



AGRIBUSINESS  
**WATCH**  
Supporting Climate Justice

# AGROCOUPISTS

Meet the 142 farmers and agribusiness  
entrepreneurs who funded the coup  
attempt in Brazil



## EDITOR'S NOTE

Agrocoupism and Brazilian history often go hand in hand. In this century, this combination was repeated in 2022, with highway blockades, and on January 8th, 2023, with the funding of terror in the Three Powers Plaza. But why are the press and the judiciary forgetting about landowners? They want us to believe they are peripheral figures. Is Aprosoja peripheral? The list of agrocoupists that we consolidated in this study includes one of the largest arsonists of the Pantanal. They are direct allies of Jair and Flávio Bolsonaro. And soybean producers funded by international capital. What story about coupism will we tell our grandchildren, a coup that is only occasional, urban, and olive-green? Without agribusiness?

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# CONTENTS

<b>HIGHLIGHTS</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>FOREWORD</b>	<b>6</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• WHERE ARE THE "AGRIBUSINESS FOLKS"?</li><li>• FROM TERRITORY TO INSTITUTIONS</li><li>• FROM FUNDERS TO MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS</li></ul>	
<b>I. THE AGROCOUPISTS</b>	<b>17</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ONE LIST, FOUR CORE GROUPS</li><li>• IN THE COUNTRY OF PUNITIVISM, IMPUNITY IS THE LAW</li></ul>	
<b>II. THE SOYBEAN (COUIST) ARC</b>	<b>35</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• BEDIN CLAN LEADED THE SENDING OF TRUCKS TO BRASÍLIA</li><li>• MATO GROSSO SOYBEAN PRODUCERS CONTROL HIGHWAYS AND AIRPORTS</li><li>• SYNGENTA AND BTG PACTUAL KEEP CONTRACTS WITH PEOPLE UNDER INVESTIGATION</li><li>• BANKS CONTINUE TO GRANT CREDIT TO AGROCOUPISTS</li><li>• MILLIONAIRES AND THEIR TRUCKS</li><li>• GOIÁS SOYBEAN CENTER IS PART OF THE SIEGE OF BRASÍLIA</li><li>• THE COOPERATIVE AND THE FORMER MINISTER</li><li>• ANDATERRA LEADER WANTED TO "UKRAINIANIZE" BRAZIL</li><li>• MEGA LATIFUNDISTS AND STRANGERS</li></ul>	
<b>III. THE INSTITUTIONAL FACET OF THE AGROCOUP</b>	<b>60</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• APROSOJA LEADERS LED THE COUP MOVEMENT</li><li>• FROM THE SIEGE OF BRASÍLIA TO THE CONFLICT WITH THE GUARANI KAIOWÁ</li><li>• THE ROLE OF RURAL UNIONS</li><li>• THE BRAGA NETTO AND ANTÔNIO GALVAN TOUR</li></ul>	
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>75</b>



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# HIGHLIGHTS

- *Over the course of four months, Agribusiness Watch investigated the economic activities of 550 individuals and legal entities investigated for direct or indirect participation in the attempted coup acts that occurred between October 2022 and January 2023.*
- *From this survey, we identified 142 agribusiness executives who provided logistical or financial support to coup plotting between 2022 and 2023.*
- *This group comprises the "agribusiness folks," cited in Lieutenant Colonel Mauro Cid's plea bargain — and in the Federal Police investigations — as direct funders of attempts to abolish the Democratic Rule of Law.*
- *Most of these executives (91) provided trucks for roadblocks and for the camp at the Army Headquarters in Brasília.*
- *The participation of agribusiness in the coup follows the same geographic extension where the largest soybean producing centers in Brazil are concentrated: Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Bahia concentrate 71% of the agrocoupists identified.*
- *The state of Mato Grosso accounts for more than half of those involved: 74 names (52%) are of executives operating in the state. The capital of "Nortão", "Sorriso" leads with 34 people under investigation.*
- *The Bedin family, one of the clans that founded Sorriso, leads the list with ten members. The Bedin and Lermen business groups together sent 28 trucks — a quarter of the coupist fleet, originating from Mato Grosso.*
- *Those investigated have ties to highway concessionaires and airport control.*
- *They are part of global financial chains, involving multinationals such as Syngenta, BTG Pactual, Santander, Rabobank, John Deere Bank and XP Investimentos.*



# FOREWORD

## WHERE ARE THE “AGRIBUSINESS FOLKS”?

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Who are the “agribusiness folks”? What are the names of the agribusiness executives who funded the coup attempt led by Jair Bolsonaro?

These questions have been lingering since November 21st, 2024, when the Federal Police (PF) indicted the former president and 36 others for attempted coup d'état. The report published that day revealed to Brazil and the world the existence of the Green and Yellow Dagger plan: a murder plot orchestrated by members of the Armed Forces and high-ranking government officials.<sup>1</sup>

The goal? To declare state of emergency and assassinate President-elect Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, his vice president, Geraldo Alckmin, and Supreme Federal Court Justice Alexandre de Moraes. In Moraes' case, an operation to kidnap him was mounted on December 15th, 2022, but the operation was aborted hours later due to uncertainty regarding the full support of the Army leadership.<sup>2</sup>

A Federal Police report showed that a group of military personnel close to Bolsonaro organized logistical support for the coup plotters camped outside Armed Forces barracks: those calling for military intervention. And that, in the interval between pickets, stuffed themselves-up with rump cap stakes donated by landowners.<sup>3</sup>



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Bolsonaro supporters hold barbecue with meat donated by ranchers. (Paulo Francis/Campo Grande News)



The fingerprints of agribusiness on the coup attempt could be seen as early as 2022. Agribusiness Watch revealed the tip of the iceberg in a dossier titled “The Agrarian Origins of Terror” — published just four months after the terrorist acts of January 8th, 2023. At the time, the investigation identified the agrarian connections of 44 executives and politicians who participated in organizing the riots at Three Powers Plaza in Brasília and the highway blockades in five states.<sup>4</sup>

Two years later, little progress has been made in holding those who funded the coup in Brazil accountable.

Several military personnel were arrested: eight. Among them were retired General Walter Souza Braga Netto, former Defense Minister and defeated candidate for Vice President of the Republic in 2022; and Lieutenant Colonel Mauro Cesar Barbosa Cid, Bolsonaro's former aide-de-camp.<sup>5</sup>

But what happened to the agribusiness core of the coup? Why was this sector, which emerged as the main funder of the democratic rupture, not even mentioned in the Supreme Federal Court's investigations in May of this year? Who are these faceless, nameless, and unpunished “agribusiness folks”?

It is from this concern that the report arises **Agrocoupists**. For four months, the Agribusiness Watch research center reviewed lists of individuals and legal entities investigated for contracting infrastructure for the coup camps — generators, tents, portable toilets, food — and for facilitating the blocking of highways from north to south of the country.



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On the eve of the election, Bolsonaro rallied support at agribusiness events. (Poder 360)



These actions began on October 30th, 2022, shortly after Lula's victory in the presidential election, and continued steadily until January 8th, 2023, when Bolsonaro supporters looted the Three Powers Plaza. A day that will forever be etched in national history. A day whose effects will continue to echo for decades to come.

The database of funders of antidemocratic acts — 551 names in total — was supplemented by the list of 898 defendants criminally responsible in Supreme Federal Court investigations related to January 8th and by the list of indicted individuals from the Federal Police's Operation Lesa Pátria. Finally, we included in the analysis the names of three Pará landowners investigated for providing support to terrorists George Washington de Oliveira Sousa and Alan Diego dos Santos Rodrigues, responsible for the attempted bombing at Brasília airport on Christmas Eve 2022.

Using this data, our team sought to identify direct relationships with agribusiness: ownership of rural properties registered with the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) or the Rural Environmental Registry (CAR); partnerships in agricultural companies registered with the Federal Revenue Service; and registration of rural insurance beneficiaries with the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Food Supply. In the case of the indicted private companies, the research was extended to their partners.

In all, we found that 142 landowners and agribusiness executives were implicated for their participation in antidemocratic acts.

They account for 10% of all names analyzed throughout the research. This data may — and likely is — an underestimate, as individuals with homonyms are common, and due to the General Data Protection Law, both INCRA and the Federal Revenue Service land databases no longer display CPF numbers.

Only cases in which there was absolute confirmation of a relationship with agribusiness were listed in this report.



# CONSULTED LISTS

- Targets of Operation Lesa Pátria (PF).<sup>6</sup>
- People indicted in the report of the Parliamentary Joint Inquiry Committee of January 8th (Federal Senate).<sup>7</sup>
- People indicted in the report of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee into antidemocratic Acts (Legislative Chamber of the Federal District).<sup>8</sup>
- Truck owners identified in camps and roadblocks in the Federal District, by the State Secretariat of Public Security (SSP-DF).<sup>9</sup>

- Funders of antidemocratic acts in Mato Grosso do Sul, from the State Secretariat of Justice and Public Security (Sejusp-MS).<sup>10</sup>
- 

- Executives whose bank accounts were blocked in a decision made by Minister Alexandre de Moraes on November 12th, 2022.<sup>11</sup>
- 

- Reports on organizers of state antidemocratic acts obtained by the newspaper O Estado de S. Paulo, prepared by the Military, Civil and Federal Police and State Public Ministries, delivered to the Federal Supreme Court (Estadão).<sup>12</sup>
- 

- The lawsuit of the 8th Criminal Court of Brasília regarding the bomb attack at Brasília airport on December 24th, 2022.<sup>13</sup>
- 

- Research in press reports and official reports published between October 2022 and June 2025.
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On the eve of the election, Bolsonaro rallied support at agribusiness events. (Poder 360)

## FROM TERRITORY TO INSTITUTIONS

The first explicit mention of the role of agribusiness in the 2022 coup attempt came out from the mouth of the retired general Mario Fernandes, the second-in-command at the General Secretariat of the Presidency during the Bolsonaro administration. Fernando was one of the five people arrested in the Federal Police's Operation Contragolpe and a central figure in the conspiracy to assassinate Lula, Alckmin, and Moraes.<sup>14</sup>

"I don't know if you're already aware of the support we've given both to agribusiness folks and the truck drivers who are at the protest", he stated in an audio message sent on December 8th, 2022, to the Military Commander of the Planalto Palace, General Gustavo Henrique Dutra de Menezes. In the conversation, Fernandes asked his colleague to intervene with the Ministry of Justice to prevent the Federal Police from complying with the court order to dissolve the pro-coup camps.



What are other mentions of “agribusiness folks”? In his plea bargain, made public on February 19th, 2024, Mauro Cid stated that he received approximately R\$ 100 thousand in cash, transferred by an agribusiness executive. The bills were delivered in a wine bag by General Walter Braga Netto, who told Cid about the source of the money: “General Braga Netto handed it over and said it was someone from agribusiness who had given it to him, but I don't know the name of the person who gave it to him”. The funds would be used to purchase weapons — not just t-shirts or rump cap steaks — to implement the Green and Yellow Dagger plan.<sup>15</sup>

In the same statement to the Attorney General's Office, Cid confirmed a Federal Police suspicion: that the agribusiness group was pressuring the military to carry out the coup. Bolsonaro's former aide-de-camp stated that he was approached by Lieutenant Aparecido Andrade Portela, another military officer close to the former president. “The people who contributed the meat are asking me if the barbecue will actually take place”, Portela said. According to Cid, “barbecue” was a codename for the coup.

Mentioned in the plea bargain, Lieutenant Portela is currently the first alternate for Senator Tereza Cristina (PP-MS), Bolsonaro's former Minister of Agriculture and vice-president of the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture (FPA), an organization she once presided over, the institutional face of the agribusiness caucus in Congress.



# SIEGE ON BRASILIA



## Number of suspects by municipality

- 1 Sorriso (MT) - 34
- 2 Nova Mutum (MT) - 9
- 3 Luis E. Magalhães (BA) - 6
- 4 Jataí (GO) - 5
- 5 Nova Ubiratã (MT) - 5

- 6 Água Boa (MT) - 5
- 7 Campo Grande (MS) - 4
- 8 Rio Verde (GO) - 4
- 9 São Desidério (BA) - 4
- 10 Vera (MT) - 3

● Other municipalities

Sources: Federal Supreme Court, Federal Police, Federal Senate, Legislative Chamber of the Federal District, Secretariat of Public Security - Federal District (SSP-DF), Secretariat of Public Security - Mato Grosso do Sul (Sejusp-MS)





Coup supporters march under the flag of Israel.  
(Rev. Bras. de Estudos de Defesa)

When the case came to light, shortly after Braga Netto's arrest, the parliamentarian was chosen to defend the sector against accusations of funding the coup. "This is putting an entire sector at risk, if this happened and if it's true that someone from the agribusiness sector is involved, but not the entire sector," she said in an interview with the newspaper Estado de S. Paulo, (Estadão). "The way it's being presented, it seems like the agricultural sector wanted to fund the coup, and I've never heard of that".<sup>16</sup>

Tereza Cristina speaks as if she had never heard of the Brazilian Association of Soybean Producers (Aprosoja).

The organization appeared in a 2023 report by the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN) on agribusiness funding of highway blockades. The document details the activities of the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement, led by then-president of Aprosoja, Antonio Galvan. Targeted by an investigation for supporting antidemocratic acts since 2021, Galvan is a prominent agribusiness leader in Mato Grosso; he even ran for the state Senate in the last election.<sup>17</sup>

These two facets — geographical and institutional — are the thread of thought of the Agrocoupists report.

Of the 142 landowners and companies identified in the survey, 74 are based in Mato Grosso, 17 in Goiás, and 13 in Bahia. These three states account for 71% of the names consolidated by the observatory. Their relationship with agribusiness is clear: together, they make up the main soybean production corridor in the country, responsible for 47% of the national harvest. The ten leading municipalities in grain production are within this “arc” — which runs parallel, further east, to the Arc of Deforestation in the Amazon.<sup>18</sup>

It was precisely this hub that produced the majority of trucks identified at the Army HQ in Brasília. What's more: 56 of the 234 trucks inspected originated in Sorriso, Mato Grosso, the world's largest soybean-producing region.

The path that connects the Soybean Arc to the coup movements passes through the organizations representing agribusiness. Five executives investigated in cases related to the January 8th coup and the pro-coup camps are leaders of Aprosoja, one of the founding organizations of the Pensar Agro Institute (IPA), the logistics arm of the agribusiness caucus in Congress. Among them is Christiano da Silva Bortolotto, former president of Aprosoja-MS and the Rural Union of Amambai (MS), where he stars a historical conflict against the Guarani-Kaiowá people from the Tekohá Kurusu Ambá.

## **FROM FUNDERS TO MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS**

In the two years following January 8th, the Brazilian justice system held 898 defendants criminally responsible. Of these, 527 were convicted after being caught red-handed inside public buildings, in the Three Powers Plaza, or in illegal camps in front of Army barracks.<sup>19</sup>

With the exception of the eight military personnel arrested during Operations Contragolpe and Tempus Veritatis, the January 8th coup plotters are, for the most part, “small fry”. The list of those convicted is notably absent from the list of executives who helped fund not only the camps and roadblocks, but also the generals' coup plot.

Who is the agribusiness executive who donated R\$ 100 thousand for Braga Netto to buy weapons? What are the names of the landowners who demanded from Mauro Cid and Lieutenant Portela the carrying out the coup?





Andrei Rodrigues: "We couldn't identify major funders."  
(José Cruz/Agência Brasil)

The official answer to these questions seems distant. In an interview with the TV Cultura program Roda Viva, the director-general of the Federal Police, Andrei Rodrigues, stated that there was no "mega-funders" of coup attempting: "Often, in the expectation of some people, there would be one or two, or a group of mega-funders with several million reais for this orchestrated action for the coup d'état. The investigation proved that this was not the case, at least we were unable to identify that this had happened".<sup>20</sup>

For those who closely follow the agribusiness political system in Brazil, it is clear that there is not and never was a single funder, but rather an ecosystem of executives — many of them linked to agribusiness — who kept the coup flame burning. This group did not die out for a simple reason: they were not held accountable.

An example of this comes from the list of truck owners who were camped at the Army Headquarters (HQ) in Brasília or at roadblocks. They account for 91 of the 142 entries on the list. These logistics executives are also landowners — a crucial fact that was overlooked in much of the analysis published at the time.

The reader might wonder: how many of them were held criminally responsible? The devastating answer is: **none**.

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The CPMI report of January 8th, of the Senate, highlighted or the central role of the trucks parked in the Army yard. The vehicles served as platforms, aided the moving of supplies, and symbolized the strength of the movement, which threatened to “make Brazil stop”.

The CPI conducted in the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District pointed out contractors of buses, restrooms, and tents used at the camp. Some are responsible for the infrastructure set up in front of the Army HQ, contrary to what the general director of the PF suggested, have millions in assets and receive funding from institutions such as BTG Pactual, Santander, Rabobank, John Deere and XP Investimentos.

Others are partners of multinationals such as Syngenta, the pesticide giant. (By the way, this is the only company mentioned that responded to our team's requests for information before this report was published. See the company's position below.)

The relationship of agrocoupists with agribusiness capital and megacorporations cannot go unnoticed. Do these banks, which advocate environmental and social governance (ESG), think it's fair to fund companies owned by individuals investigated for an attempted coup? Or do these factors escape their regulatory compliance barriers?

Brazil needs to know who these executives are and what they think about democracy.



Syngenta's regional partner owns trucks spotted at the Army HQ in Brasilia. (Stock Photo)





# I. THE AGROCOUPISTS







## ONE LIST, FOUR CORE GROUPS

The list of landowners and agribusiness executives involved in the attempted coup d'état does not include all those who joined the coup demonstrations on social media or attended the camps in military barracks around the country. Most of them were not even prosecuted.

In May 2023, in the “The Agrarian Origins of Terror” dossier, we listed some, including politicians linked to the Parliamentary Front for Agriculture — the most prominent face of the agribusiness caucus.<sup>21</sup>

The 142 names consolidated by Agribusiness Watch refer to those who took the initiative. According to official documents from public security agencies, the judiciary and parliamentary commissions of inquiry, they are the funders and organizers of the antidemocratic acts.

Among them are the businessmen who contracted the infrastructure for the camps and the owners of the trucks that tried to surround Brasília and paralyze the country, paving the way for the military coup; the industry leaders who facilitated the arrival of thousands of Bolsonaro supporters on January 8th; and the landowners who sheltered the terrorists George Washington de Oliveira Sousa and Alan Diego dos Santos Rodrigues — those who tried to blow up Brasília's airport.

What does this list tell us? In what groups do these executives fall into?





## TRUCK OWNERS

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In November 2022, while the high-ranking of the Bolsonaro administration tried to find a way to stay in power, the Public Security Secretariat of the Federal District (SSP-DF) identified 234 trucks lined up next to the Army HQ in Brasília, honking their horns and supporting the campers who were pressing for fast and strong action by the Armed Forces to change the election results.

At least 86 vehicles were directly linked to agricultural companies or landowners. As we will see in the next chapter, 28 belonged to a single family clan: the Bedin-Lermen.

Another considerable portion came from regions with a strong predominance of agribusiness: 146 of the trucks, more than half, had license plates from the state of Mato Grosso; 35 came from Goiás and another 21 from Bahia.

The names of the companies don't always tell much: Adrij Transports, Aero Obeid, Comber Logistics, Sipal Industry and Commerce. But what about the partners?

Agribusiness Watch analyzed the corporate structure of all legal entities listed in the investigation — including 33 whose bank accounts were frozen by a Supreme Federal Court decision — and found that, in 45 cases, the owners also own rural properties or agricultural businesses. They join 46 landowners listed by the SSP-DF with trucks registered under their CPFs.

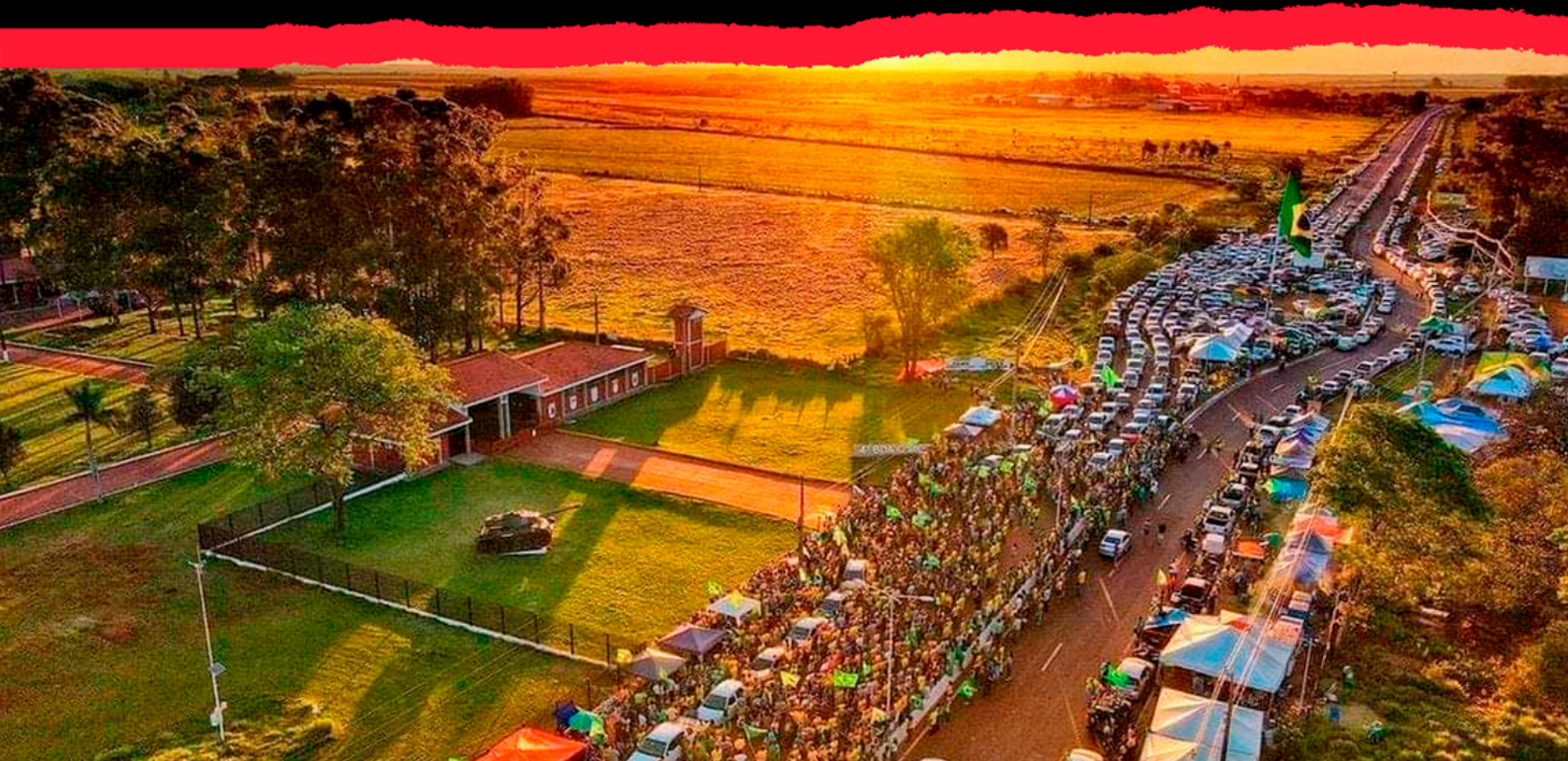
With 91 names, the truck driver group — not to be confused with the professional category of truck drivers — accounts for 64% of the list consolidated in this report. Once again, no one was convicted in court: most of the vehicles had already left Brasília when the police forces made dozens of arrests at the same camp after January 8th, 2023.

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# CAMP FINANCIERS

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Coup camp near Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul.  
(Facebook)

That year, two Parliamentary Inquiry Committees attempted to deepen the investigation into the vandals who invaded the Three Powers Plaza, investigating the perpetrators. In the Senate, the January 8th Parliamentary Inquiry Committee (CPMI) spent five months investigating the network of schemers behind this vandalism. The final report indicted 13 landowners.<sup>22</sup>

In the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District, the Antidemocratic Acts Parliamentary Inquiry Committee indicted 136 people — including six landowners — accused of hiring buses, tents, and portable toilets to provide infrastructure for the camps in front of the Army HQ in Brasília, on the eve of January 8th.<sup>23</sup>

Added to this record are eleven other names obtained through state police reports, consolidated by the column of journalist Fausto Macedo, from Estadão.

In total, this second group, responsible for funding the coup camps in the Federal District and other states, comprises 30 names — 21% of the total.

A reminder here: A Parliamentary Inquiry Committee constitute a political and administrative act, but they do not have the force of law. They have no legal effect unless the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office or state prosecutors take the case to court.





# FINANCIERS OF JANUARY 8

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Former Aprosoja president Antônio Galvan led coup movement. (Facebook)

The list you'll see on the following pages is based exclusively on names legally implicated in official sources. Names mentioned only in intelligence reports, such as the one from the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (Abin), published by the Congresso em Foco website, were not included.<sup>24</sup>

Excepting for: those who were also indicted in other cases related to the coup plotting in Brazil.

This is the case of Antônio Galvan, who presided over the Brazilian Association of Soybean Producers (Aprosoja Brasil) during the "Bolsonaro era". Responsible for the ideological radicalization of the organization, he appears alongside seven other leaders of the sector — including presidents of rural unions and directors of regional Aprosojas — who were investigated in the CPMI of January 8th, in the Senate.



Dated January 10th, 2023, two days after the coup attempt, the Abin report points to the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement (MBVA) as the organizer, at least since 2021, of coup demonstrations. We will discuss more about the role of MBVA in the third chapter.

In addition to these leaders, the January 8th group includes five landowners who were targets of searches and seizures in the Operation Lesa Pátria investigation. They are: José Ruy Garcia, a councilman in Inhumas, (GO); Fernando Junqueira Ferraz Filho, cousin of the Leopoldina mayor (MG); Luciene Beatriz Ribeiro Cunha, a cattlemaster from Uberaba, (MG); and Geraldo Cesar Killer, from Bauru, (SP), from whom US\$ 142 thousand in cash was seized.<sup>25</sup>

The last one of the group is Christiano da Silva Bortolotto, former president of Aprosoja-MS and a target of the 26th phase of the Operation Lesa Pátria. He is being investigated for organizing convoys of buses and trucks heading to Brasília, as well as encouraging highway blockades in the southern region of the state. A complete combo.

In total, the January 8th group has 18 names.





# BOMBING ATTEMPT



The fourth and final group is numerically smaller, yet impressive. It consists of three landowners from southeastern Pará. It was from there, the municipality of Xinguara (PA), that George Washington de Oliveira Sousa, from Ceará, came, convicted of terrorism for planning to blow up a tanker truck with 60,000 liters of kerosene near Brasília Airport on December 24th, 2022. The bomb did not detonate due to a technical failure. The Federal Police seized rifles, pistols, revolvers, ammunition, and explosive devices from the hotel room where he was staying.<sup>26</sup>

We showed George Washington's connection to agribusiness in "The Agrarian Origins of Terror" dossier. At the time of his arrest, George provided the phone number of cattleman Bento Carlos Liebl, owner of farms in southern Pará, near the Apyterewa Indigenous Territory, as a trusted contact. The Liebl family owns a group of farms in São Félix do Xingu (PA), totaling approximately 30,000 hectares. Some of these properties were subject to embargo by the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) for deforestation by fire.<sup>27</sup>



Months later, an investigation by the Civil Police of the Federal District began formally investigating the couple Bento and Solange Liebl for their involvement in planning the explosives attack. George was sentenced to over nine years in prison. To date, the cattle breeders have not been formally charged by the Public Prosecutor's Office.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Federal Police, in addition to the connection with the Liebl family, George Washington allegedly had the support of Ricardo Guimarães de Queiroz, president of the Marabá Rural Producers' Union. He was arrested in July 2023 during Operation Embarque Negado. At his home, agents seized two unregistered revolvers and ammunition. Guimarães served as deputy mayor of Itupiranga (PA) from 2017 to 2020.<sup>29</sup>

Owner of 6 thousand hectares between Itupiranga and Marabá, Guimarães has already been fined for deforestation and charged with keeping workers in conditions analogous to slavery. He has also organized blockades and barbecues (note the gastronomic predilection of the agrocoupists) in front from the barracks of the Army, in Pará.



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## Truck owners caught at Brasília HQ or in roadblocks

Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
GILSON OSMAR DENARDIN	Correntina (BA)	TRANSPORTADORA DENARDIN LTDA CNPJ 40.481.214/0001-41
WILSEMAR JOSE DORNELES ELGER	Formosa do Rio Preto (BA)	RITTERBUSCH & ELGER LTDA (ELGER AGRICULTURA) CNPJ 16.871.895/0001-70
ALBINO SADI MARODIN	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	MARODIN TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 53.732.625/0001-04
ELTON WALKER	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	-----
VILSON WALKER	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	-----
LUIZ WALKER	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	-----
LAURO ANTONIO LUZA	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	-----
OSVALDO HENKE	Luís Eduardo Magalhães (BA)	-----
ADRIANA APARECIDA FERREIRA DE PAULA ROSSETO	São Desidério (BA)	-----
ANTONIO CARLOS RIBEIRO	São Desidério (BA)	ACR COMÉRCIO E TRANSPORTE DE MADEIRA LTDA CNPJ 29.726.292/0001-26
GEORGE ZEKI OBEID FILHO	São Desidério (BA)	AERO OBEID (G. C. OBEID TRANSPORTES LTDA) CNPJ 10.684.376/0001-16
SILIA CANDIDA DE ANDRADE NETA	Cachoeira Dourada (GO)	-----
MATEUS DE JESUS HERNANDES	Catalão (GO)	-----
ROBERTA PEREIRA DE AMORIM HERNANDES	Catalão (GO)	-----
GREGORI BOLIGON VIEIRA	Formosa (GO)	DIMIAGRO COMÉRCIO DE FERTILIZANTES EIRELI ME CNPJ 26.322.698/0001-55
VALDEMIRO JOSÉ DIAS FILHO	Formosa (GO)	MATERIAIS DE CONSTRUÇÃO CONSTRULAR LTDA CNPJ 25.077.371/0001-00
CAIRO GARCIA PEREIRA	Itumbiara (GO)	-----
SEBASTIAO SILVEIRA GOULART	Jataí (GO)	-----
ANILDO JOSE BRIGNONI	Jataí (GO)	-----
DIOGO TOBIAS SANDRI	Jataí (GO)	-----
VICTOR CEZAR PRIORI	Jataí (GO)	ARMAZÉNS GERAIS PARAÍSO LTDA CNPJ 01.838.101/0001-07
GILMAR JOSE FLACH	Rio Verde (GO)	G J FLACH LTDA (FLACH SILAGENS) CNPJ 32.676.497/0001-59
IVAN COMELLI	Rio Verde (GO)	COMÉRCIO E TRANSPORTES COMELLI LTDA (COMBER LOGÍSTICA) CNPJ 05.094.194/0001-55
LUIZ GUSTAVO CAVALET	Rio Verde (GO)	-----
MARCELO LIRA CHAVES DOS SANTOS	Açailândia (MA)	-----

Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
GUILHERME OTTONI	Chapada Gaúcha (MG)	CHAPADÃO BIOENERGIA LTDA (CHAPADÃO AGRO) CNPJ 09.644.458/0001-58
ADRIANE TERESINHA DE MARCHI PEREIRA	Água Boa (MT)	-----
FABIULA ANAI GALLI GARBUIO	Água Boa (MT)	AGRITEX COMERCIAL AGRÍCOLA CNPJ 06.098.802/0001-62
GERSON LUIS GARBUIO	Água Boa (MT)	VAPE TRANSPORTES LTDA (GRUPO AGRITEX) CNPJ 11.861.980/0001-33
PEDRO ALBERTO REZENDE	Água Boa (MT)	P A REZENDE & CIA LTDA CNPJ 05.855.123/0001-28
TELVI ANTONIO MARCHIORETTO	Água Boa (MT)	-----
ALCIDIR DA CUNHA	Brasnorte (MT)	-----
EDILSON ANTONIO PIAIA	Campo Novo do Parecis (MT)	-----
RENACIR JOSE FEDATO	Campo Novo do Parecis (MT)	-----
ALEXANDRE BURIN	Ipiranga do Norte (MT)	-----
DIOMAR PEDRASSANI	Jangada (MT)	DRELAFE TRANSPORTES DE CARGA LTDA CNPJ 39.273.408/0001-72
AMAURI FORNARI	Nova Mutum (MT)	-----
ARLEI SESSI	Nova Mutum (MT)	-----
DENIS OGLIARI	Nova Mutum (MT)	MURLANA TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 21.016.959/0001-95
HENRIQUE ALCEU BELLONI MOGNON	Nova Mutum (MT)	-----
NEUSA MARIA SESSI	Nova Mutum (MT)	ROJÃO TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 34.437.105/0001-24
OTAIR KRONBAUER	Nova Mutum (MT)	K N C MATERIAIS DE CONSTRUÇÃO LTDA CNPJ 00.103.722/0001-71
SINAR COSTA BEBER	Nova Mutum (MT)	-----
EDEMAR POTRICH	Nova Ubiratã (MT)	-----
FERNANDO DUFFEK	Nova Ubiratã (MT)	-----
OZEMAR ROSSETTO	Nova Ubiratã (MT)	TRR RIO BONITO PETRÓLEO LTDA CNPJ 00.579.990/0001-64
VALDOCIR PAULO ROVARIS	Nova Ubiratã (MT)	TRANSPORTADORA ROVARIS LTDA CNPJ 36.915.924/0001-65
OLAVO DEMARI WEBBER	Porto dos Gaúchos (MT)	MADEMARI INDÚSTRIA E COMÉRCIO DE PVC LTDA CNPJ 33.722.109/0001-91
CLAUDECY OLIVEIRA LEMES	Rondonópolis (MT)	COMANDO DIESEL TRANSP. E LOGÍSTICA LTDA CNPJ 08.588.911/0007-89
AMAURY JACINTHO QUIRINO	São Félix do Araguaia (MT)	TRANS XINGU TRANSPORTE LTDA CNPJ 30.471.038/0001-03
ALBINO PERIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
ALDO KRASNIEVICZ JUNIOR	Sorriso (MT)	BIOLÓGICA INSUMOS AGRÍCOLAS LTDA CNPJ 22.033.884/0001-13
ALEXANDRO LERMEN	Sorriso (MT)	COMANDO DIESEL TRANSP. E LOGÍSTICA LTDA CNPJ 08.588.911/0007-89



Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
ANGELA MARIA BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	SORRIAGRO INSUMOS AGRICOLA LTDA 10.510.830/0001-12
ARGINO BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
ARY PEDRO BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
CLAUMIR JOSE CENEDESE	Sorriso (MT)	-----
CRISTIANE BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	SORRIAGRO INSUMOS AGRICOLA LTDA 10.510.830/0001-12
CRISTIANO DOS SANTOS VALENTIM	Sorriso (MT)	CONSTRUTORA VALENTIM LTDA CNPJ 20.141.998/0001-51
DALILA LERMEN	Sorriso (MT)	DALILA LERMEN LTDA (TRANSPORTADORA LERMEN) CNPJ 13.808.642/0001-63
DANIELE REGINA CASTRO MENDES	Sorriso (MT)	CASTRO MENDES FABRICACAO DE PECAS AGRICOLAS LTDA CNPJ 14.074.647/0001-72
DARCI POTRICH	Sorriso (MT)	CONSTRUTORA VALENTIM LTDA CNPJ 20.141.998/0001-51
EDUARDO FUHR	Sorriso (MT)	FUHR TRANSPORTES EIRELI CNPJ 36.474.916/0001-20
ELIANE LERMEN POLESELLO	Sorriso (MT)	-----
ELIO SCHIEFELBEIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
EVANDRO BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
FABIANO JUNIOR BONATTO	Sorriso (MT)	TRANSPORTADORA ADRIJ LTDA ME CNPJ 17.932.022/0001-92
FABIO JUNIOR BONATTO	Sorriso (MT)	LEONARDO ANTONIO NAVARINI & CIA LTDA CNPJ 24.182.969/0001-99
FRANCINEI LERMENN	Sorriso (MT)	TRANSPORTADORA CHICO LTDA CNPJ 16.812.249/0001-31
ILO POZZOBON	Sorriso (MT)	"FERMAP TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 08.451.195/0001-06"
JOÃO DARCI GIUSTI JUNIOR	Sorriso (MT)	-----
LEANDRO GAZOLA	Sorriso (MT)	LLG TRANSPORTADORA LTDA CNPJ 36.617.309/0001-72
LUCIANO BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
LUIMAR LUIZ GEMI	Sorriso (MT)	-----
MARIA DE FATIMA PAULA GIUSTI	Sorriso (MT)	ARRAIA TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 18.297.348/0001-58
MOYSES ANTONIO BOCCHI	Sorriso (MT)	ERRANTE DE OURO TRANSPORTES LTDA (GRUPO BOCCHI) CNPJ 18.495.981/0001-50
NILSON BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----
OSMAR RIBEIRO DE MELLO	Sorriso (MT)	MZ TRANSPORTES DE CARGAS LTDA CNPJ 15.947.039/0001-98
PATRICIA DE ROSSI	Sorriso (MT)	KADRE ARTEFATOS DE CONCRETO E CONSTRUÇÃO LTDA CNPJ 97.541.878/0001-78
RAFAEL BEDIN	Sorriso (MT)	-----

Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
ROBERTA BEDIN	<i>Sorriso (MT)</i>	-----
SERGIO ADÃO ESTEVES	<i>Sorriso (MT)</i>	AGROSYN COM. E REPR. DE INSUMOS AGRÍCOLAS LTDA CNPJ 22.954.084/0001-35
SERGIO BEDIN	<i>Sorriso (MT)</i>	-----
AIRTON WEILLERS	<i>Tapurah (MT)</i>	-----
ASSIS CLÁUDIO TIRLONI	<i>Tapurah (MT)</i>	TIRLONI TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 17.206.043/0001-20
ANILTO HILLESHEIM	<i>Vera (MT)</i>	-----
CLAIR VALDAMERI	<i>Vera (MT)</i>	-----
FABIANO RODRIGO FIUT	<i>Vera (MT)</i>	-----
ROBERTO VIDAL HENDRIKX	<i>Lapa (PR)</i>	AROMA TRANSPORTES CNPJ 07.412.985/0001-01
NILTON ROBERTO SOARES	<i>Tatuí (SP)</i>	NILTON ROBERTO SOARES ME (BETO REMOÇÕES) CNPJ 74.310.772/0001-66





## Contractors for infrastructure in coupist camps

Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
HENRIQUE LUIS CARDOSO NETO	Rio Branco (AC)	-----
JORGE JOSÉ DE MOURA	Rio Branco (AC)	-----
EVANDRO GONZALEZ BORGATO	Icapuí (CE)	VIVA AGRÍCOLA PRODUÇÃO E COMERCIALIZAÇÃO LTDA CNPJ 10.904.815/0001-59
GUILHERME MARQUETE PAIVA	Campo Grande (MS)	MARQUETE TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 07.841.648/0001-30
JÚLIO AUGUSTO GOMES NUNES	Campo Grande (MS)	-----
MARCELO CALEFFI DE SOUZA	Campo Grande (MS)	CONCRELAJE INDUSTRIA DE PRE-FABRICADOS DE CONCRETO LTDA CNPJ 01.557.107/0001-06
WAGNER COIN	Campo Grande (MS)	AÇO & AÇO VERGALHÕES LTDA CNPJ 08.345.565/0001-12
WALTER BERNARDO JUNIOR	Campo Grande (MS)	TRANSFUTURA TRANSPORTES LTDA CNPJ 03.255.763/0001-71
WALDELI DOS SANTOS	Costa Rica (MS)	-----
TIAGO JOSÉ DA ROCHA CONTI	Maracaju (MS)	-----
CESAR ROMANO BUZZO	Paranhos (MS)	SÃO JUDAS TADEU TRANSPORTE DE BOVINOS LTDA CNPJ 43.000.452/0001-86
RENE MIRANDA ALVES	São Gabriel do Oeste (MS)	-----
ELEANDRO LUEDKE	Alta Floresta (MT)	-----
GEIZA LAMEL LUEDKE	Alta Floresta (MT)	-----
JOÃO CARLOS DE ÁVILA	Colniza (MT)	AVIMAD INDUSTRIA E COMERCIO DE MADEIRAS LTDA CNPJ 03.942.969/0001-70
ALCEU MOGNON	Nova Mutum (MT)	-----
ELONI CARLOS MARIANI	Nova Ubiratã (MT)	-----
ROSANGELA DE MACEDO SOUZA	Querência (MT)	-----

Name	Municipality (State)	Company under investigation
GIANCARLOS BAVARESCO	Sorriso (MT)	-----
JOSÉ CARLOS AVANCINI	Marabá (PA)	-----
EDUARDO MEDEIROS GOMES	Castro (PR)	SINDICATO RURAL DE CASTRO CNPJ 76.110.394/0001-00
CLAUDIA VARELLA COSTA PERNOMIAN	Cianorte (PR)	-----
JORGINHO CARDOSO DE AZEVEDO	São Miguel do Iguaçu (PR)	-----
RODRIGO QUEIROZ BRUNALDI	Buritis (RO)	-----
JOSÉ OSTROWSKI	Presidente Médici (RO)	-----
DANIEL FOCHEZATTO	Nova Prata (RS)	-----
LUIS CESAR FUCK	Canoinhas (SC)	-----
RENATA SIMOSO MANERA	Mogi Mirim (SP)	-----
MERABE MUNIZ DINIZ CABRAL	São José do Rio Preto (SP)	-----
ORLANDO MARTINS DO AMARAL JUNIOR	Presidente Kennedy (TO)	-----



Suspects in the investigation  
into the bombing attempt at  
Brasília Airport:



Name	Municipality (State)	Links to agribusiness institutions
BENTO CARLOS LIEBL	São Félix do Xingu (PA)	-----
SOLANGE LIEBL	São Félix do Xingu (PA)	-----
ENRIC JUVENAL DA COSTA LAUREANO	Xinguara (PA)	-----





# FINANCIERS OF JANUARY 8

(Operation Lesa Pátria and  
parliamentary committees)



Name	Municipality (State)	Links to agribusiness institutions
JOSÉ ALÍPIO FERNANDES DA SILVEIRA	Barreiras (BA)	Vice President of Andaterra
ALAN JULIANI	São Desidério (BA)	Former President of Aprosoja-BA
ADAUTO LÚCIO DE MESQUITA	Brasília (DF)	-----
JOSÉ RUY GARCIA	Inhumas (GO)	-----
JOEL RAGAGNIN	Jataí (GO)	Former President of Aprosoja-GO
VITOR GERALDO GAIARDO	Jataí (GO)	Former President of the Rural Union of Jataí
LUCIANO JAYME GUIMARÃES	Rio Verde (GO)	Former President of the Rural Union of Rio Verde
FERNANDO JUNQUEIRA FERRAZ FILHO	Leopoldina (MG)	-----
JOSE MARCIO DE SIMONI SILVEIRA	Passos (MG)	-----
LUCIENE BEATRIZ RIBEIRO CUNHA	Uberaba (MG)	-----
CHRISTIANO DA SILVA BORTOLOTTO	Amambai (MS)	Former President of Aprosoja-MS
MAURIDES PARREIRA PIMENTA	Campinápolis (MT)	-----
LUCAS COSTA BEBER	Nova Mutum (MT)	President of Aprosoja-MT
HUMBERTO FALCÃO	Primavera do Leste (MT)	-----
ANTÔNIO GALVAN	Sinop (MT)	Former President of Aprosoja Brasil
VALDIR EDEMAR FRIES	Itambé (PR)	-----
JEFFERSON DA ROCHA	Florianópolis (SC)	-----
GERALDO CÉSAR KILLER	Bauru (SP)	-----



Sérgio Moro and Deltan Dallagnol linked to January 8 suspects. (Stock Photo)

## IN THE COUNTRY OF PUNITIVISM, IMPUNITY IS LAW

Penal punitiveness was one of the fundamental slogans of the coup plotters instigated by Jair Bolsonaro and the military group of his government. In 2022, those camped in the barracks demanded the immediate arrest of Supreme Court justices. Some, more enthusiastically, called for the death penalty for “treason” for the generals who did not support the coup.<sup>30</sup>

Part of this discourse was cemented years earlier, by Operation Lava Jato, which consolidated figures like Sérgio Moro and Deltan Dallagnol, responsible for removing Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva from the 2018 presidential election. The judge and the prosecutor left their positions in the Judiciary to enter politics: they were elected as senator and congressman in 2022. Immediately afterward, they began to advocate for more lenient treatment of the January 8th terrorists, relativizing the Supreme Court's convictions and alleging “inhumane conditions”.

Dallagnol's term in office was short-lived: he was impeached by the Superior Electoral Court five months after taking office. Even so, he used the prestige of his position to attack “disproportionate sentences”. In February 2025, the former congressman recorded a video announcing “exclusive audios” that would prove injustices committed against the prisoners. The audio recordings were never released.<sup>31</sup>

The former Lava Jato prosecutor is the son of Agenor Dallagnol, a landowner in Nova Bandeirantes (MT). In this municipality in northwestern Mato Grosso, he ran the 2,000-hectare Guapé Farm, part of a larger complex called Gleba Japurana. Deemed unproductive, the area was expropriated by INCRA in 1998 to make way for a settlement. The process resulted in compensation of R\$ 147million to the owners — mostly members of the Dallagnol family. Agenor received one of the largest transfers: R\$ 8 millions.



Eleven years later, the institute filed a lawsuit requesting the return of the amount, claiming document fraud and internal favoritism toward public servants. Agribusiness Watch uncovered this story and reported it in detail in 2022, in a series of reports on the agrarian side of the Dallagnol clan.<sup>32</sup>

Coincidentally, one of the series' central characters is among those involved in the attempted coup. He is Luis Cesar Fuck, heir to a traditional yerba mate-producing family in Canoinhas, Santa Catarina, and owner of the Yacuy Yerba Mate Industry. Fuck was identified as a funder of the coup in Santa Catarina through a report obtained by Estadão, prepared by the Military, Civil, and Federal Police, as well as the states' Public Prosecutors' Offices. 2,500 kilometers away, in the Amazon region of Mato Grosso, the family is a rival of the Dallagnols in the dispute over the Gleba Japurinã.<sup>33</sup>



Defended by Sen. Moro, Jorginho Cardoso de Azevedo was arrested for invading the Planalto Palace. (Supreme Court)

Sérgio Moro has also been acting in defense of the January 8th prisoners. In September 2024, he used his Instagram account to criticize the sentence given to the Paraná landowner Jorginho Cardoso de Azevedo, convicted of participating in the invasion and vandalism of public buildings in January 8th. The senator said he would plead to the Supreme Federal Court (STF) with the aim of transferring him to a semi-open regime to treat "serious health problems". In the Instagram post, Moro compared the situation to the case of dismemberment specialist Elize Matsunaga: "landowner Jorginho de Azevedo should remain in prison for 17 years, while the murderer of the former owner of Yoki is serving a sentence of 16 years and three months in freedom".<sup>34</sup> In April 2025, Alexandre de Moraes authorized the change to house arrest.

What Sérgio Moro doesn't mention is that Azevedo was identified by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee into Antidemocratic Acts, of the Legislative Chamber of the Federal District (CLDF), as one of the contractors for buses used to transport protesters to Brasília. Therefore, he is no mere patriot, a "passing-by vandal".

Note that Azevedo is only charged with his presence at the January 8th riot. None of the landowners suspected of funding the terrorist acts were convicted for this. Those indicted by the parliamentary committees — both at the Senate and the CLDF — are not included in the indictment filed by the Attorney General's Office (PGR) that identified the six coup groups in the Supreme Court trial. The businessmen listed as owners of the trucks caught at the Army HQ were also not prosecuted.

Even with Mauro Cid's statement that pointed to "agribusiness folks" as responsible for funding the Green and Yellow Dagger plan. Even if intercepted messages prove that the camp organizers urged Jair Bolsonaro stepping outside the "rules of the game" of the Constitution.

Although their speeches are imbued with punitiveness, the coup financiers are quite happy to flirt with impunity when it suits them.





# II. THE SOYBEAN (COUPIST) ARC

Argino Bedin (left) poses next to Bolsonaro in Sorriso .  
(Alan Santos/PR)



## **BEDIN CLAN LEADED THE SENDING OF TRUCKS TO BRASÍLIA**

On November 16th, 2022, the Federal District Public Security Secretariat (SSP-DF) published a list with the names of the owners of 234 trucks parked in front of the Army Headquarters, in Brasília. Near the Monumental Axis, the HQ served as a base of operations for the coup plotters who invaded the Three Powers Plaza on January 8th.<sup>35</sup>

The SSP-DF list contained an important piece of information for a geographical understanding of the coup attempt led by Jair Bolsonaro. Of the 234 trucks present in Brasília, 146 came from a single state, Mato Grosso. It was the identification of the owners of these vehicles that allowed Minister Alexandre de Moraes to order freezing the bank accounts of 33 companies and 10 individuals suspected of funding the highway blockades and providing logistical support to the coup camps.<sup>36</sup>

The survey conducted by Agribusiness Watch adds a new layer to this reflection: of these 43 names, 30 are directly linked to agribusiness. All of them, without exception, concentrate their economic activities in Mato Grosso.

Self-proclaimed "Brazil's breadbasket," the state leads the ranking of agribusiness executives investigated for participating in antidemocratic acts. In total, 74 individuals — 52% of the total — are listed. Most of them participated in the coup attempt by sending trucks to Brasília or setting up roadblocks: 51 individuals and companies fall into this category.

Most of them are concentrated in an area known as Nortão. It's not an administrative district, but a cluster of three macro-regions, totaling 36 municipalities — almost all in the Amazon region of Mato Grosso. Economically strengthened by agribusiness exports, this region even entertained aspirations to separate themselves from the rest of the state, forming a new federative unit: Mato Grosso do Norte. Championed by the agribusiness caucus in Congress, the proposal never moved forward.

Nortão has as its "capital" the municipality of Sorriso, the largest soybean producing region in the world, both in terms of planted area and production. Of the 234 trucks registered at the coup headquarters in Brasília, 56 were owned by Sorriso landowners. This caravan of trucks puts the municipality in first place among the agrocoupists: Sorriso leads with 34 names under investigation or indicted in processes related to antidemocratic acts.



One-third of this list belongs to a single family. The Bedin clan, with ten members listed among the owners of trucks parked in the Army yard, is listed. According to a report by Abin, they owned at least fifteen vehicles used in roadblocks and at the HQ in Brasília. The information was disclosed on October 3rd, 2023, during the testimony of patriarch Argino Bedin at the Parliamentary Joint Inquiry Committee (CPMI) of January 8th.

When questioned about funding antidemocratic acts, the executive exercised his right to remain silent. During the session, Argino cried and was comforted by then-federal deputy and current mayor of Cuiabá, Abílio Brunini (PL). "Did you help with trucks during demonstrations?" the congressman asked. "Congratulations! Protesting isn't illegal. Don't worry about these things, be happy, stay calm". Brunini demonstrated some understanding of how his fellow countrymen think: "Do you think will he be accused or offended in Mato Grosso? Not at all, he will be applauded in Sorriso!".<sup>37</sup>

Brunini's prophecy was fulfilled. When he returned to Sorriso, four days after his testimony, Argino was applauded at a gala event organized by politicians and agribusiness figures from Mato Grosso. He took the stage, with a wry smile, to be honored in front of an excited audience. The moment was captured on video by Sorriso's deputy mayor, Acácio Ambrosini (Republicanos).<sup>38</sup>

Argino Bedin: tears in the Senate, applause in Sorriso. (Stock Photo)





In 2022, when he tried to get elected federal deputy, without success, Acácio received a campaign donation of R\$ 50 thousand from a certain businessman: Argino Bedin. The soybean farmer made only two contributions that year: the second was a symbolic R\$1 Pix to Jair Bolsonaro.<sup>39</sup>

Known as the "Father of Soybeans" and One of Sorriso's pioneers, Bedin was responsible for the municipality's independence in 1986. Between 1987 and 1988, he served as a councilman. Today, he owns 16,000 hectares in northern Mato Grosso.

Documents sent by the Financial Activities Control Council (Coaf) to the January 8th CPMLI pointed out that Roberta Bedin, Argino's daughter, moved R\$ 19,6 millions between 2021 and 2022. His father, R\$ 1,9million. According to the report, the amounts had an unidentified origin and indicated that the money was injected into political actions.<sup>40</sup>

Argino and Roberta are among the 43 businesspeople whose bank accounts were frozen on suspicion of organizing and funding antidemocratic acts. They are joined by their cousin Sérgio Bedin, who donated R\$ 100 million to Bolsonaro's 2022 reelection campaign. Another cousin, Luciano Bedin, deposited R\$ 60 thousand for the former president.<sup>41</sup>

Six other family members appear on the list of truck owners found at the Army HQ in Brasília: Rafael and Nilson Bedin, Ary Pedro Bedin, and his son Evandro; and Cristiane and Ângela Maria Bedin, partners in Sorriagro Agricultural Inputs.

A rhetorical question: is this a small organization?





Bolsonaro visits Sorriso, epicenter of agro-coup supporters. (Alan Santos/PR)

## MATO GROSSO SOYBEAN PRODUCERS CONTROL HIGHWAYS AND AIRPORTS

Argino's cousin, Ary Pedro Bedin appears on the SSP-DF list as the owner of one of the fifteen trucks linked to the Sorriso clan. He was the founder and fiscal advisor of InterVias Concessionaire, the company responsible for managing the Sorriso-Nova Uiratã section of the BR-242 highway, which connects the Nortão region, in Mato Grosso, to the Bahia coast, passing through the west of the state — the other end of the Soybean Arc detailed in this report.<sup>42</sup>

The highway was named Milton Santos in 2005, in honor of the geographer from Bahia, who was arrested after the 1964 military coup. A critic of social and economic inequalities, Santos died in 2001, while a professor emeritus at the University of São Paulo (USP).



Alexandro Lermen manages 8,000 hectares in Nortão. (Lermen Group)

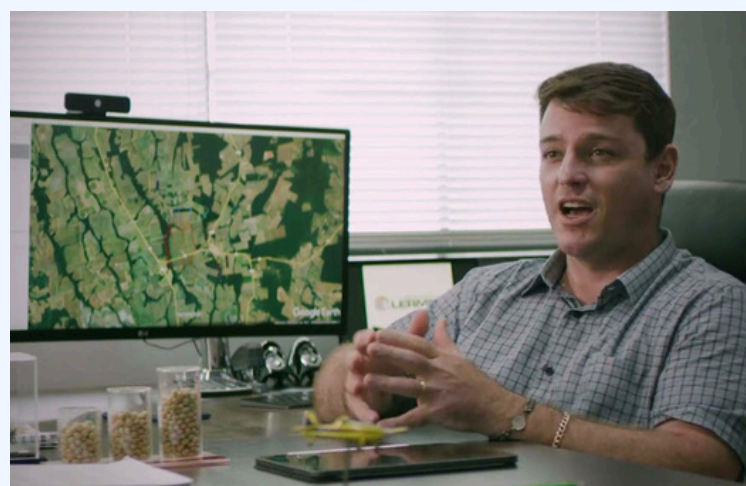
The road has another “representative” on the list of soybean farmers who funded the trip of their trucks to Brasília: Oli Baltazar Lermen, founder and president of InterVias between 2003 and 2004. In the previous decade, he was a councilman for Sorriso for PFL, former Arena, and future União Brasil, between 1989 and 1992. Oli is the father of Alexandro Lermen and Alexandra Lermen Bedin. The latter is married to Evandro Bedin, son of Ary and owner of another of the agrocoupism trucks.

Currently under the direction of Alexander, the Lermen Group operates in the production of soybeans, corn, and cotton. The family owns at least 8,000 hectares in the Nortão region. Notable among the clan's properties are the Vale do Rio Celeste Farm in Nova Ubiratã, with 3,221 hectares; Nossa Senhora Rainha da Paz Farm in Nova Monte Verde, with 2,667 hectares; and Cambará Farm in Colíder, with 2,189 hectares.

The Lermen family sent thirteen trucks to the coup camps in Brasília. Adding their fleet to the Bedin, the two families sent together 28 trucks — a quarter of the total number of vehicles that left Mato Grosso.

The Lermen fleet includes planes. Oli's brother, Felício Lermen was fined by the National Civil Aviation Agency (ANAC) for the construction of a clandestine airstrip at Toledo Farm, in Sorriso.<sup>43</sup> Along with Felício, Oli Lermen is a partner in JPO Aeroagrícola. Another partner in the company, João Darci Giusti, sent two more trucks to Brasília. Giusti was a partner with Argino Bedin in another company in the industry, G5 Airline Associates.

Another member of the G5 was soybean farmer **Darci Potrich**. His family sent two trucks, one in Darci's name and another in the name of his nephew Edemar Potrich, who was also a partner in the InterVias concessionaire. The clans that led the truck shipments are intertwined by air and land: Argino Bedin was the main coordinator for the installation of the Sorriso Regional Airport, named after his father, Adolino Bedin.



Alexandro Lermen manages 8,000 hectares in Nortão. (Lermen Group)



In September 2020, when Brazil had accumulated 135,000 deaths from the Covid-19 pandemic, Jair Bolsonaro praised the landowners of the region while in the Adolino Bedin airport. The reason? “They didn’t buy into the sweet talk of staying at home”. To a standing ovation, the president, a science denier — and pro-agribusiness — concluded by adapting his slogan: “God above everything, Mato Grosso above all”.<sup>44</sup>

The Adolino Bedin Airport was built on land belonging to the family, and it was exchanged with the Sorriso city hall for municipal properties. In 2019, the landowner became a defendant in a civil action for administrative misconduct after the Public Ministry of Mato Grosso found a loss of R\$ 2,7 million to municipal coffers resulting from the transaction. The contracts were signed between 2005 and 2007. According to the complaint, then-Mayor Dilceu Rossato (Republicanos) provided more valuable public assets than those provided by Bedin. Argino ran for vice-mayor on Rossato's ticket in 2002, but was unsuccessful. The case awaits a lower court ruling.<sup>45</sup>



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Argino Bedin Airport was built on family-owned land. (Sorriso City Hall)

Rossato did not send trucks and is not among those investigated for antidemocratic acts, but he is an important point of intersection between some of those involved. He was mayor of Sorriso for two terms, non-consecutive: from 2005 to 2008 and from 2013 to 2016. He is a soybean farmer, and also a partner in the Apasi concessionaire, which controls another section of the MT-242 state highway, the Milton Santos, in addition to the MT-491. Like InterVias, two Apasi partners sent trucks to the antidemocratic protests: Ilo Pozzobon, two vehicles, and Elio Schiefelbein, one.

An avowed Bolsonaro supporter, Dilceu was active during the 2022 presidential campaign, always dressed in green and yellow. He claimed that those elections were a “fight of good against evil”.<sup>46</sup>



## SYNGENTA AND BTG PACTUAL KEEP CONTRACTS WITH PEOPLE UNDER INVESTIGATION

Syngenta's official distributor  
sent four trucks to coup HQ.  
(Agrosyn)

Two other business partners of Dilceu Rossato sent trucks to Brasília: Albino Perin, the former mayor's partner in AgroBio Energia; and Sérgio Adão Esteves, former partner in soybean company RD Rossato. Esteves sent four trucks through his company Agrosyn Trade and Representation of Agricultural Inputs.

A regional partner of the Chinese-Swiss multinational Syngenta — which uses “syn” as a suffix — Agrosyn is among the companies whose bank accounts were frozen by the STF for participating in roadblocks. The incident did not prevent Agrosyn from being recognized with the Raízes Award in 2024, handed by Syngenta to distributors who stand out for their excellence. The winners received a trip to the emirate of Dubai and the Maldives.<sup>47</sup>



Syngenta is no ordinary player in Brazilian agribusiness. In 2022, Agribusiness Watch showed in its report “The financiers of the Destruction” that the pesticide manufacturer was emerging as the leader in the number of meetings with high-ranking members of the Bolsonaro administration: 81. The company is fully integrated into the funding ecosystem of the Pensar Agro Institute, the logistics arm of the Parliamentary Agricultural Front. At the time of the report's publication, it was directly involved in three associations supporting the ruralist caucus.<sup>48</sup>

The umbilical relationship between Agrosyn and Syngenta helps portray how financial power supports the executives who participated — directly or indirectly — in the attempted coup.

Biotechnology corporations are not alone in this process. With the surge in demand for rural credit, private banks have been expanding their agribusiness portfolios, betting on favorable exchange rates for commodity exports. In this context, holding mega-producers accountable for providing logistical support to fraudsters is of little interest to anyone.

BTG Pactual is an example of this dynamic. The bank is the main creditor of the Safras Group, the conglomerate of Dilceu Rossato which has an estimated debt of R\$ 2,5 billions.<sup>49</sup> The group has been seizing its assets in an attempt to regain control of commercial transactions, which are handled by the bank through the Engelhart CTP Brasil trader— known as BTG Pactual Commodities, headquartered in London.<sup>50</sup>

#### **SYNGENTA'S RESPONSE TO THE DATA IN THE AGROCOUPISTS REPORT:**

*"Syngenta is committed to conducting business according to the highest standards of integrity and responsibility. The company has never supported or condoned any antidemocratic acts in the countries where it operates. Regarding the award, Syngenta emphasizes that the evaluation of its business partners is ongoing and takes into account multiple internally established criteria. It also reiterates that it seeks to ensure that its business relationships are always aligned with principles of social responsibility, ethics, and corporate governance".*

**Check out the full version [here](#).**

In addition to establishing control over one of the largest soybean traders in the Nortão region, BTG holds soybean purchase contracts expiring in 2034 with other figures involved in the attempted coup. In 2024, the bank issued R\$ 8.5 billion in Agribusiness Credit Rights Certificates (CDCA), signing a supply contract with ten landowners implicated in investigations into antidemocratic acts.<sup>51</sup>

One of them is Argino Bedin. Five others, directly linked to BTG suppliers include Bedin himself and his nephew Luciano; Alexandro Lermen, Evandro Bedin's brother-in-law, another nephew; Fabiano Rodrigo Fiut, a partner of Argino's daughter; João Darci Giusti, a former partner in the airline G5; and Edemar Potrich, a partner of his cousin Ary Pedro Bedin at Intervias Concessionaire. Completing the list are Albino Perin, Alexandre Burin, Denis Ogliari, and Lucas Costa Beber. The latter is the vice president of the Brazilian Soybean Producers Association (Aprosoja), the subject of our next chapter.

BTG Pactual had among its founders Bolsonaro's former Economy Minister, Paulo Guedes. Another former minister, Fabio Faria, from Communications, took up a position in the bank's Institutional Relations team just three months after leaving the government.<sup>52</sup>



Fábio Faria took a position at BTG Pactual three months after leaving government. (Stock Photo)

During the 2022 elections, the son-in-law of the late businessman (presenter, landowner) Sílvio Santos disseminated fake news about radio station scams, which would be harming Jair Bolsonaro's campaign.<sup>53</sup>

At the eleventh hour of the administration, Fábio Faria authorized a company from the BTG Pactual group to raise R\$ 2,5 billions for telecommunications projects as incentive-based, with a reduction in income tax charges for investors.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the former minister, Bruno Bianco, head of the Attorney General's Office (AGU), followed the same path, taking on the role of BTG Senior Relationship Manager after the end of the government.<sup>55</sup>





Valdocir Rovaris Group  
farm, in Sorriso. (GVR)

## **BANKS CONTINUE TO GRANT CREDIT TO AGROCOUPISTS**

BTG is not the only Faria Lima player to have ties to businesspeople who supported antidemocratic acts in 2022. Last year, Grupo Lermen pledged properties as collateral and raised R\$80 million in Agribusiness Receivables Certificate (CRAs) in the financial market, issued by Virgo Securitization — which has XP Investimentos as a shareholder — and by the Bocon BBM bank, linked to the Bank of Communications of China.<sup>56</sup>

Another landowner from Nortão, the partner of the InterVias concessionaire, Valdocir Paulo Rovaris had four trucks caught between roadblocks and the army yard in Brasília. In his 2022 financial statements, the Valdocir Rovaris Group (GVR) declared R\$ 287 millions in credit operations contracted with the financial system.<sup>57</sup> Among the various institutions that leveraged GVR's activities, the international banks Rabobank, Santander and John Deere stand out, which together injected R\$ 50 millions in the company. Rally driver Atílio Rovaris, son of Valdocir, donated R\$ 500 thousand for Bolsonaro's 2022 campaign.<sup>58</sup>

Does the Brazilian justice system consider this economic profile irrelevant?

Moving away from trucks and onto the financiers of infrastructure for the camps, we come to Giancarlos Bavaresco, contractor of portable toilets for the coup camp in Brasília. Indicted by the CPI on antidemocratic Acts of the Federal District Legislative Chamber, he also has multinational ties. His company, Beneficiadora de Algodão Cotton 163, was founded in partnership with Swiss trader Ecom, which claims to invest in green projects around the world. The name of the venture is a reference to BR-163, the highway that connects Sorriso to the ports of Arco Norte, in Pará.



Cotton 163 processing plant.  
(CS Estruturas)

Although the Cotton 163 project itself internationally with a sustainable business model, a Reporter Brasil report pointed out that the Santo Antônio XVI, XVII and XVIII Farm, in Nova Maringá (MT), had 1,096 hectares under embargo, equivalent to 70% of the total property, belonging to Giancarlos and Gentil Antônio Bavaresco. The embargo did not prevent the Japanese insurer Tokio Marine from signing a rural insurance contract to cover 954 hectares of corn planted between February and November 2020.<sup>59</sup>

Giancarlos Bavaresco was a member of the Fiscal Council of Aprosoja-MT in the 2018/2020 biennium.

Ecom's supply chain problems aren't limited to the Mato Grosso landowner. In 2021, 19 workers were rescued from slave-like labor on a farm in the rural area of Minas Gerais that was on the Swiss trader's list of coffee suppliers.<sup>60</sup>

How should we call it, slave labor?





## MILLIONAIRES AND THEIR TRUCKS

“Military SOS”: Mayor Edilson Piaia’s truck was spotted at an anti-democratic rally. (Bem Notícias)

Coup plotting in Mato Grosso's agribusiness was not restricted to the Nortão region, an area that was once covered in forests and natural fields, and that today is seen almost as a separate state.

Influential businesspeople and politicians in other parts of Mato Grosso actively participated in the mobilization against the 2022 election results. Of the 142 names identified in this report, 74 came from this state — 57 from Nortão and 17 from other regions.

In Campo Novo do Parecis, landowner Edilson Antônio Piaia, a member of PL, sent three trucks to the protests in Brasília. His accounts were frozen by order of Minister Alexandre de Moraes, under suspicion of funding the logistics of the roadblocks and coup camps. His assets? R\$ 49,2million, including shares in the cotton processing plant Chapadão dos Parecis Ltd. and the distributor Safra Oeste Equipment and Supply. No legal consequences prevented him from rising politically after the episode: he was elected mayor in 2024.<sup>61</sup>

In Campinópolis, landowner Maurides Parreira Pimenta, known as Didi Pimenta, was indicted by the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee into Antidemocratic Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Federal District for funding the sending of buses carrying Xavante indigenous people to the federal capital. Among the passengers was José Acácio Serere Xavante, who calls himself Serere's cacique and gained prominence by becoming one of the leaders of the coup camp in Brasília.<sup>62</sup>

The breach of Didi Pimenta's banking secrecy revealed seven transfers to Serere, totaling R\$ 17,850. The indigenous man was filmed talking to Jair Bolsonaro and General Walter Braga Netto on the banks of the Planalto Palace's reflecting pool. "If necessary, I'll die for you", he told the former president. "Lula won't take office".<sup>63</sup>

During testimony before the CPI, Serere denied knowing Didi Pimenta. The ordering of his arrest by Minister Alexandre de Moraes on December 12th, 2022, triggered an attempted invasion of the Federal Police headquarters in Brasília. The scenes of vandalism and burning buses foreshadowed the January 8th attacks.<sup>64</sup>

Another emblematic case is that of Claudecy Oliveira Lemes, owner of Comando Diesel Logistics and Transport Ltd., one of the companies whose accounts were frozen by the STF in November 2022. Before that, his name had already appeared in the news for environmental crimes committed in Barão de Melgaço (MT), where he maintains eleven farms.

In 2020, Claudecy was involved in the largest case of chemical deforestation in the state's history: he applied a mixture of 25 pesticides aerially over 81,000 hectares of the Pantanal in Mato Grosso — an area equivalent to the city of Campinas, São Paulo. The operation cost R\$ 25 million to the landowner. Combined, the fines amount to R\$ 2,9billion, as reported by Fantástico, on TV Globo.<sup>65</sup>

In April 2024, the Mato Grosso Public Prosecutor's Office requested Claudecy's pre-trial detention, but the court denied the request. Since 2019, the cattleman has accumulated fifteen citations for damage to the Pantanal. According to a report by Repórter Brasil, he supplies cattle to JBS meatpacking plants in Barra do Garças and Pedra Preta, Mato Grosso.<sup>66</sup>

The Federal Police director-general says there are no mega-funders. What kind of funding is he waiting for to fit this definition?



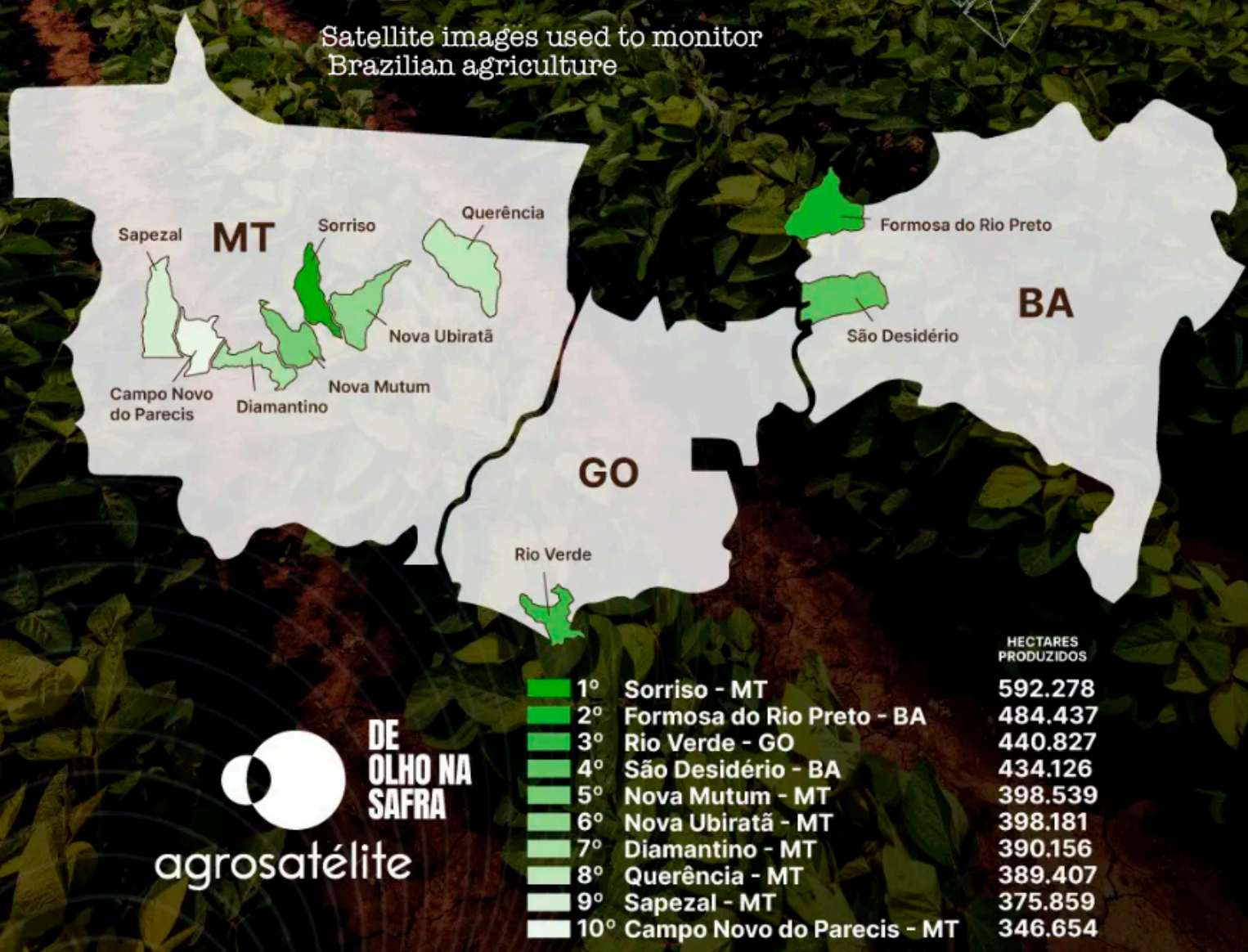
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Cacique Serere vowed to die to prevent Lula's inauguration. (Instagram)



# TOP 10 SOYBEAN PRODUCING MUNICIPALITIES IN BRAZIL

Satellite images used to monitor Brazilian agriculture



Soy Arc: 71% of the farmers investigated are in the states of Mato Grosso, Goiás and Bahia. (Agrosatélite)

## GOIÁS SOYBEAN CENTER IS PART OF THE SIEGE OF BRASÍLIA

Although a protagonist, Mato Grosso was not an isolated pawn in the antidemocratic acts. The data consolidated by Agribusiness Watch on the agrocoupism in Brazil, two other states played a decisive role. According to the survey, Goiás and Bahia are home to 30 other landowners and businesspeople investigated for funding coup camps, roadblocks, and the January 8th, 2023, riot.

What do these states have in common? The three form the largest continuous soybean production area in Brazil. They contain the ten municipalities with the largest soybean acreage. This corridor begins in northern Mato Grosso, in the Alto Teles Pires region — at the transition from the Amazon to the Cerrado — and extends southeast to the municipality of Rio Verde (GO). From there, the arc goes upward again, passing through southwestern Goiás, on the border with Minas Gerais, until reaching western Bahia, the central hub of Matopiba, the last agricultural frontier of the Cerrado.

The Soy Arc follows a similar trajectory to a more famous arc: that of deforestation in the Amazon. This is no coincidence: over the last decade, soybean cultivation has encroached on degraded pastures previously occupied by extensive livestock farming. As monocultures advance northwestward, cattle breeders also move in, clearing native forest to make way for their herds. It's as if one mirrors the other, and the two increase together. The consequence? A point of no return for the Amazon.<sup>67</sup>

This logic of advancing the agricultural frontier, championed by agribusiness executives, resonated with Bolsonaro's political platform. It advocates opening indigenous lands to monoculture, reducing protected areas, and eliminating environmental licensing to unlock infrastructure projects that benefit agribusiness export logistics.

This is how the Soybean Arc also became an arc of coup d'état, with Brasília at its center. Again, this is no coincidence: the roadblocks in Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Bahia were intended to cut off the capital's water supply, facilitating the military's action. When the STF acted and froze the executives' accounts in November 2022, they directed their trucks to the Army HQ in Brasília.

Let's take the case of Goiás. The southwest of the state is the main political and logistical base for local agribusiness, thanks to highways BR-060 and BR-364. The municipalities of Rio Verde and Jataí are located there, with a landscape marked by vast soybean, corn, sorghum, and sugarcane plantations destined for ethanol production. In the 2022/2023 harvest, Rio Verde ranked fourth in the national soybean production ranking; Jataí ranked 12th.<sup>68</sup>

The two municipalities account for 10 of the 17 agrocoupists from Goiás identified in this report.



Among them are local leaders such as Luciano Jayme Guimarães and Vitor Geraldo Gaiardo. The two presided over the Rio Verde and Jataí rural unions, respectively, and were active in the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement, created by Aprosoja and investigated for its coup-like rallies.

Guimarães and Gaiardo were indicted in the final report of the January 8th CPMI of the Senate as funders and supporters of the acts that culminated in the invasion of the Three Powers Plaza in Brasília. They are listed alongside Joel Ragagnin, president of Aprosoja Goiás between 2021 and 2024, and current vice-president of the entity.

Vitor Gaiardo was considered a candidate for Jataí mayor by the PL, but he declined the invitation to dedicate himself to business.<sup>69</sup> And then Jair Bolsonaro's party chose Geneilton Assis, elected in 2024.

Geneilton appointed electrical engineer Ricardo Goulart, son of landowner Sebastião Silveira Goulart, as the Secretary of Agriculture. He participated in the truck convoy heading to Brasília with one vehicle. In total, the Federal District Public Security Secretariat (SSP-DF) identified eight trucks from southwest Goiás at the camp set up in front of the Army HQ.



Gaiardo, Guimarães, and Ragagnin: agribusiness leaders from Goiás took part in the Brasília siege. (G1-GO)

Another prominent name in the region is businessman Victor Cezar Priori, owner of General Stores Paraíso. The company sent three vehicles to the federal capital, according to the SSP-DF. Prior to this, other CNPJs linked to Priori were reported by the Goiás Labor Prosecutor's Office for coercing employees to participate in blockades on the BR-060 highway in Jataí. "All my businesses are closed", the businessman said in a video recorded during one of the blockades, surrounded by protesters. "There are people from all farms on the highways. Truckers and everybody else are cooperating".<sup>70</sup>

Priori served as a substitute state representative for the PSDB party in two legislative terms, taking office several times between 2011 and 2019. In 2022, during the September 7th celebrations organized by the Bolsonaro administration, he sent three tractors from Jataí to the Brasília parade. The images of the vehicles on the Ministries Esplanade symbolized the sector's complete embrace of Bolsonaro's then-proclaimed rupture.<sup>71</sup>



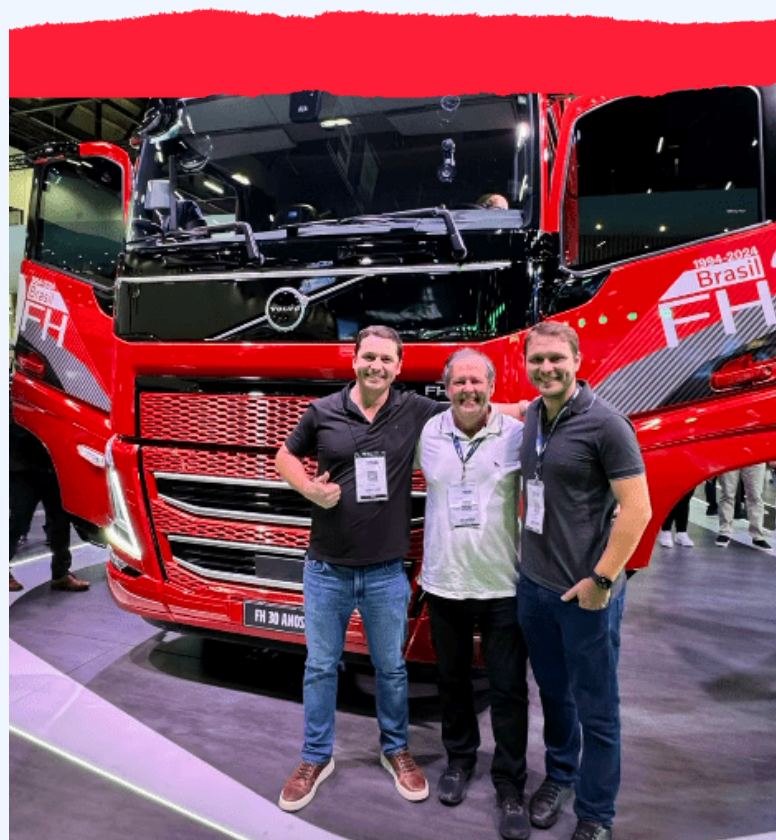
Victor Cezar Priori (with microphone) coerces workers to block highways. (Facebook)

In addition to his political activities, Priori owns Priori Seeds, a company that sells inputs and pesticides for multinationals such as BASF, Adama, and Green Has. In 2024, the businessman made headlines in Jataí's social media when he hired singer Leonardo and DJ Alok for his 70th birthday party. The cost of the celebration? R\$ 8 million.<sup>72</sup>

Another landowner from Goiás who participated in the mobilization of trucks was Silia Cândida de Andrade Neta, owner of one of the vehicles caught by the SSP-DF at the Army HQ in Brasília. She is the wife of Raphael Franco Andrade Costa, former director of the Brazilian Quarter Horse Breeders Association (ABQM). The family owns a farm in Cachoeira Dourada and owns the Franco Agro Group, which owns 4,000 hectares between Goiás and Mato Grosso. The company filed for bankruptcy protection in 2023 with accumulated debts of R\$ 151 million. Major creditors include Banco do Brasil, Bradesco, and Sicoob.<sup>73</sup>

The list of agrocoupism continues with the Comelli Commerce and Transport Ltd., owner of seven trucks spotted in Brasília. The company is part of the Comber Group, led by Ivan Combelli and his sons, Felipe and Lucas. On its corporate website, the family claims to have the largest fleet of forestry harvesting and chipping machines in Brazil. In addition to operating in timber transportation, the group acquired the timber company Eucateca Florestal, based in Alta Floresta, Mato Grosso, in 2021.<sup>74</sup>

None of these names are on the list of Bolsonaro supporters arrested during Operation Lesa Pátria or prosecuted as a result of the Supreme Court investigations. Does a coup pay off?



Ivan Comelli (center) and his sons sent seven trucks to Brasília. (Instagram)





Bolsonaro and João Roma in a motorcycle rally at Bahia Farm Show. (Fernando Correia/TV Oeste)

## THE COOPERATIVE AND THE FORMER MINISTER

Continuing our arc, we reach western Bahia, the epicenter of the expansion of Matopiba — the agricultural frontier that encompasses the last preserved vestiges of the Cerrado in the states of Maranhão, Tocantins, Piauí, and Bahia.

The region was one of the main points of origin for trucks that followed to the Army HQ in Brasília. Twelve vehicles were identified, half of them belonging to landowners in the municipality of Luís Eduardo Magalhães.

In total, Bahia appears in our survey in third place, with 13 agrocoupists identified — behind Mato Grosso, with 74, and Goiás, with 17. All are from the west of the state, the fifth largest in Brazil in terms of territorial extension.

Created in the 2000s after splitting from Barreiras, Luís Eduardo Magalhães experienced an era of rapid growth thanks to the expansion of mechanized agriculture, particularly soybeans and cotton. The former village of Mimoso do Oeste was renamed in honor of the son of former governor Antônio Carlos Magalhães, the former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies who died in 1988 at the age of 43. He was the uncle of ACM Neto, former mayor of Salvador and vice president of União Brasil.

It was precisely during ACM's administration that the state joined the Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation Program for the Development of the Cerrados (Prodecerr) and began to attract landowners from the South region to "occupy" the Cerrado in Bahia — disregarding the communities that had lived there for centuries.<sup>75</sup>

Known by the acronym LEM, Luís Eduardo Magalhães initially served as a truck stop for truck drivers traveling to and from Barreiras. This characteristic has been preserved and celebrated by local agribusiness. In February 2022, the Bolsonaro administration opened a truck stop center for truck drivers there, with internet access, as part of the Roda Bem Caminhoneiro program. The project was launched in 2019 with the goal of encouraging the formation of truck driver cooperatives, strengthening the profession across the country. The center is managed in partnership between the Ministry of Human Rights — then the Ministry of Citizenship under Bolsonaro — and the Cooperative of Independent Cargo Transporters (Coopertac). The inauguration event was attended by then-Minister João Roma (PL-BA).<sup>76</sup>

Roma returned to LEM in May, this time with Bolsonaro. The two attended the event Bahia Farm Show and were greeted with a motorcycle rally — the motorcycle convoy that became a spectacle during the former president's campaigns.<sup>77</sup>

Why are we highlighting a cooperative and its close ties to former minister João Roma? Coopertac's director is Osvaldo Henke, one of the businessmen who sent vehicles to the coup camp in Brasília. His family is one of the municipality's pioneers and actively participated in the emancipation process.



Kenni Henke, nephew of Coopertac leader, poses next to João Roma. (Instagram)

Kenni Henke, Osvaldo's nephew, he was Secretary of Agriculture and, later, Secretary of Sustainability under Luís Eduardo Magalhães. He attended the handover ceremony of the truck driver center to Coopertac in 2022, posing for photos with João Roma. In addition to LEM, the cooperative has branches in another important municipality to the agrocoupist logic: Rio Verde (GO).





Zeca Alípio (center) had Bolsonaro's support but wasn't elected. (Instagram)

## ANDATERRA LEADER WANTED TO "UKRAINIANIZE" BRAZIL

Another name linked to João Roma is that of landowner José Alípio Fernandes da Silveira, known as Zeca Alípio, a candidate for federal deputy for the PTB in 2022 — with the support of the former minister. Indicted by the CPMI of January 8th, he is identified as one of the leaders of the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement (MBVA), which orchestrated the coup acts.

In 2007, Alípio was reported for using slave-like labor: six workers were rescued from a rented property, Bananal Farm, in São Desidério (BA), without access to drinking water and subjected to exhausting workdays.<sup>78</sup>

Zeca Alípio is the founder and vice president of the National Association for the Defense of Farmers, Cattlemen, and Agricultural Producers (Andaterra), an organization known for lobbying against the collection of the Rural Worker Assistance Fund (Funrural). Established in the Constitution in 1988, Funrural became a dead letter after the Supreme Federal Court ruled that social security collection for individual rural employers was unconstitutional. The court overturned the decision in 2017, authorizing retroactive collection. The estimated value of landowners' debts to Funrural ranged between R\$ 34 billion and R\$ 40 billion.<sup>79</sup>

Ranged: past tense. That is because during Michel Temer's administration, the Parliamentary Agricultural Front approved a bill establishing the Rural Tax Regularization Program, allowing debts to be paid in installments over up to fifteen years, with a discount. Andaterra participated in public hearings in the Senate during the bill's processing and was admitted as a co-plaintiff in the Supreme Court case.<sup>80</sup>

## ANDATERRA'S RESPONSE TO "THE AGROCOUPISTS" REPORT DATA

*Mr. José Alípio Fernandes da Silveira serves as the Association's Vice President, in his capacity as a member and rural producer. Mr. José Alípio has an unblemished reputation and is widely recognized in his region for his honest, peaceful, and respectful conduct throughout his career.*

*Andaterra did not participate in, support, finance, or have any institutional or unofficial involvement in the highway blockades between October and December 2022, nor in any mobilizations in Brasília in 2023. The Association is aware of the "Movimento Brasil Verde e Amarelo" but has no responsibility for its actions, members, or leadership.*

*The Association cannot be held accountable for any acts carried out by its members or leaders in a strictly personal capacity, outside the scope of their institutional duties.*

Full response available [here](#), in Portuguese.

In addition to Alípio, another Andaterra director was indicted by the January 8th CPML: Legal Director Jeferson Rocha, cited in the 2023 Abin intelligence report. An agency document shows that the Santa Catarina lawyer, along with Antônio Galvan of Aprosoja, was the main leader among the coup-mongering landowners. "Jeferson da Rocha, called the leader, is an ideologue with a radicalized discourse and maintains contact with Alex Silva, the leader of the Ukrainianize Brazil, a violent extremist group operating in the country since 2020".<sup>81</sup>

The reference to Ukraine has a reason: in the last decade, the country has become a major hub for the proliferation of neo-Nazi and far-right ideas. Hence, the idea of "ukrainianizing" Brazil.



Jefferson's thinking was no less radical when it came to land policy. In 2019, on behalf of Andaterra, he advocated the end of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), in an interview with the Agro em Dia website: "We're going to make money selling this massive structure".<sup>82</sup> Like Alípio, the Santa Catarina native tried to get a seat in the Chamber in 2022, without success.

Did his closeness to a far-right radical drive away Zeca Alípio's campaign donors? No. During his election campaign, the Andaterra leader received money from landowners involved in funding the coup plotters. One of them was Elton Walker, who donated R\$ 30 thousand to his ally's campaign.<sup>83</sup>

Adding the trucks from Elton's company, Agrowalker Services and Transport, and registered in the name of brothers Luiz and Vilson Walker, the family sent five vehicles to Brasília.

The clan has been working in soybean and cotton production in Luís Eduardo Magalhães for three decades and is the founder of AvantiAgro, a seed and input company whose partners include Syngenta, Bayer, Ihara, and Monsanto. In October 2023, after the vehicles are sent, AvantiAgro raised US\$ 10million in agribusiness receivables via Eco Securitization, with funds from investors on the Chicago and New York stock exchanges. These receivables serve as advances for the purchase of inputs, with payment scheduled for after the harvest.<sup>84</sup>

Another donor from Alípio who sent vehicles to Brasília is Lauro Antonio Luza, owner of Seeds Gran7. He passed on R\$ 10 thousand to the campaign of the leader of Andaterra and the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement. Gran7 estimates its revenue in R\$ 300 million in the 2024/2025 harvest and competes in the market with multinationals in the sector.<sup>85</sup>

And Luza's businesses ventures do not stop there: in 2022, an aircraft from Gestão Cessna Citation SPE Ltd., in which he is a partner, was used by the senator Flavio Bolsonaro(PL-RJ) on a trip to Campo Novo do Parecis (MT).

The reason for the trip? The eldest son of the then-president of the Republic intended to "pass the hat" among landowners to raise funds for his father's reelection campaign.<sup>86</sup>



Denardin Group controls 30,000 hectares  
in western Bahia. (Stock Photo)

## MEGA LATIFUNDISTS AND STRANGERS

The list of 142 landowners and agribusiness owners investigated for funding the 2022 antidemocratic protests and the January 8th coup attempt includes individuals unknown to the public, but who own tens of thousands of hectares of land in regions of agricultural expansion.

This is the case of the Denardin family, which sent three trucks to the capital. Gilson Osmar Denardin, owner of a transportation company, was cited in a report by the US NGO Mighty Earth, which detected a deforestation alert at the Santa Angélica Farm, between the municipalities of Correntina and Formosa do Rio Preto (BA). The document indicates that the clan owns 32,000 hectares in western Bahia and supplies cotton to multinationals Glencore and Louis Dreyfus.<sup>87</sup> Gilson also appears in a survey by Repórter Brasil among those owing environmental fines from Ibama who received funding from John Deere, with the intermediation of BNDES.<sup>88</sup>



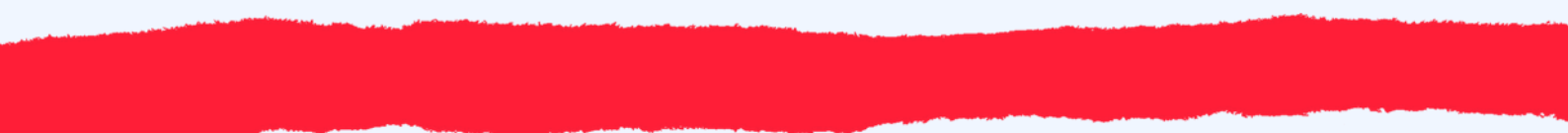


In 2009, Marilane Moresco Denardin, from the same family, was included on the “dirty list” of slave-like labor after the rescue of fourteen workers at the Santa Angélica Farm — the same farm where deforestation was found.<sup>89</sup>

But let us follow our route of agrocoupism across the country. Leaving the Soybean Arc and heading north, in the heart of the Amazon, we have other landowners who have joined the coup movement.

Another landowner known locally as “king of soy,” Jorge José de Moura, was identified as one of the main funders of coup acts in Acre. Fined R\$ 325 thousand for environmental violations, he received R\$ 137million in rural credit between 2018 and 2024 — most of it coming from public resources via the Constitutional Financing Fund of the North (FNO), managed by Bank of Amazon. Between 2019 and 2022, during Jair Bolsonaro's administration, he received more than R\$ 76 million, according to a survey by the website Sumaúma.<sup>90</sup>

Moura controls a 12,000-hectare farm complex between the municipalities of Plácido de Castro and Capixaba, both on the border with Bolivia. He went personally to the blocking of BR-364, the Presidente Juscelino Kubitschek Highway, where he recorded videos calling on the population to join the coup demonstrations.<sup>91</sup>





# III. THE INSTITUTIONAL FACET OF THE AGROCOUP







(Valter Campanato/Agência Brasil)

## **APROSOJA LEADERS LED THE COUP MOVEMENT**

The 2022 siege of Brasília wasn't just about trucks and tractors. The demonstrations, presented by Jair Bolsonaro and the government's military leadership as a spontaneous movement, were conceived within a political-economic framework. The same framework that supports the Parliamentary Agricultural Front (FPA) in Congress.

In July 2022, months before the presidential elections, Agribusiness Watch showed in the report *Os "The Financiers of Destruction"* that the institutional facet of the agribusiness caucus hid the participation of global agribusiness giants, such as JBS, Syngenta and Basf — companies that maintain partnerships and supply contracts with agrocoupists, as we saw in the previous chapter.<sup>92</sup>

The money that funds the rural lobby circulates through sectoral associations, which transfer their contributions monthly to the Pensar Agro Institute (IPA), responsible for drafting bills and guiding the FPA's activities in Brasília. One of the main organizations behind the IPA is the Brazilian Soybean Producers Association (Aprosoja), which co-founded the institute in 2011. Until 2023, the two organizations shared the same headquarters, in a mansion in Lago Sul, Brasília. Currently, the soybean farmers' association holds the first vice presidency on Pensar Agro's board of directors.<sup>93</sup>



Aprozaja headquarters in Brasília once housed lobbyists and ruralist lawmakers. (Stock Photo)

Aprozaja is, by far, the organization with the most representatives on the list of 142 businesspeople and agribusiness leaders indicted for involvement in the antidemocratic acts: six. Among them, presidents and directors. They did not operate outside the system, but as direct representatives of a bloc that moves billions of reais and influences laws. The same capital that sustains their large estates guarantees political protection: a closed cycle, where economic power imposes itself on institutions and blocks any accountability.

It was within Aprozaja that the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement (MBVA) was conceived. Founded in 2017 under the pretext of responding to regulatory and environmental pressure on agriculture, MBVA functioned, in practice, as a platform for political mobilization for antidemocratic agendas. Its role in convening and organizing pro-coup demonstrations was acknowledged in the final report of the CPMI of January 8th.

In addition to Aprozaja, the movement is composed of the National Association for the Defense of Farmers, Cattlemen, and Agricultural Producers (Andaterra) — mentioned in the previous chapter — and the Rural Democratic Union (UDR).<sup>94</sup> Despite its name, the UDR has a long history on the margins of democracy. Between 1985 and 1989, at the height of its power, it and its leaders carried out dozens of murders in rural areas, including that of union leader Chico Mendes — the environmentalist rubber tapper who now names the institute responsible for managing conservation units in Brazil.<sup>95</sup>

In 2019, MBVA was responsible for a tractor parade during the September 7th celebrations. In May 2021, the movement already displayed the following message on trucks taken to Brasília during a pro-government demonstration: "Do whatever it takes! I authorize you, Mr. President!".<sup>96</sup>



MBVA demonstration in Brasília, May 2019. (AgroBrasília)





The escalation in the radicalization of MBVA's discourse, according to the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN), led the group of landowners to organize roadblocks and demonstrations demanding military intervention at barracks gates after Bolsonaro's defeat at the polls. In the Senate, the movement's leaders were indicted for criminal association and violent abolition of the democratic rule of law.<sup>97</sup>

Four representatives linked to MBVA were listed in the CPMI report of January 8th. They are: Antônio Galvan, who presided over Aprosoja Brasil between 2021 and 2024; Alan Juliani, former president of Aprosoja Bahia (2017-2021); Joel Ragagnin, former president of Aprosoja Goiás (2021-2024); and Lucas Costa Beber, current president of Aprosoja Mato Grosso. The latter two are also members of the vice-presidential team of Aprosoja Brasil.

All of them were active in the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement, promoting rural landowners' mobilization in their states during and after the 2022 elections.

In addition to them, the relationship of agrocoupists includes Christiano da Silva Bortolotto, president of Aprosoja MS between 2015 and 2017, indicted in Operation Lesa Pátria; and Giancarlo Bavaresco, fiscal advisor of Aprosoja MT in the 2018/2020 biennium, identified as a contractor for a chemical toilet for the coup camps in Brasília.



## FROM THE SIEGE OF BRASÍLIA TO THE CONFLICT WITH THE GUARANI KAIOWÁ

Indigenous people report attack by  
Christiano Bortolotto on Tekohá Kurusu  
Ambá. (Cimi/MS)

The three states from which most trucks departed for the coup are the same ones where the Aprosoja presidents were indicted. This is no coincidence. They are directly based in the areas that formed the siege of Brasília: Galvan and Costa Beber are from Mato Grosso's Nortão; Juliani is from São Desidério, in western Bahia; and Ragagnin operates in Jataí, southwestern Goiás.

Lucas Costa Beber, the indicted president of Aprosoja MT, is a soybean farmer and direct supplier to BTG Pactual Commodities, the agricultural arm of the bank founded by André Esteves. This information is contained in the Agribusiness Receivables Certificate (CRA) issuance report, structured by Eco Securitization in 2024. In addition to this, BTG contracts soybeans from nine other landowners under investigation for funding antidemocratic acts.<sup>98</sup>

Lucas is the son of Sinar Costa Beber, the owner of trucks caught participating in highway blockades in Mato Grosso. The landowner even had his accounts blocked at the request of Alexandre de Moraes.<sup>99</sup> From Nortão, where he owns farms in Nova Mutum, Sinar sent one truck to the coup camp in Brasília. In the 2022 elections, the family donated R\$ 103 thousand for Bolsonaro's campaign.<sup>100</sup>

Another former president of Aprosoja, Christiano da Silva Bortolotto represents one of the strategic soybean hubs in the country, the Amambai region in Mato Grosso do Sul. Targeted in the 26th phase of Operation Lesa Pátria, he is under investigation for organizing convoys of buses and trucks to Brasília and encouraging highway blockades in the southern part of the state.<sup>101</sup>



An influential figure in local agribusiness, Bortolotto provides storage services through CSB Warehousing, founded in 2022 with capacity to store up to 18 thousand tons of grains.<sup>102</sup> Before commanding Aprosoja MS, between 2015 and 2017, presided over the Rural Union of Amambai for six years, from 2006 to 2012.

In November 2007, Bortolotto was accused by representatives of the Guarani Kaiowá people of leading an attack on the Tekohá Kurusu Ambá reoccupation. Four Indigenous people were shot. They were attempting, for the third time, to reclaim a small piece of their traditional territory in the Iguatemi River Basin. The area was occupied by landowners linked to the Amambai union.<sup>103</sup>

According to statements collected by the Federal Police in Ponta Porã, Bortolotto and another landowner, Luciano Zamaí, arranged for the Indigenous people to be transported back to the Takuapiry Indigenous Village. At the end of the journey, they opened fire on the group, wounding four people: Angélica Barrios, Astúrio Benites, Noé Lopes, and Gilmar Batista.

The victims were taken to the Amambai municipal hospital. According to the Indigenous people, the shots were fired by Bortolotto and Zamaí. Despite formal complaints filed with the Federal Public Ministry, the two landowners were never held accountable.

In addition to Bortolotto, Aprosoja MS itself was cited in the January 8th CPMI's final report as a funder of protests against the presidential election results. The document also lists the Mato Grosso do Sul Agriculture and Livestock Federation (Famasul), which brings together 69 rural unions.



Christiano Bortolotto poses next to Bolsonaro at FPA headquarters meeting. (Aprosoja)

On November 7th, while Bolsonaro supporters gathered in the barracks and truck drivers blocked highways from north to south of the country, Famasul announced that it would not be operating "in support of the peaceful and orderly demonstrations that are taking place throughout Brazil". According to the CPMI report, the purpose was for the federation's employees and partners to take to the streets to join the call for a general strike "against the implementation of communism".<sup>104</sup>

Both Aprosoja MS and Famasul are sponsoring organizations of the Pensar Agro Institute — that is, they pay a monthly fee to maintain the rural lobby in Brasília.



(Marcelo Camargo / Agência Brasil)

## THE ROLE OF RURAL UNIONS

Rural unions played a key role in the coup plot that culminated in the January 8th protests. Among them was the one led by Christiano Bortolotto in Amambai, Mato Grosso do Sul. In Goiás, two union leaders were identified as key players: Vitor Geraldo Gaiardo, former president of the Jataí Rural Union, and Luciano Jayme Guimarães, former president of the Rio Verde Rural Union.

Both were identified as active members of the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement (MBVA). They are suspected of funding camps in front of military barracks, after the 2022 elections, and of organizing roadblocks and caravans heading to Brasília. The CPMI report of January 8th recommended the indictment of Gaiardo and Guimarães for criminal association, violent abolition of the Democratic Rule of Law and attempted coup d'état.

Another person listed was cattleman Renê Miranda Alves. He was vice president of the Rural Union of São Gabriel do Oeste (MS) when he was identified by the Mato Grosso do Sul Security Secretariat (Sejusp-MS) as one of the organizers of protests in front of military barracks.<sup>105</sup> Luimar Luiz Gemi was president of the Rural Union of Sorriso (MT) and was one more person to send a truck to the camp in Brasília.



What about the South Region? The Rural Union of Castro, in Paraná, hired a bus to transport protesters to Brasília in the days leading up to the coup acts of January 8th, 2023. According to the final report of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee into Antidemocratic Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Federal District, the organization paid R\$ 20 thousand for the service.<sup>106</sup>

Castro is the headquarters of Castrolanda, one of the largest agro-industrial cooperatives in Brazil. The municipality is considered the largest dairy region in the country. In 2022, the cooperative had revenues of R\$ 7,2 billion, producing 472 million liters of milk.<sup>107</sup>

Rural unions in the region also operated through MBVA, the movement that supported Jair Bolsonaro with “I authorize” banners — a reference to the coup d'état. The Abin report identified as southern leaders the Rio Grande do Sul rice landowner Juarez Petry de Souza, leader of the “Te Mexe Arrozheiro” (Giddy Up, Rice Producer!) movement and president of the Rural Union of Tapes (RS), and soybean farmer Valdir Edemar Frias, from Itambé (PR).

In Roraima, soybean farmer José Luiz Zago and his daughter, Aline Helena Zago, were identified as leaders of the roadblocks in Boa Vista, according to a report by Abin. In Tocantins, the president of the Araguaína Rural Union, Wagner Martins Borges, was cited as a local leader in the protests contesting the election results.



Wearing hat and boots, Braga Netto got close to agribusiness leaders during the campaign. (Veja)

## THE BRAGA NETTO AND ANTÔNIO GALVAN TOUR

These executives and union leaders did not act alone. To succeed and invalidate the results of the 2022 elections, agrocoupism depended on communication with high-ranking members of the Bolsonaro government.

Before October, the former president's main contact was the Secretary of Land Affairs at the Ministry of Agriculture, Luiz Antônio Nabhan Garcia. A prominent figure among the most violent sectors of agribusiness, Nabhan gained prominence by refounding the Rural Democratic Union (UDR) in the 2000s. The organization had disbanded with the end of the Constituent Assembly in 1988 and the election the following year of its founder, Ronaldo Caiado — now governor of Goiás — to the Chamber of Deputies.

Nabhan's selection was also based on his experience in forming rural militias. As president of the UDR, he mobilized landowners in Pontal do Paranapanema, in the far east of São Paulo, to evict land occupations by the Landless Workers' Movement (MST). According to police and Land Inquiry Committee (CPI da Terra) investigations in 2005, the group hired hitmen from Mato Grosso and set up a "training center" to train gunmen.<sup>108</sup>

With the arrival of the 2022 elections and the selection of General Walter Souza Braga Netto as vice-president on its ticket running for reelection, agribusiness saw the possibility of establishing a direct bridge with the Armed Forces, fueling the coup plotters' enthusiasm.

In September 2022, *Veja* magazine's Radar column covered the baton handover — handled personally by Nabhan. He guided Braga Netto to agricultural fairs in Ribeirão Preto, Sertãozinho, and Barretos, in São Paulo; and in Sinop and Sorriso, in Mato Grosso.<sup>109</sup> All of this occurred just two months before the start of the Green and Yellow Dagger plan, which aimed to assassinate Lula, Alckmin and Alexandre de Moraes and consolidate a coup d'état in the country.



The two were accompanied by Antônio Galvan, then president of Aprosoja and candidate for senator for the PTB.

And here we have a crucial point in history: the leaders of the Green and Yellow Brazil Movement and the Green and Yellow Dagger plan sought, side by side, support from the “agribusiness folks” in Sinop and Sorriso, in the Nortão region of Mato Grosso. These are the same people that the Federal Police now say don't exist.

Let us remember: On November 12th, 2022, a closed-door meeting took place at General Braga Netto's house to discuss the military's stance regarding the coup camps. According to testimony from Bolsonaro's former aide, Mauro Cid, Lieutenant Colonel Hélio Ferreira Lima, leader of the “kids pretos”, was determined to take “concrete action” against Lula's inauguration and had requested R\$ 100 thousand to execute the Green and Yellow Dagger plan.<sup>111</sup>

According to Cid, it was on that day that he received the money in cash, inside a wine bag delivered by Braga Netto himself. The money came from an agribusiness executive who was never named in the statements — neither by Cid nor by Braga Netto.

Could this faceless, nameless businessman be one of the landowners who was with the general during his tour in Mato Grosso, alongside Antonio Galvan?

In 2021, the president of Aprosoja Brasil, was one of the organizers of the September 7th parade in Brasília. Thousands of landowners affiliated with the association brought trucks and tractors to the Ministries Esplanade. The banners carried direct threats to the Supreme Federal Court (STF) and, in particular, to Justice Alexandre de Moraes, the rapporteur of a fake news investigation. The episode led to Galvan's indictment in 2024 for incitement and criminal association. On the day of his testimony, the rural landowner leader mocked the authorities as he arrived at the Federal Police headquarters in Sinop in a procession of tractors, waving a Brazilian flag.<sup>112</sup>



Antônio Galvan (white shirt) accompanies Braga Netto on a visit to an ethanol plant. (Inpasa)



Antônio Galvan in two moments: arriving at the Federal Police HQ on a tractor and beside his friend Jair Bolsonaro. (Facebook)

The question remains: if Galvan had been seriously punished, would there have been a coup attempt in 2022? Without the infrastructure of Aprosoja and the rural unions being made available to the agrocoupists, would Braga Netto have had the resources to execute an assassination plot against the electoral winners? It's worth remembering that this plan failed only due to communication failures and indecision on the part of the general staff.<sup>113</sup>

On November 18th, six days after the wine bag incident, Braga Netto made a rare public appearance following his electoral defeat. He received a delegation of supporters camped at the Army HQ in Brasília, calling for a military coup. The group came from Sinop, Mato Grosso, and claimed to be "from the agribusiness sector". Their leader, Elaine Silveira, was accompanied by her husband, Joel Junior Lima Novais, as well as landowners and supermarket owners.<sup>114</sup> On the same day, the couple met and posed for photos at the coup camp alongside Tacimar Hoendel, former parliamentary secretary of federal deputy Carlos Jordy (PL-RJ).

Agência Pública obtained the guestbooks of General Augusto Heleno's Institutional Security Office through the Access to Information Law. Hoendel visited the minister on November 17th, one day before the meeting with the Sinop businessmen. According to the Federal Police investigation, Hoendel was an important link between the campers and the high-ranking military leadership in the government.<sup>115</sup>





Carlos Capeletti (right) at meeting with Braga Netto: "Our pressure is going to work." (Instagram)

Let's go back to Braga Netto: on November 14th, two days after handing over the R\$ 100 thousand to Mauro Cid, the general met at the exit of a Carrefour supermarket in Brasília with Carlos Alberto Capeletti, then mayor of Tapurah, in the Nortão region of Mato Grosso, about 200 km from Sinop. Excited by the conversation, Capeletti recorded a video saying that Braga Netto had assured him that something good for Brazil would happen that week, without specifying the exact moment. "It's going to work out", said the mayor.<sup>116</sup>

The coup d'état never happened. The Green and Yellow Dagger plan failed, Lula took office on January 1st, 2023, and the antidemocratic camps were dismantled after the riot in Three Powers Plaza. Two years after the events described in this report, however, we still don't know exactly who is responsible for the "agribusiness folks" cited by the military personnel arrested in Operation Contragolpe.

The Supreme Court's trial of Jair Bolsonaro and his associates is an important step, but it doesn't heal the wounds left by the coup he initiated. And as Antônio Galvan's example shows, investigating and indicting aren't enough: punishment is essential.

If the country does not hold accountable the agribusiness entrepreneurs who provided the critical mass for the abolition of democracy, other coup attempts will come. Why are they would regret?

# CONCLUSION

Cartoonist Laerte summarized the 2016 coup, the overthrow of re-elected President Dilma Rousseff – a legal, media, and parliamentary coup – by drawing a bicycle with the word “coup” in it. The cyclist simply said, “Look, Mom! No military!”.



The 2023 coup attempt, orchestrated over the preceding years, was not lighthearted or even remotely subtle. As the scenes from January 8th at the Three Powers Plaza demonstrate, it makes us wonder if it would have been possible for the same cyclist to utter the following sentence: “Look, Mom! No agribusiness!”.

Without dismissing the immense power of the military in Brazil, we can state unequivocally that no, it would not be possible. The question is whether other major economic sectors (such as finance and real estate) could be left out of a violent institutional change. Strictly speaking, capital. But in our case, given the specialization of this observatory, we highlight the historical power of agribusiness in disruptions, as we did in our previous study, “The Agrarian Origins of Terror”.





If we could design a vehicle that epitomized the interrupted 2023 coup, it would be the tractor. A tractor driven by agribusiness, not coincidentally migrated from the plantations to the highways, the threatening roadblocks, and even to the Ministries Esplanade in Brasília, during pre-coup demonstrations during the Bolsonaro administration.

Tractors make up the imagery of this 2025 report and the 2023 dossier, and these eloquent images are as important as the text and traditional data collection. A falsely patriotic and “productive” symbolism permeates the actions of those who wanted to see Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Geraldo Alckmin, and Alexandre de Moraes assassinated.

The choice of the word “Agrocoupists” for the title of this new dossier has the direct intention of naming the owners of these tractors, not exactly as in the Brazilian expression “name the oxen”, since the dominant sector among the agribusiness coup plotters was not livestock, but rather soybeans.

Soybeans, largely exported, the monoculture enhanced by international capital, shows that agrocoupists are not just cartoonish landowners, with hats and boots, in the corners of the country. Throughout these 88 pages you can find the names of companies, the names of multinationals directly linked to the businessmen who caused terror.

There is another layer to this plot, which is regional political power. After silent testimony at the January 8th Parliamentary Inquiry Committee (CPMI), one of the leading figures of agrocoupism was acclaimed in Sorriso as if he were a hero. The same municipality where Jair Bolsonaro was making science denying statements during the pandemic. Agrocoupists were the official funders of his 2022 reelection campaign. Senator Flávio Bolsonaro even used one of their jets during his father's campaign, but until now the press had not noticed the connection between this funder and the coup.



And there is another hybrid layer: the blending of economic and political power through the participation of coup plotters in highway concession companies. In this work, we show that agrocoupists are owners of transport companies mentioned in the investigations into the coup. Many of the owners of “patriotic” trucks sent to Brasília were described (in court and in the press) as the work of logistics businesspeople. However, these businesspeople are also landowners and partners in agribusiness companies.

They own tractors, and they have control over the highways, highways that were blocked shortly after Bolsonaro's defeat in 2022. Let us not forget the role of the Federal Highway Police in the coup attempt that year, days earlier, in an attempt to prevent Lula's voters from voting in municipalities in the Northeast. These soybean and other agribusiness executives have economic power, by definition, regional political power, and extend their tentacles to highway management.

Can we imagine a coup without agribusiness and highways?

Brazil's history isn't over. And it's also a history of agrarian aristocracies seeking to maintain power, no matter the cost. The arrest of military coup leaders is welcome, as is the trial of Bolsonaro as the leader of a criminal organization that sought to disrupt democracy.

But the business community that funded Bolsonaro's campaign has so far emerged unscathed and with a cleansed image. Little by little, it's becoming invisible. As if only whitewashed schemes had been the decisive factors in the institutional violence, as if the famous coup draft bore only the symbolic signatures of anxious captains and willful generals. As if a tractor-driven coup had suddenly lost its landowners: “Look, Mom! No tractors!”.

If the courts do not act on the funding of authoritarian adventures, new tractors will arrive.



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