

Land grabbing for agro-extractivism in the second neoliberal phase in Brazil

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Abstract

Building territorial policies to free lands for national and international corporations to produce large-scale commodities for export, called agro-extractivism is one of the components of the neoliberal agrarian question. In Brazil, in the last thirty years, the agrarian question had two phases: the Neoliberal and the post-neoliberal. These policies intensified the territorial disputes between the agribusiness corporations and the peasant, indigenous and quilombola movements. To better understand these disputes we analyze the new conflicts from the reading of Brazil agrarian and rural Brazil. Through the method of paradigmatic debate, we analyze theoretical and political references for territorial development. Conflictuality is analyzed on a national scale with emphasis on new territory: MATOPIBA, created exclusively for agribusiness, is territorialized and attracts interest from several companies and international financial capital. Another case that we analyze is the conflict between the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) and Del Monte Corporation in the territorial dispute in the Apodi plateau in the state of Ceará. We analyze the hegemony of Agrarian capitalism in the neoliberal and post-neoliberal phases and the actions of the peasantry to resist and advance, facing the binomial latifundio-agribusiness. With this article, we contribute to updating the readings on the Brazilian agrarian question.

Keywords: Land grabbing; peasantry; agro-extractivism; conflictuality, agribusiness.

Estrangeirização de terras de terras para o agroextrativismo na segunda fase neoliberal no Brasil

Resumo

Construir políticas territoriais para liberar terras às corporações nacionais e internacionais produzirem commodities em grande escala para exportação, denominado agroextrativismo, é um dos componentes da questão agrária neoliberal. No Brasil, nos últimos trinta anos, a questão agrária teve duas fases: neoliberal e pós-neoliberal. Estas políticas intensificaram as disputas territoriais entre as corporações do agronegócio e os movimentos camponeses, indígenas e quilombolas. Para compreender melhor estas disputas analisamos as novas conflitualidades a partir da leitura do Brasil agrário e do Brasil rural. Através do método do debate paradigmático, analisamos referências teóricas e políticas de desenvolvimento territorial. A conflitualidade é analisada em escala nacional com destaque para um novo território: o MATOPIBA, criado exclusivamente para o agronegócio se territorializar que atrai interesse de diversas empresas e do capital financeiro internacional. Outro caso que analisamos é o conflito entre o Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra – MST e a Del Monte Corporation na disputa por territórios na chapada do Apodi, no estado do Ceará. Analisamos a hegemonia do capitalismo agrário nas fases neoliberal e pós-neoliberal e as ações do campesinato para resistir e avançar, enfrentando o binômio latifúndio-agronegócio. Com este artigo, contribuimos para atualizar as leituras sobre a questão agrária brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Estrangeirização da terra; campesinato; agroextrativismo; conflitualidade, agronegócio.

El acaparamiento de tierras para el agro-extractivismo en la segunda fase neoliberal en Brasil

Resumen

La construcción de políticas territoriales para liberar tierras para que las corporaciones nacionales e internacionales produzcan monocultivos en gran escala para la exportación, llamada agroextractivismo, es uno de los componentes de la cuestión agraria neoliberal. En Brasil, en los últimos treinta años, la cuestión agraria ha tenido dos fases: neoliberal y post neoliberal. Estas políticas intensificaron las disputas territoriales entre las empresas de agronegocios y los movimientos campesinos, indígenas y quilombolas. Para comprender mejor estas disputas, analizamos los nuevos conflictos de la lectura del Brasil agrario y el Brasil rural. A través del método de debate paradigmático, analizamos referencias teóricas y políticas del desarrollo territorial. El conflicto se analiza a escala nacional, destacando un nuevo territorio: MATOPIBA, creado exclusivamente para que los agronegocios se territorialicen, lo que atrae el interés de varias empresas y capital financiero internacional. Otro caso es el conflicto entre el Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurales sin Tierra (MST) y la Corporación Del Monte en la disputa sobre los territorios en la meseta de Apodi en el estado de Ceará. Analizamos la hegemonía del capitalismo agrario en las fases neoliberal y post-neoliberal y las acciones del campesinado para resistir y avanzar, frente al binomio latifundio-agroindustria. Con este artículo, contribuimos a actualizar las lecturas sobre la cuestión agraria brasileña.

Palabras clave: Enajenación de tierras; campesinado agroextractivismo; conflicto, agronegocios.

Introduction

The current Brazilian agrarian question is undergoing changes as a result of the policies in progress of the second neoliberal phase. The first neoliberal phase in Brazil occurred from 1986 to 2002, when policies began to facilitate the acquisition of land by foreigners.

From 2003 to 2015, the first post-neoliberal or neo-development phase began when the Lula government limited the acquisition of land to international capital. In 2016, there was a political coup that reopened the policies for international corporations to buy land in Brazil. In this research, we present the first results of the new neoliberal policies that impact different peasant and indigenous territories. We analyze how agribusiness is organized to acquire new lands from landowners. We also study the participation of pension funds, sovereign funds and private funds and their relations with national companies, multinational corporations, and landowners. We present two case studies: one in a region of MATOPIBA that was created by the Dilma government to serve the interests of landowners and multinational corporations. In this case, we find a strong presence of rentier capitalism as well as large acquisitions of land. We find territorial enclaves of agro-extractivism along with expropriation and poverty. And another where we analyze the conflict between Del Monte Company and the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in the dispute by part of the irrigated

perimeter of the Chapada do Apodi in the state of Ceará. In the land disputes for the expansion of agro-extractivism, there was a huge protected territory: agrarian reform settlements. However, in 2017, a law was passed at the national congress that allows agrarian reform settlements to be marketed in the land market. There are almost 100 million hectares to be disputed. It initiates a new phase of the process of grab of the earth with the dispute by peasant territories. A similar process occurs in indigenous territories. What happens in Brazil is part of a broad process of neoliberal policies that have hegemony in several countries. We will make some references to Paraguay and Mozambique because in the first there is a strong Brazilian presence and in the second the Brazilian presence is declining. There is a movement of resistance to the process of territorialization of international capital in Brazilian lands that involves peasant and indigenous movements as well as sectors of Brazilian agribusiness that are concerned with competition.

We analyze the conditions of this resistance against the hegemony of the neoliberal model. Policies in progress in Brazil and in other countries reveal the rapid advance of a development model that encounters resistance, but also resiliency of national companies and support in the governments of those countries that are subordinated to the interests of corporations and funds. Only a new post-neoliberal government can slow the advance of international capital. It is a great struggle of paradigm disputes and development models.

Neoliberal and post-neoliberal phases

The intentionality of liberal reason, hegemonic thinking of the capitalist system, defends free market and state control, which means liberating power from capitalists and limiting the powers of workers and peasants, with the objective of territorializing capitalist relations and deterritorializing relations not capitalist. The socialist experience of the twentieth century limited this territorialization and had an influence on the creation of the phase of social liberalism and the welfare state. The crisis of socialist experience has encouraged liberals to create neoliberalism that radicalizes the defense of the market, turning everything into commodity, even rights (education, health, security) are bought. From the idea of free market to the idea of absolute market, neoliberal intentionality idealized corporate governance and the participation of workers and peasants is limited to the idea of entrepreneurship, in which capitalism is understood as a perfect system. This mode of political conduct, called a single thought, expanded its spaces in the vacuum of socialist experience, which did not create another political model and left the left to adapt to neoliberalism, creating post-neoliberalism.

Between 2003 and 2016 we know the post - neoliberal experience as a transition phase of capitalism. Neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism are phases of the liberal system

that seek within capitalism the way out of capitalist crises. One of the characteristics of neoliberalism is over accumulation and, consequently, the hegemony of financial capital. 1% of the richest control 50% of the world's GDP and are defended as the most efficient by neoliberal reason ideologues (MANKIWI, 2013). This ideology of neoliberalism produces neoliberal governments or governmental corporations, constituting a form of governmentality (FOUCAULT, 2007). This form of rationality presents itself as absolute in a world in which the future seems to be suspended (LAVAL; DARDOT, 2015). Without a critical reason that has political force against neoliberal reason, liberal and post-neoliberal governments expand the hub model by creating policies that strengthen capitalists over the working class and the peasantry. As they are parts of the same system there are no neoliberal and post-neoliberal structural differences, but there are conjunctural differences between these governments, as we show below.

Sader, 2003 and Segrera (2016) present some characteristics of these differences, such as an alliance of post-neoliberal governments with productive capital against speculative "(SADER, 2003, p.185), whose objective is" to encourage small and to the internal market of popular consumption, to the expansion of food production, to support the agrarian reform, to advance socially ..." (SADER, 2003, p.187). Dynamizing the national economy with income redistribution, are also highlighted by Segrera, 2016, p. 64, which adds to the recovery of strategic sectors and South - South (Latin America and Africa) and interregional relations such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), creation of public policies aimed at the development of peasant agriculture, support of peasant movements and we can add access to markets by the poorest classes. This set of policies continued as the economy grew, allowing post-neoliberal governments to maintain the paradox of concentration and distribution of wealth.

The distribution of wealth determined by the market or politics is one of the main characteristics that differentiate neoliberal and post-neoliberal governments. This means that for the neoliberals the investment in the production of goods is the only possibility of distributing wealth through wages and taxes, while for the post-neo-liberals this possibility produces a strong concentration of wealth, and it must be corrected through the creation of public policies which can minimize inequalities. These two political positions lie in liberal rationality, and the distribution of wealth only happens as economies grow, for wealth is produced for 1% and for 99%. With crises and the consequent decrease in wealth production, the 1% does not accept to reduce its share in wealth in general and therefore, who will receive less will be the 99%. This is roughly the debate on capital in the 21st century (PIKETTY, 2014). This is the trend of political disputes at the beginning of this century, a phase of neoliberal governments to an economic crisis that makes the people elect post-

neoliberal governments until the other crisis, which causes the people to elect neoliberal governments until the next crisis and so on. however, the prospect of overcoming is about to be born.

In Brazil, the post-neoliberal phase (Lula and Dilma governments - 2003-2016) was a transition phase of liberalism or an interval between two neoliberal phases, the first phase being the Sarney governments (1985-1990), Fernando Collor (1990-1992), Itamar Franco (1992-1995) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2003) and the second phase with the government of Michel Temer, who started in the second half of 2016. In Latin America, Segre, 2016, p.38, considers the beginning of post-neoliberalism in 1998 with the election of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and the end in 2016 with the legislative and judicial coup that prevented the Dilma government, which represented a decline in United States hegemony in several (RUBIO, 2014) and expanded the achievements of the working and peasant classes. The coup against the Dilma government was also against the rights won with the end of public policies and maintenance of the concentration of wealth and power. The corruption scandals contributed and were used to justify the crisis that would have been generated by the post-neoliberal governments because of the creation of policies of income distribution, family type and other subsidies for education, housing, health, peasant agriculture, etc. That is, the argument of the second neoliberal wave is that governments should not distribute income because they produce economic crises. So once again, the market needs to control the policy. The paradox of the post-neoliberal phase in Brazil has led some scholars to write about the "hegemony in reverse" (OLIVEIRA, 2010).

The idea of "backward hegemony" is a critique that reveals the alienation that makes post-neoliberal governments believe they have power while in fact they received a concession of capitalism to power politically, that is, they won the elections, but not the power to govern. "Reversed hegemony" would be a concession or permission that capitalism gives workers and peasants to pursue public policies of redistribution of wealth and power, provided they do not destroy the structures of the capitalist mode of production. From this point of view, the workers are licensees in the capitalist system, who found in these subjects a form of government that generates less conflict with capital itself. But what the "backward hegemony" does not analyze is that while it is a permission, it is also a form of resistance from both classes, it is a form of power struggle, by government by the state. In short, while neoliberalism wants to regulate rights, post-neoliberalism wants to regulate the market. The Lula and Dilma governments represented this concession and resistance and fought for power within the limits of the "commodity consensus", without constituting a counter-hegemony. These differences also produce conjunctural changes in the agrarian question in post-neoliberal governments that differentiate them from neoliberal governments.

Brazil agrarian and rural Brazil

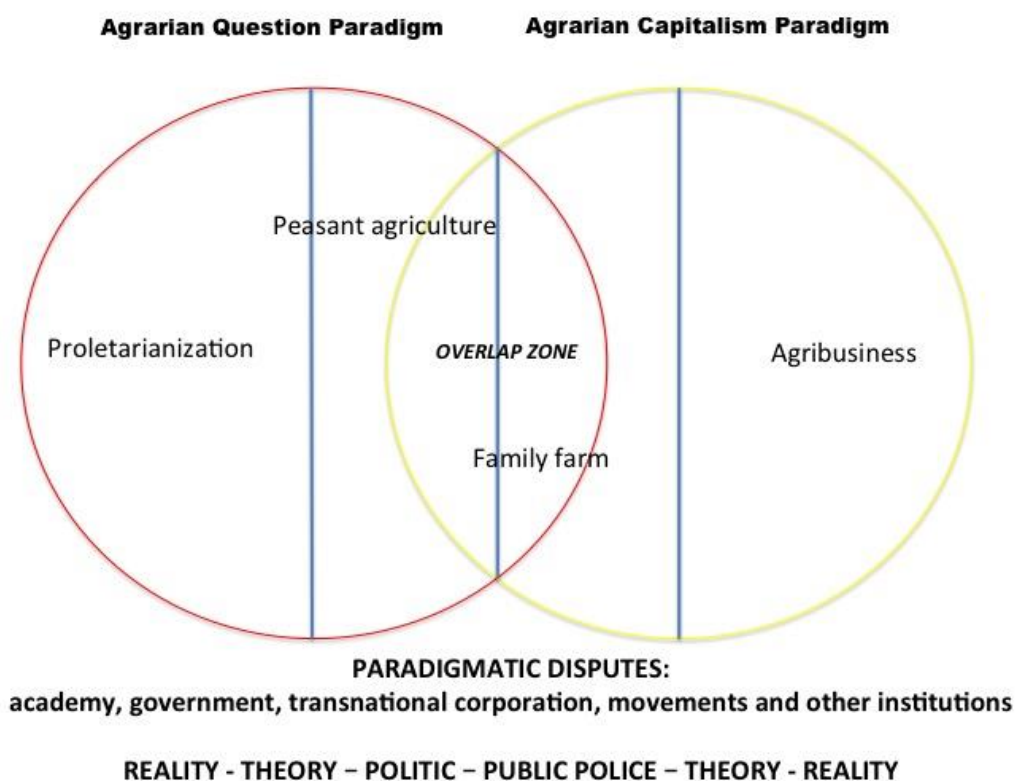
To better understand the changes in the agrarian question, we compare the post-neoliberal phase with the first neoliberal phase and with the present one, even though it is only beginning, there are already references to analyze its policies. The beginning of neoliberalism in Brazil occurred in the 1980s and 1990s with the privatization of state-owned enterprises and the liberation of products. In the countryside, the policies of neoliberalism strengthened agribusiness with the intensification of commodity production, maintaining the agro - extractivist tendency. The first government Fernando Henrique Cardoso was the height of neoliberal policies, which continued in the Lula and Dilma governments and continue with the coup that led Vice President Temer to power. We compare some elements of the agrarian question and agrarian capitalism, such as changes in land structure, agrarian reform, land alienation, public policies, and resistance of the peasant movements.

Before demonstrating them, I present the theoretical basis of our analysis of the agrarian question in neoliberalism and in post-neoliberalism. Agrarian question is a problem produced by capitalist relations that destroys, recreates and subordinates non-capitalist relations, through the capitalized income of the land. The agrarian question is a concept of Marxist origin having as a seminal work the book "The Agrarian Question" of Karl Kautsky, published for the first time in 1899 and is starting point to understand the paradigm of the agrarian question, being one of the fundamental references in the production knowledge about the development of agriculture in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Neoliberal reason produced its own paradigm: agrarian capitalism (FERNANDES, 2013a, p.33). The main references to recognize this paradigm is the absence of conflicts in the analysis, the negation of the agrarian question and the defense of the agribusiness as hegemonic model of development. The agrarian world of the 21st century contains rugosities, whose marks are exposed by analyzes of the paradigms of the agrarian question and agrarian capitalism. One of the references that contribute to a better understanding of the agrarian world today is "History of agriculture in the world" by Mazoyer and Roudart (2008). This work shows that the new agrarian world can not be understood without its history, in opposition to the readings of the ideologues of the paradigm of agrarian capitalism who study a reality that they denominated as rural Brazil, ignoring the conflicts (BUAINAIN et al, 2014). Brazil agrarian and rural Brazil are two terms that represent the paradigmatic dispute for the interpretation of the realities of the field. Studies of the rural world remove the agrarian question from the context, emphasize the power of agribusiness, the resilience of the peasantry and the Indians, and fail to understand the process of destruction and re-creation of the peasantry because it sees the former as natural of the capitalist order and secondly as disorder that is not part of the system.

Agrarian Brazil is an example of the marks of the past recorded in the territories, such as the permanence of the land structure concentrated and controlled by the landowners and the capitalist corporations, constituting a secular hegemonic model and persistence of the peasant struggles that resist, coining their small units of production and living spaces, through the millennial alternative model. The hegemonic and the alternative are models of agricultural development that compete for territories. The respective models, problems and disputes are analyzed by the paradigmatic debate that defend antagonistic positions and combined positions. The incompatibility of models can be understood by analyzing the social relations that produce them and determine their scales, technologies, territorial ordering and relations with nature. By being constituted in capitalist and non-capitalist social relations, that is, family, community, produce different territories and, therefore, different territorialities. The readings that each tendency of the paradigms makes of the differences is presented in figure 1.

Figure 1: Trends in the paradigmatic debate



Paradigms are interpretative models composed of trends. Promoting the paradigmatic debate is a procedure to analyze differences, relationships and overlaps. The construction of knowledge through theoretical elaborations constitutes world views, and is therefore a political option to develop the alternative and or hegemonic models. The

paradigm of the agrarian question interprets that the capitalist relations produce inequalities that provoke the destruction of the peasantry, so the problem lies in the system that by the concentration of land has maintained the hegemonic model of large-scale monoculture production for export for centuries. The paradigm of agrarian capitalism interprets that the problem is not in its relations and therefore it is not of the system, but in the peasant agriculture that is not competitive, although there is a fraction, around 10%, that can be partially subordinated to agribusiness (FERNANDES et al, 2013). From the perspective of the paradigm of agrarian capitalism it would be necessary to deterritorialize 90% of the Brazilian peasants, so that the agribusiness or hegemonic model can appropriate these territories, intensifying land concentration. The impacts of these models can be read on a planetary scale, as we do in the last part of this article.

From Figure 1, we present the views and arguments of each trend of the paradigmatic debate. It is important to remember that the theoretical and political disputes about the problems and viability of the alternative and hegemonic models are the central issue of this debate, where policies are developed for the development of models, which fuel the debate itself, hence its indispensability. For the paradigm of the agrarian question (PQA), the agribusiness model only intensifies the problem, which is not only social, but economic, political, cultural, environmental, or territorial, and the peasant or alternative model is strategic to overcome hunger and promote the production of healthy food. For the paradigm of agrarian capitalism (PCA) the agribusiness model is the only possible model and the peasant model is residual, which may, in the limit, be partially an annex to the agribusiness model.

Let us begin at the extremes of the circles: the proletarian tendency of the PQA believes in the process of destruction of the peasantry by capitalist relations that can lead to a revolutionary process of transformation from the capitalist system to the socialist. The latest theoretical productions of this trend are from the 1980s; the agribusiness trend of the PCA, which has maintained a constant theoretical and political production, believes that agribusiness is the model of development and that family / peasant agriculture are small-scale capitalist relations; the peasantry tendency of the PQA, denies this generalization and argues that family, community relations are non-capitalist relations. It defends the strategic importance of the peasantry for the development of an alternative model to capitalism and its theoretical and political production is permanent; another trend that maintains updated theoretical and political production is family farming, believing that "integration" with capitalism is the only form of existence. There is a zone of overlap between the peasant tendencies of the PQA and family agriculture of the PCA, in which their arguments, theories and policies are mixed, demonstrating that peasant agriculture is familiar, that the family is

peasant, and that resistance to subordination or "integration" to capitalism is the question. It would be in this overlapping possibility to think overcoming (FERNANDES, 2013b).

This debate expresses the disputes over development models: agribusiness as the creation of capitalist corporations and agroecology as (re)creation of peasant organizations. The hegemonic power of agribusiness and the speeches of its ideologues cannot prevent the emergence and insurgency of agroecology. These are - obviously - distinct models of territorial development in which for each one the use of land and territory is thought, planned differently. Various scales, relationships, technologies, knowledge, configurations, innovations, etc. are necessary. They are worldviews that point to opposing and partly overlapping directions, with antagonistic perspectives in which nature and society are understood as commodities and as life, where it is destroyed and constructed, where the product can be commodity or food. In this debate, the idea of consensus does not contain the sense of harmony, but the meaning of the reverse, of the conflict generated by conflict (FERNANDES, 2008).

Conflictuality is an essential concept for understanding territorial disputes over development models and the agrarian policies that produce them. The overcoming of present agrarian Brazil will not happen by consensus, because the models are antagonistic and any possible agreement means to change both. This concept allows us to understand that the conflicts generated are not obstacles, because they are essential for the changes to take place. They will be disputed at micro and macro scales, in the construction of technologies, resources, agrarian policies, etc. Conflict is a constant process of confrontation, produced by the contradictions and inequalities of the capitalist system, evidencing the need for a permanent debate on theoretical and practical levels regarding disputes between development models and territories. These disputes are manifested by a set and conflicts in the field of ideas, in the construction of knowledge, in the elaboration of development policies, in the correlation of forces for the implementation of the models and in their results.

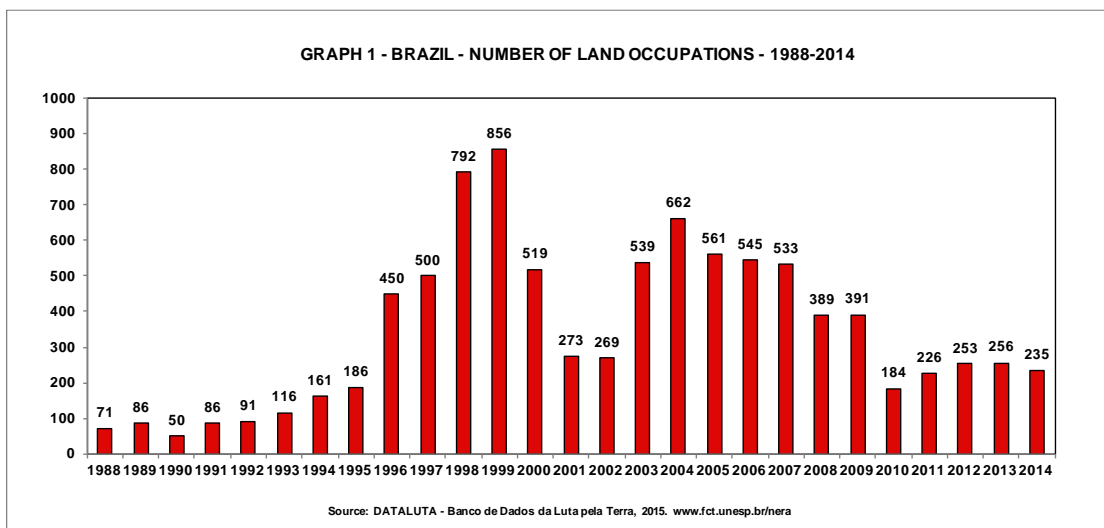
Conflictuality is manifested: by the position of the classes before the effects of capitalist globalization marked by the exclusion of neoliberal policies, which produces inequalities and threatens the consolidation of democracy; by the complexity of social relations constructed in diverse and contradictory forms, producing heterogeneous spaces and territories; by historicizing and spatializing dynamism and not determined; by the persistent possibility of the political construction of the social classes in divergent trajectories and different strategies of territorial reproduction; by the recognition of rule / conflict polarization as a contradiction in opposition to order and "consensus"; by the dispute of definitions of the contents of concepts and theories, of the senses and directions, in which opposition and incompatibility will be exposed.

Agrarian question in the neoliberal and post-neoliberal phases

The inequalities of agrarian Brazil are evident and are based on territorial control by the latifundio - agribusiness and agricultural development policies, especially in the investments in production and in technologies that are mainly directed to the hegemonic model. We began by comparing territorial control to prove the trend of land concentration in the neoliberal and post-neoliberal phases. Note in table 1 the changes in the land structure from the first neoliberal phase (Fernando Henrique Cardoso government) to the end of the post-neoliberal phase (Dilma Rousseff government). First, notice that in the two phases the total area of the properties grew 78%, and the area of the properties with more than 100 thousand hectares grew 372%. This growth occurred mainly in the post-neoliberal phase where the total area of rural properties went from 49% to 87% of the total area of the country in 2014, which would mean the end of the agricultural frontier. This increase will still be analyzed by comparing declaratory data with georeferencing when the correlations of forces change, for the time being, the latifundio - agribusiness binomial, established in the national congress through a ruralist lobby, maintains impediments to access to information, to the maintenance of territorial control which guarantees power. This is the black box of the agrarian question.

lands because of land grabbing and the process of land foreignization with the intensification of land acquisition and leasing by international capital. The Gini index increased while maintaining the intensification of land concentration. These data corroborate that neoliberal and post-neoliberal governments, in political alliances with the latifundio-agribusiness binomial, strengthen the hegemonic model of agro-extractive development, keeping Brazil in a subordinate position in the division of global commodity production.

The only forces that oppose the hegemonic model are the peasant movements and the indigenous movements that fight permanently for the land and dispute territory in the construction of an alternative model. Land occupations, resistance on land and land and territory retakes are examples of resistance and confrontation with the latifundio - agribusiness binomial. In graph 1 we observed two waves of increase and decrease of land occupations, one wave in the first neoliberal phase and another wave in the post-neoliberal phase. These two waves explain the differences of neoliberal and post-neoliberal policies to address the agrarian question. The first wave happened in the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government (1994-2002) when the economic crisis and the organization of the peasant movements resulted in the growth of the struggle for land. Note that the struggles grew between 1994 and 2000, when the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government affirmed that it would do the agrarian reform in Brazil, which meant nothing more than to settle the families encamped. There was no agrarian reform project in order to deconcentrate the land structure. On the contrary, agrarian reform was only a social policy and not a strategic policy for the development of agriculture.

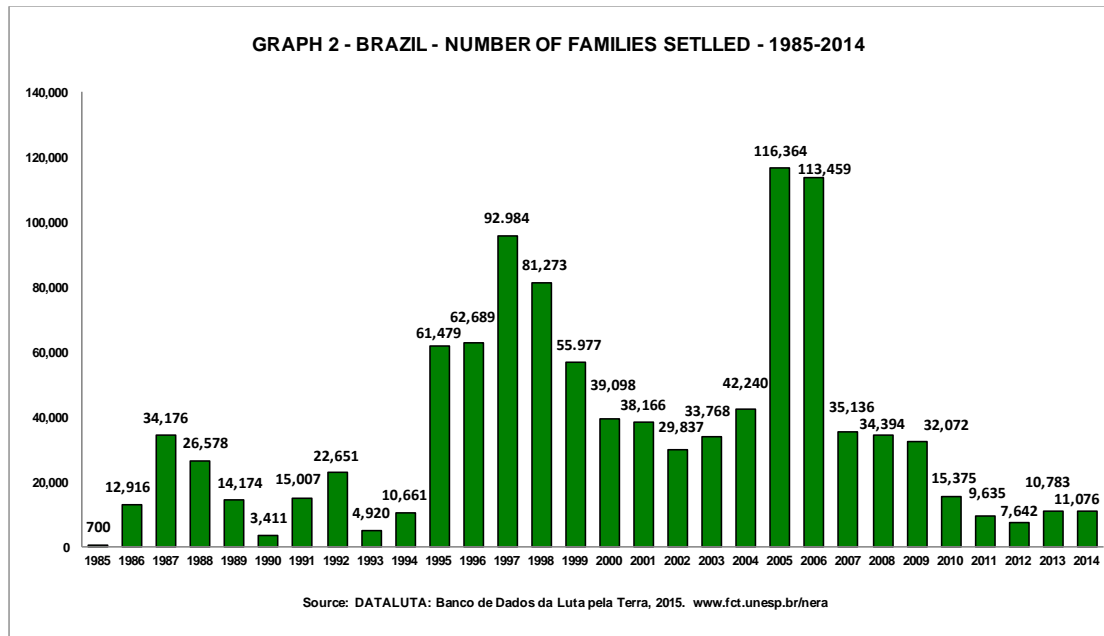


Following the logic of occupying to settle, the number of families in occupations increased as the government increased the number of settled families. However, rising land occupations pressured the government that gave up land reform and created provisional No.

2,109-49, February 23, 2001, to criminalize land occupations. This act had an immediate impact on the decline in occupations that followed until the end of the first neoliberal phase. The second wave begins with the post-neoliberal phase, in 2003 with the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the first worker elected President of the Republic. Lula had promised to do the agrarian reform, but already in the elaboration of the plan of agrarian reform it was clear that the agrarian reform of Lula would not be very different from the agrarian reform of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, that is to say it would not decentralize the land structure. Lula did not use the provisional measure of criminalization of the struggle for land, but neither did he suppress it. Lula also treated agrarian reform as a social policy, a way of helping the landless, as another policy of wealth distribution. After two years of growth in the number of families in occupations, it has diminished until the end of the Dilma government, and shows a new wave, the result of the economic crisis, the political coup and the beginning of the second neoliberal phase.

Economic growth and income distribution policies of the two administrations of the Lula government and the first administration of the Dilma government improve the quality of life of the poor and reduce the number of families in land occupations. At this point it is necessary to explain what agrarian reform is for neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism. For neoliberalism, it is a compensatory policy, which aims to compensate peasants for the concentration of wealth, in which capital makes a small territorial concession as a condition of subordinating peasants to the hegemonic model of agricultural development. For post-neoliberalism, it is a policy of distribution of land for the production of family income through a set of public policies aimed at the institutional market, the capitalist market and the strengthening of family agribusiness, among others.

Neither neo-liberal governments nor post-neoliberal governments view agrarian reform as a strategic policy for an alternative development model. Agrarian reform is an initiative of the peasant struggles that through the struggle for land are spatialized and territorialized creating conflicts as the model of hegemonic development. Figure 2 also shows the two waves of growth in the struggle in which more than one million families conquered land and territory, in a process of peasantry creation by its own struggle, increasing the participation of peasant and family agriculture, a strategic condition for production providing healthy food for an increasingly urbanized society.



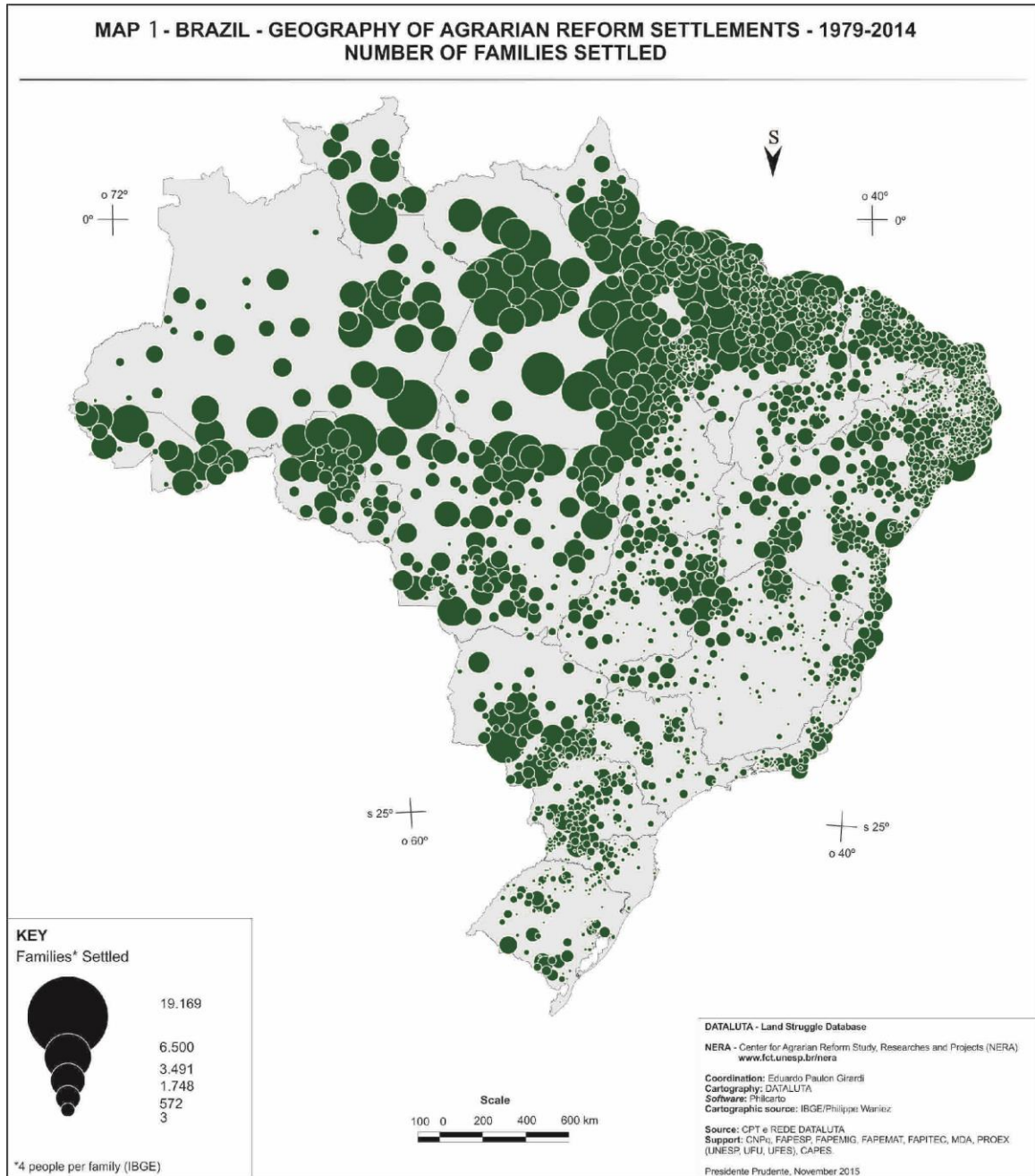
The protagonism of popular struggles for land and territories also created public policies for the development of peasant agriculture. There are two paths to the development of public policies for the peasantry. One way is through the neoliberal perspective of the paradigm of agrarian capitalism that creates subordination policies, in which the peasantry has no control over them and are called policies for integration with capital. These policies bind the peasantry in a relationship of dependence to the capitalist market and, therefore, to capitalist corporations. Another path is from the perspective of emancipation, which found political space in post-neoliberal governments. Emancipatory public policies are those that the peasantry has some control over. They are policies that do not lead to the capitalist market, but to institutional and popular markets, where capitalism does not have absolute control. The creation of emancipatory policies was one of the advances of post-neoliberal governments in Brazil. The tendency of neoliberal governments is to revert these policies to the capitalist market, destroying the perspective of peasantry resistance. An example of this trend is the agrarian market reform implemented in several countries led by World Bank ideologues. Another example is the creation of individual private property in the areas of agrarian reform, as happened in Mexico in 1992, with the Agrarian Law by the Salinas de Gortari government, and in Brazil in 2016 by the Temer government, through provisional measure number 759 of December 22, 2016.

To introduce the peasantry into capitalist relations is the formula for its destruction. Insertion is necessary for the capitalization of peasant income by transforming it into capitalized land income (Fernandes et al, 2013). This is the process of subordination of peasant territory to the territory of agribusiness, which generates the territoriality of agribusiness in peasant territories. This means that production and technology take place in

the territory of the peasantry, but it is controlled by agribusiness and directed to the capitalist market. The territoriality of agribusiness in peasant territories, besides expressing subordination in the name of integration, also represents the process of deterritorialization of the peasantry, through expropriation of land or accumulation by dispossession, as Harvey, 2003 prefers.

Separating the peasantry from capitalist relations is a form of resistance and possibility to promote emancipation from a hegemonic model. The agrarian question is produced in the territory of the capital and territorialized for the territory of the peasantry through the relations of subordination. Therefore, the ways of creating public policies that do not subordinate the peasantry to agribusiness are fundamental to their emancipation and resistance. Fighting the market monopoly for capital is a form of emancipation. The creation of popular and / or institutional peasant markets are concrete possibilities. This means creating immaterial territories that materialize new territories of emancipation. I refer to the appropriate markets and technologies, and they are involved in the creation of new knowledge, education, production, housing, health, quality of life, family succession, industrialization among other themes disputed with the capitalist model. The struggles against capital happen inside and out of capitalist relations. And in these perspectives, the peasants and the indigenous are the main territories of resistance to capitalism and, consequently, to neoliberalism.

The struggles for land and agrarian reform are struggles for material and immaterial territories. Material territories are the fractions of the national territory that add up to one million and one hundred and twenty thousand family units occupying an area of more than eighty-two million hectares as demonstrated in Map 1. Immaterial territories are public emancipatory or subordination policies. Peasant struggles generate and are generated in new spaces, creating material and immaterial territories, in a continuous and inseparable process of spatialization and territorialization. They are subjects creating spaces that create subjects that create material and immaterial territories and are created by the territories. In this perspective, the territory is not flat - one-dimensional, it is not only a surface, an area, as it appears in most texts of sociology, economics, history and even geography. The territory is multidimensional, comprehensive is earth and people, thing and object, material and immaterial, everything and everyone, space and time, territory is a totality, a reality.



Public policies for the peasantry is a recent creation of the late twentieth century. Landowners have always dominated policies for the development of agriculture since the establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1860, before the liberation of the slaves that took place in 1888. Freed slaves, natives and migrants from Europe and Asia are historical subjects that made up the formation of the Brazilian peasantry, who fought and worked for more than a century without access to a policy focused on peasant agriculture. It was only in 1986 that the first public support policy for peasant agriculture was created, called the Special Credit Program for Agrarian Reform - PROCERA, the result of the struggle for land and territory. The PROCERA was an exclusive policy for the peasants of the agrarian reform

settlements, who represent a portion of the Brazilian peasantry. Although it was a breakthrough, being the first policy that differentiated peasants from capitalists, it did not serve the entire peasantry. PROCERA fostered the creation of the Enhancement Program of Small Rural Production - PROVAP in 1994, which was the precursor of the National Program for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture - PRONAF, created in 1996 and which should be a policy for the peasantry in general, however, never met this goal.

The creation of public policies for the peasantry that took place in the first neoliberal phase (1985-2003) analyzed by the paradigmatic debate shows the zone of overlap between the paradigms of agrarian capitalism and the agrarian question in figure 1. Note that the tendency of family agriculture in the paradigm of agrarian capitalism has a part overlapping the tendency of peasant agriculture in the paradigm of the agrarian question. The differences and similarities are in the direction of public policies, which can be used to subordinate or emancipate the peasantry. The paradigmatic tendency of family agriculture is to formulate policies that subordinate the peasantry to agribusiness. The paradigmatic tendency of peasant agriculture is to create policies that emancipate the peasantry by reducing this dependence. They are directionalities resulting from intentionalities. What this means is that public policies created in the neoliberal phase can be disputed with the intention of trying to change its meaning, that is, to reduce the degree of dependence on capitalism and neoliberal thinking. An example of this dispute is the National Program for Education in Agrarian Reform - PRONERA.

The PRONERA was created in 1998 during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration and also became a reference for the creation of new educational policies for family agriculture and for the development of the peasant territories. In the post-neoliberal phase, new policies were created such as the Food Acquisition Program (PAA), the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), the National Rural Housing Program (PNHR), which are among the emancipatory policies of the Lula government and the Agroindustrialization in Settlements of Agrarian Reform - TERRA FORTE created in the government Dilma Rousseff. Policies of credit, education, production, housing, market and industry for the peasant territories are basic conditions for the development of an alternative model. The struggle against the hegemonic model has taken place in the neoliberal phase and in the post-neoliberal phase, constituting territorial marks of resistance and emancipation. Occupying the land and developing an alternative model through agroecology, producing healthy food has been the path of peasant innovation in which entrepreneurship has the sense of fighting capital while maintaining the peasantry's nature of being itself.

Agrarian capitalism in the neoliberal and post-neoliberal phases

Agrarian capitalism as a paradigm for the development of capitalist agriculture or agribusiness has become hegemonic and determines the agrarian policies of neoliberal and post-neoliberal governments. The agrarian policies of post-neoliberal governments for agrarian capitalism are the maintenance of neoliberal policies with some measures that have minimized the increase in the intensification of the strong territorialization of agribusiness. These measures are materialized in limited access to land by the peasantry and indigenous peoples, implementation of some emancipatory public policies for the territorial development of peasant communities and acts linked to national sovereignty that limit the territorialization of international capital in the control of agrarian territories. Minimizing means diminishing the speed of the territorialization of agribusiness a little and reducing the speed of the deterritorialization of the peasantry. This is the landscape of agrarian Brazil in which neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism maintain the agribusiness hegemony that recently gained new impetus.

This impulse is a result of its internal dynamics and occurs with the process of foreignization of the land, which has intensified with increased investments in the financial system, through resources from overaccumulation through investment funds and also by pension funds. There is a lack of studies that explain the diverse articulations between different sources of capital and their relations with governments and multilateral institutions. These capitals found a set of possibilities for their reproduction in the binomial latifundio - agribusiness, through the extraction of natural resources. The latifundio are colonial inheritances that serve as a bridge to a new colonization, through the modernization of the plantation (Welch, 2005), with the production of commodities for the food system and the global market of corporations. Agribusiness modernized agro-extractivism by maintaining the colonial logic of domination and subordination. Agro-extractivism is part of agribusiness, with emphasis on the two systems that are at its base: agriculture and livestock. It is from these systems that agribusiness appropriates and extracts natural resources. This primary sector of the economy has been increasingly investing in the production of food, fiber, and in the last decades for the production of energy through agrofuels, which intensified the territorialisation of international capital by several countries in search of land (FERNANDES, 2011).

Agro-extractivism means the separation of agribusiness systems on an international scale, which means that it extracts resources in one country, exports and industrializes in another, thus maintaining the process of colonization and, therefore, territorial domination, hence political domination and economical. Some authors also denominate this process agrarian extractivism (ALONSO-FRADEJAS, 2015). The central idea of agro-extractivism is

based on three classic concepts and a contemporary one that associate accumulation and agribusiness. The concepts of prior accumulation (SMITH, 1996), primitive accumulation (MARX, 1982) and accumulation by dispossession (HARVEY, 2003) represent the original accumulation and extended continuity of the reproduction of capital through its territorialization with the exploitation of natural resources. The concept of agribusiness as a complex of systems (DAVIS; GOLDBERG, 1957) and network (MAZZALI, 2000) explains how it appropriates old forms and modernizes them to intensify the production of commodities.

The understanding of these concepts is the starting point for the study of recent processes of territorialization of international capital in agrarian Brazil. The structure and production process is composed of different systems: agricultural, livestock, industrial, mercantile, financial, technological and ideological (FERNANDES; WELCH, 2008: 49), see figure 2, organized in complex networks that bring together different institutions. are articulated by several companies: industries, banks, supermarkets, business organizations, multilateral organizations, political parties, state institutions and governments at all scales and levels, see figure 3. Agribusiness organization of a complex of productive systems in networks of institutions is a creation of the model of capitalist development constituting the hegemonic way around the world. This modernization promotes territorial exclusion, as we demonstrate in this article.

Figure 2: Agribusiness complex systems.

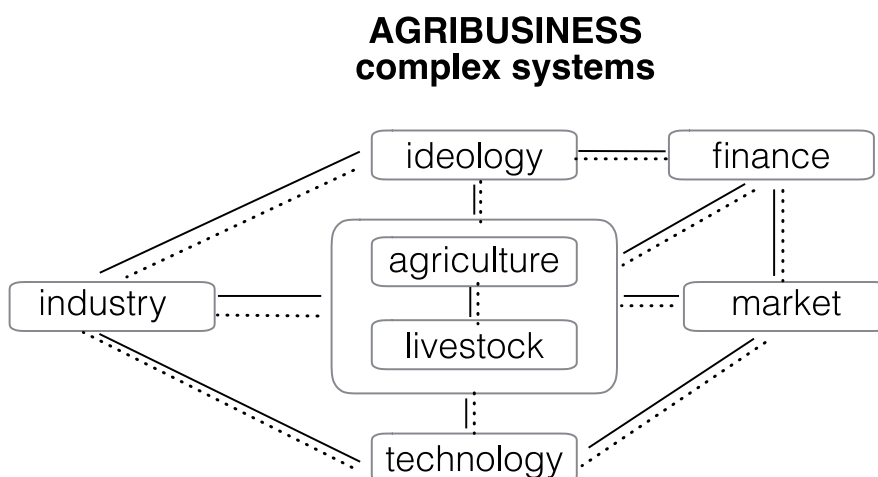
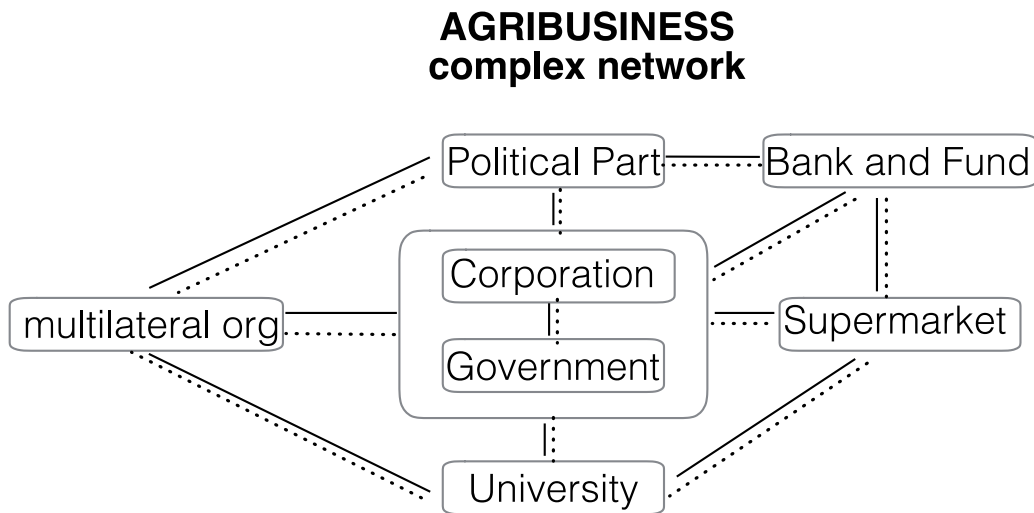


Figure 3: Agribusiness complex network.

The extractive basis of agribusiness (agriculture, livestock, forestry) provides the raw materials that set the complexity of networking systems in motion. All other systems depend on the extractive base. The industrial, financial, technological and mercantile systems can act together or separately with the extractive systems, with the exception of the ideological system that acts in articulation with all systems. The same applies to institutions that may be linked to one, two or all systems. The articulation between the systems and institutions that form the networks takes place through contracts, partnerships, acquisitions or mergers between capitals at various scales: local, national and international, and governmental policies, elaborated from the logic of the hegemonic way, which sustain the articulation. These systems operate through two social relations: the predominance of wage labor in all systems and the residual presence of contract family labor in agricultural and livestock systems. This complex of systems in networks is not a technical division, or a description of the process, but an articulation of interests, of relations that determine the logic of the hegemonic way. For this reason, corporations and governments act on the same logic.

MATOPIBA Region

The Brazilian government created a region - exclusively - to meet the interests of financial capital in territorilize to produce commodities. This new reality produced the concept of a modern agricultural frontier characterized by the presence of an intensive

agriculture in capital and technology, in large areas producing for export, with a strong presence of international corporations with the purpose of appropriating the land rent. The creation of the MATOPIBA region - an acronym for the intersection area of the states of Maranhão, Tocantins, Piauí and Bahia (see map 2) - with an area of 73,173,485 hectares, involves 337 municipalities. Established by Presidential Decree No. 8,447, of 2015, the Agricultural Development Plan of MATOPIBA follows the agro-extractive model for export as the Japanese-Brazilian Cooperation Program for the Development of Cerrados (PRODECER), believed in the 1970s.

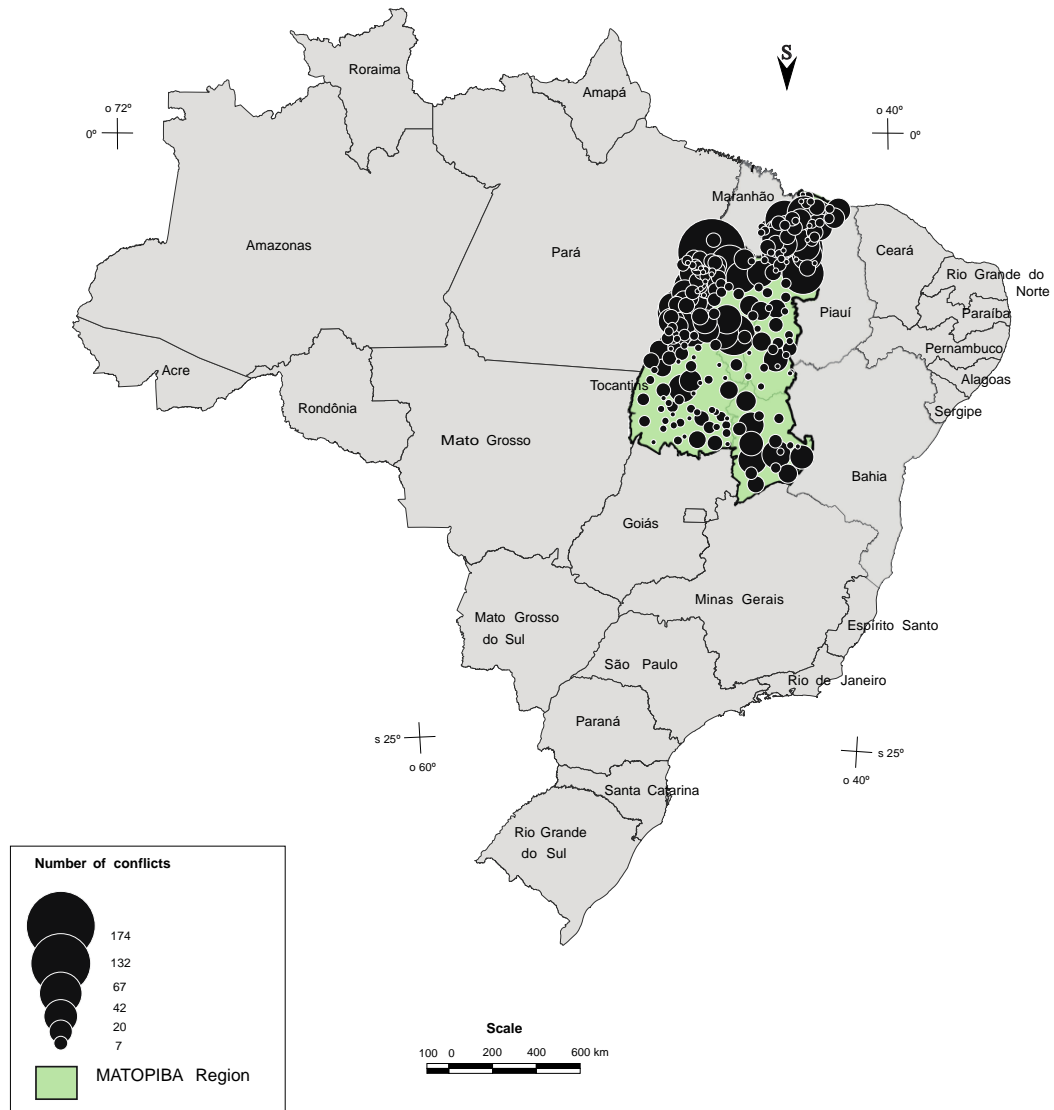
However, the MATOPIBA region is not only agribusiness territory. It is disputed territory with intense conflicts of lands marked by the *grilagem* and violence against indigenous peoples and peasants. Territorial disputes are mapped in the overlapping of peasant agriculture and agribusiness, as can be seen in the comparison of maps 2 and 3. In order to overcome the intensification of the inequalities created by the hegemonic model, it will be necessary to address issues such as the territorial impact of large-scale monoculture for land tenure, agrarian reform, forest preservation, labor qualification, food sovereignty, food quality, appropriate technologies, modes of production, different types of markets. The overcoming will not happen with homogeneous agrarian policies from the hegemonic paradigm, but by the diversity of models, considering the strategic potential of the peasant agriculture.

Map 2: Brazil highlighting the MATOPIBA Region.



Elaboration: Lorena Izá Pereira (2018).

Map 3: Brazil – Territorial conflicts in the MATOPIBA Region – 1996-2016.



Data source: Comissão Pastoral da Terra, 2016. Elaboration: Lorena Izá Pereira (2018).

The agrarian policies for the territorial development of the peasantry, created in the last twenty years, are not enough, but they are original creations that confront with the agribusiness model. We are generating a sustainable model to move towards overcoming inequalities. To think of agrarian Brazil is to think of territorial development in the multidimensional and multi-scalar perspective. It is to think of all the dimensions and scales that the production of food, fiber and energy is not separated from education and investments, health and technology, work and of conflict, housing and industry, preservation

and the market, the countryside and the city, it is necessary to unite what capitalism has separated with its sectoral and fragmentary model.

The coup that deposed President Dilma Rousseff ended the first phase of post-neoliberal governments in Brazil and ended with a set of policies aimed at the development of agrarian Brazil. One of the first acts of the coup government inaugurating the second neoliberal phase was to close the Ministry of Agrarian Development - MDA which affected or eliminated a set of public policies for the peasantry. This new neoliberal phase challenges the peasant movements to fight for land and territorial development policies based on the alternative model they are creating. The peasant way is the way forward for agrarian policies that lead to sustainable development.

MST against Del Monte

The first struggle of the Landless Workers' Movement - MST against several national and foreign agribusiness companies, such as Del Monte, took place in the irrigated perimeter of the Chapada do Apodi, in the state of Ceará. The MST organized a encampment that was named Zé Maria do Tomé, a tribute to peasant murder by the binomial latifundio - agribusiness. It was a region marked by the struggle against latifundio, until the construction of irrigation canals that changed the landscape of the region. Taking possession of water and land by the logic of concentration and agroexport expropriated much of the peasantry in the region, for the territorialization of agro-extractivism of irrigated fruit trees.

Long time ago, the MST of Ceará in its spaces of socializations has long discussed the importance of disputing areas irrigated for agrarian reform. This was no longer one of the occupations in a latifundio, as they had been for decades. It was a new type of occupation, in land of the agribusiness, considered land productive and with water, which was still more rare. It was at dawn on May 5, 2014, on a night of party lit by the fires and with cries of order that echoed a question about who belonged to that territory: Whose is the Chapada? It's ours! Hands off the Chapada is our land! They called peasants and landless peasants from various regions of Ceará. They entered, stuck the flag of the MST and began to build the camp, a space of fight and resistance to dispute a fraction of the irrigated perimeter. The occupation became an icon of resistance and a milestone against the agribusiness of the Apodi plateau, which clearly understood what that occupation meant, especially when several unemployed workers went camping with the landless.

With the increase in the number of families, it was necessary to organize the camp by sectors with families from different communities and their environments, explaining that to create the organism of the MST, trust is essential for everyone to know each other and try to avoid infiltrators. As part of the organizational process the camp meetings and assemblies

are every day, part of the interactive spaces of training and recognition of the processes of struggle they are holding. They are experiences of those who decided to fight for land, because camping is the most difficult part of the fight, it is the place to build future perspectives, what will be the settlement? What are they going to produce? Will they produce commodities? Will they produce without pesticides? Who will sell the production? Which markets? Local, regional, national? With what resources? These questions echo in the void of public policies. The peasant families of the Zé Maria do Tomé encampment are a seed planted in the lands of the latifundio-agribusiness binomial, have been camped for more than three years and negotiations with the government are not advancing. If they conquer the land, it will be a stimulus for new occupations in the region. They may be the beginning of the harvest in the struggle for land, they are opening a new space in the history of peasant struggle.

Innovate to face the binomial latifundio-agribusiness

Capitalism produced a way of seeing the world as a commodity, questioned, among many, by Bové and Dufour (2001), in defending the fight against bad, industrialized and standardized food. The view of the world as a commodity has transformed agriculture into agribusiness, this means that the replacement of culture by business has created a development model that increasingly artificializes food through the intensive use of pesticides and genetic changes. Peasant agriculture persists with its roots in agroecology, producing healthy food in a closer relation to nature. The impacts of these models can be analyzed on a planetary scale, but with proportional differences: due to the large scale and artificialization, agribusiness participation in the impacts is much more intensive. In just over two centuries, human action has altered half the landscape, affecting almost every surface of the planet, provoking climate change (RIBEIRO, 2011, p.40).

This impact is a result of the way capitalist society has organized the countryside and the city, and this form of territorial organization is associated with the agrarian and industrial model. Thinking about food production in a sustainable perspective, in a relation closer to nature, means rethinking the agrarian and industrial model and, therefore, the forms of territorial organization of the countryside and the city, that is, one has to think about the system itself. The production of bad food is the product of an increasingly artificial society. Thinking about the agrarian world means thinking about the scales of impacts, in order to understand the ways in which the countryside and the city can participate in the changes necessary for a less artificial agricultural world. Thinking about food quality in the 21st century is a way of changing the world by changing ourselves. In order to do this reflection, one must be aware of the tendencies of the paradigms. The essential point, we reaffirm, is to

understand that the world, people, food cannot be understood as commodities. markets and commodities are important for economic development, but they cannot be above politics and the state. The history of agriculture has shown that it is not nature that creates limits for agriculture to feed the world. Hunger is a production of a political and economic system that generates permanent inequalities, with the concentration of land and wealth, preventing people from having access to land, labor and food, among other essential rights.

Being more than seven billion people on the planet is no argument to justify the persistence of hunger, nor inequality. The issue is not less people, but rather, more food, and quality. The problem lies in the capitalist system and not in people. Although slightly more than half of the world's population is urban, the levels of consumption and exploitation of natural resources between the north and the south are disproportionate, with the rural half having restricted access to land because of the intense land concentration in almost all over the world, intensified in recent years because of the growth of land acquisitions by foreigners, including corporations, funds and governments, as we highlighted with the creation of the region of MATOPIBA. Research conducted in this region for more than a decade shows that in 2003, there were 1.2 million hectares of cultivated land. Ten years later, agribusiness controlled 2.5 million ha. Three quarters of the territorialization occurred on native vegetation, mostly in the Cerrado. From the analysis of the satellite images it was evaluated that the evapotranspiration is on average 60% higher in the areas with native vegetation than in the cultivated areas. The scale of this impact dries the cerrado, postponing the rainy season and the circulation of the air currents, can reach even the Amazon (FAPESP, 2016). In ten years the exploration of land and water by the agribusiness model impacted a region with possible developments for another region. The hegemonic model has to be rethought and this attitude will not come from itself, but from the alternative model.

In this process of uneven growth, through the concentration of wealth, agribusiness corporations use their economic power as a geopolitical strategy to secure and expand their markets and territories. At transnational, national, regional and local scales, corporations articulate with senators, deputies, presidents, governors, mayors, through lobbies to obtain subsidies and tax exemptions, dominating territories, imposing the hegemonic model, impeding governments when necessary to block the territorialization of agroecological alternatives.

Disputes over territories and resources for production and food and energy is the conflict of the 21st century, because of territorial appropriation: land and water, resources increasingly under the control of corporations. Because of this scenario, people across the world have debated agrarian territorial development in the sense of confronting the hegemonic model and fostering the alternative model. They are rural and urban people who do not accept increasingly poisoned food, produced in other parts of the world, far from their

places, and have decided to promote agroecology. These experiences are happening all over the world and grow every day proposing a sustainable world.

Brazil's agrarian policy allocates only 10% of resources to peasant agriculture, so 90% is concentrated in agribusiness that controls 76% of agricultural land, but produces only 68% of the gross value of production (FERNANDES et al, 2013). Ignoring agricultural census data, the ideologues of the paradigm of agrarian capitalism question the peasantry's participation in food production as a strategy to avoid recognition of its importance. In their day dreams they can see only agribusiness and a residual family farming. The challenge of the alternative model is to confront the political and economic power of agribusiness. There is no government in the world that has an interest in confronting you. What are the possibilities of moving forward with the alternative agroecological model? The strength and weakness of these models lies within themselves, in their institutions, in governments, and in society. Its political and economic power is confronted by the weakness revealed in the unsustainability of the hegemonic model, for example: the increasing poisoning of land, water and food, the increasing destruction of plant and animal species, the transport of sediments caused by large-scale production, the appropriation of most freshwater, the production and application of nitrogen in agriculture in a larger amount than the natural one, and climate change (RIBEIRO, 2011). Other forces that confront agribusiness are the peasant movements of the world, mainly Via Campesina.

In addition to these two fronts that confront agribusiness: its unsustainability and the sustainable model of agroecology, which is being developed by peasant movements, there are fractions of the urban and agrarian worlds practicing agroecology and innovating in public relations and policies, such as the Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). Even if these strategic experiences are ignored by governments or considered only as "social development policies", through compensatory and secondary actions, this reality proves that although governments are subordinated to agribusiness and practice an agrarian policy that finances and strengthens the model hegemonic, there are socio-spatial and socio-territorial movements constructing a new diet. Food regimes determine how food is produced and consumed, its institutions, agrarian policies, possibilities and limits for its development.

The literature shows that food regimes have changed according to the development of agrarian policies consisting of the correlation of forces that can abandon and build diets. The defense of the diet of corporations is only defended by its ideologues, in smaller numbers, following the logic of concentration of land, wealth, power and ideas. The food regimes of the corporations succeeded the diet of the colonization process, based on the plantations. What actually happened was the modernization of capitalist agriculture that has been used in the exploitation of labor and land in increasingly intensive and exclusive ways (McMICHAEL, 2013). In establishing agribusiness, capitalism organized the agricultural,

livestock, industrial, mercantile, technological, financial systems into a complex of systems, expanding its political and economic power, territorializing itself to all the countries of the world. At the same time, it expands, this model faces each more resistance of society with the insurgency of a new food regime.

In order to propose an agro-ecological agrarian Brazil we must understand the world as an existence, where natural resources are essential, so that preserving nature simply means existing. The experiences of agroecology and food sovereignty have re-approximated the food of nature and the community (WITTMAN et al, 2010), subtracting the idea of commodity. These experiences have taken place for at least twenty years and constitute a new diet, and do not accept dependence on large corporations, the persistence of hunger, and defend the sovereignty of nations in guaranteeing the production of food for their peoples. These ideas are multiplying in several countries and, in the dispute over development models, has appeared in the drafting of new laws. The central dispute is with the idea of food security, which seeks to guarantee the right to food, even if food comes from the other side of the world. The ideas of production and production scales separate the policies of food security and food sovereignty.

An agrarian policy based on food sovereignty and agroecology must deal with agrarian reform, because the food regime and the agrarian question are inseparable. The basis of this policy is a ministry of peasant agriculture, which will deal not only with business from a sectoral perspective, but with food production from a multidimensional and multiscale perspective. These are perspectives of agriculture as an art (PLOEG, 2013). Increasing the number of farmers around cities is a fundamental condition for securing supplies from agro-ecological diversity. Agriculture needs to become increasingly urban to the point of making the city-city division disappear, forming a single territory. It will also be necessary to invest in the production of appropriate technologies, in the school and technical training of farmers impoverished by agribusiness. The agrarian policy we need has to deal with new institutional, popular, domestic markets, creating new spaces of mercantile relations based on solidarity and sustainability and not on inequality. The agrarian policy that we need has to create a phase of transition, from agribusiness to agroecology. It needs to create ordering of the territories and define areas for the production of fibers and agroenergy. The agrarian policy we need has already begun to be built with the experiences that occur in several countries and that have Brazil as a reference.

Conclusions

The last years of the post-neoliberal governments in Brazil were a tragedy for agrarian reform, although the peasantry and indigenous peoples were more favored by post-

neoliberal policies than by neoliberal policies. We show that the difference is in the degree of subordination and emancipation. Neo-liberal policies are directed toward subordination with strong resistance to this process. Post-neoliberal policies are directed toward subordination, but also toward emancipation. The perspective of emancipation within post-neoliberal policies is a form of resistance to capital, it is an anti-capitalist stance within the capitalist logic, it is a counter-territory. The struggle for land and sustainable development policies have promoted the territorialization of the peasantry and the construction of an alternative model of agricultural development based on agroecology, whose perspectives are of structural transformation of the agrarian and urban worlds.

The neoliberal coup ended the post-neoliberal phase and began the second neoliberal phase. This transformation benefits agribusiness and further harms the peasantry. Agribusiness, represented by the partnerships between national and international capital, will be the biggest beneficiary of neoliberal policies. The peasantry will have what it can conquer with its persistent resistance to the hegemonic model. This is the central conflict of territorial disputes and development models. There is a new fact in the Brazilian agrarian question: the peasantry has surpassed the barrier of the sectoral vision of fighting for a distributive agrarian reform. The struggle for land has been scaled up and multiplied. It has also become a struggle for development policies, for an alternative model, creating perspectives for overcoming the hegemonic model that goes beyond its own limits and creating social, environmental, economic and political problems. the territorial concentration and riches and the destruction of nature by the intensification of modernized and archaic agro-extractivist production.

We live in a phase of transition between neoliberal and post-neoliberal policies. The peasantry has an important role to change these tendencies by means of their protagonism, creating new possibilities, a condition that capital does not have.

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