**CERD – 108th Session**

**Periodic Review of Brazil - 2022**

**Civil Society Report**

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**1 - ARTICLE 1 ICERD**

**Demarcation of Indigenous Lands**

**Current Situation**

The Brazilian Constitution protects in article 231, § 2, the permanent possession of lands traditionally occupied by indigenous peoples, with exclusive enjoyment of the riches of the soil, rivers and lakes in them. The promise of demarcation of indigenous territories (art. 67 of the Provisional Law of the Constitution) until 1993 was never fulfilled. Of the 1,298 indigenous lands in Brazil, 829 (63%) have some pending state for the completion of its demarcation process and registration as traditional indigenous territory in the Secretariat of The Union Heritage (SPU). Of these 829, a total of 536 lands (64%) have not yet had any measures taken by the State. In addition to fulfilling its promise not to demarcated an inch of indigenous land, the Bolsonaro government, through the Ministry of Justice, returned 27 demarcation processes to the National Indian Foundation (Funai) in the first half of 2019, for review. This action certainly implies greater obstacles, if not in the impediment itself, to the fulfillment of the cons- titutional rights of the indigenous who claim their ancestral territories. [1st](#r4tvpjkad58e)

The current federal administration was elected with an express promise of anti-demarcation, which constitutes a clear setback since the redemocratization of Brazil in the 1980s. Not even the demarcation processes that were in their final stages, depending only on mere formalities, were completed in the meantime. A serious example is that of the Guarani and Kaiowá peoples, who live in small reserves or along the roads of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul. The lack of demarcation of indigenous territories has a series of serious consequences for the exercise of other human rights by indigenous peoples in Brazil.

The existence of the unlawful thesis of the time frame (“marco temporal”) threatens the survival of indigenous peoples and violates international human rights law. According to this thesis, only indigenous lands physically occupied by indigenous peoples in 1988, the year in which the Constitution was promulgated, would have the right to be demarcated. If this thesis prevails, several historical spoils will prevail, including during the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, with a huge loss for the various indigenous peoples. Another consequence would be the occurrence of dozens of repossessions against indigenous peoples, especially in the South, Midwest and Northeast regions of Brazil. Furthermore, there would be a strong stimulus to new invasions of indigenous lands already regularized, especially in the Brazilian Amazon region. The constitutionality of this thesis is being discussed by the Supreme Federal Court (STF) in Extraordinary Appeal 1.017.365, with a general repercussion character. Thus, what is decided by the Supreme Court in this case, will have to be applied necessarily in all other similar cases throughout Brazil. The trial of this case has already been interrupted in 2021 and returned to the agenda of the Supreme Court this year 2022, is scheduled to take place on June 23 this year. [2In](#o3gc3b8qodwf)   
  
The State of Mato Grosso do Sul, in particular, the Military Police of the federative unit has been illegally used to carry out illegal evictions (arguing immediate effort) of communities in the process of self-demarcation, as happened with the kinkinau (2019) and kaiowá and guarani communities (2018 and 2022).

The Brazilian government uses a distorted rhetoric of comparing the area of indigenous lands demarcated with the area of other States, leading to the international community a misconception of indigenous land and territory. This rhetoric conceals the magnitude of the challenge of completing the constitutional process of demarcations, which was to be completed in 1993. It also ignores that 45% of the indigenous population in Brazil is still in unprotected territories. [3](#vuheipp86d5h) In 2021, the Supreme Court of Brazil held that the permanent possession of traditional occupation lands is independent of the process of completion of the administrative demarcation procedure, prevailing the original right of these communities, in line with international law[4](#elzr2j5crmjv). Such an understanding has been constantly ignored by the Federal Executive.

**Free, Prior and Informed Consent**

**Current Situation**

There is no consistent policy in Brazil that guarantees Brazil's compliance with its international obligations on the right to prior and informed free consent through appropriate consultations. Thus, the rights and interests of indigenous peoples are not adequately contemplated, which marginalizes them from the important decision-making processes of the country, especially those that affect their lives. Brazil withdrew its support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples[15](#3sxncwgbxr3v) (2019), as well as a draft Legislative Decree to authorize the executive branch to denounce ILO Convention 169.[16](#doqns4h1rhyp)

**2 – ARTICLE 2 ICERD**

**Violence against Indigenous Peoples**

**Current Situation**

Since 1985, there have been 1,236 murders of indigenous persons in Brazil. The execution of indigenous leaders has increased exponentially in the last five years, following the increase in land conflicts in Brazil. The Amazon converged 66.22% of the 1,815 deaths related to the struggle for and for land in Brazil, with a disproportionate impact on traditional peoples. In 2020, 182 indigenous people were murdered, 61% higher than in 2019. Other indigenous leaders continue to have their lives threatened by fighting for the right to their territory and existence, even when they are formally protected by the national human rights program, which is underfunded and under-equipped.

On August 11, 2020, four indigenous people of the Chiquitano people were executed by the Military Police of Mato Grosso, under the traditional allegation of "resisting arrest" (“auto de resistência”), contrary to the evidences of the crime. Also in August 2020, there was a massacre in the Rio Abacaxis (AM) region, leading to the death of two indigenous people of the Munduruku people and a couple of riverside, still unsolved. [5th](#83eflij3rmgb)

The National Council of Justice (CNJ), adopted in 2019 Resolution No. 287 of 06/25/2019, which establishes procedures for the treatment of indigenous people accused, defendants, convicted or deprived of liberty, and gives guidelines to ensure the rights of this population in the criminal sphere of the Judiciary. This is a positive step that protects the interculturality and specific characteristics of vulnerability of this specific population.

**3 - Article 4 ICERD**

**Hate Speech against Indigenous Peoples**

**Current Situation**

Hate speech, present in Brazilian society for centuries, has found a strong impetus for reinvigoration and legitimacy in recent years, especially at the highest level of the federal level propagated the aversion to minorities in Brazil. [6](#od24yjrvrvlo) He also compared indigenous lands to "zoos" and indigenous peoples who inhabit them as "captive animals", and declared the need to integrate indigenous peoples, who are supposedly in a "lower situation", in a so-called "real Brazil". [7](#49a67ka8t0g) The government has propagated stereotypes that indigenous peoples are universally people living in poverty, are manipulated by foreign non-governmental organizations, and "waste" the enormous potential for economic profit in their territories. [8](#7lgj98jq2w7) At a ministerial meeting in May 2020, the then Education Minister literally said "I hate this term indigenous peoples, I hate, I hate... ". [9](#7fqp8ppf6t6h)

The threats and attacks suffered by indigenous peoples have been perpetrated, mostly, by the current government, either by the public manifestation of hate speech and racist messages against indigenous peoples, or in the hasty process of dismantling public policies and agencies that must take care of indigenous and socio-environmental rights. They are not restricted, however, to the acts and omissions of the Executive Branch, and are also present in debates in the Legislature and in relevant judgments of the Judiciary. This institutional scenario has a direct effect on the increase in invasions and conflicts in indigenous territories promoted by large corporations and individuals interested in exploiting indigenous lands for mining, agriculture or other interests, bringing more violence and death to indigenous peoples.

The hate speech promoted by the federal government has direct consequences on indigenous peoples, as it expands and legitimizes the invasion of indigenous lands, land grabbing and the practice of environmental crimes such as deforestation and burning, thus increasing pressure on territories throughout the country, as well as the escalation of violence against indigenous peoples and their rights. [10](#rg0k1z9zegix) For example, in the land Tekoha Je'y, in Paraty (RJ), the mayor of the municipality deceived the population and spread hate speech and misinformation on social networks, which was replicated by other local politicians, against the nhandeva and mbya groups in the locality, urging the population to act aggressively against the indigenous community that wants the demarcation of their lands. Without the demarcation process completed, however, given the slow pace of the federal government, legal uncertainty over the years has generated several attacks against the Nhandeva and Mbya communities, as well as intimidation and hate speech. For decades, the two peoples lived together harmoniously in the territory, from conjugal ties, contrasting with the hostile attitude of the society that surrounds them today. [11](#cqadfgfhbiig)

**4 – ARTICLE 5 ICERD**

**4.1 - Public Policies**

**Current Situation**

The public policies of the Brazilian State since 2017 have suffered a significant setback, calling into question the very survival of indigenous peoples. In 2017, Ordinance 80/2017 weakened the demarcation procedure. The repeal of Ordinance 581/15 by Ordinance 683/17, failing to secure 532 hectares of the Guarani People was emblematic. Ordinance 1,907/17 bureaucratizes and makes indigenous health services and services unfeasible. The non-renewal of Ordinances for the protection of isolated peoples leaves vast areas and populations unprotected, as is the case of the Jacareúba/Katawixi area, of 647,000 hectares, whose ordinance expired in December 2021.

Under the title "The New Funai", the Brazilian State militarized indigenistic policies, resuming the assimilationism of the military regime, violating its constitutional and international obligations. In the State of Amazonas, of importance to indigenous peoples, the 7 coordinators of Funai are under the command of military or police. The proportion of military personnel in FUNAI in the Legal Amazon is 58%, compared to 26% with the rest of the country. This policy has legitimized violence against indigenous peoples,[12](#lcv2cfqjelbf) the expansion of agribusiness and the loss of expertise of career employees accumulated for decades.

Despite the presence of resources, FUNAI, in the first five months of 2020, had the lowest expenditure in 10 years. Despite COVID-10, only 39% of the federal resources available to combat the indigenous pandemic were actually distributed in 2020.[13](#pdy1hrrsv5j2)

There is an unprecedented attack on isolated indigenous communities or indigenous communities of recent contact, highly vulnerable to cultural diseases and losses. Law No. 14,021/2020 (Art. 13, paragraph 1) was promulgated allowing the incursion of religious missions in the relevant areas, including during the pandemic. The Supreme Court has issued an injunction prohibiting such incursions, but such a court battle once again undermines the integrity of indigenous governance in the country, since protection remains precarious under a provisional court order. 14

The federal government is pushing a legislative package against indigenous peoples in Congress. The package includes Bill 191/2020, which aims to regularize mining on indigenous lands; Bill 490/2007, which legitimizes the Time Frame; Bill 510/2021, which stimulates land grabbing; and Bill 3729/2004, which weakens the environmental licensing procedure.

**4.2 - Business and Rights of Indigenous Peoples**

**Current Situation**

The illegal advance of mining in traditional indigenous territories, with broad state tolerance, not only violated the right to traditional lands, but also the right to life. During COVID-19, several indigenous peoples were recruited by transnational meat export companies to work in their slaughterhouses without adequate protection, leading to various contagions and deaths.[17](#pkw955cd2v8m)

The proliferation of mining activities (“garimpo”) in indigenous lands, such as Raposa Serra do Sol, is alarming. Mercury contamination already affects 56% of the members of the Yanomami people [18](#u47y4cl84fu9) which has worried a number of un special mandates19. Even after the warning of The High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet,20 in October 2021, two indigenous children were swallowed by a machine working in an illegal mining area. [21](#5gh3m87iq8yz)

The Karipuna people live under a lot of pressure on their quality of life. The Karipuna Indigenous Land in Rondônia, although it has been demarcated, is under pressure from all sides, where a criminal organization acts to legitimize illegal land ownership. Since 2015, it has been under pressure from loggers and miners, and in recent years has advanced a new strategy of illegal land expropriation, with land grabbing including the use of the Rural Environmental Registry, which is granted by the Department of Development and Environment, as an attempt to legalize such crime. But recently, with the approval of Complementary Law 1089/21, which has disaffected the Jaci Paraná Nature Reserve and part of the Guajará Mirim State Park, strong pressure was felt in the southern part of the Karipuna land, with the deforestation of more than 570 hectares, from January to September 2021, not counting the illegally built bridges, which were used for the theft of wood and unbridled deforestation within the Indigenous Land. The Karipuna people and the other uncontacted peoples living on karipuna land are surrounded on all sides, with the increase in deforestation. Less than three kilometers from Panorama Village, the invaders set up trails, planting grass and, on the road that would lead to the village, banana, corn, cassava and other plantations, which are made by land farmers. [21](#12ruqqwoz4yx)The situation is so serious that it made it impossible for the Karipuna to harvest the chestnuts, which makes it even more difficult for them to survive within the indigenous land. There is a serious risk of the Karipuna being attacked and massacred in their own village, within the indigenous land, by invading loggers and grileiros.

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**4.3 - Health and Well-being of Indigenous Peoples**

**Current Situation**

Deterioration of the Health of Indigenous Peoples

Since 2017, the health care of indigenous peoples has generally worsened. According to a survey commissioned by UNICEF in Yanomami villages, 8 out of 10 children under 5 years of age suffer from chronic malnutrition, 67.8% of whom are anemic. In addition, 81.2% of children under 5 years of age are short-statured and 48.5% have underage weight. [23](#m2uh00afss2z) More than 2,000 Guarani families, of whose members 60% are children, survive under canvas shacks without access to land, water, health, education and adequate food, which reveals an environment of state absence and humanitarian crisis. [24](#hvpzuwl7redb) In August 2019, 16 indigenous children died, between January and August, in the Alto Rio Purus Indigenous Land, in Acre, from diarrhea, vomiting, fever and cramps, due to lack of budgetary execution of their sanitation policy, where the Department of Indigenous Health (SESAI) executed only 11% of the budget available for that year. [25th](#uq8eildzjvn9)

In some regions, extreme poverty among indigenous children has led to the withdrawal of these from their families, a policy that leads to deculture and assimilationism. In Dourados (MS), although the indigenous population is 10% of the total, 60% of the children welcomed to institutions and shelters belong to some people in the region. Of the 79 welcomed in Dourados, 50 are indigenous. 88% of the host institutions are private – non-governmental. They welcome a total of 65 indigenous children and young people, 50 in Dourados (MS) alone. Caarapó, Ivinhema, Maracajú and Rio Brilhante are home to the other 15 indigenous peoples. [26th](#rsg1upa4kyp5)

The Ibirama-Laklãno Indigenous Land (Xokleng people) of about 3,000 indigenous people suffers from the lack of adequate medical and funeral service, although the contract with the private company is of high value. [27th](#5t389olxfl9h)

Mental health also deteriorates with a lack of hope for better days. Among the Avá-Guarani people, there were 18 suicide attempts and 11 suicides, most of which are victims of young people up to 20 years old, between January and June 2021, according to the Federal Prosecutor's Office. The lack of better prospects for life, the impact of COVID-19 on villages and, especially, the loss of territory, has led indigenous peoples to alarming situations. [28th](#xhye95s1sg1)

Health in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic

The first contamination of THE COVD-19 by an indigenous person occurred through contact with a public official (FUNAI, the indigenous agency), without adequate protection protocols. Through a series of intentional omissions of the Brazilian State, COVID-19 affected 64,516 indigenous peoples, 1,260 deaths among 162 affected indigenous peoples. [29](#31wjopfe2vuh) Despite official propaganda, less than 50% of the indigenous population received the second dose of the respective vaccine. [30](#c0thg1ohlw7e)

The proportion of deaths among the indigenous population due to coronavirus was considerably higher compared to the non-indigenous population. The denialist attitude of the Brazilian State not only had a disproportionate effect on indigenous peoples, but also specific protection measures were denied at the beginning of the pandemic. A law passed by the National Congress on urgent measures for the indigenous population had fundamental parts vetoed by the President of the Republic[31](#cepx4hwxvqrn), such as the supply of drinking water, disinfectants and hospital beds for indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples themselves were responsible for disseminating daily data on indigenous contaminations. [32](#79etcsqdjb6c) The mistaken public policy, without scientific evidence, of administering chloroquine hydroxide in a large number of indigenous communities has caused numerous preventable indigenous deaths. Indigenous organizations obtained an injunction from the IACHR33, in addition to an injunction from the Supreme Court ordering the federal government to implement a specific contingency plan[34](#tsitmyox95tf), which the government hesitated to implement. The CERD Committee issued a statement on the warning procedure and urgent action.[35](#iauix5v5n378) During the vaccination campaign, the government applied the restrictive criterion of "territorial communities" to provide priority care only to populations living in demarcated territories, and to disregard indigenous peoples in other contexts, such as the urban context.

Repossession actions and court orders against indigenous peoples were prohibited by the Supreme Court, yet local judges continued to enact court orders to promote evictions of indigenous communities. Such orders and lawsuits had a direct impact on the increase in deaths and contamination by indigenous coronaviruses.

**4.1 - Right to a Clean, Healthy, and Sustainable Environment**

**Current Situation**

Linked to the lack of demarcation and its importance to combat the damage of climate change, 2021 was the third year of a series of record deforestation in several biomes in Brazil. While deforestation negatively affects the climate for the Brazilian population in general, indigenous peoples suffer disproportionately from these impacts.[36](#qytlw8o5l37t)

The federal government's responses are absurd. In January 2022, President Bolsonaro declared that the problem of deforestation was solved, referring to the reduction of 80% of environmental fines in 2021, as a result of the dismantling of environmental surveillance policy.[37](#i8vqmstzohyz)

In this context, the current illegal policy of private leasing in indigenous territories has contributed to the disintegration and fragmentation of indigenous territories, with a significant negative impact on the preservation of forests and other Brazilian biomes. This policy brings back the philosophy of the military regime, when such a lease was used to promote deforestation, to plant the swiddens and the indigenous peoples were treated as dispossessed, because whoever managed the land, including all planting, production and profitability was the indigenistic organ. The indigenous people were made “free” free to become slaves.[38](#kgsl6b6drxkz)

# **Endnotes**

1. CIMI - Violência Contra os Violência Contra os Povos Indígenas no Brasil Povos Indígenas no Brasil, Dados de 2019, p. 6.

2. Information on the Xokleng case: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1a9ao82v1aDIkD7_mPFnWC1sG1eO029BA/view?usp=sharing>

3. Instituto Socioambiental: <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/quem-sao>

4. STF, Recurso Extraordináro 1.017.365 (SC), voto Ministro Edson Fachin.

5. <https://cimi.org.br/2021/08/nota-organizacoes-justica-massacre-rio-abacaxis-impune-um-ano/>

6. "Vamos fazer um Brasil para a maioria; minorias têm que se curvar às maiorias; leis devem existir para defender maiorias; minorias se adaptam, ou simplesmente desaparecem" [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X_z6Hakdw3A>] setembro de 2018.

7. Special Procedure communication: AL BRA 15/2021, 19 January 2022, p. 1.

8. Id., p. 2.

9. Ex-ministro Abraham Weintraub, maio de 2020 [[https://www.youtube.com/watch ?v=8RkSi1Qwl\_M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RkSi1Qwl_M)]

10.  [APIB - DOSSIÊ INTERNACIONAL SOBRE DENÚNCIAS DE POVOS INDÍGENAS DO BRASIL](https://apiboficial.org/files/2021/08/DOSSIE_pt_v3web.pdf), AGOSTO DE 2021.

11. CIMI -  [Os indígenas guaranis são pressionados pelo discurso de ódio e incitação à violência enquanto lutam pela demarcação da TI de Je'y](https://cimi.org.br/2020/10/indigenas-guarani-sao-pressionados-por-discursos-de-odio-e-incitacao-a-violencia-enquanto-lutam-pela-demarcacao-da-ti-jey/), (outubro de 2020). [[https://cimi.org.br/2020/10/indigenas-guarani-sao-pressionados-por-discursos-de-odio-e-incitacao-a-violencia-enquanto-lutam-pela-demarcacao-da-ti -jey/](https://cimi.org.br/2020/10/indigenas-guarani-sao-pressionados-por-discursos-de-odio-e-incitacao-a-violencia-enquanto-lutam-pela-demarcacao-da-ti-jey/)]

12. https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/blog/blog-do-monitoramento/massacre-anunciado-coordenador-da-funai-ameaca-meter-bala-em-isolados-no-vale-do-javari-am

13. Special Procedure communication: AL BRA 15/2021, 19 January 2022, pp 2-3.

14. Medida Cautelar (Interim Measure) on Action of Unconstitutionality 6,622 DF (2021).

15. EMRIP 2019.

16. [Projeto de Decreto Legislativo 177/2021](https://www.camara.leg.br/propostas-legislativas/2279486). See also: 48th session of the Human Rights Council. Item 2: global update by the High Commissioner Statement by Michelle Bachelet, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights: "I urge the authorities to reverse policies that negatively affect indigenous peoples, and to refrain from withdrawing from ILO Convention 169, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention.” (September 2021).

17. Agência Pública: [Contamination of indigenous people in Dourados came from a JBS meatpacking plant](https://apublica.org/2020/06/contaminacao-de-indigenas-em-dourados-partiu-de-frigorifico-da-jbs/).

18. Fiocruz: [Mercury contamination spreads in the Yanomami population](http://informe.ensp.fiocruz.br/noticias/46979) (2019)

19. UN: Brazil: [UN experts deplore attacks by illegal miners on indigenous peoples; alarmed by mercury levels](https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=27134&LangID=E).

20. [48th session of the Human Rights Council](https://www.ohchr.org/RU/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=27443). Item 2: global update by the High Commissioner Statement by Michelle Bachelet, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights: "In Brazil, I am alarmed by recent attacks against members of the Yanomami and Munduruku peoples by illegal miners in the Amazon. Attempts to legalize the entry of businesses into indigenous territories, and limit the demarcation of indigenous lands – notably via a draft law that is under consideration in the House of Representatives – are also of serious concern." (September 2021).

21. <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/criancas-indigenas-sao-sugadas-por-maquinario-de-garimpo-ilegal-em-roraima-denunciam-yanomamis/>

22. Internal reports of CIMI (2022).

23. <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2019-10/oito-em-cada-10-criancas-yanomami-tem-desnutricao-cronica-diz-estudo> (2019).

24. <https://cimi.org.br/2018/03/retirada-de-criancas-guarani-e-kaiowa-de-suas-familias-e-denunciada-na-onu/>

25. <https://cimi.org.br/2019/10/em-oito-meses-16-criancas-indigenas-morreram-apresentando-sintomas-como-diarreia-na-ti-alto-rio-purus/>

26. <https://cimi.org.br/2018/03/racismo-institucional-justificando-pobreza-estado-retira-criancas-de-suas-familias-guarani-e-kaiowa/>

27. <https://cimi.org.br/2022/03/povo-xokleng-sofre-com-a-ausencia-de-medicos-e-com-o-atraso-de-servicos-funerarios-no-territorio/>

28. <http://www.mpf.mp.br/pr/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-pr/suicidios-entre-indios-do-parana-mpf-e-mp-estao-vigilantes>

29. <https://emergenciaindigena.apiboficial.org/en/dados-covid-19-novo/> (daily updated).

30.  [Reporter Brazil: After 10 months, the Bolsonaro government vaccinated only 44% of the indigenous against Covid](https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2021/12/apos-10-meses-governo-bolsonaro-vacinou-apenas-44-por-cento-dos-indigenas-contra-covid/) (2021).

31. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-brazil-indigenous-idUSKBN2492XX>

32. APIB was one of the protagonists in self-defence and information measures to combat the negative effects of COVID-19 among indigenous peoples.

33. [Resolution 94/2020](https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/decisiones/pdf/2020/94-20MC679-20-BR.pdf), IACHR - December 2020.

34. Supreme Court, decision of March 2020. [https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/stf-obriga-governo-a-priorizar-indigenas-urbanos-em -vaccination-but-measure-still-has-obstacles](https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/stf-obriga-governo-a-priorizar-indigenas-urbanos-em-vacinacao-mas-medida-ainda-tem-obstaculos)

35. CERD/EWUAP/104th Session/2021/CS/ks <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=INT/CERD/ALE/BRA/9445&Lang=en>

36. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-59341770>

37. <https://headtopics.com/br/bolsonaro-comemora-reduc-o-de-multas-no-campo-paramos-de-ter-problemas-ambientais-o-antagonista-23495162>

38. <https://cimi.org.br/2022/01/arrendamento-terras-perpetuacao-esbulho-desigualdades-indigenas/>