee on Agriculture and Agrarian Reform (CRA) on the challenges of forest management in the Amazon biome.<sup>47</sup>

The Bagattoli family has been involved in the timber industry since migrating to Rondônia. They initially engaged in the sale of native wood from the biome in José Boiteux (SC), where some relatives still operate in the industry. The clan has accumulated

allegations of environmental crimes.

The Selva Norte Timber Industry Ltd. was fined in 2004 for storing illegal timber. It is registered under the names of two other brothers of the senator, Gilmar and Valdemar Bagattoli. In the same year, Jaime was fined by IBAMA (Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources) for four infractions against flora, totaling R\$ 34,000 in fines. In 2003, Orlando Bagattoli, the senator's brother, business partner, and main campaign financier, had a 100-hectare area embargoed in the Corumbiara Glebe, in the region of the properties overlapping the Rio Omerê Indigenous Territory, due to deforestation using fire.<sup>48</sup>

03. AUTUADO/DEPOSITÁRIO <b>ORLANDO VITÓRIO BAGATTOLI</b>			
04. FILIAÇÃO <b>GIOCONDO ANGELO BAGATTOLI E OLGA BAGATTOLI</b>			
05. NATURALIDADE <b>JOSÉ BOITEUX/SC</b>	06. C. IDENT./TÍTULO ELEITOR/C. PROFISS. <b>97.344 SSP/RO</b>	07. EST. CIVIL <b>CASADO</b>	
08. ENDEREÇO <b>RUA JAMARI, 83</b>			
09. BAIRRO OU DISTRITO <b>CENTRO</b>	10. MUNICÍPIO (CIDADE) <b>UIZUENA</b>	11. UF <b>RO</b>	12. CEP <b>78995-000</b>
13. EM FUNÇÃO DO NÃO CUMPRIMENTO DA LEGISLAÇÃO VIGENTE E DE ACORDO COM O AUTO DE INFRAÇÃO  Nº <b>250054-D</b> DATA <b>28/07/03</b>		14. <input type="checkbox"/> APREENSÃO/DEPÓSITO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EMBARGUE/INTERDIÇÃO TERMO LAVRADO ÀS: HORA <b>15:00</b> DIA <b>28</b> MÊS <b>JULHO</b> ANO <b>2003</b>	
15. LOCAL DA APREENSÃO OU EMBARGUE/INTERDIÇÃO <b>LT 40, SETOR 12, GLEBA CORUMBIARA</b>			
16. DESCRIÇÃO DOS PRODUTOS, PETRÉCHOS APREENHIDOS E OUTROS OU JUSTIFICATIVA DO EMBARGUE/INTERDIÇÃO <b>FICA EMBARGADA A ÁREA DE 100 HECTARES ATÉ O IMPRONUNCIAMENTO DA AUTORIDADE COMPETENTE, POR REALIZAR QUEIMADA SEM AUTORIZAÇÃO DO ÓRGÃO COMPETENTE.</b> <b>COORDENADA GEOGRÁFICA: LAT. 12° 50' 47,3" LONG. 60° 07' 39,5"</b>			

Digitized copy of the embargo applied to Jaime Bagattoli's brother, in an area neighbouring the Omerê River TI invasion. (Disclosure/Jaime Bagattoli)

The current senator was arrested in 2020, along with Orlando Bagattoli, for damaging public property. They were caught breaking a curb with sledgehammers, arguing that the construction was obstructing the flow of vehicles at one of the branches of the Posto Catarinense, a gas station chain owned by the Bagattoli Group. On that

occasion, Orlando pushed and verbally assaulted a technician from the National Department of Transportation Infrastructure (DNIT), the agency responsible for the installation of the curb. The businessmen paid bail and are awaiting trial while released.<sup>49</sup>



## SPERAFICO DISPUTES LAND WITH GUARANI KAIOWÁ PEOPLE

It is his seventh term in the Chamber of Deputies. Elected in 2022 at the age of 74, Congressman Dilceu Sperafico (PP-PR) had already held the position for six consecutive terms between 1995 and 2018 when he took a leave of absence to assume the Chief of Staff position under Cida Borghetti (PP), the former governor of Paraná. Born in Santa Rosa (RS), but with his electoral domicile in Toledo (PR), the politician is one of the owners of the Sperafico Group, dedicated to the commercialization of soybeans, corn, wheat, and by-products, with a focus on the states of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, and rural properties scattered throughout Pará and Tocantins — acquired through the purchase of properties belonging to Boi Gordo, one of the largest financial fraud cases in Brazilian history.<sup>50</sup>

Currently under judicial recovery, the company is managed by various members of the Sperafico family, some of whom have held political positions, such as his brother Dilso Sperafico, a former federal congressman, and his son Natan Sperafico, a substitute state congressman in Paraná. Always acting against indigenous rights in the positions he holds, Dilceu is also an

invader of indigenous land in Mato Grosso do Sul.

In Amambai, he appears alongside his brothers as co-owner of Fazenda Maracay, spanning 4,418 hectares. The soybean planting areas extend beyond the boundaries of the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land, home to the Guarani Kaiowá people. The property is a partnership among the Sperafico brothers: Élio is the majority owner with 37.5%, while Dilceu, Itacir, Dilso, and Levino each hold 12.5%. Another son of Elói completes the partnership with 12.5%. Valued at R\$ 92.9 million, the property is under attachment to settle the accumulated debts of the family.<sup>51</sup>

In the same region, in 2007, a Sperafico group bus provided logistical support for an armed attack against the Kurussu Ambá Indigenous Community. This attack resulted in the murder of a 73-year-old Guarani Kaiowá indigenous woman. According to reports from the Indigenous Missionary Council (Cimi), the victim's body and another injured person were taken to the bus and left on the side of MS-289 highway, near Taquaperi Village in the municipality of Coronel Sapucaia (MS).<sup>52</sup>



## OVERLAP IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL

INDIGENOUS LAND IGUATEMIPEGUÁ  
GUARANI KAIOWÁ PEOPLE

**Maracay Farm** 4.418,30 ha

**City:** Amambai (MS)

**Disputed by:**

Dep. Dilceu Sperafico (PP-PR)

*\*Head of Agribusiness Parliamentary Bloc*

**Farm Partners:**

Élio Sperafico (brother)

Itacir Antônio Sperafico (brother)

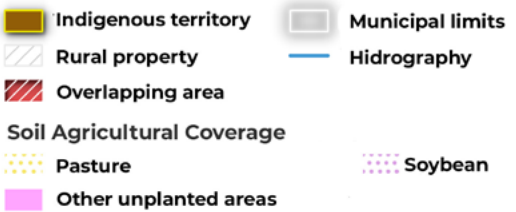
Dilso Sperafico (brother)

Levino José Sperafico (brother)

Elói Sperafico (cousin)

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):

**3,09 ha**



SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021);  
Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000

The history of violence against indigenous peoples permeates Sperafico's parliamentary career, as he is one of the main proponents of Proposed Constitutional Amendment (PEC) No. 215/2000, which sought to delegate to the Legislative branch the authority to demarcate new indigenous territories and revoke previous demarcations.<sup>53</sup> This proposal ended up being incorporated into PL 490/2007, known as the Land Demarcation Timeframe bill.

In 2013, the Bolsonaro-aligned politician participated in a rally in Guaíra (PR), on the border with Paraguay, distributing stickers with the slogans "Truth, food, and unity: the foundation of a nation" and "Confiscation, no. Get out, Funai." The protest was against the demarcation of the Tekoha Guasu Guavira Indigenous Land, belonging to the Avá-Guarani people, which is still awaiting official demarcation.<sup>54</sup>

Alongside Jair Bolsonaro's sons, Dilceu was present at Brasília Airport in March to welcome the former president back af-

ter three months in Miami. In 2021, he had been approached by his party colleague Ciro Nogueira (PP-PI) to assume a ministry position. The answer was no: his sole interest was in the Ministry of Agriculture, which was already occupied by Tereza Cristina.<sup>55</sup> Like his colleague from Mato Grosso do Sul, Sperafico served as president of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA), in 2005, a few years after the formation of the group. He currently holds a director position as an advisor.

Both in politics and business, Dilceu Sperafico has faced allegations of corruption and tax evasion. In 2016, he was one of those responsible for the appointment of the regional superintendent of the Ministry of Agriculture in Paraná, Gil Bueno de Magalhães. Gil was arrested the following year during Operação Carne Fraca ("Weak Flesh Investigation") for being part of a criminal organization that facilitated the inspection of slaughterhouses in exchange for bribes. Among those involved was JBS, one of the main financiers of Sperafico's 2014 campaign.<sup>56</sup>



In his last campaign, Sperafico declared assets worth over R\$ 46 million to the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) — a fortune accumulated largely through unpaid debts. In 2019, Dilceu owed R\$ 129 million in taxes to the federal government, which led the family group to file for judicial recovery with a liability exceeding R\$ 1 billion, not including labor debts.<sup>57</sup>

Facing a crisis since at least 2008 when it was considered one of the largest wheat producers in the country, the Sperafico Group had to sell 45 storage warehouses and five soybean crushing units to the agricultural arm of the Swiss mining company Glencore. The company has an interest in exploiting indigenous territories: according to the fourth edition of the "Complicity in Destruction" report published by Amazon Watch in February 2022, the multinational corporation has three mining requests overlapping with Indigenous Territories.<sup>58</sup>

The family's debts continue to accumulate. In January of this year, Itacir Antonio Sperafico, Dilceu's brother and a partner in the agribusiness group, offered a 10,000-hectare farm in Tabaporã (MT), valued at R\$ 64 million, as payment to settle a debt of R\$ 18 million with IBAMA. According to the environmental enforcement agency, the farmer is responsible for deforesting approximately 1,500 hectares of the Amazon rainforest in 2012, in the municipality of Ulianópolis (PA). The property targeted by the enforcement belonged to the group but was seized due to debts.<sup>59</sup>



Dilceu Sperafico took Arthur Lira, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, to Show Rural, in Cascavel (PR). (Disclosure)





**Father and son, united by disrespect for indigenous rights. (Portal De Internet)**

## **INDEBTED, NEWTON CARDOSO JR. CONCEALS CONFLICT WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLE**

A traditional politician from Minas Gerais, Newton Cardoso served as governor from 1987 to 1991 and was mayor of Contagem (MG) on three occasions. Known as Newtão, he was a federal deputy and vice-governor under Itamar Franco from 1999 to 2003. At 84 years old, the politician sees his son following in his footsteps in public life: last year, Newton Cardoso Jr. (MDB-MG), who chairs the state branch of the MDB, was reelected for his third consecutive term in the Chamber of Deputies.

Deputy Newton Cardoso Jr. was a member of the transition team for the Lula government and is one of the 27 members of the board of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture. Together, father and son are partners in Companhia Siderúrgica Pitanguí, a company that claims ownership of several farms in northern Minas Gerais — some of which are suspected of land grabbing and partially overlapping with the Kaxixó Indigenous Territory.

The company is listed in the Incra records as the owner of the Crisciúma and Capão Farms in Martinho Campos (MG). Both farms are completely overlapped with the territory of the Kaxixó people: the first one with 460.20 hectares, and the second one with 373.84, as shown on the map.

## OVERLAP IN MINAS GERAIS

### INDIGENOUS LAND KAXIXÓ KAXIXÓ PEOPLE

**Crisciuma Farm** 461,49 ha  
**Capão Farm** 499,215  
**City:** Martinho Campos (MG)

**Disputed by:**  
Companhia Siderúrgica Pitangui  
(Pitangui Agro-Florestal - Filial)

#### Farm Partners:

Dep. Newton Cardoso Junior (MDB-MG)  
\**Dirigente da Frente  
Parlamentar da Agropecuária*  
Newton Cardoso (pai e ex-governador)

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):  
**834,04 ha**



SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021);  
Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000

During three centuries of invasions, the Kaxixó people were forced to move further north from their original land in the Serra do Curral, which now serves as a postcard view of Belo Horizonte. They were recognized as an ethnic group by Funai in 2001. Their territory, initially claimed to be 54,000 hectares, was reduced to 27,000, and then further reduced to 5,500. Almost ten times smaller. Even so, the demarcation has not been implemented. In practice, the three Kaxixó villages together occupy no more than 6 hectares. The remaining land is in the hands of farmers or condominiums, or leased for eucalyptus cultivation.

In June 2013, months after the recognition of the Kaxixó Indigenous Territory, the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA) coordinated a series of simultaneous protests against the federal policy of demarcating indigenous lands and titling quilombola territories. In Minas,

one of the protests took place precisely in Martinho Campos, where rural producers and students closed BR-164, opposing the demarcation of the Kaxixó area.<sup>60</sup>

Aligned with the ruralist agenda, Newton Cardoso Jr. was the rapporteur of PL 4059/2012, which aimed to allow the purchase of up to 100,000 hectares of land by foreigners. Historically, the congressman from Minas is linked to the defense of the steel and forestry sectors, and he also owns a cattle farming company. In 2018, he was acquitted by the Supreme Court (STF) after being accused of illegal transportation of charcoal, resulting from an inspection carried out ten years earlier.<sup>61</sup>

In 2009, former governor Newton Cardoso divorced the mother of the deputy, Maria Lúcia Cardoso, who was also a federal deputy for the MDB at the time. An article in *Veja* magazine revealed the extent of the family's business: after discovering that her husband



was in London with a lover, the former federal deputy filed for a contentious divorce. She requested half of the assets of the former governor. According to Maria Lúcia, the real estate assets were estimated between R\$ 2.5 billion and R\$ 3 billion, including a hundred farms, 16 companies in Brazil, six of them based in tax havens, a beach in Bahia, airplanes, dozens of cars, and several properties, some of them in New York and Paris. The former governor was also said to be the owner of a three-star hotel in the French capital, Résidence des Halles, near the Louvre Museum, and had a bank account in Switzerland.<sup>62</sup>

The assets were valued 200 times higher than what Newton Cardoso declared to the electoral court in 2006 when he ran for the Senate. Elected as the mayor of Pitangui (MG) in 2020, Newton Cardoso Jr.'s mother had her mandate revoked last year, accused by the Public Prosecutor's Office of omitting expenses and falsifying the statement of accounts.<sup>63</sup> In the last election, the son declared just over R\$ 2 million in assets.

As a recurring debtor of taxes owed to the government, Newton Cardoso Jr. was the rapporteur of the Provisional Measure that amended the rules of the Fiscal Recovery Program (Refis) in 2017, during the Temer government. According to a survey by the Poder 360 website, he is the parliamentarian with the highest debt to the Union. The tax debts are mainly from Rio Rancho Agropecuária (R\$ 99.2 million) and Companhia Siderúrgica Pitangui (R\$ 82.3 million). His total debt amounts to R\$ 190,6 milhões. The opposition protested when he was appointed to Refis.<sup>64</sup>

His history of conflicts of interest in the Chamber of Deputies does not stop there. In addition to working to facilitate the reduction of his own debts, the congressman authored PL nº 6411/2016, which proposes to eliminate the requirement for prior environmental licensing and impact studies for reforestation areas. In northern Minas Gerais, near the border with Bahia, he and his father own a series of reforestation farms.

The steel and eucalyptus sectors go hand in hand in the region: Siderúrgica Pitangui uses eucalyptus-derived charcoal, cultivated by Rio Rancho on various farms, as raw material for pig iron production. The agricultural branch of the group, Rio Rancho, was investigated by the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF) for land grabbing of unclaimed lands in northern Minas Gerais, encroaching on the traditional territory of geraizeira communities.

In 2017, once again legislating in his own interest, Newton Cardoso Jr. voted in favor of Provisional Measure 759, known as the "Land Grabbing MP," which provided loopholes for the legalization of invaded public areas.<sup>65</sup>

One of the companies in the Newton Cardoso group, Florestal Vale Jequitinhonha, was subject to search and seizure in 2018 on suspicion of currency evasion through offshore accounts. Father and son were mentioned in the Panama Papers investigation as beneficiaries of the offshore companies Cyndar Management LLC and Desco Trading Ltd., registered with the Panamanian firm Mossack Fonseca. Internal emails from the consultancy revealed that the purpose of the money transfers abroad was to purchase a flat in London and a helicopter.<sup>66</sup>





Governador Ratinho Jr poses with a headdress during an event on April 19. (Disclosure)

## RATINHO JR'S FAMILY DISPUTES LAND IN ACRE

Better known as Ratinho, Carlos Roberto Massa, a native of Paraná, is one of the most famous communicators in the country. He gained notoriety even before moving to the top Brazilian TV Channel SBT in the 1990s when he hosted police programs, brandishing a baton, vociferating against criminals, and in favor of police violence.

His political career began in the 1970s as a councilman in Jandaia do Sul, in the countryside of Paraná state. Between 1989 and 1991, he was a councilman in Curitiba, and he was elected as a federal deputy for the 1991-1995 term, representing the National Reconstruction Party (PRN), which served as the foundation for the candidacy of Fernando Collor, the elected president in 1989, who was later impeached, in 1992. Unlike his father, his son Ratinho Júnior (PSD) had a meteoric political career, becoming the governor of Paraná at the age of 38. He was reelected for a second term last year.

In addition to their political capital, the family has accumulated a fortune over the

years, estimated at R\$ 530 million. Ratinho owns his own radio and television network in Paraná, called Rede Massa, and 19 farms spread throughout the country, where he invests in livestock and the cultivation of soybeans, corn, and coffee.

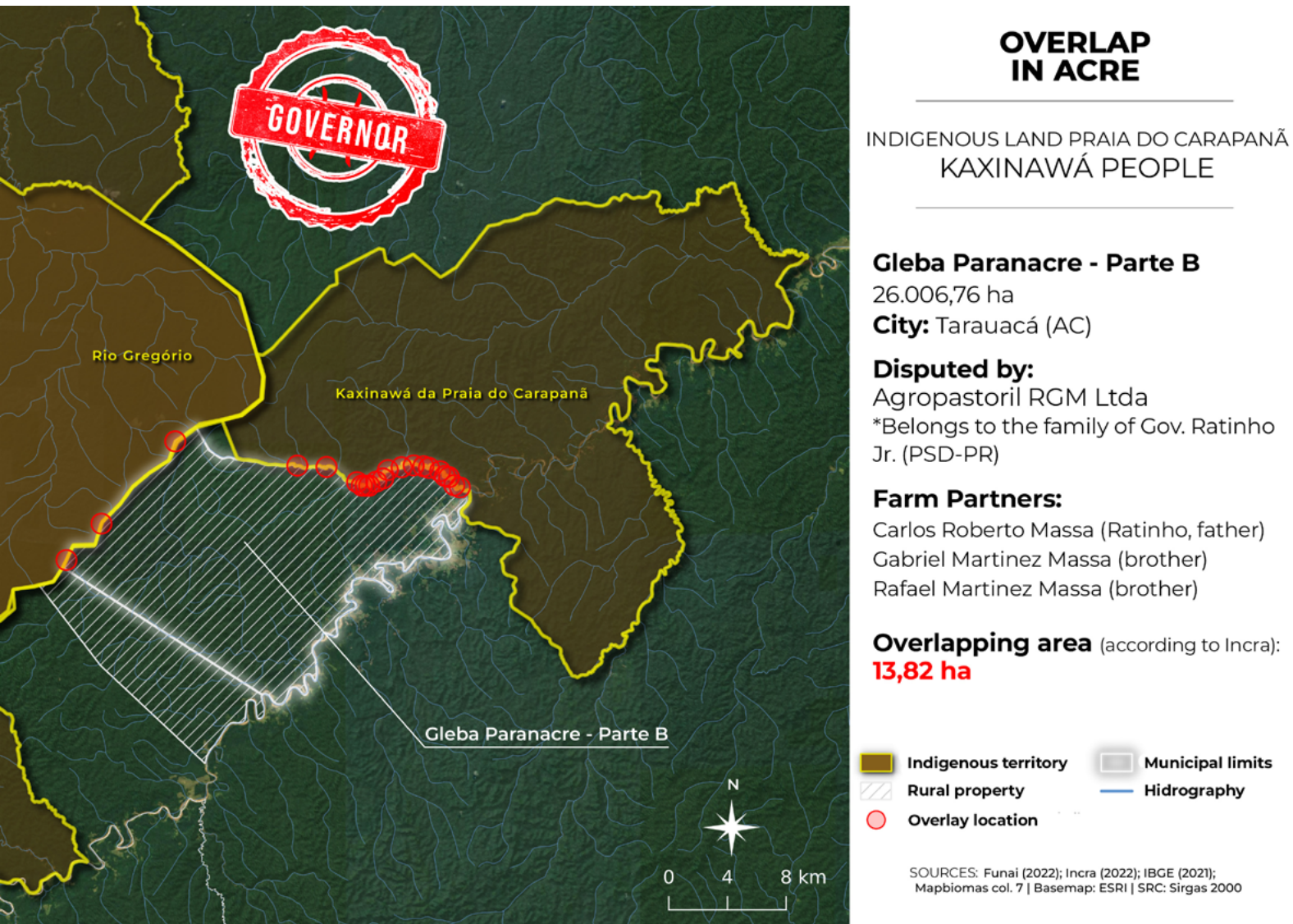
Two properties are located in Acre, in the municipality of Tarauacá, and are involved in a historical conflict with the Huni Kuin people (also known as Kaxinawá), as well as disputes with squatters who remained in the region after the dissolution of the rubber plantations.

Ratinho bought the plots of land in 2002, after paying around R\$ 330,000 to the Paranacre Agropecuária and Industrial Colonization Company of Acre, a company identified as the main promoter of land grabbing in the region. The Paranacre Gleba - Part B is registered in the name of Agropecuária RGM, a partnership between the presenter and his other two sons. It encroaches upon the Kaxinawá Indigenous Land of Praia do Carapanã, which has been regularized since 2001. The 13.82 hectares of the farm overlapping with the



indigenous area are therefore illegal.

The property is adjacent to the Rio Gregório Indigenous Land, which is home to seven villages of the Yawanawá, Kaxinawá/Huni Kuin, and Katukina-Pano ethnicities. In the region, Ratinho has a history of conflicts with the local indigenous communities, especially the Yawanawá, who resist against the presenter's interest in establishing a large-scale timber exploitation project in the Amazon, as reported in 2021 by Agribusiness Watch in the series of reports "Ratinho, the farmer."<sup>67</sup>



Father and son did everything to contribute to Jair Bolsonaro's failed presidential campaign. Ratinho invited him to his show several times and recorded support videos for his campaign. Ratinho Jr. was the subject of a criminal complaint for using the communication systems of Paraná Artificial Intelligence (PIA) and Detran-PR, public agencies, to send SMS messages in support of Bolsonaro in an attempt to gain voters.<sup>68</sup>

The message said, "Bolsonaro will win in the first round! Otherwise, we will take to the streets to protest! We will invade the congress and the Supreme Court! President Bolsonaro counts on all of us!" Indeed, after the election defeat, on January 8, 2023, Bolsonaro supporters invaded the Plaza of the Three Powers, including the Supreme Court (STF), causing scenes of vandalism and destruction. They were largely encouraged and financed by agribusiness entrepreneurs, as shown in the dossier "The Agrarian Origins of Terror" by this observatory.<sup>69</sup>

In 2021, on his radio show at Rádio Massa, Ratinho advocated for the return of military dictatorship and suggested a "cleansing" to remove homeless people from the streets of the country. As governor, Ratinho Jr. carried out nine evictions in rural settlements in Paraná at the beginning of his first term, between May and December 2019. Drones, helicopters, rubber bullets, tear gas, and pepper spray were used to expel over 500 families from the lands where they lived and produced.<sup>70</sup>

Aligned with ruralist agendas, Ratinho Jr. met with members of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture last April to discuss "land invasions" and eviction actions. "The vocation of Paraná is to produce food for the world, and this can only be done with legal certainty," he stated in an interview with Canal Rural following the meeting. "Therefore, the state complies with the law to ensure that producers who generate wealth can work in peace."<sup>71</sup>

Ratinho Jr. did not fulfill the promise made last year to provide basic food baskets to indigenous communities in western Paraná, the region with the highest incidence of land conflicts between indigenous people and Paraná farmers. In 2022, an article in the newspaper *Brasil de Fato* described the severe food insecurity experienced by indigenous people in the region. They reported that Funai and the government of Paraná had suspended food supplies. According to the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF), the Guarani people were most affected by hunger because their territories had not been declared and ratified, and they were confined to reduced areas that made agriculture unfeasible.<sup>72</sup>

Political allies of Ratinho are also invaders of indigenous lands. In Mato Grosso do Sul, businessman Celso Frare, a soybean farmer arrested alongside former governor Beto Richa (PSDB), owns farms overlapping two indigenous lands. As the owner of Agropecuária Morro Chato, Frare appointed his godson, lawyer Luciano Schlumberger from Ponta Grossa, as the head of the Legal Department of the Administration of the Ports of Paranaquá and Antonina (APPA), a strategic position for the flow of his grain production, with

Ratinho Jr.'s blessing. Frare is the owner of Fazenda Poncho Verde in Sete Quedas (MS), almost all of which overlaps with the Sombrito Indigenous Land of the Guarani Nhandeva people. The soybean farmer also appears as the owner of Fazenda Rancho Eldorado, with 1,233 hectares, 282 of which overlap with the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land of the Guarani Kaiowá people.<sup>73</sup>

Frare is the owner of Fazenda Poncho Verde in Sete Quedas (MS), which overlaps with almost all of the 951 hectares of the Sombrito Indigenous Land of the Guarani Nhandeva people. The soybean farmer also appears as the owner of Fazenda Rancho Eldorado, which spans 1,233 hectares, with 282 of them overlapping with the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Territory of the Guarani Kaiowá people. Another historical ally of the Massa family is former congressman José Carlos Martinez, who died in a plane crash in 2003 while presiding over the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB). Martinez founded Central Nacional de Televisão (CNT), the broadcaster where Ratinho began his career in 1991. In 1998, the presenter campaigned for Martinez's election.<sup>74</sup> The heirs of Martinez control Sape Agropecuária, the owner of Fazenda Sararé (Area 02) in Conquista D'Oeste (MT). There, the property, which covers around 2,500 hectares, encroaches on a small part of the Sararé Indigenous Land of the Nambikwara people, which was regularized in 1985.



Ratinho Jr. posing with family farmers in Paraná while his family displaces settlers in Acre. (Disclosure)





Political guarantor of Bolsonaro, Valdemar da Costa Neto conducted business with the Dutch in Amazonas state. (Disclosure/PL)

## “BOY” CONNECTED TO INDIGENOUS TERRITORY INVASION THROUGH THE DUTCH

Located in Apuí, in southern Amazonas, the Boa Fé Farm is the second-largest property identified in the survey of 1,692 overlapping rural properties in indigenous lands. With 435,000 hectares, it has an area 27 times larger than Liechtenstein, a European country with an extension of 15.8 thousand hectares that houses the headquarters of Natural Resources Development AG. Through its Brazilian subsidiary, NRD Desenvolvimento de Recursos Naturais Ltda, the company claims ownership of this property surrounded by irregularities.

NRD is part of a series of business registrations linked to Dutch timber merchant Herald A.M.A. Janssen, who gained international notoriety by leading the construction of a replica of Noah's Ark and planning for it to cross the Atlantic Ocean, arriving in Brazil during the 2016 Olympics. The "creationist" entrepreneur wanted to prove the veracity of biblical passages. The triumphant arrival never happened. Through his businesses in the timber industry, more recently in carbon credits, Janssen's presence in the country is

much greater than his carpentry project.<sup>75</sup>

The Dutch timber merchant's companies have been involved in land grabbing suspicions since the early 2000s. They have counted on partners of great relevance in Brazilian politics, from honorary consuls of the Netherlands to Valdemar Costa Neto, president of the Liberal Party (PL), the same party as Jair Bolsonaro — also known by the nickname "Boy," short for "playboy," after inheriting the party from his father.

In 1999, Dutch consul Gerardus Bartels was the target of a parliamentary investigation in the Legislative Assembly of Amazonas. He also operated in the timber industry. The accusation was that he circumvented the Constitution to acquire a 70,000-hectare area in the Barreirinha region (AM). Three hundred riverside families were coerced to leave the area. The consul claimed to have been the victim of a scam by Dutch partners connected to Janssen and NRD Natural Resources Development: they were allegedly transferring portions of the forest to third parties. Interest-

ed parties could acquire an area for planting teak, an Asian species used for reforestation, generating profits from the management activity, for \$3,000 per hectare.

Years later, the model turned out to be a large pyramid scheme. Some involved ended up in prison in Europe, convicted of selling false investment plans based on reforesting degraded areas. Dutch administrators of the company were accused of involvement in drug trafficking in Brazil. The case was the subject of a report published by Agribusiness Watch.<sup>76</sup>



**Joni, from the "Garimpo é Legal" Movement, with his Dutch partners. (Facebook)**

A property owned by Valdemar Costa Neto in Itacoatiara (AM) was part of the portfolio of farms linked to the Dutch company, which used Brazilian frontmen to operate in the country. On February 25, 2000, the congressman sold 75% of Agropecuária Patauá, inherited from his father, to Reflorestadora Holanda, becoming involved in the international scheme. Reflorestadora Holanda had Francisco Jonivaldo Motta Campos, known as Joni, as their frontman. After the transaction, he became a partner alongside Valdemar.

Joni presents himself as an influential figure in the Amazonian mining industry. He coordinates the "Garimpo é Legal" (Mining is Legal) Movement in Amazonas, founded by Rodrigo Cataratas, a miner from Roraima who ran for federal deputy affiliated to the Liberal Party (PL). In the southeastern region of Amazonas, in Apuí, near the border with Mato Grosso, Joni is a partner in Aliança Mineração (Mining Alliance), in association with Agostinho Borges da Silva.

In August 2022, Folha de S. Paulo reported on the partnership between Valdemar and Joni Motta Campos in Agropecuária Patauá. The miner limited himself to saying that he had never met the president of the PL party and that the two companies, Patauá and Reflorestadora Holanda, only exist "on paper" and, according to his calculations, have not been operational since 2004. However, data from the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) show that Joni has been a member of the PL party since October 2007, the same year Valdemar was elected for his fifth term as a federal deputy, after resigning in 2005 amidst the repercussions of the Mensalão scandal.<sup>77</sup>



**Merit Valdsalu, CEO of Single Earth, buyer of carbon credits in an area that overlaps with the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous Territory. (TedX)**

Details of this story were revealed in the



pre-publication of the book "A Floresta do Tocantins" by Gio Ferrarius, a Dutch journalist. Some individuals involved sought summary procedures in Dutch court in an attempt to censor the publication of the book.<sup>78</sup> However, they were unsuccessful. The author collaborated with Agribusiness Watch in investigating the involvement of companies associated with Valdemar.

Janssen and his Brazilian attorney, André Roberto dos Santos Manfredini, are partners of the German Gerd Michael Stadie in NRD Desenvolvimento de Recursos Naturais. Stadie owns a neighboring property to Fazenda Boa Fé, called Fazenda Santa Natália, which covers an area of 9,733 hectares. Both properties overlap with the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous Territory, inhabited by remnants of the Kawahiva people who practice voluntary isolation. Fazenda Boa Fé overlaps with 1,204.64 hectares, while Fazenda Santa Natália encroaches upon 44.6 hectares of indigenous territory. The Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous Territory has not yet been officially recognized, but since 2007, it has had usage restrictions imposed by FUNAI, prohibiting third-party entry and any economic activities within its boundaries.<sup>79</sup>

Manfredini, a lawyer based in Curitiba, has been involved in various instances of land grabbing in the Amazon. A document from the Property Registry Office in Apuí (AM) shows that the farm was acquired by NRD in 2003 through a purchase and sale agreement signed with Antônio Jairo Rovel, former president of the Garimpeiros Union of Mato Grosso do Sul. Rovel was the owner of Madeireira Kenesul, based in Curitiba. The company has been inactive since 2018.<sup>80</sup>

The Rural Environmental Registry (CAR) of the property was canceled on January 20, 2022, following an administrative decision by the Ministry of the Environment. The Statement of the Declared Information Status in Fazenda Boa Fé's registry lists several other irregularities in addition to its overlap with the Kawahiva do Rio Pardo Indigenous Territory. The property encroaches upon 267,563 hectares of the Aripuanã State Forest, 27,276

## Fazenda, Zona Rural, Apuí por R\$ 152.400.000,00

Código do imóvel: MTA2611



Dados do imóvel

Área total: 435.430.000,00 m²

### Advertisement of Fazenda Boa Fé requests R\$ 152.4 million for illegally acquired property. (Reproduction)

hectares of the Guariba Extractive Reserve, and 48,186 hectares of the Aripuanã Sustainable Development Reserve.<sup>81</sup>

Amidst all of this, NRD is seeking investors to make a large-scale carbon credit project viable. Fazendas Boa Fé and Santa Natália are part of the portfolio of partner properties of the Estonian startup Single Earth, which trades cryptocurrencies backed by carbon credits called Merits, named after the creator and CEO of the initiative, Estonian entrepreneur Merit Valdsalu. The company has a strong environmental appeal and has been featured in major media outlets such as Forbes and Reuters. The official website of Single Earth includes a testimonial from Manfredini: "We, as humans, must understand that nature has a price that needs to compete financially with economic prices, all to protect it fairly."<sup>82</sup>

The company has not limited itself to elaborate schemes for attracting investors in carbon credits. They have also attempted to sell Fazenda Boa Fé through online advertisements for the price of R\$ 152 million.

André Manfredini was mentioned in 2019 in a complaint filed with the Federal Prosecutor's Office in Amazonas as a represen-

tative of the Association of Rural Producers of Southern Amazonas, known as Sempre Verde. It was founded envisioning to install farmers in an area of more than 1 million hectares in the Apuí region, where NRD farms are located. Manfredini was accused of enticing local communities with care packages in order to make the settlement viable.<sup>83</sup>

This model involved prospecting investors. Without any property rights over the areas, which are located within the Jatuarana National Forest and the Juruena National Park, those responsible for the associa-



tion were charged with fraud. Sempre Verde currently has Ademar da Silva Pereira as its vice-president, who was arrested for his involvement in the invasion of the Three Powers Plaza on January 8th, during the attempted Bolsonaroist coup. He is currently out on bail, wearing an electronic ankle monitor.<sup>84</sup>





# PAZUELLO'S BUSINESS PARTNER OWNS OVERLAPPING FARM

Brazilian entrepreneur Isaac Benayon Sabbá founded IB Sabba, the largest business group in the North region in the 20th century. Mentioned by the Los Angeles Times in 1972 as the "King of the Amazon," the entrepreneur, who passed away in 1996, had up to 42 companies and operated in the rubber, timber, chestnut, jute, and oil industries. He sold animal leather and had various ventures in the logistics sector. The only oil refinery in northern Brazil, located in Manaus, bears his name: the Isaac Sabbá Refinery, founded by the entrepreneur in 1957 and operated by Petrobras from 1974 until its privatization last year.

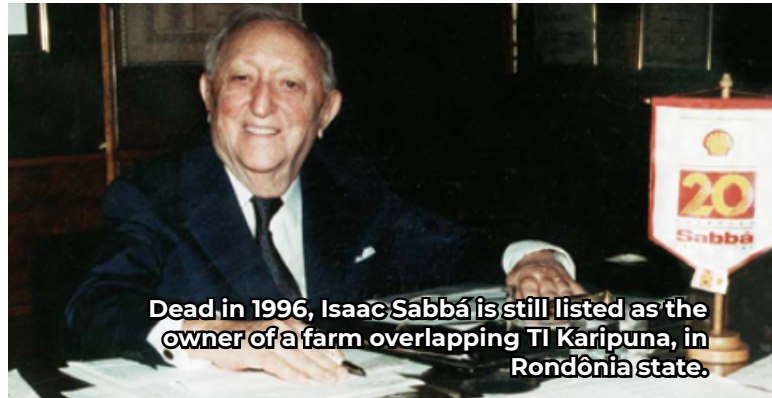
Isaac Sabbá's estate still appears in the records of the Incra (National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform) as the owner of two rubber estates that overlap with the Karipuna Indigenous Land in Rondônia. This fact was discovered in relation to the information published in 2021 by Agribusiness Watch, in a series of reports exploring the relationship between the Sabbá family and the family clan of Deputy Eduardo Pazuello (Republicanos-RJ), the general who served as Health Minister under Bolsonaro during the Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>85</sup>

The Pazuello and Sabbá families are connected through marriages and partnerships: the military officer's father and grandfather were partners in IB Sabba companies, including the Amazon Oil Company (Copam), which gave rise to the refinery. The two families had blood ties: Jacob Benayon Sabbá, Isaac's brother, was married to Estrela Pazuello, with whom he had a daughter, Nora Pazuello Sabbá, who was Miss Amazonas in the 1950s.

Elected as a federal deputy in 2022, the former minister became known as an operator of the denialist policies of the previous government during the pandemic. His management contributed to Brazil reaching the mark of 700,000 deaths from Covid-19. His home state of Amazonas suffered from a healthcare crisis, and his tenure at the Ministry of Health caused harm to indigenous peoples. During a press conference held on July 24, 2020, the ministry announced that it had sent 100,500

tablets of chloroquine to them as part of the efforts to combat Covid-19 among indigenous peoples. This treatment has been proven ineffective and carries serious risks of harmful side effects.<sup>86</sup>

According to the Association of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB), the absence of public



policies for indigenous populations resulted in at least 50,000 registered cases of Covid-19, 163 affected indigenous peoples, and over a thousand indigenous deaths. Pazuello testified before the Covid-19 Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) for two days. When asked about the distribution of chloroquine in indigenous lands, he lied and claimed that the medication was distributed to combat malaria.<sup>87</sup>

The disregard for indigenous peoples may be another legacy of his family's rich business past. Isaac Sabbá, a partner of the former minister's relatives, is the owner of the São Raimundo and Progresso rubber estates. The former covers an area of 3,561 hectares in Nova Mamoré (RO), while the latter extends over 15,296 hectares in the Porto Velho region. Together, these properties encroach on 35.11 hectares of the Karipuna Indigenous Land, which was regularized in 1998, two years after Sabbá's death.

The main company of the heirs of the IB Sabba Group is Petróleo Sabbá, which operates in the northern region in partnership with Raízen, a joint venture between Shell and Cosan. Raízen is a majority shareholder of the oil company, while the family's heirs also have their shares.









### 3. A MICROCOSM OF INVASIONS

#### FAMILY OF FORMER GOVERNOR VIOLATES INDIGENOUS RIGHTS

Mato Grosso do Sul is a land of agrarian conflicts. With the highest land inequality in the country, with 92% of agricultural land in private hands, the state leads the overall ranking of farm overlaps on indigenous lands recorded by the project “The Invaders”: it accumulates 630 out of the 1,692 cases analyzed. It also has the highest number of politicians involved in territorial disputes against indigenous peoples.

Of the 42 areas affecting Indigenous Territories whose owners are politicians (or their first-degree relatives), 17 are in the state. The cases involve the Government Palace in Campo Grande, municipal councils, the Legislative Assembly, the state's representation in Congress, city halls, agribusiness associations, and even livestock inspection posts. Any political trajectory in Mato Grosso do Sul is necessarily marked by the pain — and bloodshed — of indigenous peoples.

The case of the Pedrossian family elucidates what was argued above. Led by patriarch Pedro Pedrossian, who governed the state from 1980 to 1982 and between 1991 and 1995, the clan is now in its third generation of politicians: State Deputy Pedrossian Neto (PSD-MS) was elected in 2022. His uncle, Pedro Pedrossian Filho, was elected federal deputy for the term 1999 to 2003 but saw his career sink after being arrested in Rio de Janeiro for assault twice on the same day.<sup>88</sup>

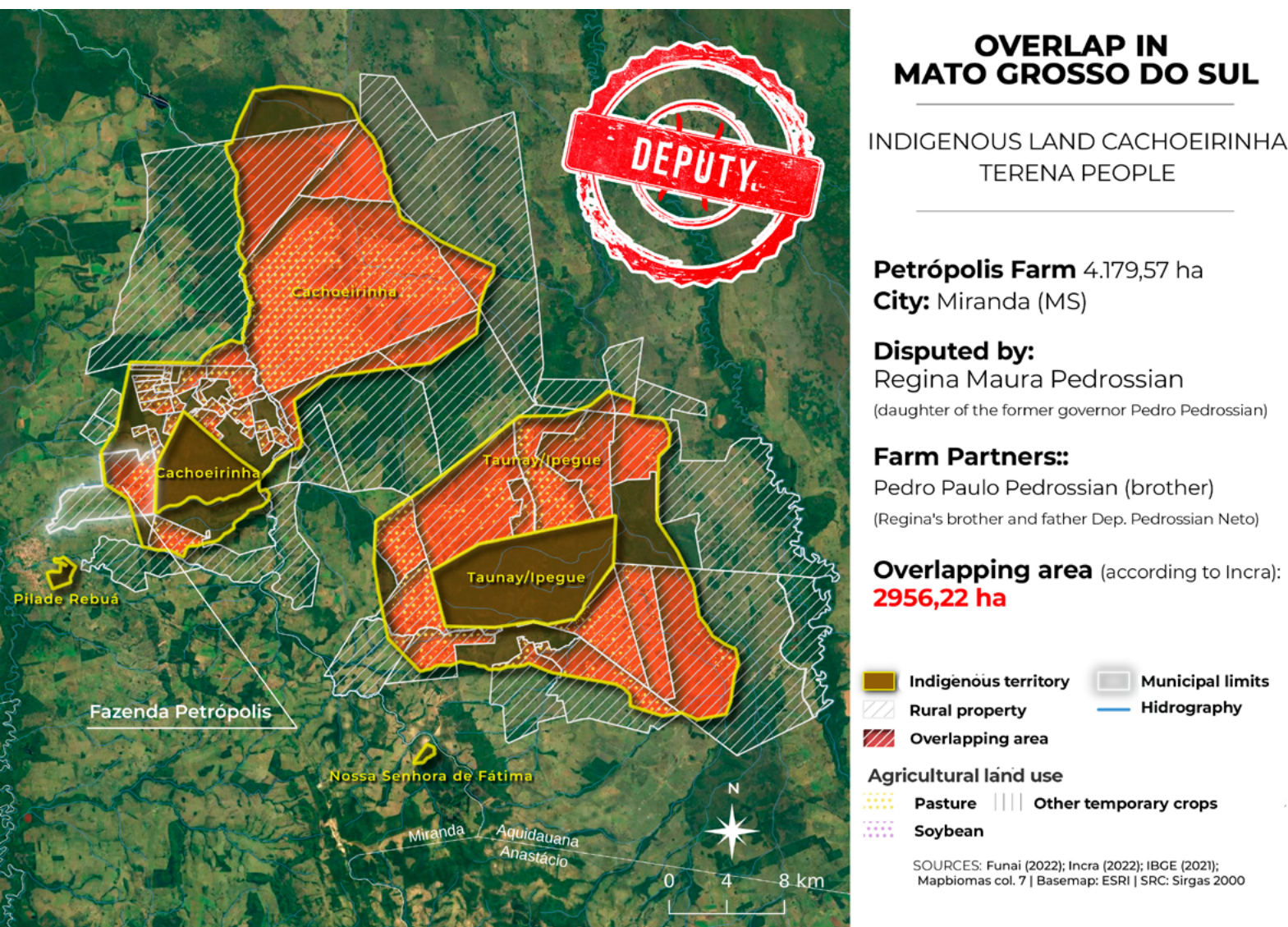
Pedro Pedrossian was appointed governor of Mato Grosso by the military dictatorship between 1966 and 1971, when Mato Grosso do Sul did not yet exist, and as a senator in 1979 and 1980, he became known to voters as the “magician” of emblematic projects. The engineer conceived the construction of the Parque das Nações Indígenas in Campo Grande, one of the largest urban parks in the world, spanning 119 hectares. The space is home to the Museum of Cultures Dom Bosco, known as the Indian Museum, with a rich archaeological and paleontological collection of the region's indigenous peoples.

At the same time, the politician encroached upon the territory of the Terena people in Mi-



landa, in the Pantanal of Mato Grosso do Sul.

As a cattle rancher and breeder of Nelore cattle, Pedrossian owned the Petrópolis Farm, spanning 2,250 hectares. Incra data shows that 1,172.81 hectares encroach upon the Cachoeirinha Indigenous Territory. The patriarch passed away in 2017, and the property passed into the hands of his children, Pedro Paulo Pedrossian and Regina Maura Pedrossian. Both of them were already involved in various eviction actions against the Terena people's reoccupations, filed between 2008 and 2018, seeking the removal of families occupying parts of the farm. Pedro Paulo is the father of State Deputy Pedrossian Neto. As a partner in the farm and Agropecuária Petrópolis, Regina donated R\$ 1,000 to Jair Bolsonaro's campaign in 2022.



One of the evictions took place in 2010, as reported by the newspaper Correio do Estado. At the time, Police Chief Alcídio Araújo was very clear with the indigenous people: "We have two options. Either you leave peacefully or there will be a confrontation because today we will enforce the court order." There was a confrontation. A Terena individual was injured in the leg by a rubber bullet, and a child hurt their knee during the eviction action authorized by Justice Minister Gilmar Mendes from the Supreme Court. "In fifteen minutes, the indigenous people started leaving the area without taking anything," the report described. "Some women left carrying their children and dogs."<sup>89</sup>



The Terena retakes took place on other properties associated with the Pedrossian clan. The main one, the Charqueada do Agachy Farm, covers 3,437 hectares, with 611 hectares overlapping the Cachoeirinha Indigenous Territory. The property is registered under the estate of Ibrahim Miranda Cortada, brother of Firmino Miranda Cortada, a rancher who passed away in 2016 and was Pedro Pedrossian's former brother-in-law.

As the heir of the property managed by his father, Pedrossian Neto uses his mandate in the Legislative Assembly of Mato Grosso do Sul (Alems) to promote the criminalization of indigenous peoples. According to the newspaper A Nova Democracia, the parliamentarian classified indigenous land reclamations and recent land occupations by the National Front of Struggles (FNL) as "threats to social peace" in the state during a speech in the assembly in March. He echoed the discourse used by the Parliamentary Front for Agribusiness in the MST (Landless Workers' Movement) CPI.<sup>90</sup>

Also in March, Guarani Kaiowá indigenous people carried out significant retakes of territories invaded by large landowners in the state. For Pedrossian Neto, the occupations carried out in recent months attack the "successful model" of Mato Grosso do Sul. He was the Secretary of Finance of Campo Grande, appointed by Mayor Marquinhos Trad (PSD-MS), who stepped down

from the mayorship in 2022 to run for governor, unsuccessfully.

Like Pedrossian Neto, Marquinhos is part of a dynasty: he is the brother of former federal deputy Fábio Trad and current senator Nelsinho Trad, both affiliated with the PSD. The three are children of Nelson Trad, a former federal deputy who passed away in 2011, and Teresinha Mandetta, aunt of former deputy Luiz Mandetta (União-MS), the first Health Minister of the Bolsonaro government. All of them are or have been associated with the Parliamentary Front of Agribusiness.

Former Mayor Marquinhos Trad was accused by the Public Prosecutor's Office at the end of last year of sexual crimes against seven women.<sup>91</sup>



**Pedrossian Neto with his grandfather, former governor Pedro Pedrossian. (Reprodução)**



Resistance Auction was a test balloon for the criminalization of the land struggle. (Cleber Gallio/Campo Grande News)

## THE ECHOES OF THE RESISTANCE AUCTION

Governor between 2015 and 2021, Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) represents the intrinsic relationship between politicians from Mato Grosso do Sul and conflicts in indigenous lands. Accused in 2020 of buying cattle heads from a farmer involved in fires in the Pantanal and the Amazon, Azambuja is a mega rancher. In 2018, the year of his reelection, he declared assets worth R\$ 38.7 million, including several rural properties.<sup>92</sup>

In the series of reports "Watching Mato Grosso do Sul," published in 2018, this observatory detailed Azambuja's anti-indigenous actions before and during his term. The subject of a Federal Police investigation for issuing fake invoices for JBS, the PSDB member turned a blind eye to the attacks against indigenous peoples during his government, when the genocide against the Guarani Kaiowá reached its peak.<sup>93</sup>

One of the main factors that propelled Azambuja's name to the governorship was his work of coordination during the Resistance Auction, less than a year before he was elected governor. Held on December 7, 2013, the event brought together hundreds of rural

producers and industry leaders in Campo Grande, who raised R\$ 640,500 to resist, with arms, against the Guarani Kaiowá reoccupations in the southern part of the state.

The auction was blocked by the courts a few days before, following a public action by the indigenous organization Aty Guasu and the Terena People's Council. Judge Janete Lima Miguel, from the 2nd Federal Court of Campo Grande, decided that the event would "have the power to encourage violence." A preliminary decision on the eve of the auction ensured its realization on the condition that the funds raised would be deposited in court, where they remain to this day, by decision of the 3rd Region Federal Court (TRF-3).<sup>94</sup>

The attempt to suspend the ruralist gathering was met with threats and attacks, according to the Indigenous Missionary Council (Cimi). Indigenous leader Paulino Terena was the target of an ambush in Miranda (MS), and his vehicle was set on fire. The offices of the MST (Landless Workers' Movement) and the Federation of Workers in Education of Mato Grosso do Sul, which also supported the legal action, received death threats by phone.<sup>95</sup>



The Resistance Auction boosted several political careers. Large landowners and politicians lined up on the podium to attack indigenous peoples and NGOs, anticipating the widespread criminalization that would occur in the following decade. Among the ruralist leaders present at the gathering were deputies Alceu Moreira (MDB-RS) and Luis Carlos Heinze (PP-RS), at that time the president of the Parliamentary Front of Agribusiness (FPA). In Campo Grande, Heinze repeated his famous speech attacking “Indians, gays, lesbians, everything that is no good.” According to him, they were “nesting” in the office of the Secretary-General of the Presidency, Gilberto Carvalho.<sup>96</sup>

Another name gaining prominence at that time was Tereza Cristina, the Secretary of Agricultural Development in the government of André Puccinelli (MDB). In the midst of her collaboration with the Federation of Agriculture and Livestock of Mato Grosso do Sul (Famasul), she participated in meetings with Gilberto Carvalho himself.<sup>97</sup> In 2014, she won a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Four years later, she assumed the presidency of the FPA. She became the Minister of Agriculture in 2019 and, in 2022 elections, won a chair in the Federal Senate. She was even considered to be vice-president in Bolsonaro's ticket that year. Throughout all this she was supported financially by farmers whose goal is to dismantle indigenous rights.

In that mix, the figure of Eduardo Riedel also emerged, the president of Famasul and the main mentor behind the initiative to form rural militias to combat the Guarani Kaio-wá and Terena land reclamations. After the political repercussions of the Resistance Auction, Riedel was one of the first names called by Azambuja, assuming the position of Secretary of Government. Over two terms, Azambuja prepared Riedel as his successor, and he was elected governor in 2022.

As the right-hand man of Eduardo Riedel at Famasul, Christiano Bortolotto, the Secretary of Land Affairs of the organization, became the president of the Association of Soybean Producers of Mato Grosso do Sul (Aprosoja-MS) in 2015, a position he held until last

year. Alongside his siblings Christian and Vera Lúcia, Christiano Bortolotto is a partner at VCC Agropecuária e Administradora de Bens, the company that owns Tomás Cuê Farm in Amambai. Out of the property's 1,618.03 hectares, 924.96 hectares overlap with the Dourados-Amambaieguá I Indigenous Territory.

The Resistance Auction was the embryo of the Parliamentary Committee of Investigation (CPI) of Funai and Incra, which was established five months after Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in October 2016. It resulted in the indictment of 96 public servants, indigenous activists, and members of environmental NGOs, in a historic case of criminalization of the land struggle — a scenario that is now being replayed by the CPI investigating the Landless Workers' Movement.<sup>98</sup>

The commission was led by the same ruralists who participated in the auction. Moreira and Heinze served as president and vice-president of the commission, respectively. The rapporteur was the then-deputy Nilson Leitão (PSDB-MT), who would later preside over the Instituto Pensar Agro. He was assisted by Tereza Cristina, who had already been elected for her first term in the Chamber of Deputies. Luiz Henrique Mandetta (União-MS), who would become Bolsonaro's Health Minister, held the position of 2nd vice-president.



**Azambuja and Riedel: the partnership initiated during the Resistance Auction. (Famasul)**



Lawyer Luana Ruiz was the "number 2" of Nabhan Garcia in the government. (Disclosure)

## FROM ASSASSINATION TO LOBBYING

Doctor Luiz Henrique Mandetta had his image tarnished among the far-right electorate after his dismissal from the Ministry of Health. He couldn't withstand the power struggle against Tereza Cristina and lost the race for the Senate. Challenging President Jair Bolsonaro's orders in the fight against Covid-19 rendered him some recognition — but he was replaced by the compliant General Pazuello. Mandetta, a politician from Mato Grosso do Sul, has a past that connects him to one of the largest massacres against the Guarani Kaiowá.

A year before the CPI on Funai and Incra, on August 29, 2015, the then-federal deputy participated in an attack by ruralists on the Nande Ru Marangatu Indigenous Territory, an area that had been reclaimed by the Guarani Kaiowá just days before, in Antônio João (MS). The illegal action resulted in the death of the 24-year-old indigenous person Simeão Vilhalva.<sup>99</sup> During the attack, Mandetta even posted on social media in capital letters, the phrase "ON THE BORDER, THE FIRE IS HOT." He deleted his posts after

his version, claiming that Simeão was already dead hours before the attack, was contradicted by forensic evidence.<sup>100</sup>

The attack was orchestrated by the Rural Union of Antônio João, then presided over by Roseli Maria Ruiz, from where about 40 vehicles set out towards Fazenda Fronteira, owned by Roseli's father-in-law, the former mayor of the municipality Pio Silva. Mandetta, the then-deputy Tereza Cristina, and Senator Waldemir Moka (MDB) attended the meeting at the union, but they did not go to the farm.

Roseli's daughter, lawyer Luana Ruiz Silva posted this sentence on her Facebook account shortly after the murder: "WE HAVE RETAKEN THE FARM. WITH OUR HEART. WITH OUR RACE. WITH A CRY. THE BODY OF THE INDIAN IS A 20- TO 24-HOUR CORPSE. IT IS AN OLD CORPSE USED AS A BANNER." Again, in capital letters. Like Mandetta, Luana deleted the post afterward.

In the years following the massacre, Luana



Ruiz established herself as one of the main — and most aggressive — voices of agribusiness in Mato Grosso do Sul against the Guaraní Kaiowá land reclamations. With the support of her father, Pio Queiroz Silva, and her uncle Dácio Queiroz Silva — both of whom were elected mayors of Antônio João — the lawyer began working on cases challenging indigenous land demarcations in the southern part of the state. She participated in 16 lawsuits and over 50 appeals, hired by Fama-sul and local farmers.<sup>101</sup>

In 2018, she was invited to join the transition team of the Bolsonaro government at the request of Tereza Cristina. She took over as Deputy Secretary of Land Affairs at the Ministry of Agriculture, just below the former president of the Union of Democratic Ruralists (UDR), Luiz Antonio Nabhan Garcia. She had a short tenure in the ministry and left in August 2019. However, she and her family directly benefited from Bolsonaro's anti-indigenous policies. The Agência Pública reported that the publication of Normative Instruction No. 9, dated April 16, 2020, paved the way for the certification of the three properties belonging to the clan, overlapping with the Nande Ru Marangatu Indigenous Land. The measure removed the polygons of indigenous lands with pending approval from the Incra's Land Management System (Sigef). It's worth noting that the territory had already been completely demarcated in 2005, but the process was suspended by a court decision after Luana and other farmers filed for a mandatory order.<sup>102</sup>

The Fazenda Fronteira, covering 1,422.09 hectares, where the murders of Simião Vilhalva in 2015, Dorvalino da Rocha in 2005, and Marçal de Souza Tupã-i in 1983 took place, is fully overlapping with the indigenous land. In addition to it, the Cedro Farm, covering 1,124.68 hectares, and the Barra Farm, covering 1,326.77 hectares, were certified. In total, Luana Ruiz's family controls 40.5% of the area demarcated by Funai for the traditional territory of the Guaraní Kaiowá.

The ruralist leader is married to Benedicto Arthur de Figueiredo Neto, son of José Benedicto de Figueiredo, a retired judge from the Court of Justice of Mato Grosso do Sul, who

passed away in 2013. Both maintain a law firm that works on issues related to the demarcation of indigenous lands.

identified 17 farm owners overlapping with Indigenous Lands who were legally represented by the lawyer. In addition to the family's own legal cases, Luana Ruiz advocated for the family of José Roberto Arcoverde (MDB), the deputy mayor of Iguatemi (MS), accused of involvement in a shooting attack that injured three indigenous people — as we will see in detail in the next chapter. She also defended Olavo Trindade Caneppele, the owner of the Canecão Farm, which overlaps with over 500 hectares of the Dourados Amambaipegua I Indigenous Land. Olavo is the uncle of Francisco Nathan Caneppele, who was



**Beside her political godmother Tereza Cristina and the mayor of Campo Grande, Adriane Lopes (Patriotas). (Disclosure)**

convicted of spraying pesticides on the Tey'i Jusu Indigenous Community in Caarapó.

The list is abundant in actions to recover possession of land: the lawyer offered her services to Valter Pitol, president of the Agroindustrial Consolata Cooperative (Copacol). Her client Ranieli Pitol, who is also Luana's client, owns the Maringá Farm, covering 4,200 hectares, which, according to Incra, encroaches on 420 hectares of the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land. In the same indigenous land, Giorgia Thais da Silva Haas Miranda, a tax auditor at the Ministry of Agriculture, owns the Argus Farm, covering 743 hectares, which completely overlaps with the indigenous land. In a defense action for the property's ownership rights, Luana Ruiz acted as Antônio and Marli Sonete Haas' lawyer, the parents of the civil servant.



**The ruralist lawyer received her father, Pio Queiroz Silva, owner of a farm in Guarani Kaiowá territory, in the Secretariat's office. (Disclosure)**

## **LUANA RUIZ ACCUMULATES DONATIONS AND COINCIDENCES**

Luana Ruiz's stint at the Ministry of Agriculture was not enough for her ambition. In the 2022 elections, the lawyer ran for federal deputy under the PL party, the same party as Tereza Cristina and Bolsonaro. She had the support of the former minister and received financial contributions from seven farmers with a history of overlapping with indigenous lands. They funded her campaign for the Chamber of Deputies with R\$ 110,000, which is 20% of the total raised.<sup>103</sup> Three of them also contributed at some point to Tereza Cristina's political career.

Her biggest donor was Roberto Pacheco de Angelis, owner of the Estância Portal da Miranda Agropecuária, a property of 14,700 hectares in the Pantanal region of Mato Grosso do Sul. Out of this total, 4,208.39 hectares overlap with the Cachoeirinha Indigenous Land. Originally from São Carlos (SP), the businessman, following Luana's example, sought to suspend the demarcation process of the Indigenous Land but received an unfavorable opinion from the Federal Court in 2020.<sup>104</sup>

Three other farmers donated R\$ 20,000 each. Renato Eugênio de Rezende Barbosa, mentioned earlier in this report, owns the Campanário Farm, which overlaps with the Dourados-Amambaípeguá I Indigenous Land. Vanda Moraes Jacintho da Silva is the widow of Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho, owner of the Brasília do Sul Farm. The person who ordered Marcos Verón's murder financed Tereza Cristina's campaign in 2014. The third name is Helio Pereira de Moraes Filho, owner of a farm that encroaches on 10.19 hectares of the homologated area of the Vale do Guaporé Indigenous Land in Rondônia, which was regularized in 2018.

Luana Ruiz's campaign received R\$ 10,000 from Wilson Brochmann of Agropecuária Maragogipe, who had previously donated to Tereza Cristina four years earlier. Mauro Aguiar Ribeiro owns lands overlapping with the Amambaípeguá I Indigenous Land in Amambaí (MS). He contributed R\$ 5,000 to Luana's campaign. Both of them are among the 17 farmers with overlapping claims in Mato Grosso do Sul who hired Luana to defend them.



The last donor on the list is Edgar Cherubini from Fazenda Sinopema, who supported the campaigns of Jair Bolsonaro, the governor of Rio Grande do Sul Eduardo Leite, and the deputy Marcel van Hattem (Novo-RS).

Luana Ruiz ended up as a substitute for the PL party. Shortly after, she was appointed by Governor Eduardo Riedel for the position of chief of staff for the Secretary of Infrastructure and Logistics of Mato Grosso do Sul, Hélio Peluffo. She had collaborated with Riedel on processes to reverse the demarcation of indigenous lands when he was the president of Famasul.

Luana was not the first recommendation of a person involved in overlapping Indigenous Lands for a commissioned position in the state government. During his first term, the governor Reinaldo Azambuja from the Brazil-

ian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) appointed his relative Luciana Azambuja (Progressistas-MS) to the Superintendency of Public Policies for Women, an agency connected to the State Secretariat of Citizenship. Luciana argued that although they were from the same family, the kinship between the two was distant. In 2022, the former governor supported her candidacy for the Chamber of Deputies on Riedel's ticket, but she also became a substitute.

The former secretary of Reinaldo Azambuja is the niece of Lena Maria Cassia de Azambuja and the daughter of Maria Lúcia Cássia de Azambuja. The sisters are heirs to the Itá Brasília Part 2 Farm, which spans 187 hectares. The property is completely overlapped by the Nande Ru Marangatu Indigenous Land in Antonio João (MS).



Reinaldo and Luciana Azambuja campaign for Riedel, in 2022. (Instagram)



Zé Teixeira shows an anti-indigenous track record in the state. (Disclosure)

## A CONTAMINATED ASSEMBLY

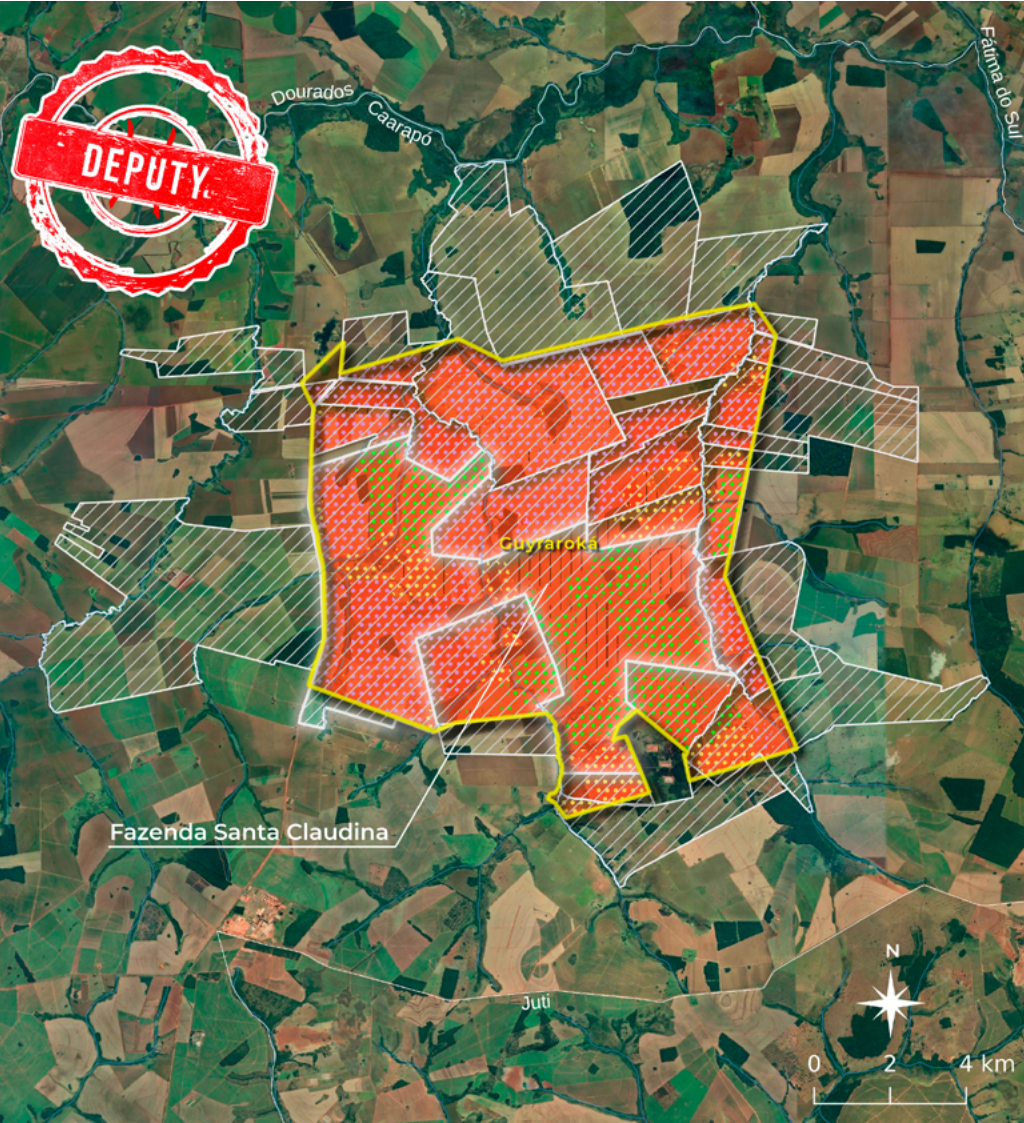
Among the 1,692 documented overlaps in the “The Invaders” project by this observatory, the case of state deputy José Roberto Teixeira (PSDB-MS) is one of the most well-known, at least in his state. In his seventh term in the State Assembly, the member of the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) has never denied the territorial conflict between his Santa Claudina Farm, a rural property spanning 4,323.592 hectares, located in Caarapó (MS), and the Guyaroká Indigenous Land. He is the wealthiest deputy in Mato Grosso do Sul, with a net worth of R\$ 46.4 million. The statement of assets submitted to the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) shows that Zé Teixeira does not give up claiming the Guarani Kaiowá territory for himself.<sup>105</sup>

In 2014, the administrative procedure for the demarcation of the Guyaroká Indigenous Land was annulled by the Supreme Federal Court (STF), accepting the argument put forth by rural producers in the region, in-

cluding Zé Teixeira, that indigenous peoples would only have rights to the territory if they could prove uninterrupted occupation since October 5, 1988, the date of the promulgation of the Federal Constitution. This Land Demarcation Timeframe theory does not consider that thousands of indigenous people were expelled from their lands before, during, and after that date, only returning to them through the strategy of retakes.

The process of the Guyaroká Indigenous Land was reopened in 2021 and has become a case of general repercussion, similar to the Ibirama-La Klãnõ Indigenous Land in Santa Catarina. This judgment has been continuously postponed by the STF to prioritize the voting in Congress on the Bill of the Demarcation Timeframe.<sup>106</sup>





## OVERLAP IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL

INDIGENOUS LAND GUYRAROKÁ  
GUARANI KAIOWÁ PEOPLE

**Farm Santa Claudina** 4.323,59 ha  
**City:** Caarapó (MS)

**Disputed by:**  
Dep. José Roberto Teixeira  
(PSDB-MS)

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):  
**4.192,47 ha**



SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021); Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000

Zé Teixeira not only fights in court against the demarcation of indigenous lands. He goes so far as to defend the perpetrators of the Caarapó Massacre. In 2017, he took the floor in the Assembly to attack the Supreme Federal Court (STF) after the court ordered the arrest of the five farmers identified as the masterminds behind the attack that resulted in the murder of indigenous health worker Clodiodi Aquileu Rodrigues de Souza on June 14, 2016, at the Yvu Farm.<sup>107</sup> One of the suspects, as we have seen, was a campaign donor to Bolsonaro, along with Zé Teixeira himself, who donated R\$ 10,000.

In 2013, the deputy was among the farmers who donated cattle during the “Resistance Auction”, against the Guarani Kaiowá retakes. For him, indigenous people should be subservient: “Many times I would go to the reservation and hire 20, 30, 40 Indians to clear the land for us,” he told Agência Pública in 2016. “Many forests on farms that I opened here

were cleared by the Indians, who used axes because there were no chainsaws.”<sup>108</sup>

Teixeira uses his time in the Assembly and his social media platforms to pay tribute to those he considers “heroes” of the colonization of Mato Grosso do Sul, including the owners of thousands of hectares overlapping indigenous lands. In his biography, the deputy fondly recalls the period when he worked with Jacintho Honório da Silva Filho, whose family is trying to evict the families living in the Taquara Village. In an interview, Teixeira mentions “pioneers” he admires, including Bernardino Franco, a councilman in Dourados in the 1970s, whose son is being investigated by the State Public Ministry for illegally dumping pesticides.<sup>109</sup>

Another legislator from Mato Grosso do Sul with a direct impact on indigenous lands is former deputy Ricardo Augusto Bacha (Cidadania). He owns the São José Farm, which



encroaches upon 536.42 hectares of the Buriti Indigenous Land in Sidrolândia (MS). In 2011, after the publication of the Funai declaratory decree, Bacha said in an interview that it was the farmers who were being cornered by the indigenous people: "Indian land is lawless land".<sup>110</sup>

He had already withdrawn from public life after losing the election for the State Assembly in 2006. In the 1990s, the cattle rancher served as a secretary in the Wilson Martins (MDB) government, in the Finance and Public Works departments. The former governor tried to make him his successor in 1998. Despite the support of presenter Ratinho,<sup>111</sup> Bacha Bacha lost the competition to Zeca do PT, another enemy of indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul.<sup>112</sup>



**Guarani Kaiowá fight against peasants and politicians in MS. (Cimi Regional)**







## 4. THE LOCAL ELITES' OFFENSIVE

(Kamikia Kisêdjê)

### MAYORS AND VICE-MAYORS CONTROL LARGE ESTATES IN INDIGENOUS LANDS

Three mayors and two vice-mayors from Southeast and Midwest municipalities are included in the list of farms overlapping indigenous lands compiled by the “Os Invasores” project. Among them is Bruno Margotto Marianelli (Republicanos), the mayor of Linhares (ES). His Flor do Norte Farm, registered under his father Zilmar Marianelli's name, overlaps with the Comexatibá Indigenous Land, belonging to the Pataxó people, in the municipality of Prado (BA).

In the possession of the family since at least 2010, the lands do not appear among the R\$ 332,000 in assets declared by Bruno during the 2020 elections. He ran for vice-mayor but became mayor after Guerino Zanon (PSD) resigned to run for the government of Espírito Santo in 2022.

On January 15, 2010, the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICM-

Bio) determined the creation of the Flor do Norte I and II Private Natural Heritage Reserve (RPPN), making the farm area of public interest. The status preserves the "right to property" of the owner, priority in the analysis of projects and agricultural credit granting, as well as tax exemption. In return, scientific research activities and visitation for tourism, recreation, and educational purposes are allowed, as provided for in the management plan.<sup>112</sup>

According to the Detailed Report of Identification and Delimitation of the Comexatibá Indigenous Land, presented in 2006 by anthropologists Leila Silvia Sotto-Maior and Sara Braga I Gaia, the creation of a network of RPPNs was actually a strategy adopted by farmers in the region to prevent both the demarcation of the Pataxó territory and the expansion of the Descobrimento National Park (PND).<sup>113</sup>



The document shows that the management proposal for the surroundings of the PND presented by the farmers considered the "invasion by the Pataxó indigenous people" as the main threat to the environment, while portraying the rural landowners as defenders of the park—despite the extensive history of deforestation in the region. Among the owners who participated in the initiative, the report lists Dionísio Marianelli, a relative of the mayor Bruno Marianelli.



## OVERLAP IN BAHIA

### INDIGENOUS LAND COMEXATIBÁ PATAXÓ PEOPLE

**Flor do Norte Farm** 274,01 ha  
**City:** Prado (BA)

#### Disputed by:

Zilmar Marianelli  
Pai de Bruno Marianelli (Republicanos)  
Prefeito de Linhares (ES)

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):  
**273,27 ha**

Indigenous territory
  Municipal limits

Rural property
  Hidrography

Overlapping area

**Agricultural land use**

Pasture

SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021); Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000

Owned by Claudio José Scariote (Podemos), the vice-mayor of Sapezal (MT), the Lobo Solitário Farm is located precisely on the border of the Paresi Indigenous Land in Tangará da Serra (MT), which has been ratified since October 1991. According to Incra, the overlap of the rural property with the land of the Paresi people is negligible: 2 hectares of the farm are in conflict with the Indigenous Land, according to data from the Rural Environmental Registry (CAR).

In recent years, the CAR has been used to illegally occupy indigenous lands or environmental protection areas. The reason is that

any citizen can register a rural property in any area in the system, obtaining a self-declared land document that remains under indefinite analysis. The process is only denied when it is rejected.<sup>114</sup>

Originally from São Lourenço do Oeste (SC), the Scariote family has become one of the most influential in Sapezal. The vice-mayor, a large soybean producer in Mato Grosso and president of the Rural Union of Sapezal between 2013 and 2015, is considered one of the main contenders to succeed Mayor Valcir Casagrande (PL).



Located 60 kilometers away, the municipality of Campos de Júlio is led by Irineu Marcos Parmeggiani (Patriota), whose livestock interests extend to Nova Lacerda and Comodoro, where the Santo Reis Farm is located—one of the 25 rural properties registered with the Electoral Court in 2020. Together with other properties, they total R\$ 6.6 million in declared assets. The property is listed in Incra as a 1,400-hectare property, but the politician de-

clared just over 388.6 hectares to the court, valued at R\$ 462,000.<sup>115</sup> The farm overlaps by one hectare with the Vale do Guaporé Indigenous Land, belonging to the Nambikwara people, which has been ratified since April 30, 1985, with 243,000 hectares.



**Image of the Letícia Farm, two-time champion of the Nelore Circuit, owned by Mayor Irineu Marcos Parmeggiani. (Giro do Boi)**

The overlaps pose a threat to the Guaporé Valley, a region that stretches from the border between Mato Grosso and Rondônia to the vicinity of Amazonas. There, indigenous communities have been facing significant conflicts due to the expansion of agriculture and livestock over the past decades, even in protected areas—as highlighted in an article by geographer Débora Teixeira Machado from the Federal University of Rondônia (Unir).<sup>116</sup>

An enthusiast of the Gaúcho Traditions Center, Parmeggiani was born in Campinas do Sul (RS) and is known as Parma. He moved to Campos de Júlio in 1993 to manage the Letícia II Farm, owned by his family. He was a partner in Lavrofértil, a company that sold pesticides. The irregularities of his ventures in Campos de Júlio resulted in a fine of R\$ 40,000 for en-

vironmental damage, which was already paid on September 10, 2003.<sup>117</sup>

Environmental crimes are also present in another case of an invaded indigenous land in Brasnorte (MT). The Manoki Indigenous Land, belonging to the Irántxé people, has nearly 47,000 hectares overlapped by the Uga-Uga Farm, titled in the name of Melhoramentos Agropecuários Tapurah, whose partner, Thomas Augusto Capeletti, is the son of the current mayor of Tapurah (MT), Carlos Alberto Capeletti. Pay attention to the name of the farm: Uga-Uga. It is registered with the Incra and involved in a 2018 lawsuit against Banco do Brasil, but it did not appear in the list of R\$ 106 million in declared assets by Capeletti in the 2020 elections.<sup>118</sup>



## OVERLAP IN MATO GROSSO

INDIGENOUS LAND MANOKI  
MANOKI PEOPLE

**Uga-Uga Farm** 50.506,92 ha  
**City:** Brasnorte (MT)

### Disputed by:

Melhoramentos Agropecuários Tapurah  
Belongs to the family of Carlos Alberto  
Capeletti (PSD) Prefeito de Tapurah (MT)

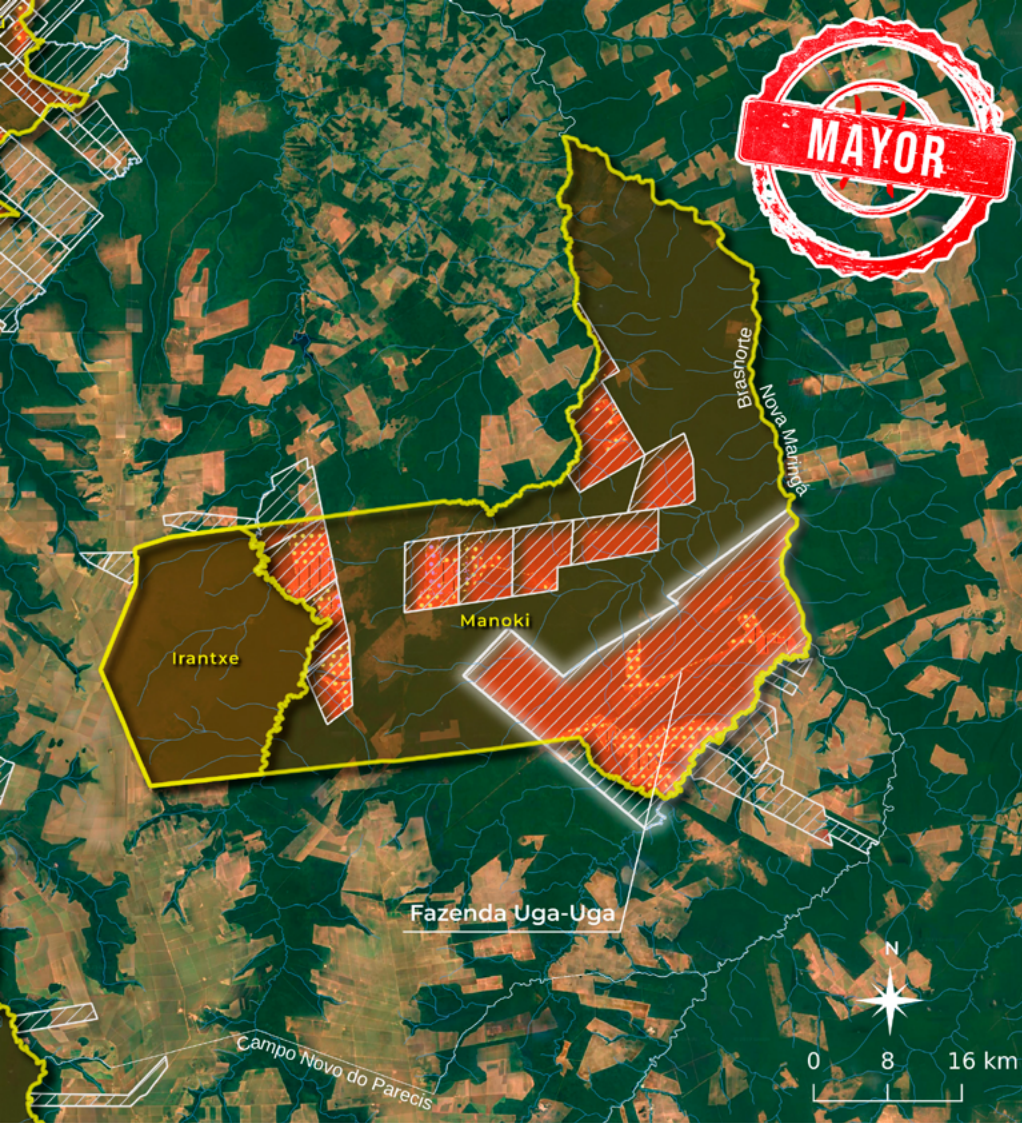
### Farm Partners:

Thomas Augusto Capeletti (filho)  
André Luiz Eickhoff

**Overlapping area** (according to Incra):  
**46.999,20 ha**



SOURCES: Funai (2022); Incra (2022); IBGE (2021);  
Mapbiomas col. 7 | Basemap: ESRI | SRC: Sirgas 2000



He declared another rural property, the São Cristóvão Farm, which covers 558 hectares, through adverse possession. The property is valued at R\$ 2.5 million. Adverse possession is a legal instrument used by small landowners to secure a property for a certain period, with the goal of making it productive through work or residence. The mayor is the majority partner of the Capeletti Group, which is involved in the cultivation of corn, soybeans, rice, and other cereals in Tapurah, Brasnorte, and Comodoro, together with his son, Thomas Augusto Capeletti.

Both of them have accumulated fines for deforestation. In 2015, Carlos was fined R\$ 185,000 by Ibama for environmental crimes on one of his properties in Comodoro (MT). In Tapurah, Thomas has received four fines, totaling over R\$ 1.8 million, which are yet to be paid.<sup>119</sup>



**Mayor Carlos Alberto Capeletti participated in the attempted coup after Lula's presidential inauguration, in January 2023. (Reprodução)**

The mayor was one of the instigators of the coup attempts against the outcome of the 2022 elections. In a video, he called on representatives of agribusiness to go to Brasília on November 15 for a "final battle" against the election of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.<sup>120</sup> He was the first politician in this process to be removed from office by Justice Alexandre de Moraes of the Supreme Court (STF) on December 7, 2022. Moraes also imposed fines on the owners of 177 trucks that participated in a caravan to Cuiabá to protest against the elections.

During the election campaign, Capeletti drew attention from the justice system when he announced a raffle for a brand new pickup truck on his social media, encouraging voters to support Bolsonaro. Citizens were supposed to submit their voting receipts into an urn. The Electoral Public Ministry considered it irregular propaganda, based on Article 243 of the Electoral Code, and requested the removal of the video from the airwaves through the Regional Electoral Court (TRE). Their request was granted. The mayor had to apologize, inform the cancellation of the raffle, and pay a fine of R\$ 100,000.<sup>121</sup>

In 2021, the Public Prosecutor's Office of Mato Grosso requested the removal of the mayor from office and payment for moral damages, arguing that he obstructed the fight against COVID-19. Prosecutor Cynthia Quaglio Gregorio Antunes told G1 that Capeletti expanded the operation of commercial establishments during the peak of the pandemic, hindered inspections by the Health Surveillance Agency, and acquired and distributed ineffective medications. Judge Bruno César Singulani França, from the Single Court of Tapurah, denied the request from the Public Prosecutor's Office, stating that there were no concrete indications of the accusations.<sup>122</sup>

As reactionary as Capeletti, the vice-mayor of Iguatemi (MS), José Roberto Felipe Arcoverde (MDB), is the owner of Santa Rita Farm, whose lands overlap with the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land, in the same municipality. Also located near the border with Paraguay,

the rural property has been the subject of numerous complaints of violence against Guaraní Kaiowá encampments, who are fighting for the recognition of their ancestral land Pyelito Kue, which is still under study.

Arcoverde was also mayor between 2009 and 2016, when he made headlines for land conflicts with the Kaiowá people, who occupied the border between his farm and Maringá to reclaim their lands. In 2011, three of them were injured by gunshots during an attack by hired gunmen, which became the subject of an investigation by the Federal Prosecutor's Office (MPF). When approached by G1, the farm's administrator, his sister Lúcia Felipe Arcoverde, denied any involvement of the farm in the conflict.<sup>123</sup>

Arcoverde's assets, as a cattle rancher and veterinarian, grew from R\$ 114,000 in 2008 to R\$ 2.8 million in 2020. No farm named Santa Rita was declared by the politician in the elections. However, his name is listed in the Incra database: in 2014, he declared 50% ownership of the rural property Fazenda Santo Antônio, valued at R\$ 553,000. This property overlaps with the same Indigenous Land by 486 hectares but is registered in the name of his sister Ana Paula, who is his business partner in Agropecuária Arcoverde.

A year earlier, Zé Roberto was part of a delegation led by Senator Kátia Abreu (TO), who was the president of the Brazilian Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock (CNA) at the time, to the Palace of Planalto in Brasília. They requested the suspension of indigenous land demarcation processes in the case of Raposa Serra do Sol in Roraima from the then Chief of Staff, Gleisi Hoffmann.<sup>124</sup> Just a month ago, in May 2023, the Federal Audit Office (TCU) audited his accounts and pointed irregularities, which may deem Arcoverde ineligible by the City Council.<sup>125</sup>



# FROM JUDGES TO BISHOPS

Local power is not only manifested through holding public office. There are several other spheres of influence and authority, especially in smaller municipalities, that determine who holds power and who obeys. In many cases, the exercise of this power is manifested through the concentration of land.

The presence of members of the judiciary among the farmers who, according to data from Incra, own properties overlapping with indigenous lands illustrates this. In Apiacás (MT), Fazenda Feguri is registered in the name of Justice Munir Feguri, former president of the Court of Justice of the State of Mato Grosso (TJMT).<sup>126</sup> The presence of members of the judiciary among the farmers who, according to data from Incra, own properties overlapping with indigenous lands illustrates this. In Apiacás (MT), Fazenda Feguri is registered in the name of Justice Munir Feguri, former president of the Court of Justice of the State of Mato Grosso (TJMT). The property overlaps almost entirely, 2,314.72 hectares, with the Apiaká do Pontal and Isolados Indigenous Land, which has been awaiting demarcation since 2011. With his death last year at the age of 83, the property will be inherited by his children: court clerk Neif Feguri Neto, medical doctor Gibran Feguri, and judge Lamisse Feguri, who works at the 5th Special Civil Court of Cuiabá in the TJMT—she receives a salary above the legal limit, one of the top ten highest salaries among judges in Mato Grosso's judicial system<sup>127</sup>.

In Belmonte (BA), Judge Givandro José Cardoso, from the 12th Family Court of the Court of Justice of the State of Bahia (TJBA), owns Fazenda Garantia, which encroaches upon 376.75 hectares of the Tupinambá de Belmonte Indigenous Land. In 2017, when he served as an auxiliary judge in the 3rd Civil Court of the TJBA, Cardoso issued an injunction ordering the immediate removal of a news article from the website Bocão News, involving lawyer André Luís Guimarães Godinho, accused by fishermen from the Bahia Recôncavo region of receiving R\$ 23 million in attorney fees related to a lawsuit against Petrobras for an oil spill in the Bay of All Saints in 2009. The Bahia Press Association issued a statement calling the decision censorship.<sup>128</sup>

In some cases, the conflict of interest is direct. Glen Anderson Maia de Oliveira, a businessman and owner of Fazenda Escondido in Grajaú (MA), is married to Judge Ana Beatriz Jorge de Carvalho Maia from the 2nd Court of the District of Imperatriz of the Court of Justice of the State of Maranhão (TJMA). The farm overlaps in 1,259.80 hectares of the Bacurizinho Indigenous Land, which belongs to the Guajá people. Acting directly in cases related to agrarian law, the judge issued a writ of possession in 2008 against a settlement of the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Senador La Rocque (MA). According to the movement, the occupied area was the result of land grabbing.<sup>129</sup> The case reached the Supreme Court, but they gave up pursuing the writ of mandamus after an unfavorable opinion from the Attorney General.<sup>130</sup> In 2020, the judge and the businessman filed a lawsuit against Incra, seeking compensation for expropriation. The case is still in court.<sup>131</sup>

Religious leaders also appear on the list, such as the Archbishop Emeritus of Maringá (PR), Anuar Battisti, whose cousin Clóvis Battisti was the owner of Fazenda Guarida, which overlaps with 853.51 hectares of the Jatayvari Indigenous Land in Ponta Porã (MS). In 2015, the property hosted a lunch in honor of the archbishop, with the presence of another Catholic leader from the region, the Bishop Emeritus of Dourados (MS), Dom Redovino Rizzardo.<sup>132</sup> Anuar Battisti is close to Congressman Ricardo Barros (PP-PR), a former leader of the Bolsonaro government who is being investigated for vaccine procurement fraud in relation to Covid-19. In February, the archbishop blessed the offices of the politician, his wife Cida Borghetti, former Itaipu counselor, and their daughter Maria Victoria Borghetti Barros, the state president of the PP party.<sup>133</sup>

Another religious figure on the list is Gessé Sabino Leite, a pastor from the Assembly of God in Imperatriz (MA) and the owner of Fazenda Bom Jesus, which overlaps with 550.26 hectares of the Porquinhos dos Canela-Apãnjekra Indigenous Land.

## OLD CASES REFER TO THE 1964 DICTATORSHIP

Agribusiness Watch identified 23 other municipal politicians linked to overlapping Indigenous Lands (TIs), in addition to current mayors and vice mayors. City council members were not analyzed. The cases include recent administrations, such as Ari Basso, the mayor of Sidrolândia (MS) between 2013 and 2016.

He became known for creating a “crop circle” in a soybean plantation with the message “Bolsonaro 2018” in capital letters. The gesture was reciprocated by Bolsonaro during his presidency when he visited Basso's farm while passing through the municipality. The property visited by Bolsonaro overlaps with 226.68 hectares of the Buriti Indigenous Land.

Other cases involving former mayors and vice mayors date back to the 1964 dictatorship, such as Jacy Miguel Scanagatta, the mayor of Cascavel (PR) from Arena party (the supporter of the regime), who owns a property that overlaps with the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land in Mato Grosso do Sul. Another case is Helio Cavalcanti Garcia, one of the first mayors of Rondonópolis (MT) and owner of the region's first registry office, which helped him register Fazenda Barreirinho, which overlaps with the boundaries of the Jarudoré Indigenous Land in the same municipality.

Political lineages persist. Armino Fischer, the first mayor of Nova Santa Rosa (PR) and owner of a farm that encroaches on 669 hectares of the Iguatemipegua I Indigenous Land is father to Lilian Fischer, a potential candidate in 2020, now considered a contender for the mayoral election in 2024.

**Below is the complete list of former mayors and vice mayors identified in the study:**





# THE INHERITANCE OF INVASIONS

Out-of-office politicians and their heirs control 31,000 hectares of indigenous lands

POLITICAL	INDIGENOUS LAND - State	PROPERTY NAME	OVERLAPPED AREA (HECTARES)	HISTORIC
SALESIO JOSE LOCH	KRENYÊ - MA	VÃO DO CHAPÉU FARM	8.035,16	Mayor of Paraopeba (MG) between 2005 and 2008, SC Agro Florestal Ltda partner, owner of the area.
	KANELA MEMORTUMRÉ - MA	TRACT PORENQUANTO PART 05	1.442,46	
ARI BASSO	BURITI - MS	CASCATA FARM	226,68	Mayor of Sidrolândia (MS) between 2013 and 2016. Jair Bolsonaro visited his farm after he wrote the former president's name in a soy crop. Donated R\$ 100 thousand for Bolsonaro's reelection campaign in 2022.
ONELIO FRANCISCO MENTA	IGUATEMIPEGUA I - MS	STA ROSA DO MARACAY FARM	2.578,55	Mayor of Caçador (SC) between 1983-1986 and 1997-2004. Passed away in June 2017.
FRANCISCO FERRAZ NOVAES	PIPIPÁ - PE	CALDEIRÃO FARM	2.230,84	Mayor of Floresta (PE) between 1990 and 1992. Murdered during his term.
TEMÓTEO BRITO	BARRA VELHA DO MONTE PASCOAL - BA	STO ANTONIO FARM	945,32	Mayor of Teixeira de Freitas (BA) between 2017 and 2020. Before, he was a state deputy from 2011 to 2015.
JERONIMO SYPRIANO DE CARVALHO	APIAKÁ DO PONTAL E ISOLADOS - MT	TRACT BRAÇÃO - LT 05	1.978,81	Vice-mayor of Barra dos Garças (MT) between 1997 and 2004. Deceased in March, 2019.
RODRIGO SALVADORI	DOURADOS-AMAMBIAPEGUÁ I	ÁGUA DOCE FARM	1.810,97	Vice-mayor of Campo Mourão (PR) between 2013 and 2016. Gerson Salvadori's son, partner of Agrovisa Agropecuária, owner of overlapping area.
EUCLIDES FABRIS	SOMBRERITO - MS	BACURI FARM	1.469,74	Mayor of Naviraí (MS) between 1997 and 2004. Deceased in August, 2004. His widow, Iolanda Tormena Fabris, owns the overlapping farms.
		GUADALUPE FARM	555,22	
DÁCIO QUEIROZ SILVA	ÑANDE RU MARANGATU - MS	FRONTEIRA FARM	1.422,09	Mayor of Antônio João (MS) between 1997 and 2004. Pio Silva's son, owns two areas overlapping TIs, brother to rural owner Pio Queiroz Silva, former Fundiary Matters secretary Luana Ruiz's father.
JOSÉ KRZYZANSKI	APIAKÁ DO PONTAL AND ISOLATED - MT	SD FARM	1.357,25	Mayor of Liberato Salzano (RS) between 2009 and 2012. Flávio Krzyzanski's father, owner of overlapping area. His relative Clóvis Krzyzanski was the Rural Union of Sorriso (MT) president.
PEDRO LUIZ CERIZE	XACRIABÁ - MG	VARGEM GRANDE FARM	5.267,38	Mayor of São Sebastião do Paraíso (MG) between 1997 and 2000. Father to Pedro Luiz Cerize, owner of news vehicle O Antagonista, and to investor Marcelo Cerize.
JOAQUIM URCINO FERREIRA	KANELA MEMORTUMRÉ - MA	ALIANÇA II FARM	1.063,88	First mayor of Chapada da Natividade (TO), between 1997-2000 and 2017-2020. Today, is a part of Tocantins Entrepreneurship Board.
ARMINDO FISCHER	IGUATEMIPEGUA I - MS	FISCHER I FARM	669,15	First mayor of Nova Santa Rosa (PR), between 1977 and 1982. His daughter Lilian Fischer Müller was pre-candidate in 2020 and should run in 2024.
VALDIR SGARBOSSA	KANELA MEMORTUMRÉ - MA	BOM LUGAR I FARM	181,42	Mayor of Aberlardo Luz (SC) between 1983-1989 and 1993-1997.
JOSE JOEL SABURA	PANAMBI - LAGOA RICA - MS	ALOTMENTS 417 TO 424	92,54	Vice-mayor and city-council of Dourados (MS) in the 1940s.
ADAILTON FERREIRA CAVALCANTE	KANELA MEMORTUMRÉ - MA	BOA VISTA FARM	20,32	Mayor of Fernando Falcão (MA) between 2013 and 2020. Indicted for misconduct in public office by the Public Prosecutor's Office of Maranhão (MPMA).
HELIO CAVALCANTI GARCIA	JARUDORE - MT	BARREIRINHO FARM	2,54	Mayor of Rondonópolis (MT) between 1967 and 1970. Deceased in November, 2021.
OSWALDO POSSARI	KADIWÉU - MS	RECANTO FARM	1,01	Vice-mayor of Campo Grande (MS) between 1997 and 2004. Deceased in April, 2022. Was cattlebreeder Juliano Beraldo de Andrade's father-in-law.
LAURO ALVES JARDIM	MAXACALI - MG	SANTA TEREZINHA FARM	0,52	Took over as mayor of Bertópolis (MG) after Onédio Fagundes de Souza (PT) was impeached. Stayed in office from 2009 to 2016.
SAID FERREIRA	URIARITI - MT	FUNDÃO FARM	0,02	Mayor of Maringá (PR) between 1983-1988 and 1993-1996. Deceased in July, 2010. His heirs own Agropecuária Mocoemba Ltda, owner of the area.
JACY MIGUEL SCANAGATTA	IGUATEMIPEGUA I - MS	DELFIN S.A. FARM	0*	Mayor of Cascavel (PR) between 1969-1973 and 1997-1983, during the military dictatorship, as a member of Arena (regime supporters party). Died in April, 2023.

\*Incrá data do not allow identifying the exact area of overlap

SOURCES: TRIBUNAL SUPERIOR ELEITORAL (TSE) / DE OLHO NOS RURALISTAS

# FROM ECONOMIC POWER TO POLITICAL POWER

The first report “The Invaders”, released by this observatory on April 19, described how companies directly participated in the overlapping of indigenous lands in Brazil. This follow-up, two months later, reveals the political face of this movement, the flip side of the coin driven by the economy.

Brazilian politics has experienced upheavals in the last decade: the protests of 2013, the parliamentary coup against Dilma Rousseff, the rise of the far right, the dismantling of socio-environmental policies during the Temer and Bolsonaro governments, Bolsonarist terrorism, and the return of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to power.

This force is underpinned by economic power. Starting with its financing, detailed last year in the dossier “The Financiers of Destruction,” the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture represents agribusiness. International capital supports the ruralist artillery and its ongoing offensive against socio-environmental rights.

That's why the project **“The Invaders”** moved from the economic to the political sphere, in order to expose the interests behind the usurpation of indigenous lands (TIs) and the violation of the rights of indigenous peoples. Companies and landowners expand their territories because they have this political endorsement.

In the previous document, with over a hundred pages, we focused on corporations, banks, and transnational funds directly or indirectly linked to farms overlapping with TIs.

This time, we focused on their reflections in the Executive and Legislative branches, as well as their influence in the Judiciary. These tentacles of capital in the countryside are not limited to a single bloc in Congress, although their power is on the rise. They encompass the entire Brazilian political system, from the councilman to the president, from the inspector to the judge, and the media, the media that tells half the story: from regional newspapers to national ones.

This ruralist political system is the other side of the territorial expansionism of capital. The politicians listed here are not isolated. It is agribusiness, in its various facets - political, discursive, and ideological - that supports these overlapping and the various layers of violence they carry.

And for them, the invaders are the others.



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