



Where the Trees are a Desert

stories from the ground



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Whenever possible original meanings and styles were maintained in translation.

Special Thanks to the local people of Brazil for their generosity and kindness and who continue to struggle against the green desert. This publication is dedicated to you.

Amsterdam, November 2003



**few examples
represent the drama
in this form of
globalisation as well
as the 'great'
monoculture of trees**

Winfried Overbeek

dangerously working on top of an oven



MST occupiers with a small herb garden

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MST occupier fetching water at the camp situated between a eucalyptus plantation and road



Tupirnikim classro

SM



Minas Gerais

area: 587,172 km²
population: 15,831,800

France

area: 547,030, km²
population: 59,329,691

Espírito Santo

area: 45,597 km²
population: 2,550,000

The Netherlands

area: 41,532 km²
population: 15,892,237

Source: [www.uoregon.edu mapquest](http://www.uoregon.edu/mapquest)

Brazilian Steel Economy:

Total production:
27 million tons per year

Capacity: 32 million tons per year

Brazilian domestic consumption:
18 million tons per year

Brazilian export to USA: 36%
Brazilian export to EU and rest of Latin America: 40%

Source:

Third World Network, no. 275,
15-28 Feb. 2002



The Monoculture of Fear

Scripts. Scripts. Scripts. Scripts. Scripts. Scripts. Scripts.

Oswald de Andrade¹

Opening

London, Frankfurt, Paris, Ottawa, Den Haag, Sydney, Brussels, Washington, 2003

The wild consumption of paper and steel is out of control. The World Bank advances with its experiments in the carbon market. The North does not want to reduce its emissions, nor its standard of consumption. Failure of the Kyoto Protocol.

Brasília, São Mateus, Conceição da Barra, Curvelo, 2003

The uniformity of eucalyptus monoculture looms before a diverse landscape. A drain for the pollution in the North. In the South the green desert grows. It fixes carbon and it liberates fear. Exile of the rural people.

São Mateus, Espírito Santo - March 2003

Mr. Antonio is a short man. He wears eyeglasses with thick frames from the 1960s. He speaks his native language with rudeness. He was filing a complaint in a Vitória police station. He does not trust the police from his city, São Mateus. In his old Volkswagen, with his friend Peter they drive up highway BR 101 North in the monotony of a landscape replete with eucalyptus. They drive on a single track of broken asphalt passing logging trucks from Aracruz Cellulose. He does not drive behind them. He knows that if the truck turns and jacks the trailer, the logs will fall off causing an accident like many other rollovers. The road of the BR 101 hides older and more remote roads, opened in the soil from the feet of Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians who lived or passed by there.

Mr. Antonio talks a lot. He tells a long fragmented history. His history. His life, common to many people from this area. He gives an account of his contract, of his more than 15 years with the company;

Opposite page - Quilombala community, north Espírito Santo. A young man puts fresh mud on a smoky oven used to burn wood for charcoal. Quilombala communities were set up by African slaves where some of their descendents still live subsistently today. Their livelihoods are greatly threatened by the surrounding eucalyptus.

his accident, his foot full of screws, of all the doctors and public agencies he visited, of crutches, of no resources. For years his case has been open, like many others he knows – one deceased, other invalids.

Today, Mr. Antonio feels constantly threatened by five different enemies: The trade union that represented him, lawyers who pretend to defend him, doctors who falsify diagnostics, judges that work for the company vision, and dismissive public agencies. His house was shot at. His family is hidden. He watches his back constantly with no one around. He is making a statement.

Curvelo, Minas Gerais - October 2002

Diadorim lives in the rural part of Minas Gerais, in the *Cerrado* (the Savannah). She smokes pig, makes sausage, fixes, creates, constructs everything

“Eucalyptus have been grown with blood,” says Mr. Antonio. He is the main witness for the poisoned from agro-toxics and the mutilated from the chainsaws.

that is necessary to satisfy her family. Diadorim lives totally self-sufficiently. To live in the Brazilian interior people have to be strong. She creates her children with

the same force and stubbornness of her ancestors. She lives on a small country property, in a community with intense relations of solidarity, that congregate for many parties on many days. The youngest are leaving the country, going to the city to study. They do not want the destiny of their parents. They want different horizons without the rain at the end of the day. They do not want the dryness that makes this rain evaporate in minutes and disappear into the veins of the earth. Her property, each day a little more, becomes isolated into the eucalyptus of Plantar and V&M. Many of her neighbours have already left with no alternatives. Already Diadorim's fourth daughter is preparing to go to the capital, Belo Horizonte. It doesn't matter. Diadorim trusts in the future and supports herself with a secular past of strong people, cattle tenders, ox-drivers, pasturing lands without fences. Only one thing can worry Diadorim, the proximity of the eucalyptus with its agrotoxics, the weight of passing trucks, the dust, the native *Cerrado* that she saw destroyed. Now, the companies want her support for a green stamp and “carbon credits”. They want her leadership above

Timeline Brazil 1963-2003*

1963		1964		April 11	Army chief Gen. Humberto Castelo Branco elected by congress to serve Goulart's term. New military dictatorship reverse Goulart reforms. Freezing wages, banning strikes, foreign export
Jan. 1	Goulart wins election and returns power to executive Congress. Cuts in U.S. aid and capital flight	February	Pres. Goulart approves federal land distribution and doubles minimum wage. Conservative opposition grows.		
		March 31-	Military and several state governments revolt against Goulart. Goulart flees to		

all and her influence on the still-resistant community to clear the way for eucalyptus. The company calls a meeting. The city hall invites a hearing. Diadorim knows that there is something... and says no. She observes her dry stream, her poisoned water, her re-directed way towards the city. They never had dialogue and now they want her to support this 'carbon'? It only increases the plantations, the agricultural unemployment and her solitude. The solitude of the *Cerrado* in between the 2 million hectares of eucalyptus in Minas Gerais.

Professors, trade unionists, musicians, poets, students – exiled critical intelligence.

Brazil 1967 – 1970: The arrival of the violence

Pelé playing football. Médici in politics. The worst period of the long Brazilian military dictatorship (from '64 to '84). Persecution, arrest, torture of political prisoners, annulled rights, closed congress, and vertical power. Professors, trade unionists, musicians, poets, students – exiled critical intelligence. The *campesino* resistance ceased. Huge projects: Iron, hydroelectrics, continental highways,

cellulose. The official slogans are, “*This is the country that goes forward*”, “*Love it or leave it*”, waking up the ‘giant sleeping country’ with the kicks of the military about-face. The projects of iron and cellulose production disembark into the

Cerrado of Diadorim and into the *Mata Atlantica* in the state of Espírito Santo. Aracruz, Plantar, Mannesmann and more. They buy and take prime lands, preferring flat,

fertile, continuous areas. They don't care what was there before: Atlantic forest, Indigenous peoples, *Cerrado*, villages, agriculture, *Quilombos* communities, pasture commons, subsistence agriculture.

In Espírito Santo, the *Quilombola* families were visited by Lieutenant Merçon, while the Indigenous Tupinikins were visited by Captain Orlando. The officers, sometimes in military uniform, armed in jeeps with gunmen, asking for the registration of the land – the owner, the occupier, the invader. How was it possible to register if they were there before writing itself? They had lived there during colonisation, the empire, the first and the new republic. Always there. But now it was not possible. The State reclaimed the lands for Aracruz! Those who had registered, were invited to sell their land. Those who had not, were like wood, rock and the end of the road.²

Many, nearly one hundred, Indigenous and *Quilombola* villages disappeared. Aracruz constructed the pulpmill on the biggest Tupinikim village, the Village of the Monkeys. Cemeteries, Atlantic forest, ancestral ways and paths, territorial references, ruins of old constructions, everything covered by masses of eucalyptus. For the Afro-Brazilians who resisted Lieutenant Merçon, Aracruz used Pelé. Like the other one, the football player, he was also famous. He made money ‘playing’, deceiving his own people, black like him. Guided by the company, he convinced them one by one to sell their lands or to exchange it for *cachaça* and promises of a job.³

In Minas Gerais the companies surrounded lands, burnt the *Cerrado*, limited the cattle, banished the community. They occupied most of the *terras devolutas*, that is, lands of the Union, of the government, lands of all and no one, the inhabited lands of the traditional populations, that were not

The Biomes

The *Cerrado* is the second largest biome after the Amazon in Brazil reaching over 1,783,200 km² of the central Brazilian plateau accounting for nearly 22% of the land area of Brazil. Equivalent to the size of Western Europe, the *Cerrado* has rich ecosystems with pronounced dry seasons. The three largest Hydrographic basins in South America cut through the *Cerrado*. The *Cerrado* presents 10,000 species of flora including a great variety of flowers and medicinal plants as well as home to over 400 species of birds, 67 types of mammals and 30 types of bats. Over 50% of the *Cerrado* has already been converted to agriculture.

The *Mata Atlantica* or Atlantic Forest covers only about 4% of its original size. Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, are only about 250 miles apart in the centre of the region where over 50 million people live. The *Mata Atlantica* is so threatened that of the 202 animal species on the official list of endangered species in Brazil, 171 are from the *Mata Atlantica*. The *Mata Atlantica* contains 1,361 species of Brazilian fauna, 261 species of mammals, 620 birds, 200 reptiles and 280 amphibians, being that 567 species alone occur in this biome. The *Mata Atlantica* is home to 20,000 of vascular plants, of which 8,000 of them also only occur in the *Mata Atlantica*.

1965 Mannesman S.A. establishes 'reforestation' companies or monoculture eucalyptus plantations to produce charcoal for pig iron and steel.

Oct. 27 Pres. Castelo Branco Assumes Dictatorial Powers. Followed by Abolishment of political parties, suspension of constitutional rights, and suppression of opposition. Popular presidential election replaced by majority vote in Congress.

1966 Oct. 3 Former minister of war, Marshal Arthur da Costa e Silva elected president by Congress. The MDB refuses to offer a candidate in protest against the governments disfranchisement of its most challenging opponents.

recognised as such by the State or the companies. In Minas Gerais at the end of the '60s and beginning of the '70s, it was difficult to separate what was of the State and what was of the company. It initiated the enormous socio-environmental liabilities of this violent period.

São Mateus, Espírito Santo - 2003

Mr. Antonio arrives at his house. He does not leave the car. First, he has to carefully observe the entire street. His security depends only on himself. He locks his front door until the following day. His family is far away, living in security. His telephone can ring any time. There can be another death threat. He persists. He does not leave while his pension is unresolved, he proceeds and fights. In his house, many are congregated; victims, sick people, handless, footless, blind people. Terrifying. Widowers waiting for compensation for the deaths. Many without benefits or compensation from the company or the State. "Eucalyptus have been grown with blood," says Mr. Antonio. He is the main witness for the poisoned from agro-toxics and the mutilated from the chainsaws.

Brasília - May 2003

The Human Rights Commissioner for the Federal Congress wanted to know more. They had been informed of Mr. Antonio's case from a state parliamentarian of the PT in Espírito Santo. Together, they had been to Brasília with Aimberê and Benedict. The first a Guarani Chieftain. The other an Afro-Brazilian from a *Quilombola* community, a descendent of slaves from Conceição da Barra. Aimberê calls attention from the federal capital. He is proud, wearing his headband of white and yellow feathers. Necklaces, bracelets and old piercings, that have adorned his tribe for centuries, completing his Guarani pride. To make a statement in Brasília is to take a risk. He had been visited by the sociologist from Aracruz days before the trip. The company threatened to withdraw the

benefits they give to his village in the event he was to complain to the Commission of Federal Parliamentarians. A sociologist who does not know the soul of the Guarani cannot understand anything. Nomads, the Guaranis came across many landscapes and distinct communities on the Atlantic coast, from Uruguay to Espírito Santo. The only contract that Aimberê has is with his God, Nhanderu, and with the search for the Promising Land. The company does not have an agreement to hinder Indigenous people from saying what they want, where they want. After the deposition to the parliamentarians, he goes to a house in Brasília, loaned by the MST. He spends one night and goes back to his village in Espírito Santo, a neighbouring city of Aracruz.

Benedict shares the room with Aimberê. A nomadic Indian, Aimberê brought nothing, only what he wears: boots, jeans and a t-shirt from the Indigenous Association Tupinikim-Guarani. In contrast, the luggage of Benedict is opened revealing his personal clothes and objects. Benedict is not pressured by the company directly. His disagreement is with the city hall of Conceição da Barra. By being their employee, he cannot exert his natural communitarian leadership. He disputes together with more than a thousand Afro-descendent families, lands of their ancestors stolen by Aracruz. His relatives lived from the *Mata Atlantica*, of its rivers, hunting, and fishing. They planted a root called, *mandioca*. Now there is no more. Several already were crowding the slum quarters of the urban peripheries of Conceição da Barra, São Mateus, and in the capital of the State, Vitória, the region with the worst violent death index for all of Brasil. About 45 to 50 homicides per month! ⁴

V&M Florestal workers near Curvelo, Minas Gerais. Many workers develop chronic shoulder and back problems and well as respiratory illness due to inhaling fumes.



<p>1967 Aracruz Cellulose begins cellulose operations in Espirito Santo. Plantar establishes itself in Minas Gerais.</p>	<p>Jan. 22 - New constitution approved by Congress, strengthening presidential power and federal control over the states decisions. 1968 March-Anril Widespread student protests against dictatorship. Dissident professors fired.</p>	<p>April 15,000 metalworkers strike in Minas Gerais after taking several factory managers hostage. After 1968 the labor movement is brutally smashed and leaders are exiled or imprisoned. April 4 30,000 people attending a funeral of a student murdered by security forces are</p>
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During the first three years after planting, massive amounts of agro-toxics are used to kill off any 'competition'. Workers are often not given protection, complain of respiratory problems, are frequently ill and have been found dead in the fields. Some of the companies have been sited for overuse of agro-toxics. Many of the agro-toxics used are prohibited in the North - Lorsban, Sabri, Vextre (Dow AgroSciences), and Mirex (which has not been used in the United States since 1978). Others include Roundup (Monsanto), and Scout.

Conceição da Barra, Espírito Santo – January 2003

Of the relatives of Benedicts who had remained in the agricultural communities, the great majority use firewood to cook. Without *Mata Atlantica* forest, the branches of eucalyptus are the main wood used in the kitchen. After all, Conceição da Barra, where they inhabit, has about 70% of its territory covered by eucalyptus monoculture, so eucalyptus could not be considered rare. Could it? ⁵

The young blacks were imprisoned. They had been harvesting some branches to make coal for subsistence, and were caught by surprise by the private police, the *Visel*, contracted by Aracruz. After they were arrested on their own ancestral territory today all covered by eucalyptus - the young *Quilombolas* were delivered to the Military Police station.

Curvelo, Minas Gerais – May 2003

'State of the Art' is what the entrepreneurs, parliamentarians, a pensioned historian, the local newspaper and the environmental NGO business call the territories of Plantar. There is no definition of 'art' that could relate the surreal magnitude of the plantations, the classic symmetry of the eucalyptus or the radical debilitation of the old inhabitants' cultures.

In the local parliament of Curvelo, one hundred and fifty people sit elbow-to-elbow in a small, hot room on a Saturday afternoon. The discussion also progresses in a heated climate. Of the one hundred and fifty, one hundred and thirty-five are from the company. They had been contracted to bleat, like sheep, in some determined situations. The community of Diadorim did not come out of fear. The ones that had appeared did not open their mouths. It was a slaughter: "Diadorim is responsible for the unemployment! Diadorim banishes the credits from the World Bank!" The logical thought of the company was that if one does not complain, then one must be thankful. The

June 28 The March of the 100,000 demonstrate in Rio de Janeiro against regime.
Dec. 13 Blatant authoritarian regime established. President Costa e Silva suspends Congress indefinitely.
Rule by presidential decree

Institutional Act No.5 proclaimed state of siege and suspension of political rights.
Mass arrests ensue of dissenters and use of torture widespread.

1969-73 Brazil undergoes its "economic miracle" shifting economic power into private foreign hands and massive increases of export in key sectors. The gap between rich and poor widens, wages fall dramatically, imports of oil increase. Debt grows

company is good, generates income, development, progress. Local people cannot say otherwise.

The company delayed the meeting three hours by talking and not giving space to anyone else to speak. A young woman of eighteen years stood up in front of everyone and opened her mouth. It was a shock. "Are there other Diadorims?" Yes. She spoke simple, direct, firm. A primary teacher knows the reality of the pupils' family. The reality is not good. The anger had gone to her head after hearing so many lies: "People are not speaking badly about the company because of fear. Everyone knows this."

Brasilia - 2003

Lula Government. The official slogan is: "The hope won the fear." But the risk of Brazil, the external vulnerability, the stagnant economy, the absurd taxes... Unemployment reaches millions. Drug trafficking reigns in the gaps of the State. Can we have hope?

The planters of the green desert visit Lula. The State Bank (BNDES) invests billions in new pulp mills, and new plantations. The World Bank irrigates the monoculture with its carbon credits. Overall, 6 million more hectares are to be planted in the next 10 years. Lula yields. He is unaware of Diadorim, Mr. Antonio, Aimberê and Benedict.

Marcelo Calazans, coordinator of FASE/ES

Renata Valentim, psychoanalyst, teacher

Manguinhos, Espírito Santo, Agosto 2003

(All names have been changed for security)

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- ¹ In "Anthropophagic Manifest", Oswald de Andrade, modern Brazilian poet.
- ² In "Waters from March", Antonio Carlos Jobim, Brazilian musician.
- ³ A Brazilian alcohol
- ⁴ Conform React Espírito Santo Network and Human Rights Rapport, Espírito Santo 2002.
- ⁵ Conform "Violation of Economics, Social, Cultural and Environmental Rights in Eucalyptus Monoculture: Aracruz Celulose and Espírito Santo State-Brasil". August 2002.

A foggy sunrise in the Cerrado.



1969

July 13 Leftist bombing of TV station in Sao Paulo. Rapid spread of urban guerrilla movements. Kidnappings and bombings increase.
August 31 President Costa e Silva suffers a stroke. Military Chiefs assume control.

Sept, 4

Oct. 7

U.S. ambassador C. Burke Redbrick is kidnapped by guerrillas and held until 15 political prisoners are released Sept. 7.
Hard-liner Gen. Emilio Garrastazú Médici named president by military junta. Widespread oppression ensues.

1970

June 21 Brazil wins its third World Cup. Futbol star Pele emerges as an informal spokesman for the Médici dictatorship

Photo: Rede Contra o Deserto Verde - 02/02/02



Protest of Indigenous Tupinikim with banner reading, "Aracruz Celulose has Stolen Indigenous lands."

The Embezzlement of Cellulose and Charcoal

And the Impacts of Private Property

The products derived from cellulose and plant-based charcoal serve us, people of modernity. They are produced, however, at the expense of many traditional communities who have been dispossessed, repressed and marginalized by the state and the companies concerned.

For the paper and steel that serve our modern consumer demands, it has been necessary to plant millions of trees occupying vast extensions of land. When the eucalyptus plantations arrived in northern Espírito Santo and southern Bahia during the military dictatorship at the end of the 1960s and 1970s, they marked the beginning of a history of conflicts between rural people who had lived off the lands for centuries and multinational corporations. These corporations entered the landscape as part of a modernisation project that marginalized Indigenous peoples, Afro-Brazilian communities and peasants.

The first conflict over land was to do with the conversion of communal lands into private property. Until then, common use of the land and the custom of passing on the land successively through generations was enough to ensure communities the right to usufruct. In the new logic of private property, land could be expropriated by the state where the inhabitants could not prove ownership and then leased or sold to private companies seeking to establish eucalyptus plantations. The paths that once led people between commonly held lands were now redefined as delimited private property. The new logic of private ownership of land has been devastating for the livelihoods, lives and culture of the peoples who have traditionally lived on and off the land.

The Indigenous Tupinikin and Guarani communities traditionally fished, hunted, planted and harvested in the state of Espírito Santo. At the end of the 1960s, the corporation Aracruz Cellulose installed itself in the region, claiming that there were no Indigenous peoples in the state. They did not consider the Tupinikins Indigenous people, and argued that the Guarani were foreigners in these lands. On this basis, Aracruz was able to penetrate this territory, appropriate lands, establish eucalyptus plantations and ultimately produce cellulose. In this way Aracruz became the biggest land owner of Espírito Santo. 40,000 hectares of land was

appropriated from Indigenous territory on the grounds that the lands were 'vacant'. The social nucleus of the communities was destroyed with the expulsion of many Indigenous people from the lands and the delimitation to little more than four thousand hectares of the most resistant families, now grouped into just five villages. The Aracruz pulp mill was located in the *Aldeia dos Macacos*, the Village of the Monkeys, the heart of the former community, grossly symbolising their dispossession.

In the same way, the families of Afro-descendants lost their lands to Aracruz Cellulose. Since the end of the 19th century, when slavery was officially abolished in Brazil, Afro-descended communities (*Quilombolas*) had been living in the northern rural region of Espírito Santo, across a territory of approximately 3300 km². By 1970, they had still not acquired any rights to the land in Brazilian law. More than a hundred communities were coerced into fleeing the area. The 1500 *Quilombola*

families, who resisted the appropriation of their land, finally had their rights enshrined in the Federal Constitution of 1988. The same strategies used for years with respect to the

Tupinikin and Guarani peoples are being applied by Aracruz to the *Quilombolas*. The company has since been contesting the ethnic identity of this population in an effort to undermine their rights.

The *Geraizeiros*, the people of the *Cerrado*, lived in the north of Minas Gerais up to the 1960s. People made use of several resources in this ecosystem for food, medicines, crafts etc. They also cultivated crops and raised livestock. In the 1970s and '80s, however, these lands, which the *Geraizeiros* had traditionally used and claimed ownership over, were leased by the state for a period of twenty years as *terras devolutas* to companies interested in planting eucalyptus. Such companies included Plantar and Mannesmann (nowV&M). Many people were expelled from the land while others were persuaded to abandon the land by promises of a job and better conditions of life. It should be remembered that these lands were acquired by those companies during the time of the military dictatorship. Aracruz for example was supported by the junta and collaborated in submitting the

At the end of the 1960s, the corporation Aracruz Cellulose installed itself in the region, claiming that there were no Indigenous people in the state.

1973-74

Increases in oil prices devastate the economy. Unemployment skyrockets. Malnutrition and disease becomes epidemic. Expansion of agriculture and ranching devastates Brazilian natural resources and threatens Indigenous groups

1974

Jan. 15

Gen. Ernesto Geisel, president of Petrobras the national oil monopoly, elected president. Although torture and imprisonment remain tools of regime, authoritarian rule is slightly relaxed

Oct. 15

Legal opposition, the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) win the vote by 62% in Congress, taking majority of the Senate.



Berto Florencino is a rural farmer living in a Quilombola community in the north of Espírito Santo. He makes manioc flour in a traditional way using a press. The casa de farinha (flour house) is made of native wood which is being eaten away by swarms of termites caused by the huge amount of agro-toxic chemicals used on the surrounding eucalyptus plantations owned by Aracruz Cellulose and managed by Plantar.

Indigenous communities and *Quilombolas* to military repression. “Lieutenants”, as they were dubbed, coerced the inhabitants to abdicate their right to the land. They also co-opted some of the leadership of the *Quilombolas* – trusted relatives in the communities – into convincing relatives and friends to sell land to Aracruz. The roots of the rebellion of the local population began here. Once the struggle for the land was won, the companies set about transforming it into large-scale plantations, or rather, an enormous emptiness. Having cleared much of the population, they started to clear the forest. Espírito Santo was once one of the regions of greatest remaining biodiversity in *Mata Atlantica*, in Minas Gerais the dramatic *Cerrado*. Thousands of hectares of forests were hacked down, and with this the abundance of natural resources which had supported the local populations for centuries. The profound ancestral knowledge of the peoples of the forest was discarded in the course of building the monocultural empire of eucalyptus, intended for the production of cellulose and charcoal. After the savage deforestation of native trees and the destruction of centuries of accumulated knowledge of the local ecosystems, the companies now claim that they are environmentally concerned and that their ‘forests’ are an effort at ‘sustainable development’. The local people dispute that the monoculture plantations of non-native species constitute a forest, which they define as a complex biodiverse ecosystem.

Traditional territory, once defined socially by the group, was now severely constricted, existing within borders rigorously delimited by private owners. Fences were erected, which restricted the right of movement for the resident population. These are policed by militias paid by Aracruz. Native plants and wood resources that were once available from the forest are no longer accessible to the local people. *Biju*, for example, is a traditional food essential to traditional *Quilombola* domestic life. Now collecting wood to cook *biju* is prohibited and what little there is lies between the fences guarded by the private militias, who intimidate and repress the local people. The innumerable prohibitions stipulated by the company and enforced by its militias make life untenable for the communities who have been separated between the eucalyptus plantations. The destruction of the local ecosystems, the restricted access to land and the subsequent scarcity of resources on which local people depended represented a drastic rupture to the ways of life of Indigenous peoples, *Quilombolas* and *Geraizeiros*. Without hunting and fishing as an alimentary resource, they had to concentrate more

1975

Oct. 25 Journalist Vladimir Herzog dies in police custody sparking the opposition.
15,000 students strike at the University of São Paulo.

1976

Nov. 15 The MDB make gains in municipal elections. Temporary closing of Congress is issued to change the constitution.
Divorce is legalized.

1976-79

Living standards continue to decline. Anti-military movements increase with participation from grassroots Christian and Catholic communities, Women’s movements, Afro-Brazilian communities and labour.
Feminist movements emerge

on agriculture. For the Indigenous communities, this required a dramatic adaptation.

To make matters worse, agricultural conditions had declined significantly. Lands near the plantations degenerated through the extraction of nutrients in the soil by the eucalyptus trees and the use of agro-toxics for wide-scale, fast growing plantations. Water resources were diminished as the eucalyptus trees sucked dry many streams and rivers, traditionally used for fishing, drinking, washing as well as transport and leisure. Others were contaminated by the agro-toxics. There was also a generalised deterioration in health, through impoverishment and contamination, worsened by the fact that the medicinal herbs traditionally used to treat countless illnesses were no longer available. Even artisans suffered due to the absence of available raw materials for their crafts. Women, traditionally responsible for health and crafts, lost a significant role within their communities.

The monoculture of eucalyptus has also generated new plagues of pests. Termites, for example, have invaded the wooden houses of the Indigenous and *Quilombolas* communities who live between the plantations. Ecological disequilibrium and the scarcity of natural wood has had severe implications for local housing and *casas de farinha* (flour houses, common community houses used for production of manioc flour and *biju*). People have had to resort to building with concrete, which requires greater financial resources, and this has transformed local architecture.

The great rupture in the local traditional way of life has also impacted negatively on the social structure and culture of these communities. *Quilombolas* have found themselves increasingly isolated, hemmed in by the massive presence of the plantations and the new rules of territorial occupation. Social activities such as festivals and *mutirões* ('sweat equity' - mutual aid for provision of social services), for example, no longer take place as often as in the past.

The communities have organised and are strongly resisting the companies. The typical response of Aracruz, where the crisis accelerates and intimidation and repression fails, is to set up negotiations with associations of local people initiated and defined by the company. Aracruz follows a classic 'divide and rule' tactic, co-opting sections of the communities who are prepared to sign 'agreements' negotiated on the companies' own terms. These 'agreements' are strongly contested within the communities.

In the case of the *Quilombola* communities, for example, when resistance reached a certain crisis

association representing the Afro-Brazilian communities. The company determined who could and could not serve in the association and excluded the nomination of Afro-Brazilian people themselves. A similar strategy was pursued by Aracruz when Indigenous people, who had been relocated near the eucalyptus plantations and the pulpmill, mobilised to reclaim land they argued had been wrongly demarcated. Although federal legislation states that native lands cannot be traded or purchased, Aracruz managed to cheat the law with a Term of Adjustment of Conduct agreement, valid for 20 years, which gave the company the right to use the lands in exchange for payment to the Indigenous communities. As in the case of the *Quilombolas*, these communities were forced to establish an association for the negotiations, which imposed a bureaucratic and hierarchical structure on the communities, resulting in many internal divisions and conflicts.

The *Geraizeiros*, too, have been resisting the companies - in their case, Plantar and V&M. They have brought a case against the state for their expulsion from the lands when they were expropriated and leased to the companies, and want to reconvert the eucalyptus back into the native *Cerrado*. The *Geraizeiros* are under constant threat from the companies, which attempt to greenwash themselves by hiding behind the certification of the Forest Stewardship Counsel (FSC) that they are engaged in "sustainable forestry".

This history narrates the conflicts of traditional populations with the companies which plant eucalyptus and illustrates the conditions under which cellulose and charcoal are produced in Brazil. Infringing social, cultural and environmental economic laws, Aracruz Cellulose, Plantar and V&M maintain a productive empire that supplies the international market. The eucalyptus industry is justified by the current indices of consumption of paper and steel in the world, but it imposes an immense price on a territory of great social and biological diversity. Also part of this history, however, is the desire to breach the isolation imposed on communities, to recoup lands and re-access the natural resources, to secure rights and express indignation at this model which excludes so many people and generates so many inequalities. This part of the history constitutes the bridge being built between these and other actors who believe that another world is possible.

Daniela Meirelles



Forcing a Rural Economy

Eucalyptus plantations are responsible for a long list of environmental degradation that takes many forms including water and soil contamination through over-use of agro-toxics, water diversion, air pollution, and in some cases irreversible damage to other plant and animal species. All of these factors, in turn, affect human life - primarily in rural communities.

The 'agricultural modernization' introduced by past military and civilian governments of Brazil involved massive tax breaks, loans and other forms of government assistance in order to build industrial infrastructure for export. Large-scale eucalyptus monoculture has a long and sordid history of receiving government subsidies, and an equally long history of support from International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The newest form of neo-liberal expansion in the sector is pollution trading projects.

Agricultural Modernization

Brazil is one of the top 50 countries in the world classified as *severely indebted* by the World Bank (WB), and is currently under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the WB to pay the interest on its \$237.6 billion foreign debt, mostly contracted during the 1964-1985 military dictatorship.¹

The rural economy of Brazil changed dramatically when the military dictatorship took power in 1964. Large loans commissioned by the IMF and WB promoted a shift to large-scale agriculture and industrial export. During what is referred to as the 'economic miracle', Brazil underwent the privatisation of key sectors. Former public industries were used to provide steel, power and raw materials, enabling an enormous 12 percent annual growth in exports between 1969 and 1972.² The rise in the cost and rate of imports of oil and other goods created a trade deficit which in turn increased debt and decreased public earnings.

In 1967, the government implemented a fiscal incentive programme, Fiset, to encourage

Opposite page - Maria Angela Assisi lives on an isolate farm outside of Curvelo, Minas Gerais. Her jobs include raking, packing fresh mud on the ovens, cooking, cleaning and raising six children. She works every day. While the men she works with rest over meals, she is busy cooking their meals and cleaning. She works 16 hours per day and receives from them about 100 Reais per month (about 34 euros). This was unclear as she is unable to count.

investment in the paper pulp and pig iron industries. Over a period of 33 years, six million hectares of concentrated eucalyptus were established through the Fiset program. After Fiset was discontinued in 1989 the industries experienced a serious decline. By 1998 eucalyptus reduced to 4.8 million hectares demonstrating the economic instability of the industry and showing its dependence on outside financial assistance.³

"Agricultural modernization" continued with the Fernando Henrique Cardoso regime of the 1990s, which reshaped the economy in line with the neo-liberal model - further concentrating land in a few hands and displacing people from their lands. By 1998, 1% of landholders owned 46% of fertile land - much of which lies unfarmed. Meanwhile over 4.8 million families are landless today and millions of others are denied access to land they have lived on for generations.⁴

Eucalyptus Plantations vs. Rural Economy

Eucalyptus monoculture was born in the context of the military dictatorship and carried out through the 'agricultural modernization' of the 1990s. Today, the eucalyptus-growing companies continue to offer little or no money for the land they take possession of, and harass communities to comply using a combination of force and 'divide and rule' tactics. Through brutal land dispossessions and systematic rural impoverishment, people are forced to accept low wages and dangerous working conditions, often as illegal out-sourced labour. In a shaky eucalyptus economy, the choices are grim. Most people have to choose between a life of brutal labour conditions or flee to *favelas* (slums) on the outskirts of the cities, where they are also trapped into a cycle of poverty. Today, over 82% of the population of Brazil live in urban areas.⁵

The Parliamentary Investigation Commission (CPI) cited in its 2002 Final Report that Plantar and V&M, in addition to 40 other eucalyptus monoculture companies, were practicing illegal outsourcing of labour that negatively effects the safety and livelihoods of charcoal workers.⁶ Through outsourced labour, "precarious labour relations, abominable working conditions, slave and child labour and deforestation of the *Cerrado*" exist in the industry.⁷ Over the past ten years, three CPIs have been set up to investigate the sector. The latest commission was set up in 1995 "to investigate the complaints against the so-called 'charcoal mafia' that operates mainly in the north

1978-80

Massive metallurgical workers' strikes. Luiz Inacio (Lula) da Silva surfaces as the head of the newly formed Workers' Party.

1978

500,000 workers strike over the course of the year

Sept. 30

33 unions demand the right to strike in a joint manifesto.

Oct. 15

Gen. João Baptista Figueiredo declared president over MDB candidate.

1979

3.2 million workers strike over the course of the year
Jan. 19 Gen Figueiredo vows to oversee transition to civilian rule. Censorship slightly eased, Amnesty given to some political prisoners and exiles

of Minas Gerais.”⁸ As a result Plantar and V&M have had lawsuits filed by the Federal Public Ministry of Labour (MPT). Plantar was forced to sign an ‘Adjustment in Behaviour Agreement’ while V&M openly refused.

Eucalyptus is grown primarily for paper pulp near coastal zones in the *Mata Atlantica* or for charcoal production in the *Cerrado*. Many people build clay ovens in the *Cerrado* to burn wood for charcoal. The rural economies have been transformed by the eucalyptus

industry and people often have no economic options other than small-scale charcoal production. Collecting commercial eucalyptus is against the law, however, so people burn what is left of native trees, the resulting charcoal is often eventually purchased by the corporations. The companies deny the use of native forest claiming that growing a non-native, non-food species en masse is, in fact, ‘sustainable development’.

There are currently over 50 CDM projects in various stages of development in Brazil which investors regard as one of the countries with the greatest potential for CDM growth.

“...overriding importance in determining the integration between steelmaking and the environment, thus translating into action Grupo Plantar’s philosophy – which is to prosper in the pig iron market, abiding by the principles of Sustainable Development and the use of Clean Development Mechanisms.”⁹

Evidence exists, however, proving that the plantation corporations knowingly destroy native forests both directly and indirectly.

Emissions Trading and Plantations

Emissions trading and project-based ‘carbon trading’ are two loopholes found in the Kyoto Protocol, the only United Nations agreement on curbing global climate change. The UN’s own scientific advisory council, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), reported that a 50-70% reduction of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions is necessary immediately to stabilise CO₂ concentrations in the atmosphere.¹⁰ Yet, the Kyoto Protocol states that industrialised and transitional

economy countries need to reduce emissions for six of the most dangerous greenhouse gases including CO₂ by only 5.2 per cent, based on 1990 levels, by the year 2012.¹¹

What is worse, emissions trading and project based ‘carbon trading’ under the Kyoto Protocol allows countries or companies in the North to ‘meet’ these paltry targets partly by trading credits in a market-based system with other countries or companies. Each country that commits to a reduction target has a quota of permits it can buy or sell on the market. It can earn additional permits by creating supposed sustainable development projects in another country that would theoretically ‘reduce’ or ‘offset’ global emissions. This is called ‘credit and trade’.¹² Credit-generating projects in countries with reduction targets are called Joint Implementation projects (generally in eastern Europe). Credit generating projects in countries with no reduction targets (generally the South) are called Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects.

In the Kyoto framework, Brazil is a potential host for CDM projects. There are currently over 50 CDM projects in various stages of development in Brazil which investors regard as one of the countries with



receipt of V&M Florestal showing that the company purchased charcoal that was burnt from native trees which they claim they do not buy.

1982			1984	
Right-wing military violence against political opening.	Dec. 20	Subsidies on gas and basic food items ceased due to a Rescue Loan Agreement with the IMF.	April 10	Massive demonstration in Rio de Janeiro calling for direct popular presidential elections.
Nov. 15 Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) wins 62% of the vote, ten governorships, and control of lower house		Brazilian debt at \$89 billion.	April 15	1.5 million marchers in São Paulo with similar call, military insists on indirect elections.

the greatest potential for CDM growth.¹³ CDM projects include methane extraction from landfills, hydro-electric dam projects, monoculture tree plantations and fuel switching projects.

Some of the companies producing charcoal in the *Cerrado* of Brazil are already receiving emission reduction (ER) credits (ex. Valourec and Mannesmann) or are awaiting approval (e.g., Plantar). The justification for awarding ER credits to Plantar is that in pig iron manufacturing, charcoal is replacing coal from mining operations as the reducing agent and carbon component. Plantar is considered an 'avoided fuel switching' project, since the company has yet to convert to coal. Monoculture tree plantations are considered 'carbon sinks' because trees absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere during respiration which theoretically offsets CO₂ pollution. What is not taken into account, however, is that when a tree is burned or decomposes it releases CO₂ back into the atmosphere, in addition to the numerous environmental felonies inherent in a monoculture operation of this magnitude.

Sinks

The idea of expanding monoculture plantations to reduce global emissions of CO₂ is fundamentally flawed. Not only are scientific studies regarding the ability of monoculture tree plantations to sequester global CO₂ pollution inconclusive, but the whole approach illustrates the unwillingness of the North to reduce pollution at source and perpetuates the fossil fuel economy.

Some scientific studies have shown that large-scale industrial tree plantations may, in fact, actually produce more CO₂ emissions than the trees absorb. When soil is tilled for planting, the organic matter in the ground releases CO₂ into the atmosphere.¹⁴ Other studies have shown that it would take up to 10 years for the trees to actually start 'neutralising' the CO₂.¹⁵ Still others say that only diverse and established systems, like old growth forests, are able to lock in CO₂ as a carbon store. In the case of large-scale plantations, the trees are designed for felling in fast-rotation cycles. Eucalyptus monoculture in Brazil is harvested in 7-year rotation cycles, and meanwhile nothing else can grow in this barren landscape.

Carbon is stored in different places in and around the earth's systems. In the lithosphere, carbon is stored as oil, coal, gas and carbonate – and is extracted as fossil fuels for energy consumption.



Lucimar studied until he was 18 years old. His dream was to go to University and study mathematics or be a football player. Without financial support, in a eucalyptus driven economy, he was forced into working for a local man near Curvelo who burns native trees for charcoal.

The carbon in the lithosphere is a permanent and isolated store. When extracted and burned, fossil fuel releases CO₂ into the atmosphere, forever transforming this naturally safeguarded source into pollution. The atmosphere and biosphere have a balanced exchange of naturally occurring CO₂. When underground carbon is burned for fossil fuels it upsets this equilibrium. Carbon seen as 'stored' in the biosphere is inevitably released over time. Thus, extractive industries, no matter how the pollution is stored theoretically, is at best temporary and results in a permanent increase in surface occurring carbon.

The example of eucalyptus plantations also shows the folly of a uni-dimensional understanding of the

1985

Formation of the MST

April 22 Vice president-elect Jose Sarney assumes presidency after Tencredo Neves (PMDB) died of cancer before his

November

Congress passes a land reform bill for distribution of 88 million acres to 1.4 million families by 1989. Landowners prevented the program by hiring armed thugs to threaten and murder people in

1986

Feb. 28

"Plan Cruzado" introduced to stop inflation (230 percent in 1985) though wage and price freezes.

Nov. 20

Plan Cruzado II introduced leading to price hikes and currency devaluation.

carbon cycle. The studies on which the case for eucalyptus plantations are based often fail to recognise the obvious differences between a real forest and an industrial monoculture tree plantation. In addition, the scientific studies focus only on one specific event in the lifecycle of trees – the growth and sequestration of CO₂. These studies are biased in that they do not calculate the entire process of industrial manufacturing and energy consumption related to the production of final materials and uses in the framework of a eucalyptus monoculture operation, including the burning of wood that releases CO₂ into the atmosphere, the use of diesel fuel by machinery, transport and shipping, energy consumed in the milling process, agro-toxic pollution, chemical paper pulp pollution, blast furnace pollution – to name just a few. Monocultures of eucalyptus trees in one stage of development – a scientific snap shot – is no basis for justifying a multi-million dollar ‘carbon market’ if their role in larger economic and physical cycles is not calculated.

One example of the carbon carousel is found within the automobile industry. Charcoal from eucalyptus is used in the production of pig iron, which is the basic element of steel production, and is then used by the automobile industry for car parts. This example calls into question the vested interests in deeming eucalyptus plantations ‘clean development’ - as well as the expertise of global leaders in governments, industries, and NGOs - and throws into doubt the genuine motives concerning curbing global greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs). In this way, large-scale tree plantations prolong and legitimise a fossil fuel intensive economy and promoting them amounts to hampering efforts to reduce greenhouse gases and stem climate change. It is important to highlight in this context that it is the investors and the project developers (ex. Plantar, V&M, Mitsubishi etc.) who receive the credits, and not the people.

The World Bank and the Prototype Carbon Fund

In July 1999, the World Bank approved the establishment of a new fund for investors interested in jump-starting the carbon market – the Prototype Carbon Fund. This fund exemplifies the unfair policies of the WB, which favour industrial investors through a buy-in approach and awards

AMDA is a Brazilian NGO that supports eucalyptus monoculture. At a conference AMDA hosted in April 2003 this display was one of many promoting the industry. The display reads, "The forest in your transport."

risk insurance for first-investors. The Prototype Carbon Fund deals strictly with project-based credits to be awarded through Joint Implementation (JI) and the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects undertaken within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol. Companies invest and receive *pro rata* shares - the more the company buys in, the more credits it receives. Buyers of such credits also purchase the ability to market themselves as green companies, which in turn gives them status not only to pollute more, but to model themselves as experts and influence other companies.

In effect, the PCF subsidises foreign investment. If a project fails in a host country the investors carry no risk in having to pay for cleaning up, clearing up, or restoring the land, for resources lost, for compensation to communities affected, or for follow-up projects. While the PCF has a built-in failure insurance in the form of a monetary reserve that serves as compensation to the investor in the event of a possible deficit in the market or the collapse of a project, the reserve does not compensate communities or host countries when a project fails them.

Receiving clear public information from the PCF is difficult. Contracts, such as the controversial Planar project, are unclear regarding failure of a project. When asked for information on the Plantar contract, the PCF replied, “This type of information would be located in the Project’s Emission Reductions Pur[c]hase Agreement (ERPA) which is a confidential document and cannot be disclosed to the public.”¹⁶



1987 February	Pres. Sarney suspends debt payments to foreign banks. International pressure led to resumed payments one year later.	1988 October	Sarney produces the "Our Nature" program designed to limit development in the Amazon basin. Massive on-going destruction in Amazon region continues.	Oct. 5	The new constitution is implemented solidifying democratic institutions, abolishing presidential rule by decree, establishing Women's equality, creating illiterate voting rights, protecting Indigenous rights and created a labour code.
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The way the scales tip to the North can be seen when the project fails. Take the example of Senter International, the agency of the Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs focusing on emissions trading projects. The Netherlands is one of five governments involved in steering the World Bank's PCF. Senter has set up rules in the event that a Southern project does not deliver the agreed upon emission reductions. The Senter website states that, "In case of CDM projects, Senter is entitled to charge a penalty if delivery of less than 70 percent of the CERs is delayed." In addition, the Dutch Civil Code states that the 'supplier' can be held liable for damages where the 'product' is not delivered, in addition to being charged a penalty. The penalty is the same whether the 'supplier' delivers 0% of the 'product' or 69.9% of the 'product'. On the other side of the scale, if the 'supplier' produces more than the agreed upon amount, "Senter has the right but not the obligation to purchase the additional carbon credits. Senter will pay market price for the additional tonnes. The market price in that year can be more or less than the contracted price."¹⁷

This is yet another form of institutional debt. Southern countries have a long history of debt with faulty projects. Failure to meet these new demands will result in further financial crisis that Southern countries simply cannot afford. For Brazilians, charging penalties, liability for damages, and creating a wider system of debt is a very familiar face of World Bank projects.¹⁸

These policies are inherently biased in other ways to benefit Northern companies or countries. There are also many uncertainties, formalities and jargon that make it difficult for most people to understand or participate. On this classic WB non-transparency model is apparent within the PCF. The majority of the people directly affected by the projects typically have no idea that these agreements even exist. Although the PCF has a 30-day open comment period for the public on each of its projects, this exists only in cyberspace. Most affected communities do not have access to computers or the Internet, and even where they might, effort is not made by the PCF to notify communities directly.

Conclusions

The concept of growing non-native tree species for paper pulp export and charcoal production in an impoverished country with massive debt and enormous land misuse epitomises the inequality of a system which has already demonstrably failed the people of the South. The logic of creating offset projects in the South to compensate for emissions in the North is a new perversion of an old colonial relationship based on domination, subjugation and exploitation. The plantations demand expanses of prime land which millions of people living in rural

not deal with the problems of pollution at the origin. Instead of creating feasible measures for reduction and critically analysing the consumption which has led to these emission levels in the first place, this model serves to justify the further increase of global emissions and places the burden on people who have little economic or social power. This neo-colonial pattern further entrenches ongoing environmental injustice.

Tamra Gilbertson

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Photo : Juttia Kaji, Sinks Watch, November 2003



Dried-up water course and swamp forest surrounded by plantations near abandoned farm, FSC certified, Plantar, Minas Gerais

Carbon Trading and Certification:

The Greenwashing of Plantations

Who would imagine that large-scale tree plantations treated with pesticides – considered for decades as environmentally damaging landuse systems – would play a key role in policies for sustainable development? As recent initiatives to include eucalyptus plantations as carbon sinks within the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) show, this is becoming a reality, even being supported by some environmental groups. One might wonder how this 180° change of opinion could happen. The answer may be found by taking a closer look at the approval procedure of the eucalyptus grower, Plantar, in Minas Gerais, Brazil. It should be noted that the World Bank, an intermediary in pollution trading, leaves evaluation of the candidates in the hands of another organisation,

“As you know, in this project, the Bank relies on the certification process implemented by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), a process driven by non-governmental organizations and widely recognized as the most comprehensive approach to assuring environmental quality and social equity in forestry operations.”¹

The history of the FSC started at the end of the 1980s with the call of environmentalists for a boycott of tropical timber. In the following years, the demand for tropical timber in Europe and the US declined significantly. Some retailers started to negotiate with NGOs, challenging them to provide alternatives to tropical timber that does not come from predatory logging. The attempts at conciliation led in 1993 to the founding of the FSC, bringing together environmental, social and economic interest groups. The FSC is responsible for defining a set of global principles and criteria for ‘well managed’ forests. Based on these guidelines, private certifying bodies carry out the FSC-certification not only for logging operations but also for plantations. The crucial key for resolving social conflicts is the so-called ‘stakeholder-process’, whose purpose is to guarantee the participation of all interested parties and consideration of the formal and customary rights of local people. Many human rights groups joined the FSC believing that they would support a kind of ‘fair trade’ initiative to benefit local communities.

To guarantee success of the FSC, the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) established Buyer’s Groups for certified timber. Their demand on FSC-labelled products induced the expansion of certified forests, which surpassed about 30 million hectares worldwide.

The FSC did not develop without its problems. Recently, the Rainforest Foundation launched a report with 9 case studies on certified companies in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Canada, Ireland and Brazil.² The World Rainforest Movement (WRM) published a further critical study about the certification of Plantar and V&M Florestal in Minas Gerais, which together own about 20% of the total area certified within Brazil.³ All studies emphasised the lack of transparency and the lax application of the FSC principles and criteria, which are considered the most rigorous worldwide. In nearly all cases, environmental problems and conflicts with local people were reported. Indeed, it was mainly multinational companies that benefited rather than traditional communities. In September 2003, of a total 1,276,298 hectares of certified areas in Brazil, 72% were industrial plantations and 24% logging operations in primary forests. Less than 3.8% were community projects of extractivists and indigenous peoples organizations.⁴ These local communities were certified after being trained in timber production, however, and not for their traditionally less destructive systems of forest use.

Why did the FSC take such a different course from its initial objectives? One reason is that Northern NGOs made a shift in method and arguably ideology from ‘radicalism’ to ‘pragmatism’ during the last decade.⁵ Gradually, a critique of the environmental and social crisis of a development model based on ever-increasing consumption patterns, has been replaced with a search for technical solutions in collaboration with government and industry. Basically, it is FSCs market approach and the new power relations between NGOs, governments and the private sector which have led to the profound blurring of an initially good idea.

Market Failures

At the end of the 1980s, the timber trade rejected any attempt to implement certification. In their view such ideas were simply modified call for a boycott. During the negotiations with environmental groups, namely the WWF, some companies realised, however, that a label declaring that the product comes from an environmentally sound source might improve their damaged image and - even better - attract new customers. As the demand of the Buyers’ Groups could not be satisfied, timber traders were pushing for less rigid certification standards. Alan Knight, from the British based DIY-market chain B&Q put it like this during the first general assembly of the FSC in

1989

Dec. 22 Francisco "Chico" Mendes, leader of the National Rubber Tappers Council, is murdered in the Amazonian village of Xapuri.

Feb. 20-24 Indigenous in Altamira protest against a proposed dam on the Xingú River.

Dec. 17 Francisco Collor de Mello, of the conservative National Reconstruction Party wins presidential elections narrowly defeating Lula. His neo-liberal program promises to privatize the \$110 billion debt and fight the 1,300 percent

March- April Over 300 strikes protesting inflation (988% in 1988) and wage freezes

Oaxaca, Mexico, in June 1996: "...if you want corporations to reduce the pressure on the FSC, we will, but be aware that that will be a clear message for us, to shop elsewhere." ⁶

After the foundation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995, FSC faced another problem. Many environmental organisations tried to establish the FSC as the only certification scheme and claimed import restrictions of non-certified timber. In official foreign trade policies, bans and boycotts are considered incompatible with the rules of the WTO. Certification was accepted therefore under only three conditions: First, there should be an open-market for all certification schemes, the market defining the best initiative. Second, there should be no political action to diminish the trade of uncertified products. Third, the origin of the timber should not be included on the product label to avoid discriminatory actions against specific regions. ⁷

The most evident example is the partnership of WWF and the World Bank – the Forest Alliance.

The responsibility for combating environmental and social crime is transferred from governments to consumers faced with hundreds of eco-labels, the vast majority of which are a result of opportunistic product marketing. Since then environmental organisations have been engaged in defending the FSC as the only 'trustworthy' eco-label and certification scheme. This has been at the cost of political action directed at the underlying causes of forest destruction.

Other certification schemes elaborated by influential forestry lobbies, like the Pan European Forest Certificate (PEFC), exceeded the certified area of FSC. This competition led some certifiers to lax application of FSC-standards. They made extensive use of the formulation of certification conditions to be fulfilled within a certain timeframe after the certificate has been issued. As the certifiers did not want to risk losing their clients, they continued this 'hope for improvements' strategy in repeatedly prolonging the period for resolving detected problems. Abusing these possibilities, Indonesian teak producers could sell their timber as sustainably sound for more than

two years, through their plantations had been illegally logged and serious violations of human rights took place. ⁸

An additional structural problem within the FSC-system is the fact that certifiers have a commercial relationship through direct contracts with the certification clients. Certifiers consequently have a vested commercial and strategic interest in 'successful' assessment outcomes, even where the client forestry company is non-compliant with FSC's principles and criteria. ⁹

Policy Failures

Since the beginning supporters of the FSC formed a lobby to influence policies in favour of the initiative. The most evident example is the partnership of WWF and the World Bank - the Forest Alliance. As early as 1998, this alliance had announced a target of 200 million hectares of certified forests by 2005. To avoid conflicts with the WTO rules with respect to the free market between certification schemes, an elegant solution was found by the Forest Alliance: In supporting independent certification, the Bank does not endorse any one particular approach to certification... "the Bank has adopted a set of principles and criteria to assess the adequacy of different certification systems..." ¹⁰ These characteristics are very similar to those of FSC. The Rainforest Foundation reported that the FSC itself would not be eligible given its current deficits, particularly regarding the practice of certification, transparency and the influence of parties with vested interests in the certification decision - e.g. the companies themselves. ¹¹

In accordance with the Forest Alliance's recommendations, the World Bank changed its operational policies on forestry. In 1990, the Bank stopped financing logging companies as they have been considered a major threat for the last remaining primary forests. One decade later, the Bank proposed to finance logging again within pristine forests in specially demarcated 'zones for sustainable use', which principally is understood as timber production through 'forest management'. Within these areas, concessions for exploration would be given to certified forestry operations financed by the Bank. ¹² Based on these ideas a proposal to demarcate 14 - 23% of the inner parts of

1990

Brasil continues to struggle with hunger, corruption, enormous debt and increased violence in urban areas.

Nov. 30

3500 children demonstrate in the streets of Rio de Janeiro to protest over 5,000 murders of street children by police since 1983.

Feb. 8 Food riots break out in Rio de Janeiro.

1992

June 3-14 Brazil hosts the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

Sept. 29 Impeachment proceeding begin against Pres. Collor on charges of corruption.

the Amazon basin is being discussed by the Brazilian government.¹³

This concept is highly questionable as it stimulates a new frontier of large-scale industrial logging in remote primary forests at the cost of forest peoples' livelihoods (indigenous peoples, rubber tappers, riverside dwellers). Large-scale deforestation through the expansion of agriculture at the margins of the Amazon will not be tackled.¹⁴ The outcome will be the 'well-managed' economic determination of forests to provide external markets with only one commodity: timber.

The inclusion of eucalyptus plantations within the Prototype Carbon Fund is also a result of the new World Bank Forests Policy.¹⁵ In making certification a decisive requirement for the approval of such projects, the bank is externalising social and environmental responsibilities. As shown above, however, the FSC cannot assure an independent assessment free from the influence of the company's interests. In the case of Plantar, certification was contested after an independent group of researchers detected serious failures, such as the threat to the *Cerrado* ecosystem and the company's relations with its employees.¹⁶ In approving this project, celebrated as an innovative breakthrough for the plantation growers in Brazil, the World Bank is running the risk of losing credibility even before the Clean Development Mechanism is properly established.

The underlying ideological base reflected in the Bank's justification is worrying as is the certification report for the Plantar-project.¹⁷ In summary, the argument is based on the assumption that cattle ranging is worse than eucalyptus plantations, therefore the expansion of the latter in pasture land should be promoted. Cellulose and charcoal as final products derived from eucalyptus cannot substitute land for food production. Most likely, this simple logic will lead to the opening of new pastures at the cost of natural ecosystems while creating a new deforestation frontier.

The second worrying aspect is that Plantar is seen within the classical ideology of modernization as a creator of wage labour, stimulating the local economy and therefore – automatically bringing social benefits to the population. This neglects the fact that the plantation sector is in the middle of a mechanization process that will subsequently cause structural under-employment.



Photo: Ricardo Carrere, World Rainforest Movement

A local person took Carrere and Laschefski to this specific area (headwaters of the Pindaíba river), to show them that Plantar had actually cut 40 hectares of native forest in December 2002. Mr. Carrere identified these stumps belonging to native trees. It was also clear that the cutting had taken place quite recently. The stumps were in the middle of rows of newly planted eucalyptus. The whole area had been sprayed with the herbicide Round-up and the resulting dead vegetation is clearly shown. 15/5/2003

Participation Failures

The standards of eligible certification systems within the World Bank's operational guidelines "...must be developed with the meaningful participation of local people and communities; indigenous peoples; non-governmental organizations representing consumer, producer, and conservation interests; and other members of civil society, including the private sector. The decision-making procedures of the certification system must be fair, transparent, independent, and designed to avoid conflicts of interest."¹⁸ These procedures, also called the Stakeholder Process, do not always work properly.

Certifiers usually concentrate their consultation activities on representatives of governmental and research institutions, trade unions, social and environmental organisations and the leadership of organised civil society. Selection is often arbitrary. Particularly in countries like Brazil, it tends to be the most influential actors who are chosen, while local groups and directly affected individuals, such as small farmers, are neglected. The announcements for public audiences are done through email lists or print media, and only

Dec. 29 Pres. Collor resigns on the eve of his conviction in the Senate for corruption. Itamar Franco sworn in as president immediately.

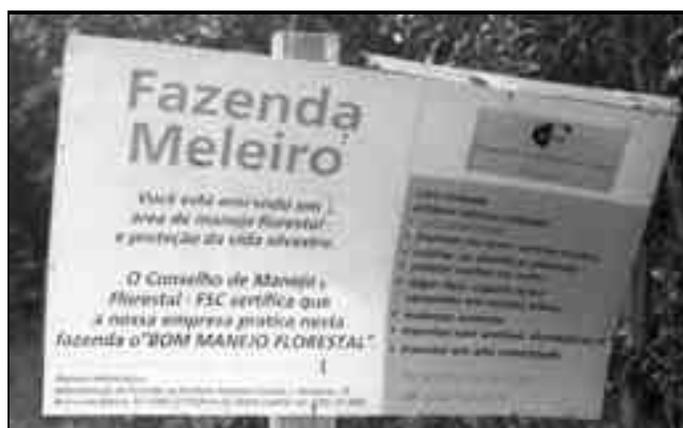
1993
Oct. 20 Two cabinet minister and 19 members of Congress are implicated on corruption charges.

1994
Jan. 21 19 members of Congress are expelled for involvement in a multi-million-dollar kickback scheme.

sometimes by radio. People without access to modern communication channels, generally the rural population suffering the project's consequences, are often not informed.

Gethal, for example, a logging company in the Amazon, was certified in a climate of social tension. The environmental body from the state of *Amazonas* received complaints from seven communities, in total about 1500 people, about the company's restrictions on their extractive activities like the collection of brazil nuts. The company itself considered the social question as a 'stone in the shoe' suggesting that this should be resolved by the State. Only after certification was concluded, the NGO *Pró Natura* started to elaborate a programme for the affected riverside dwellers, financed by public money from the World Bank and not by the company.¹⁹

During the first assessment of Plantar in 1999, the certifier contacted only one environmental organisation, the *Associação Mineira em Defesa ao Meio Ambiente* (AMDA) in Minas Gerais. This NGO became famous because of its annual publication of a dirt list denouncing companies responsible for environmental scandals. Curiously enough, the associates are composed of mining companies, aluminum producers and others. AMDA lost credibility due to these close relationships to several industries. Not surprisingly, Plantar is also a member of AMDA, a fact that raises serious doubts about the certifier's integrity. In the new report on re-certification, more NGOs are listed, but most of them are FSC-supporters active on the national level, which do not have much knowledge of the local situation.²⁰



V&M plantation, "You are entering into an area of managed forests and a wild life protected area. FSC certifies that our company practices in this farm 'Good Forest Management'. "

On the local level meanwhile, directly affected people are marginalized. After WRM published their critiques in 2002, some incidents to manipulate public opinion took place, reminiscent of election campaigns in authoritarian societies or immature democracies. First, a local newspaper announced the infiltration of external NGOs bent on undermining local economy, suggesting that they represented foreign interests. Secondly, a petition was launched in favour of the companies' planned activities. The overwhelming number of signatures, of course, came from the company's own workforce and their relatives. The company suddenly started to 'improve' community relations by organising festivities. Some members of the rural communities were subsequently intimidated and threatened, increasing social tension in the city of Curvelo, Plantar headquarters.

Such incidents raise questions about the participation processes in general. Often, particularly in Minas Gerais, mediation between different 'interest groups' are abused in order to 'democratise' individual rights. The difference between interests and rights are frequently seen as a semantic problem. Public audiences tend to result in emotional discussions between 'pro' and 'anti' groups, while specific individual demands are rejected as necessary sacrifices for the 'public' good. People's livelihoods can be affected and their land even expropriated where an undefined 'majority' demands it. This 'modern mediation culture' is already common in licensing processes for big projects like dams, causing social conflict among affected people.

There is a frequently abused gap of 'technical expertise' between certifiers or other specialists and the local population, who often do not have even basic levels of education. In the case of Plantar, for example, local people are forced to present evidence for their complaints to the certifier, which can stand up to the 'scientific knowledge' presented by the company. A common concrete preoccupation of the local people has been the water shortages they experience in plantation areas. When local people blame the plantation, the certifier's response was, "until now there was [is] no scientific proves [proof] that it can cause water supply problems in established region, since the environmental care are [is] correctly taken..."²¹ Instead, the certifier preferred to put the problems down to phenomena like El Niño and natural droughts.

More detailed studies into such problems are not included in the budget for certification assessment,

May	Brazil signs the Treaty of Tlateloco and joins other Latin American and Caribbean nations in declaring itself free of nuclear weapons.	Dec.	Collor acquitted of corruption charges but remains banned from Brazilian politics until 2000.	1995 Aug. 9	Rondônia Massacre - at least 10 killed, 75 missing, and 350 arrested in a violent police eviction of 1,300 landless farmers occupying 16,200 hectares.
Oct. 3	Fernando Henrique Cardoso elected president in a landslide victory over Lula.				

of course, which has to be undertaken in a couple of days. Such exercises are no substitute for an environmental and social impact assessment. This works in the favour of the companies as the local communities have neither time nor resources to come up with the evidence to support their case and the certifiers do not go out of their way to assist them. World Bank support for voluntary FSC certification is highly questionable in that it does not take account that those likely to argue against certification cannot match the resources of those who have a vested interest in certification.

Final Remarks

Many people supported FSC in the hope that tropical forests would be preserved or plantations would be 'ecologised'. Many thought FSC would empower local people in small, community-based initiatives, offering an alternative to more destructive land use. In reality, the FSC is supporting industrial plantations and logging companies in the world's remaining primary forests.

There are undoubtedly improvements in the planning and control of certified forestry operations, but they remain embedded in a logic of linear production, regarding the forest ecosystem as a one-off extraction of wood, benefiting rich consumer elites, particularly in the North.

CDM policies are focused on the technical side of questionable carbon reduction strategies, the development aspects of the programme seem to be forgotten. Hidden under the new green coat of certification and CDM persists an archaic understanding of development through modernization, transforming peasants and small rural producers into wage labourers with an insecure future. Certification and CDM can be seen therefore as indirectly responsible for the redirection of scarce funds for development to large scale companies, instead of promoting diversified land-use system based on local knowledge and ecological principles. The result will be increasing income concentration and the widening of the gap between rich and poor. The World Bank claims to promote sustainable development but this is no way to go about it.

Klemens Laschefski

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The Monoculture of Consumption

And the Direction of 'Civilization'

Does Society Want This?

A debate started between the manager of the plantation state agency, Instituto Estadual de Florestas (IEF) in the State of Minas Gerais and local communities that co-exist in areas of eucalyptus cultivation. A farmer asked why large-scale extensions of eucalyptus exist in his region and why these areas are still being expanded. The manager, a forest engineer, with an air of authority answered that she did not have to question the existence, nor the increasing of plantation areas, and that the reply is short and simple: society wants this.

The question asked by the farmer is surprising, but common for the majority of the communities neighbouring large-scale tree plantations in 'developing' countries such as Brazil. Many communities, generally, do not know why immense tree plantations exist, and were never consulted whether they wanted a 'neighbour' like this.

The reply given by the manager is less surprising because nowadays the majority of the population is excluded from the powerful decision-making processes that affect their basic needs. The elite usurped the right to speak for what 'society wants'. In a world that is based on the idea of ever-increasing economic growth, what society wants, they deem, is ever increasing productivity and consumption.

This explains why today a minority of the world has more than they actually need, while the majority obtains little guarantee for their basic material necessities. The globalised world, instead of diminishing this inequality, serves to increase it. Few examples represent the drama in this form of globalisation as well as the 'great' monoculture of trees.

But isn't it the 'developing' countries that decide?

Theoretically yes, but in practical terms the

Opposite page - Pulpmill of Aracruz Cellulose at night located near Aracruz, Espírito Santo. This complex, consists of three pulp mills, and is the biggest producer of 'eucalyptus bleached cellulose' (the eucalyptus cellulose is short-fibre cellulose) in the world. The three mills together produce 2 million tons of cellulose per year.

countries have little sovereignty. Northern consultancies have a major influence over policy in the South. For example, 'The Strategic Forestry Plan 2025' of Mexico was developed by a consultancy company, Indufor, based in Finland. And of course, the Finnish company gave little account to the future of Mexican forests.¹

Indufor works from a model of forestry development based on tree plantations with a few species that survive in a cold climate. This reduces the function of a forest – a complex and immense variety of flora and fauna that can offer multiple benefits – into something simple and extremely artificial: the cultivation of timber for industrial profit. In the Mexican case, according to the director Alberto Cárdenas of the National Council for Forests, the CONAFOR, based on the plan of the Finnish company, "specific impulse will be given to commercial plantations", or in other words, timber production for export.²

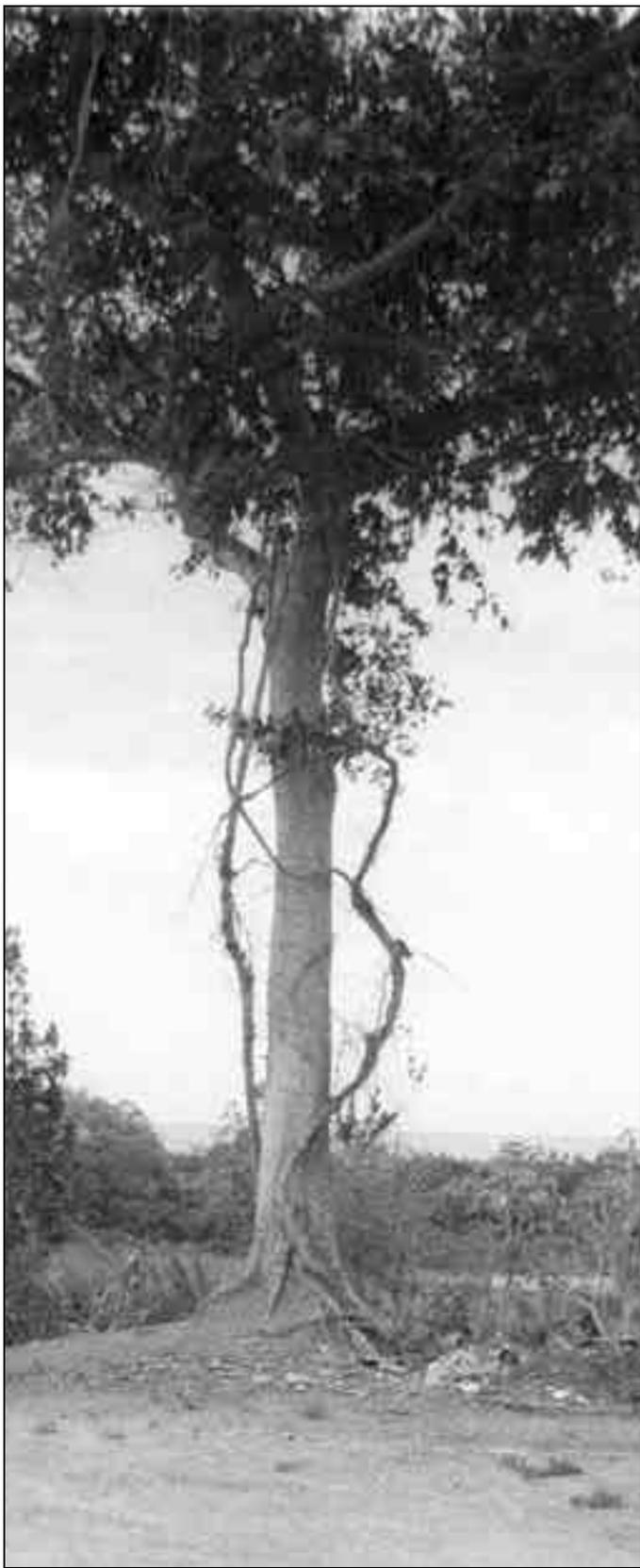
...because nowadays the majority of the population is excluded from the powerful decision-making processes that affect their basic needs.

What would happen if the Forest Plan of Finland was developed from a Mexican perspective? Based on experiences with Mexican forests, they might think of more diverse and innovative forms and uses of Finnish, despite the climatic differences. Why

this does not happen is explained by the interests that Finnish plantations serve in Mexico. These plantations serve the overall export purposes of Northern countries over the last 50 years to the extent that their forests are unable to produce sufficient wood to meet the increased consumption, given the climatic conditions. A tree in Finland, for example, needs up to 100 years to grow for commercial timber. In the "developing" countries, tree plantations are generally located in tropical and subtropical regions, and can grow in less than seven years, resulting in a tremendous difference in terms of productivity and consequently yield.

Large-scale tree plantations in tropical and subtropical countries are being promoted for Northern interests. European consultants, financial institutions, international banks, and Scandinavian companies supplying technology and equipment all play a role in this market. They collaborate with local governments that follow the macro-economic logic which requires external investments and

Dec. 16	Manoel Ribeiro, local politician and supporter of landless shot dead.	April 17	Pará Massacre - at least 19 killed and 50 injured by police fire on MST protesters in the Amazonian state of Pará.	May 21	Two Congressional representatives accept bribes to vote for an amendment allowing re-election. The amendment becomes law anyway.
1996		1997		1998	
January	Cardoso signs controversial decree allowing regional governments, private companies and individuals to challenge indigenous land claims	April 17	MST completes a two-month-long march to Brasília and are joined by tens of thousands	Oct. 4	Cardoso re-elected for another four-year term Massive aid package with IMF agreed



This native tree is the Guarani tree of life and is sacred to the Guarani people living here.

greater exports.

The Power of Paper

Today, North Americans use up to nine times more paper than Brazilians, eleven times more than Thais and 58 times more than the Vietnamese.³ Does this mean that North Americans need to read more than the Vietnamese? According to the UN, Vietnamese people have the same levels of literacy as Americans: 95%.⁴ Levels of civilisation, one may conclude, have little to do with the levels of consumption of paper products.

Inaugurated in 2002, the new pulpmill of Aracruz Cellulose processes 700 thousand tons per year of cellulose, generated for products in the Northern markets. Most of this will become sanitary papers – 51%, for example in the form of tissue papers. And to a lesser extent special papers – 20%, for example photographic paper.⁵ In order for Aracruz to be considered a financially sound company, it is of the utmost importance to grow, no matter how difficult this may be with the current global recession. This means inventing new uses of paper products that guarantee an increase of global consumption.

The new products of Aracruz Cellulose mean more European profit for this company, its suppliers, investors and North American purchasers. For lands in the South, it means an increase of plantations. In addition to greater consumption, it also means greater demand for energy and pollution during manufacture and transport.

Increased production and greater consumption of paper products are considered good for the global economy of the ‘developing’ countries – this continues to be the logic of the globalised world. Unfortunately, other forms of logic are not used regarding the economy of Southern countries. Efficient propaganda campaigns lead to consumers using more and more.

And the consumption in the South?

This standard of ever-increasing consumption is repeated in the countries of the South. The eucalyptus monoculture in the state of Minas Gerais for the production of plant-based charcoal feed the pig iron factories. Brazil exports 60% of its pig iron production, being the biggest exporter worldwide, meaning that another 40% of this production is for internal consumption. Considering the major pig iron type, so-called fusing pig iron, 45% is sold to the Brazilian automobile industry.⁶ This industry is by far the most important customer of pig iron in the internal market. It is

1999			
January	Brazil feels the effects of the Asian economic crisis. The real devaluates by 40%.	August 26	Thousands of demonstrators march on Brasilia calling for Pres. Cardoso's resignation.
June 29	International summit between EU and Mercosur in Rio de Janeiro Brazil discusses free-trade efforts between Europe and South	2000	
		January	First World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre
		Aug. 31 - Sept. 1	Presidents of South America's 12 countries meet for an economic summit. Talks focus on narcotics and expansion of free trade.
		October	Vallourec and Mannesmannrohren-Werke AG complete their merger and become

also about an industry that creates pride for Brazilian industry. A pride biased by the priorities of international capital. When the automobile industry is in recession, the entire national industry feels the effect.

The logic of the North repeats again: A logic that exists only to produce and consume more, obviously this will function largely for those who have the means, thereby also increasing the inequality in the country. There is a lack of debate on what society wants to produce and consume. Instead of this (it has happened again to a lesser scale) same model in the North, it plays outside the creative thinking arsenal in order to practice other forms of paper products production, alternatives to plantations, other ways of generating energy, other forms of transport, other ways of living, and other priorities for society.

Within this context, a new major concern is the newly emerging 'carbon market'. Companies such as Plantar recently presented a project to the World Bank Prototype Carbon Fund in order to sell 'carbon credits' for the carbon supposedly fixed on 23,100 hectares of new eucalyptus plantations. What has always been a negative symbol for local communities, suddenly becomes a symbol of 'clean development'. There is an inherent logic that does not want to question the basic problem with the production and consumption model; a model that does not consider people's needs. While the people affected by plantations may have no idea what this market is about, they do know full well that the plantations hinder their strategies for survival.

Sink or swim? What are the alternatives for local communities in Brazil?

With the increase of consumption in the North and the expansion of eucalyptus in Brazil, this diminishes the perspectives for local communities. Each day that passes, communities have reduced access to the available natural resources: fertile land, local biodiversity and water resources. They lose land, are victims of direct or indirect expulsion, sometimes in a violent manner. With each increasing cycle of cellulose production, there is an increase in the area that plantations occupy and a further increase in the number of families without work or a future.

There is an alternative found in grassroots social movements that are organizing and resisting this model. The Alert Against the Green Desert Network is just one network that clearly demonstrates that the society of which it dreams rejects these plantations arguing that they increase

consumption, do not redistribute wealth and are intended to increase already excessive levels of profit by private companies.

In the state of Minas Gerais, which has two million hectares of eucalyptus plantations, four rural trade union workers in the Rio Pardo region joined with other movements and organisations of the Green Desert Network. Their struggle is to get lands back that belong to the communities and that were rented by the State authorities to plantation companies more than 20 years ago. The local communities propose to reconvert these plantation lands back into the original *Cerrado* vegetation and start practicing agro-extrativism, using the immense diversity of native delicious fruit species that were cut down for the eucalyptus plantations. At the same time, their aim is to give back land to local people and thereby return part of their dignity.

Afro-Brazilian, *Quilombo*, communities in the state of Espírito Santo supported by other organizations of the Green Desert Movement, have been struggling to get their lands back occupied by eucalyptus plantation companies 30 years ago. They reject efforts by firms like Aracruz Celulose that offer to reforest their small plots with native species, but they did not ask for alms. Instead of this, they simply want their lands back as the only way to guarantee a future for the young people of the communities. And it is for this that they organize themselves.

Local communities are resisting in many ways. They want to be heard in all of society, including in the societies of the North – by the banker, the consultant, the entrepreneur, the consumer. They support campaigns to reduce paper consumption and do not want to see the same errors of today repeated in the future. They want to re-evaluate what is 'necessary' for everyone to have a worthy life; they want to reinvent the direction of civilization.

Winfried Overbeek

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2001 August 3	IMF accelerate a \$1.2 loan to Argentina and a \$15 billion line of emergency credit to Brazil.		voluntary halt during elections and takes over 2 ranches in the state of São Paulo.	10 years. 600 thousand hectares of expansion per year.
2002 Oct. 28	Interest on public debt exceeds total spending on education and health Lula elected President of Brazil	2003 Feb	Plantation companies present a plan to the government to expand the present 5 million hectares of tree plantations (pine	Sept. 25 The Lula government signs Provisional Measure 131, which permits the planting of transgenic crops.

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DIGA NÃO AO D

FASE (Federation of Organizations for Social and Educational Assistance) is a Brazilian NGO that has been in existence for 40 years. It seeks to promote sustainable development in Brazil, as well as social justice and equality.

It has three national programs that are being implemented in six different Brazilian states: Sustainable and Democratic Amazon, Right to the City in Metropolitan Regions, and Jobs and Socio-Economic Solidarity.

One special program, the ESCR, aims to defend and work toward full implementation of the economic, social, cultural and environmental rights (ESCR) in Brazilian society, as proposed in the UN covenant on economic, social and cultural rights to which Brazil is signatory.

In the state of Esp rito Santo, FASE works on two interrelated issues: a fundamental critique of the regional development model, based on the so-called "large-scale projects". This model focuses on eucalyptus plantations and the export-pulp producing sector, activities which have caused numerous impacts. The other priority issue of FASE in Esp rito Santo is supporting the struggle of Afro-Brazilian Quilombo communities in the northern part of the state, assisting them in their efforts to organize, to be recognized and to succeed in reclaiming the lands they lost to eucalyptus tree companies.

FASE-ES is one of the member organizations of the Green Desert Alert Movement.

**The Green Desert Alert Movement is a broad civil society network of organizations, movements, local communities, trade unions, churches and citizens, from four different south-eastern Brazilian states, who are concerned about the on-going expansion of eucalyptus plantations in their regions, as well as the sale of "carbon credits"; at the same time, the network tries to show the viability of alternative models of development being implemented by several member movements and communities at the grassroots level.
For more information contact FASE-ES.**

DESERTO VERDE

Jutta Kilj, Sinks Watch

Say No to the Green Desert

Carbon Trade Watch was conceived at the end of 2001 and born in 2002, becoming the newest project of the Transnational Institute. With a focus on the emerging greenhouse gas markets, Carbon Trade Watch monitors the impact of pollution trading upon environmental, social and economic justice.

The inclusion of pollution trading in the Kyoto Protocol signals an historic proliferation of the free market principle into the environmental sphere. Through research and analysis, Carbon Trade Watch seeks to challenge the assumption that a liberalised marketplace is the only arena in which environmental problems can be resolved.

Carbon Trade Watch also pools the work of others and acts as a meeting point for researchers, campaigners and communities opposing the negative impacts of pollution trading. The aim is to facilitate effective opposition to environmentally and socially destructive economic policy and create space for bottom-up solutions and alternatives to emerge.

The Carbon Trade Watch group is organised non-hierarchically and is committed to challenging prejudice in all its forms. This is actively pursued in perspectives explored in the work, as well as being a constant part of the internal organisation of the project structure. The group believes that challenging domination is a vital part of the process of achieving a diverse spectrum of just and sustainable societies.

Carbon Trade Watch comprises five researcher-activists: Heidi Bachram, Jessica Bekker, Christina Hotz, Tamra Gilbertson and Adam Ma'anit.



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meanings and styles were maintained
in translation.**

Photography:

**Tamra Gilbertson, Carbon Trade Watch,
April 2003, unless otherwise noted.
copyleft**

**If you would like to help organise or
participate in an Info Tour exhibition
on this subject in 2004 please contact
Carbon Trade Watch.**

Weblinks:

**www.fase.com.br
www.carbontradewatch.org
www.tni.org
www.corporateeurope.org
www.wrm.org.uy
www.cdmwatch.org
www.sinkswatch.org
www.cornerhouse.co.uk
www.pointcarbon.com
www.mst.org.br**

*This model of a 'state-of-the-art' industrial
tree plantation was displayed at an AMDA
conference in April, 2003 by V&M Florestal.*

*Opposite page, "Children in the casa de
farinha "*

*Cover Photo, MST camp next to an Aracruz
plantation*



Industrial tree plantations have had devastating effects on people and the planet. The Brazilian story is deeply rooted in a military dictatorship, oppression, and a long history of destruction.

The people of Brazil continue to struggle against the ever-expanding eucalyptus monoculture. Today Brazilians face huge debt, a dwindling economy, and a greenwashed globalised world.

This reader opens space for discussion rarely acknowledged by the decision-making elite and takes the issues of survival back to where they came from: the ground.

