


THE BR-319 HIGHWAY (MANAUS-PORTO VELHO): THE DISCOURSE TO "RIDE BY CAR", THE ROAD ISOLATION OF A REGION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this article is to analyze the speech of the Minister of Environment and Climate Change, Marina Silva, given at the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) of NGOs, as well as the speeches of the rapporteur of the CPI, Senator Plínio Valério, from Amazonas, and how these reverberated and were broadcast in Amazonian and national news portals and television media. The Environmental Impact Study (EIA), a technical document necessary to obtain the Preliminary License for the repaving of the "middle stretch" of BR-319, whose narratives are dissonant with the minister's speech, is also analyzed. The study is justified by the current importance of the debates on the repaving of the BR-319 highway (Manaus - Porto Velho), both in relation to environmental impacts and the need for improvements in transport infrastructure in the Amazon region. Of a qualitative nature, the methodology used in the exploratory study was bibliographic and documentary, based on the theorizations of discourse analysis by Michel Foucault (1993) and his scholars such as Veiga-Neto (2004), Saraiva (2015) and Lemke (2014). The findings indicate that the minister's speech problematizes the relationship between the reconstruction of the highway and the fight against environmental crimes, in addition to questioning the effectiveness of the social policies that would be implemented in the region after the work.

Keywords: Amazon, Environment, Repaving of BR-319, Discourse, Digital environmental journalism.

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INTRODUCTION

The debates on the repaving of the BR-319 highway (Manaus – Porto Velho), especially in the middle section, between Km 250.7 and 656.4, have generated intense discussions, both in relation to environmental impacts and the need to improve transport infrastructure in the Amazon region. Previous studies highlight the risks of environmental degradation and the difficulties of inspection, while others argue that the work would facilitate access to essential services, such as health and education.

BR-319 (Manaus – Porto Velho) is a diagonal federal highway, built from the end of the 60s and officially inaugurated on March 27, 1976, during the government of President Ernesto Geisel. With 885 kilometers in length, it connects the capital of Amazonas (Manaus) to the capital of Rondônia (Porto Velho). According to Oliveira Neto and Nogueira (2024), after the completion of the paving works, the BR-319, completely paved, allowed the expansion of economic activities between the capitals of Amazonas and Rondônia, such as the trade of agricultural products, and the movement of people, through the transport of people and cargo.

The construction of the highway, which was part of the National Road Plan, was delegated by the Federal Government to the Department of Roads of Amazonas, the DER-AM, a state autarchy, with part of the resources coming from the National Road Fund. The company hired to execute the contract was Andrade Gutierrez.

However, in 1988, interstate traffic was interrupted due to the precarious conditions of traffic caused by the absence of maintenance and conservation contracts, added to the lack of weight control, which contributed significantly to the destruction of the central stretch of BR-319, of approximately 405 kms.

From then on, there were many attempts to rebuild the so-called middle section, which starts at Km 250.7 and goes to Km 656.4. It should be noted that this road segment is located in the State of Amazonas and passes through the geographical areas of the municipalities of Borba, Beruri, Manicoré, Tapauá, Canutama and Humaitá. A boat trip from Manaus to Porto Velho takes 4 to 5 days. With the repaved highway, it will be possible to leave one capital to another with a travel time of around 10 to 12 hours, making passengers and goods, especially perishables, reach their final destination much faster (Rima, 2021, p. 5).

It is important to highlight that despite the use of the road modal, the Madeira River will not cease to be important for the logistics of the region, as the aforementioned

waterway will continue to be used for the transport of other goods, in large quantities, such as soybeans and passengers who live on the banks of the river.

The agenda for the repaving of the BR-319 highway is not unanimous and raises intense debates between those who defend the recovery of this modal and those who are against it. On November 27, 2023, on the occasion of the testimony of the Minister of Environment and Climate Change, Marina Silva, to the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) on Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), in the Federal Senate, the minister stated that "you don't tear up a 400-kilometer native forest just to drive a car, without being associated with a productive project." By asking this, the minister caused controversy and intensified the tempers between those who defend and those who are against the repaving of the highway. In an article published on Portal Tucumã (2023),⁴ this part of the minister's speech was reproduced, as well as on other portals.

Also in 2023, a severe drought hit the entire Amazon region, being overcome in 2024. In this scenario, there was the dissemination of several journalistic articles, accompanied by photographic records, which reported the intense use of the highway by trucks, bi-trains and road trains, vehicles with the capacity to transport up to 74 tons, with nine axles, evidencing the economic viability of this enterprise (Lira, 2024)⁵.

Thus, the general objective of this article is to analyze the speech of the aforementioned minister, given at the CPI of NGOs, as well as the speeches of the rapporteur of the CPI, Senator Plínio Valério, from Amazonas, and how these reverberated and were published in Amazonian and national news portals. One of the specific objectives is to verify the EIA and the Environmental Impact Report (Rima) as basic documents to understand the corpus.

Thus, the analyzed material consists of a video, two technical documents and six journalistic reports, described below:

a) a six-hour video recorded during Minister Marina Silva's participation, on 11/27/23, in the CPI of NGOs and which is anchored on TV Senado's YouTube channel. In this material, the speeches of the senator rapporteur of the CPI, Plínio Valério, and Minister Marina Silva;

⁴ Available at: <https://portaltucuma.com.br/video- apenas-para-passear-de-carro-marina-silva-dispara-falas-polemicas-sobre-a-br-319-me14/>. Accessed on 19.10.2024

⁵ Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/reel/DA50GX4uIAH/?igsh=MWtpY2E4bzUwZmk4eQ==>. Accessed on 24.10.2024.

b) The EIA and the Rima, with the Rima being a summary of the EIA and written in a language that is more accessible to the population. The EIA, on the other hand, is a technical document necessary to obtain the Preliminary License for the repaving of the "Middle Section" of BR-319, whose study accepted by Ibama validated the feasibility of BR-319, being then in dissonance with the minister's speech;

c) Television and digital journalistic reports anchored in media sites, predominantly Amazonian, which are the regional television news A Crítica, and the digital portals: Tucumã, Onda Digital, Radar Amazônico, G1 Amazonas and Um só Planeta, of the Globo group. With the exception of the Um só Planeta portal, which is national, the other portals are local and regularly follow the agenda for the repaving of BR-319, which is why they were chosen. By analyzing them, the objective is to demonstrate the media repercussion of the minister's speech.

This study is based on three main theoretical axes: discourse analysis, according to the understandings of Michel Foucault; environmental journalism on the internet according to Carvalho (2011), Wolf (1985); Franco and Lemos (2013) and Loose, Lima and Carvalho (2014) and the debates on the repaving of BR-319, as previously detailed. The theoretical basis is supported by Foucaultian theorizations, especially with regard to discourse analysis and the truth regimes that are produced and reproduced in media narratives about sustainable development and environmental protection.

This scenario leads to the following guiding question: how does the speech of the Minister of Environment and Climate Change, Marina Silva, when questioning the repaving of the BR-319 highway, reflect regimes of truth about sustainable development and environmental protection? How do these discourses, broadcast in the media, shape the narratives about state actions aimed at combating environmental crimes and implementing social policies in the Amazon? As a hypothesis for these research questions, we have that:

The minister's speech, widely broadcast in the media, builds a narrative that reinforces the need to preserve the environment and to question the impact of the repaving of BR-319. This discourse contributes to the formation of a regime of truth that privileges environmental control over economic development, influencing public opinion in favor of more restrictive policies and strict inspection in the region.

The term problematize used here does not mean to judge the results, but rather to question the universal statements, to investigate the "system of acceptability" that were formed at a given moment and that will later function as evidence and universality (Lemke, 2017).

METHODOLOGY

As methodological procedures, this research is exploratory, with the non-participant observation of regional news portals such as Radar Amazônico, Portal Tucumã, Onda Digital, G1 Amazonas and Um só Planeta. The choice was made because these publications are anchored in media sites, predominantly Amazonian, with their headquarters in Amazonas, the central state of the discussion. According to Lakatos and Marconi (2003), in non-participant observation, the researcher makes contact with the community, group or reality studied, but without integrating with it, because he remains outside. In this technique, the researcher witnesses the fact, but does not participate in it; he does not get involved in situations; he plays more of a spectator. This, however, does not mean that observation is not conscious, directed, ordered to a certain end. The procedure is systematic. Some authors give the designation of passive observation, with the researcher being just one more element.

Gil (2006) says that exploratory research is carried out with the purpose of enabling a broad view of the problem investigated, often characterized as the initial stage of the investigation. This study contributes with preliminary information related to the investigated phenomenon, allowing a better delimitation of the research problem.

The research is bibliographic and documental because it analyzes the components of Minister Marina Silva's speech and two technical documents: EIA and Rima.

In this way, excerpts were extracted that show the narratives of Marina Silva, Senator Plínio Valério, the EIA, Rima and four digital media and one television, which demonstrate how the minister's speech reverberated in the predominantly local digital and television journalistic environment. The excerpts were grouped into two analytical categories called "Contextualization" and "BR-319".

The methodological premise of the present research consists of perceiving that discourse is productive in what it narrates, which leads the researcher to seek its functioning and the power relations that drive it and make it produce meanings (Paraíso; Dagmar, 2012). The analyses are also anchored in Foucaultian theorizing, specifically in the concept of discourse.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

DISCOURSE AND POWER: A REVIEW OF FOUCAULT

Discourse is the effect of meanings between speakers, according to Orlandi (2003). This shows that for Discourse Analysis it is not just about the transmission of information and there is no linearity in the arrangement of the elements of communication or something serialized.

In language, there is no distinction between sender and receiver, nor do they act in a sequence in which first one speaks and then the other decodes. It is as Orlandi (2003, p.15) says: "Discourse is thus a word in motion, a language practice: with the study of discourse one observes man speaking".

An analysis of discourse based on the theorizations of Michel Foucault (2000, 2009) "seeks to highlight the ways in which power and truth are articulated in what is said, forging the reality of facts that are apparently narrated in a neutral way (Schuck Saraiva and Zago, 2021, p.127). The same authors also state that in Foucaultian theorizations "power and knowledge form an inseparable pair. There is no exercise of power without knowledge, and in this relationship, the production of truth is at stake (Schuck Saraiva and Zago, 2021, p.127).

Michel Foucault (1993) states that discourse is both an instrument and an effect of power, functioning as a means of transmitting meanings and social control, but also as a tool of resistance. In this context, Minister Marina Silva's speech about BR-319, widely reflected in the media, not only reflects her political positions, but also activates regimes of truth that oppose traditional economic progress, by questioning the need for repaving in the face of potential environmental damage.

Veiga-Neto (2004) argues that discourses define regimes of truth that delimit what is considered true or false in a given context. Thus, by problematizing the repaving of the BR-319, the minister's speech highlights the tensions between environmental protection and economic development in the Amazon. Foucaultian theorizations therefore allow us to investigate how official and media discourses influence the formation of meanings and guide public policies in the region.

Based on Foucault's theorizations, Veiga-Neto (2004, p.122) states that "... discourses define regimes of truths that mark and separate the true from its opposite". The same author also states that

From this perspective, what is more important is not to ask whether this or that statement satisfies some criterion of truth, but rather to ask about how these criteria are established, about what we do with these statements... (Veiga-Neto, 2004, p.122-123).

In the view of Veiga-Neto (2004, p.126) "what matters most is to establish the relations between the statements and what they describe, in order to understand from there what power(s) such statements serve, which power(s) the statements activate and put into circulation". In this perspective, Foucault (1993, p. 96) collaborates with the reflection:

It is necessary to admit a complex and unstable game in which discourse can be, at the same time, an instrument and effect of power, and also an obstacle, a prop, a point of resistance and the starting point of an opposing strategy. Discourse conveys and produces power; it strengthens it, but also mines it, exposes it, weakens it and allows it to be stopped. In the same way, silence and secrecy give shelter to power, fix its interdictions; but they also loosen their ties and give rise to more or less obscure tolerances.

Another important concept in this research is that of power-knowledge, also studied by Foucault and his scholars. Regarding the relationship between power and knowledge, Machado (1995, p. XXI) states:

All knowledge, whether scientific or ideological, can only exist from political conditions that are the conditions for the formation of both the subject and the domains of knowledge. The investigation of knowledge should not refer to a subject of knowledge that would be its origin, but to power relations that constitute it. There is no neutral knowledge. All knowledge is political. And this is not because it falls into the meshes of the State, it is appropriated by it, which uses it as an instrument of domination, mischaracterizing its essential core. But because all knowledge has its genesis in power relations (emphasis added).

The excerpt shows the close relationship between knowledge and power. "By studying the articulations between power and knowledge, Foucault discovered that knowledge is engendered and organized to "meet" a will to power" (Veiga-Neto, 2004, p. 141).

Veiga-Neto (2004) comments that knowledge functions as a conducting element of power, which provides the consent of all who are involved in the plots of power relations. And that Foucault approaches knowledge as an event articulated with power, as a strategy, and not as a natural human faculty. "There is no relationship of power without the correlated constitution of a field of knowledge, nor knowledge that does not presuppose and does not constitute at the same time relations of power" (Foucault, 1987, p. 27).

It is with this understanding of discourse that the analysis of this research is carried out, with contributions from analyses that study environmental journalism on the internet.

ENVIRONMENTAL JOURNALISM ON THE INTERNET

Environmental journalism, especially in the digital age, plays a crucial role in disseminating information about ecological issues and engaging society with sustainability debates. Climate Change has a multifaceted character, its nature is "diffuse in space and time" (Carvalho, 2011, p.43). Traditional journalism imposes on facts characteristics necessary to make them newsworthy, these are the so-called criteria of newsworthiness (Wolf, 1985). News portals such as Radar Amazônico, Portal Tucumã and Onda Digital have become relevant platforms to amplify discourses about the repaving of BR-319.

Journalism, as a historically and socially legitimized practice, responsible for producing and disseminating periodic information on contemporary issues of public interest (Schudson, 2011), plays a crucial role in the formation of an enlightened public opinion in relation to what is already considered a Humanitarian Crisis of the 21st century (UN, 2015). As a social practice legitimized to inform society about matters of public interest, it cooperates with the dissemination of some messages to the detriment of others, providing certain perceptions of risk to be more evident in given contexts (Loose; File; Carvalho, 2014).

According to Franco and Lemos (2013), the internet allows for greater interactivity and diversity of voices, but it can also polarize narratives, such as the environmentalism promoted in the minister's speech.

National digital environmental journalism, as opposed to local environmental journalism, often articulates a critical narrative in relation to large infrastructure works in the Amazon, questioning the ecological and social impacts of these initiatives, as noted in a national report described in the following section. In this sense, the media coverage of BR-319 is part of a scenario of narrative dispute, where environmental preservation is defended in opposition to economic interests, and the discourse conveyed by the minister strengthens this tension.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

As already stated in the methodological procedures, the excerpts extracted were organized into two analytical categories: Contextualization and BR-319. Next, we proceed to the Contextualization.

ANALYTICAL CATEGORY: CONTEXTUALIZATION

The analysis of the material begins with the truths uttered by Senator Plínio Valério and Minister Marina Silva, in the context of the Amazon as a whole, but which works as a context for the later narratives that are made about the BR-319. The video analyzed begins with the speech of the senator from Amazonas, Plínio Valério, who is the rapporteur of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) of NGOs, explaining that

Brazil is responsible for emitting 1% of the 100% of carbon emissions into the atmosphere. What I've been saying: far from being a villain. If it were a movie, we'd be the good guy. Minister, you have all the time you want, in the way you want, to make your presentation (TV Senado, 2023).

Minister Marina Silva begins by justifying herself, since she had to be summoned and not invited to participate in the CPI of NGOs on that date. She said she was the head of the Brazilian delegation that would go days later to the opening of the United Nations Climate Conference (COP 28) in which President Lula would be one of the five speakers at the opening. "I just wanted to make it clear that there was no attempt to refuse to attend the invitation of this committee" (TV Senado, 2023). Marina Silva also said

There will be only 5 people who will speak at the opening of COP 28 and we feel very honored that President Lula was one of the five chosen to take the message of our continent to the world. Then I'll have to go with him to Germany due to schedules... I am the head of the delegation (TV Senado, 2023).

The minister also maintained that:

What makes Brazil no worse [in the ranking of CO₂-emitting countries] is the fact that we have made public policies since 2003 that have managed to overcome the largest CO₂ vector in Brazil, which is deforestation, the transformation of land use by agriculture. Without a doubt, deforestation is the largest source of emissions. [...] If the Amazon, God forbid, were destroyed, it would be releasing into the atmosphere a carbon stock equivalent to ten years of emissions from the entire planet. So, as we managed to make a plan in 2003, which was implemented in 2004, began to have the first results in 2005, avoided releasing 5 billion tons of CO₂ into the atmosphere. We managed to reduce deforestation for almost a decade by 83%, and in addition we maintained forests that are both carbon storage and sequestration, creating conservation units that represented 80% of the conservation units created in the world. From 2003 to 2008, we can say that Brazil makes a

contribution, even though it is the sixth largest emitter of CO₂. This result we achieved made Brazil the first developing country to assume voluntary CO₂ reduction targets, being the vanguard among developing countries (TV Senado, 2023).

It is clear that deforestation and the consequent carbon emission are the indicators used to conduct the subjectivity of those present at the meeting, but perceived in a very different way by those who narrate. While the senator claims that Brazil is responsible for only 1% of carbon emissions into the atmosphere, Marina Silva with the same indicator states that Brazil is in sixth place in carbon emissions. The period from 2003 to 2008 cited by the minister in the excerpt above is the period when she was Minister of the Environment. Through this narrative, it is possible to observe how Marina Silva demarcates her place in that discourse. For Foucault (1995), discursive practices are interconnected in the relations of power-knowledge, as can be seen in the speech of the minister transcribed below:

Well, today I canceled some meetings that are important. We are taking proposals that are important for Brazil and for the world and it would be an intense day of work. But as your excellencies decided to summon me, understanding the power of the summons, here I am entirely available for dialogue, debate (TV Senado, 2023).

Throughout the minister's speech, several videos were shown with speeches by forest peoples, including indigenous and riverine peoples, which explain the difficulties experienced due to the environmental limitations required by Brazilian legislation and the work of NGOs. Like the video of a resident who had maintained a family garden within an indigenous land for more than 15 years and Ibama destroyed his wooden house and the family garden claiming to be indigenous land. In another video, it is shown how Yanomami children live in poverty and hunger in a region of indigenous lands, whose needs should be provided by NGOs that receive federal funds, within the Amazon Fund Program, to carry out social improvement projects for native peoples. But the minister says:

Brazil began to do its homework not because of the imposition of those who asked us, but because we are committed to the protection of the forest, to the protection of biodiversity, to the protection of traditional and indigenous populations, and because we are committed to the natural bases of our development (TV Senado, 2023).

Another video broadcast in the aforementioned CPI is that of oxygen trucks that moved to Manaus through the road modal via BR319 in the period that Amazonas ran out of oxygen. Senator Plínio Valério said: "This oxygen would save hundreds of people, but it

didn't" (TV Senado, 2023). This is because the trucks took several days to reach Manaus due to the precariousness of the BR-319 highway.

After this video, the senator asks the minister: "Is it worth saving the humanity of the future by condemning these people to death?" (TV Senado, 2023). She did not answer the question. The minister spoke about statistical data on deforestation as can be seen below:

Well, I thought it was very interesting that your excellency had this video that I could see is being shown to all the people who attend here [...] Imagine if Martin Luther King had thought so? It is worth fighting against racial discrimination, because I will not see the first black president elected in the USA? [...] What we are doing to protect the forests cannot be placed in opposition to the lives of those who are here, now. Because the Amazon in 1975 had only 0.5% of deforested area. Suddenly, an ideology "integrate so as not to surrender" arrived, which encouraged deforestation to develop the region. And what happened? Have we reduced poverty in the region? We do not diminish. But what was only 0.5% in 1975, senator, is now 18% of deforested area. That's the size of Italy and Spain combined. And we continue to have poverty for many. For a few it is advantageous, because they appropriate wealth privately, leave a trail of generalized destruction not only for Brazil, but for the world, and in this way we have a situation where we cannot make this type of interpellation. (TV Senado, 2023).

The minister, by stating that even with deforestation, poverty continues in the Amazon region, understanding then that the ideology of "integrating so as not to deliver" has not contributed to improvements in the region, in her analysis disregards a whole set of logistical difficulties (always existing) and subsequent environmental difficulties that were created and imputed to the northern region because it is home to the Amazon forest. These environmental obstacles were created, many of them, during the period in which Marina Silva was Minister of the Environment with the justification of preserving the Amazon rainforest. An example of this is the need for environmental licensing for the repaving of the "middle section" of BR-319, when such licensing is required only for the creation of new highways in the Amazon. Even though it already existed on the road map of the region, fully paved at the time of its inauguration in the 70s, environmental licensing was required for the repaving in the so-called "Middle Stretch", as it was understood that it was necessary. Environmental licensing is a procedure that literally involves power and knowledge, and whose postponement directly affects the quality of life of the population that depends on the highway. 15 years have passed since it was decided that an Environmental Impact Study needed to be approved for the repaving of the "Middle Section" of BR319, until its approval in 2022.

ANALYTICAL CATEGORY: NARRATIVES ABOUT BR-319

The second analytical category is composed of narratives about BR 319. The excerpts extracted and analyzed so far were necessary to show the contextualization in which the Federal Highway BR 319 was mentioned in the CPI of the NGOs, which caused great resistance from the population of northern Brazil, especially from the states that depend on it to integrate two Brazilian capitals (Manaus and Boa Vista) with the rest of Brazil by paved road. As for the repaving of BR-319, the minister narrates:

It has to be evaluated from an economic, social and environmental point of view. The road was not built because it is a difficult road to prove economic viability. I have no doubt about social viability that people want the right to come and go. But the economic and environmental viability, unless it is to convert the areas of more than 400 km² of virgin forest into another type of activity, is not viable. Socially even we understand, now environmentally and economically you don't make a 400 km road in the middle of virgin forest just to ride a car if you don't have it associated with a productive project (TV Senado, 2023).

At this moment, the rapporteur of the CPI, Senator Plínio Valério, says: "In Amazonas we preserve 97% of our forest" (TV Senado, 2023). And then he is interrupted by the minister who narrates: "Did you know that just by announcing the paving of the BR-319 highway, deforestation increased there by 110%?" (TV Senado, 2023). And the senator replies:

Where? In the surroundings? When you speak, it seems that BR 319 is going to deforest. If I cut down a tree on the path that already exists, I will leave my mandate. The road is ready, Brazil. The road is ready. Now in the summer more than 100 buses are passing daily there in Castanho, which is the way. Now, that summer allows. So, as for tearing down... it is the State declaring its incompetence, inoperativeness. Oh... it will deforest in the surroundings (irony). Who is responsible for letting deforestation in the surroundings? Today there is deforestation in the winter. Nobody comes there to stop a fire. Do you know why? That's not enough. If there were a move away, a car would arrive, planes would land (TV Senado, 2023).

Minister Marina Silva's statement that the repaving of BR-319 is only for "car rides" is a statement that excludes a whole demand for improvements in the lives of the population living around the highway, which was explained to the minister throughout the video analyzed by the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry. Veiga-Neto (2004, p.127) states that if a statement excludes, it is "... because the regime of truth of which this statement is part was established to meet a certain will to truth, which, in turn, is the final will of a process that has, at its origin, a will to power".

The minister's speech generated resistance both in those present at the CPI and in the Amazonian television and digital media. Resistance in Foucaultian analyses are ways of not accepting power as it is exercised.

According to Hall (1997, p.17), the speed with which the information present on the internet propagates causes a "... time-space compression, as he calls it (Harvey, 1989) -, introduces changes in popular consciousness", through digital media, which are one of the main means of circulation of ideas and images in force in the social space.

On the Youtube website of the television news A Crítica, the presenter explained after playing the video of the minister's speech:

Virgin forest is not the BR-319. The minister may be referring to another place. It cannot be BR 319 because it already exists. The virgin forest has long since ceased to be. That entire area has already been deforested to pass the highway. [...]It is not a virgin forest that will be opened to pass a highway. And when the minister says this, she endorses a discourse that ends up extending to other people, that it is closed and BR 319 will appear out of nowhere. It already exists, but in poor condition and continues to be used, it does not take the form it should, but it continues to be used by people here (TV A Crítica, Jornal Televisivo Manhã no Ar, 2023).

When the minister states that there is a need for environmental licensing, which already exists, she omits the existence of this study, and this conduct can be perceived as a strategy of her speech. Even if Foucault's analysis does not enter into the internal logic of the discourse, cannot say what is or is not true, we can ask: what truth (of knowledge and power) does this statement of the minister meet?

Foucault (2000) encourages us to question the ways in which the understanding of something is continuously accepted, and to understand that such understandings are consequences of constructions whose rules are not always known. And even Marina Silva's speech when she stated "environmentally and economically you can't build a 400 km road in the middle of virgin forest just for driving if you don't have it associated with a productive project" not being in accordance with the materiality of what the BR-319 is, because it already exists and in the past it was 100% paved, Statements that the repaving of the middle stretch would cause deforestation continue to be accepted and naturalized.

The news portal called Radar Amazônico (2023)⁶ states that "While Amazonas is isolated from Brazil, Marina Silva says that BR-319 is for car rides". The article published on Portal Tucumã (2023)⁷ states that:

While the minister was being charged, for being responsible for the highway, she states that: "The state of Amazonas had a Minister of Transport, it has senators, federal deputies, it even had a vice president, and during these 15 years this road was not built". This speech, more than being interpreted as Amazonian political incompetence, provokes us to reflect on why it is so difficult to obtain the license for the repaving of a stretch such as the BR-319 highway.

According to Foucault's analysis, "we must first of all refuse univocal explanations" (Fisher, 2001). But rather than thinking about the lack of local political work that is narrated by Minister Marina Silva, one must realize the strength of the power that the regime of truth uttered by Marina Silva imposes, and which is ratified by many NGOs that work in the Amazon, which enables the existence of obstacles that hinder road improvement in the Amazon region.

As this is a regime of truth accepted in the social fabric. The following report shows how the regime of truth uttered by Marina Silva is also accepted in the international social fabric, as well as demonstrating that the resistance to the minister's speech was so intense in the local media and politics, that approximately 45 days after her speech, an article referring to the repaving of BR-319 was published on the national website Um Só Planeta (2024), of the Globo group⁸. According to the report, "Germany and the United States warn Brazil against using the Amazon Fund to pave roads," stating that this goes against the fund's rules⁹. Also according to the report, a spokesperson for the German government said "that support for a project of this type is not possible according to the rules of the fund, which was created specifically to reduce forest destruction in the Amazon." The US government added that "they are confident that the fund will use its resources in a manner consistent with its regulations".

It can be seen how Minister Marina Silva's narrative is concatenated with the position of the countries that finance the Amazon Fund, which aims to conserve the Amazon biome,

⁶ Available at: <https://radaramazonico.com.br/enquanto-amazonas-fica-isolado-do-brasil-marina-silva-diz-que-br-319-e-para-passear-de-carro/>. Accessed on 19.10.2024

⁷ Available at: <https://portaltucuma.com.br/video- apenas-para-passear-de-carro-marina-silva-dispara-falas-polemicas-sobre-a-br-319-me14/>. Accessed on 19.10.2024

⁸ Available at: <https://umsoplaneta.globo.com/sociedade/noticia/2024/01/11/alemanha-e-eua-alertam-brasil-contra-uso-do-fundo-amazonia-para-pavimentar-estradas.ghtml>. Accessed on 20.10.2024

⁹ Amazon Fund.

was created by Brazil in 2008 and moves billions of dollars in donations, mainly international. According to the Amazon Fund (www.fundoamazonia.org.br) website, in 2023 alone, R\$ 3.5 billion in donations were received, mainly by foreign countries, for the protection of the Amazon rainforest. Among the largest donors to the fund are Norway (89.9%), followed by Germany (8.4%), Switzerland (0.8%), Petrobras (0.5%) and the USA (0.4%).

The Amazon Fund is the main national instrument for financing actions to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+),¹⁰ and is currently the largest global REDD+ fund. The management of the fund is carried out by the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES), and it is up to the bank to analyze, approve and monitor the projects presented to receive resources from the fund, as well as to manage the donated resources.

From the speeches of the senators present at the CPI, it is clear that the regime of truth handed down by Marina Silva serves several powers that go beyond the need to preserve the Amazon rainforest, which is a global brand and responsible for the investments received for the Amazon Fund. This subject is not analyzed in this article as something "discovered" or that was "hidden" and that was exposed in this research. According to Fisher (2001), analyzing discourses from Foucault's perspective means refusing the insistent search for the hidden meaning of things. The analysis remains in what is said, since it is present in the video analyzed through the speeches of the senators who address the problem involving the Amazon Fund and how the use of its funds by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and by some Brazilian public programs implemented in the Amazon end up not contributing to the improvement of the lives of the Amazon population, thus being seen by politicians as a financialization of the Amazon. This is another regime of truth that circulates in the local social fabric.

The following speech, by Senator Plínio Valério, shows how the CPI perceives NGOs and the Amazon Fund:

I am going to appropriate here a phrase from our friend Senator Esperidião Amin. He said that these countries that finance us... Europe, America, those countries that give us money to do this and that, especially in the environment, outsource remorse. They destroyed what they had to destroy in wealth, they reached a high level of wealth, they live well, but they have remorse. They outsourced the remorse to the Amazon. They give money, they provide money for us to take the blame and take care of their remorse. They put it on our shoulders, and I'm talking minister but

¹⁰ REDD+ stands for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, which means in Portuguese "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation".

looking here, but don't think it's up to you. I'm really generalizing. They think, they define what we should do. Choose what they offer us. To choose between what they offer and to prefer what they forbid us. This was clear when it is mentioned that the wisest have to take care of the donkeys, those who know nothing. I will repeat: The environmental NGOs that we are investigating, they only let us choose within what they offer us and prefer what they forbid us. Then everything cute. We only have this right now. It was clear here in the examples: we went to the Chico Mendes reserve and saw what we saw. The minister said she went too and saw what she saw. Neither has it changed nor will we. [...] This CPI is not like the others, okay minister. This CPI managed to open the black box (TV Senado, 2023).

At this point, the minister interrupts the senator and says: "Not black box, senator. This is a pejorative way of addressing black people." And the senator continues: "So now it's Pandora's box. Because black boxes are what are on airplanes, you know. Accidents are only discovered when you open this box". And the minister counters: "It has changed now. You can't associate bad things with blacks." And the senator replies: "Orange color can be smeared. So orange box. But I prefer Pandora's box. And again the minister says: "But there are no orange people". And the senator says: "And no more mestizos. The IBGE put an end to the mestizos. They no longer exist neither in the IBGE survey nor for the quotas." And the senator ends by saying:

We managed to open Pandora's box and the population became aware, the social network took notice. You know this narrative of the empire of good: "We are good and they [the others] evil". Good without evil does not exist, and evil is alone that we do not take care of the environment, that we are irresponsible, that we want to destroy everything. So... I do not take this responsibility. I don't have this political stain. I am not an environmental criminal. Environmental criminals are those who destroyed their assets and now they want to impose rules on us. CPI came for this, to open Pandora's box and in the end present suggestions for us to shed light on this darkness that is the Amazon Fund. We want money from abroad, yes, we don't want handouts. We don't want those who give us money to take the reins of our destiny. The destiny is ours and we are going against our destiny. [...] This CPI... I dreamed of her so much. It was not to defend the happy ones. It was not to bring those who are happy here (TV Senado, 2023).

Continuing the repercussion of local digital journalists regarding Minister Marina Silva's statement that the population wants BR-319 to "ride a car", the report published in Onda Digital (2023) stated that

Senator Plínio Valério, on the other hand, said that it is not necessary to cut down trees around the road. According to him, the road already exists and that it only needs to be paved. He also said that, in relation to deforestation, it is the government's obligation to curb it (Onda Digital, 2023).

Parallel to the speeches in the analyzed video, there is the Environmental Impact Study (EIA) accepted by Ibama, and published in 2022, by the National Department of

Transport Infrastructure (DNIT), the body responsible for DNIT "... implement the land and waterway transport infrastructure policy, contributing to the sustainable development of the country" (Rima, 2021, p.5).

Ibama and DNIT signed a term of agreement and commitment that required the preparation of the Environmental Impact Study for the so-called Middle Stretch. With the preparation of the Study (EIA) and its approval by Ibama, in July 2022, the Institute issued Preliminary License 672 for the repaving of the middle section. This preliminary license means the recognition by the aforementioned Institute (licensing entity) of the environmental feasibility of the repaving. The problem is that this license is valid for 5 years, that is, until 2027, and those who are not in favor of repaving know this.

The Environmental Impact Study (EIA) evaluates the environmental impacts, positive and negative, that may occur with the implementation of a project. The study is a technical and very detailed document that is presented to the agency that takes care of the licensing of the enterprise. In the case of the Middle Section of BR-319/AM, the body responsible for evaluating the Environmental Impact Study (EIA) and granting environmental licenses is the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) (Rima, 2021, p.14).

This study was summarized in the document called Environmental Impact Report (Rima) "... in a less formal and technical language, so that everyone can have access to the important information of what was studied" (Rima, 2021, p.14).

The report also states that in winter, it is only possible to reach Manaus by boat or plane. By boat on a trip that lasts between 4 and 5 days.

With the paving of BR-319/AM, the travel time between the capitals Manaus and Porto Velho will be much shorter, between 10 and 12 hours, in addition to being safer. Thus, passengers and goods, especially perishable goods, will reach their destinations faster (Rima, 2021, p.5).

The report recalls that "... constructions and occupations are not allowed along the right-of-way of a highway" (Rima, 2021, p.7) and that "amounts have already been disbursed with engineering projects, environmental studies and compensations, and resources with environmental studies and compensations" (Rima, 2021, p.7), which are detailed in a table with actions already implemented, such as the demarcation and signaling of 27 conservation units in the area of influence of BR-319, as well as the implementation of 9 conservation units and the preparation of the Study of the Indigenous Component of the Middle Section of BR-319.

The study also analyzed the Indigenous Component in accordance with the guidelines prepared by Funai, studying 5 (five) indigenous lands in the vicinity of the BR-319. They were:

1. Apurinã Indigenous Land of Igarapé São João (Apurinã ethnic group);
2. Indigenous Land of Igarapé Tauamirin (Apurinã ethnic group);
3. Terra Indígena Lago Capanã (Mura ethnic group);
4. Terra Indígena Ariramba (etnia Mura);
5. Nove de Janeiro Indigenous Land (Parintintin ethnic group)

The report also states that "On all bridges, dry fauna passages will be built on the banks to allow the safe movement of animals under the bridges (Rima, 2021, p.9). " In the section of the highway that will be paved, a total of 243 wildlife crossings will be built" (Rima, 2021, p.11), as well as "... 49 aerial wildlife crossings will also be built" (Rima, 2021, p.12), and that "the paving of the highway is carefully thought out, so that the animals in the region continue to be protected" (Rima, 2021, p.12). The following is the image of one of the fauna passages that have already been built.

Figure 1. Fauna Passage located at Km 205 of BR-319 (Middle Section)



Source: Personal archive, 2022.

Rima (2021) states:

The middle stretch of BR-319 is almost entirely surrounded by Federal and State Conservation Units. These areas are legally protected forests and parks. The presence and maintenance of these areas greatly reduce the chances of deforestation in the region, preserving the fauna (animals) and flora (plants) (Rima, 2021, p.13).

And here we can perceive another discursive dispersion present in the material analyzed regarding deforestation. While Marina Silva states that deforestation has already increased by 110% just with the news of the paving of the highway, the report states that

the existence of conservation areas along the analyzed stretch reduces the chances of deforestation, since they are protected areas.

The report also describes that

For the region where the BR-319/AM is located, "Trecho do Meio", there are several plans and programs, which have the intention of both protecting the Amazon biome and national integration, promoting its economic growth (Rima, 2021, p.20).

Among the existing programs that the report cites, we highlight three:

1) Regional Development Plan for the Amazon (PRDA), which focuses on "... reducing regional inequalities, with a focus on the sustainable regional development of the Legal Amazon region" (Rima, 2021, p.20);

2) The Economic-Ecological Macrozonning (MacroZEE) of the Legal Amazon is a program that

... It also evaluates the productive potential, with regard to access to natural resources, in the region. This potential, for example, can be expanded with the paving of the highway, improving integration with waterways, airports, and other highways, which adds value to what is produced in the region (Rima, 2021, p.20);

3) The Federal Community and Family Forest Management Program (PMFC) which

It was jointly instituted by the Ministries of the Environment (MMA) and the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) in 2010 as a strategy to coordinate the management and incentive of sustainable forest management aimed at peoples, traditional communities and family farmers who survive from Brazilian forests. According to the program, works to improve accessibility are being carried out in a conservation unit of sustainable use to ensure the transport of timber and non-timber forest products. With the paving of the highway, forest products from the Conservation Units will reach their destinations more quickly (Rima, 2021, p.20-21).

And the report goes on to transcribe the environmental programs that exist in the region and how the paving of the Middle Stretch would help achieve its purposes. And he mentions that

For the region of the project, the Sustainable Amazon Plan (PAS) also fits. This plan aims to expand the presence of the State (federal and state governments) in the Amazon, to ensure greater success in the development and control over processes of territorial occupation and use of natural resources and greater capacity to guide the processes of socio-productive orientation, in addition to expanding the regional infrastructure - energy, storage, transformation, transport and communications - and the provision of services essential to the quality of life of its people. inhabitants (Rima, 2021, p.21).

When analyzing the minister's narratives and those of Eia-Rima (2021), it is also possible to perceive discursive dispersion regarding the importance of the aforementioned highway. The report emphasizes how the highway ensures the greatest presence of the State to prevent environmental crimes and to assist in the development of existing environmental programs in the region, in addition to signaling that the many Conservation Units already existing along the middle stretch guarantee the control of deforestation because they are protected areas. The minister's narrative, on the other hand, goes down the single path of deforestation. The practical effect on the Amazonian peoples of speeches such as those of Minister Marina Silva has long been studied in the Amazon region.

Nogueira Neto and Oliveira (2016) state that

The highways of the Amazon represent one of the main links between places in the region since, even if inconclusive, these roads allow the flow, albeit precarious, because, in some places in the Amazon, the only way to reach a city or a plantation is to start from these highways. Thus, it can be seen that its importance is not limited to the economic contexts of draining wealth or providing the flow of buses and trucks; the geopolitical relevance of these roads, planned and built in the last century, has a context of physical integration of the territory (Oliveira Neto; Nogueira, 2016, p. 1-2, emphasis added).

It was not possible to travel by road between the capitals of AM and RO for 25 years. Successive governments at the federal level have included BR-319 in their infrastructure target programs, without, however, any progress being made. Another excerpt from Oliveira Neto and Nogueira (2016) expands the understanding of this issue.

Recently, in 2015, bus trips were resumed between the cities of Manaus, Humaitá, Lábrea, Manicoré and Porto Velho with daily departures, increasing the flow of vehicles towards the cities, which, for 25 years, were without road access to the capital of Amazonas. The work carried out by the National Department of Infrastructure and Transport – DNIT was embargoed in October 2015, and even with the lifting of the embargo, the works took five months to be reactivated due to environmental obstacles that began in 2005.

[...]

Completing the "reconstruction" of the BR-319 highway in the 400-kilometer stretch means benefiting the flow of people from these places to others, or enabling the flow of family-peasant/commercial/industrial production to consumer centers, as was the case until the end of the 80s (Oliveira Neto; Nogueira, 2016, p. 8).

The repaving of part of the BR-319 represents a real "struggle" of the states that depend on this federal highway. The Association of Friends and Defenders of BR-319, the Regional Council of Engineering (CREA) and the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) of the States of RO and AM support the fundamental right to come and go, as well as the right to

the dignity of the human person, which is the foundation of the Republic, given the social importance of this highway for the people who depend on it directly.

This integration is not only demanded by the sectors of the international-national or regional economy, the populations living in cities, districts or settlements along the highways also demand improvements in this modal from the State institutions. At the micro level, various social groups hold demonstrations as a result of the adverse traffic conditions of the Amazonian highways, demanding, in a way, actions from State institutions, acclaiming the right to come and go on the highways that, once built, present obstacles that result in inconvenience to those who depend on the modal (Oliveira Neto; Nogueira, 2016, p. 20).

One of the premises of Foucault's theorizations is to denaturalize and erase generalizing understandings, knowing that every understanding is a historical construction permeated by relations of power and knowledge. Oliveira Neto and Nogueira (2016) make this denaturalization when they state

Thinking about consolidating the physical integration of the Amazon, based on the axes already built, means deconstructing some generalizations built in the scientific environment, such as: highway being synonymous with deforestation, as if deforestation processes occurred only on the sides of highways or any and all land paths that connect two places. The highways alone do not cause the advance of deforestation, but the inclusion of public policies aimed at occupation or, even, the absence of policies aimed at the inspection of conservation units undoubtedly corroborates the predatory practices that exist in the Amazon (Oliveira Neto; Nogueira, 2016, p. 18-19).

In other words, deforestation is due to the lack of public policies aimed at occupation and inspection, and not due to the existence of a highway. What happens with the BR-319 is an example of the power-knowledge relations studied in Foucault's theorizations. Each of the actors involved circulates distinct truths that highlight the constitutive power of their analyses by producing knowledge that functions as instruments of power-knowledge. "In other words, institutions of the State itself hinder the implementation of the integration of the Western Amazon, despite the fact that the highway has existed for 40 years" (Oliveira Neto; Nogueira, 2016, p. 8).

Both the Eia (2021), the Rima (2021) and the minister's narrative use different strategies in conducting the subjects' conduct. While the minister makes catastrophic predictions using deforestation as a strategy to conduct the conduct of the subjects, affirming the increase in deforestation in case of repaving the "Middle Section" of BR-319, the strategy of the study and report is to show how the repaving of said stretch would help in the environmental programs already existing in the region, in addition to contributing to the improvement of the population's life. For Foucault (1995, p. 247):

The word strategy is commonly used in three senses. First, to designate the choice of the means employed to reach an end; it is the rationality used to achieve an objective. To designate the way in which a partner, in a given game, acts according to what he thinks should be the action of others, and what he believes others will think to be his; in short, the way in which we try to have an advantage over the other. Finally, to designate the set of procedures used in a confrontation to deprive the enemy of his means of combat and reduce him to renounce the fight; it is then a question of the means to obtain victory.

Inferior truths about the BR-319 and the supposed lack of benefits that would be generated by its repaving are produced and reproduced continuously. Concomitantly with this fact, the truths produced by the Environmental Impact Study/Environmental Impact Report function as resistance to the established power-knowledge, functioning as rupture lines and enabling new truths to circulate, in a heterogeneous way, in the same social fabric. "Thus, contesting a discourse, 'disqualifying statements, can help to overthrow the device that supports them' (Veyne 2009, p. 104).

Another important piece of information regarding the region's transportation is the sale of products from family farming and extractive activities. The commercialization of products occurs when residents go to the headquarters of the municipalities for medical care, receiving benefits and/or purchasing industrialized products. In previous years, industrialized products were exchanged with regatões that circulated through the rivers of the regions surveyed for products from agriculture and extractivism. The distance to the seat of the municipalities, the cost of fuel and the amount paid do not compensate for the exclusive travel to sell surplus products. The paving of the "Middle Section" of BR-319 should improve this situation (Rima, 2021, p.39).

In all the situations that she was led to answer about the situation of vulnerability of the Amazonian subjects who spoke in the videos presented at the CPI, the minister did not answer the questions asked and spoke about environmental statistics, and the use of Statistics in the analysis of public policies is perceived as a government technology and an instrument of governmental rationality (Senra, 1996). The same author also explains that "thus, statistics creates an abstract plane of integration, constituting a look with scientific forums, proper to the State" (Senra, 1996, p. 95).

[...] The objectivity conferred by calculation establishes a potential domain of "justice" of that which is above particular and peculiar interests. And to the extent that decisions are transformed from acts of judgment to 163 the result of compliance with rules, the opportunity for discretion and the imposition of partiality are reduced. Thus, numerical rules restrict: impersonality rather than status, wisdom, or experience becomes the measure of truth. In a democratic society with an elaborate sphere of "civil society" and with a plurality of interest groups, numbers produce a public rhetoric of disinterest in situations of contestation (Rose, 1991, p. 678).

Thus, deforestation is used by the minister as a strategy in conducting the conduct of those present, leading the viewer to a process of subjectivation against the paving of the middle stretch of BR-319, perceived as something negative, which will boost deforestation in the region.

Marina Silva's speech gains credibility because it is delivered by someone who is recognized as a defender of Brazilian natural resources and three times Minister of the Environment of a country with continental immensity and natural reserves like Brazil. A professional who claims to have contributed at a certain moment in the history of Brazil to the reduction of Brazilian deforestation. The regime of truth pronounced by her has credibility and begins to circulate in a wide and naturalized way in the most diverse environments where the Amazonian road infrastructure is discussed.

According to Chapter 12 of the Environmental Impact Study (2021), the repaving of the so-called Middle Section (Kms 250.7 to 656.4) of the BR-319 highway will bring significant social and economic changes, with the cause of improved road access, with the feasibility of faster and safer traffic between the capitals of Amazonas and Rondônia, promoting the development of primary sector activities in municipalities such as Porto Velho, Manaus, Manicoré, Humaitá and Tapauá.

It indicates that there will be an increase in other economic activities, such as tourism, for example, with an increase in the flow of people with a view to participating in cultural, religious, other events, and ecotourism itself, as well as community-based tourism, which involves the residents of the surroundings in a sustainable way, with a view to taking care of the environment and, at the same time, promote economic alternatives.

According to the environmental prognosis contained in chapter 11 of the EIA (2021), with the use of mitigating measures, with the proper management of the areas that make up the conservation units (mosaic) and the effective implementation of the EEZ (Ecological-Economic Zoning), the negative impacts will be mitigated. In addition, the improvement of access to the region, through the repaving of the highway, will bring an increase in governance and enhancement of tourism and leisure.

According to the Environmental Impact Report (Rima, 2021, p. 52), the repaving of the BR-319 highway, with the implementation of mitigating measures, will bring numerous benefits, such as "increased presence of public authorities in the region, greater safety on the highway, generation of employment and income, economic development for the region,

enhancement of local tourism, access to culture and leisure, maintenance of vegetation cover, reduction of forest fire risks", among others.

The repaving of BR-319, likewise, will enable the displacement of a greater number of students living in communities far from urban centers, with the consequent decrease in school dropout (EIA, 2021).

The discourse that the repaving of BR 319 will increase environmental crimes is the predominant discourse over the years and the one defended by Minister Marina Silva, even though there has been, since 2022, a technical study that understands the opposite. This study was required in 2007 when Marina Silva herself was Minister of the Environment. It is considered a regime of truth accepted in the social fabric.

However, in the last two Amazonian droughts, reality has shown the economic and social importance of the BR-319 highway for the states of Amazonas and Roraima, which demonstrates massively in the media that this highway is not for "just for sightseeing". In this way, the narratives present in Minister Marina Silva's speech activate powers and function as obstacles to the social and fundamental rights of the population of the states of Amazonas, Rondônia and Roraima.

Saraiva (2015, p.247) states that "... the truth can be violence for certain groups that, not having the power to produce it, are positioned in subaltern, devalued, inferior ways." And he goes on to state that "Taking for oneself the ability to produce narratives that function as truths is one of the most productive forms of empowerment" (Saraiva, 2015, p.247).

In this way, it is possible to say that proceeding with a discursive analysis from the Foucaultian perspective constitutes a political act, since exposing the arbitrariness of the discourse opens up the possibility of thinking differently, building lines of flight and counter-conducts (Saraiva, 2015, p.248).

It is these new narratives that advocates of the repaving of BR-319 seek to put into circulation, based on technical studies and the reality of the Amazon drought in the years 2023 and 2024.

THE DROUGHT OF THE RIVERS

Extreme droughts in the Amazon watersheds in 2023 and 2024 intensified the debate around the repaving of the BR-319 highway. Data from the Port of Manaus indicate that the Rio Negro, the main tributary of the Amazon River and which bathes the city of Manaus, reached a record drought level on October 9, 2024, reaching the mark of 12.11m¹¹.

Navigation on several rivers in the Western Amazon was totally or partially compromised, as was the case with the Madeira waterway. In Manaus, logistics operators had to transfer part of the port infrastructure to the municipality of Itacoatiara, in order to ensure minimum conditions of navigability for ships that operate cabotage, which could only navigate to that municipality. From there, the containers were relocated on ferries, vessels that require a smaller draft, in order to enable navigation to the capital, Manaus.

According to the news site Brasil Norte Comunicação (2024), "the private companies Chibatão and Super Terminais started moving the heavy structure of four port modules, 60 meters each, from Manaus". On August 28, 2024, these logistics operators began transporting these structures to the municipality of Itacoatiara as measures to mitigate the impacts of the severe drought of 2024.

The partial impairment of navigation caused pressure on the road modal, with the BR-319 highway being in high demand for the traffic of trucks, bi-trains and road trains, some of them with 9 axles and Total Combined Gross Weight of up to 74 tons.

Official data on the daily volume of these cargo transport vehicles on BR-319 are not yet available. However, images and journalistic articles reported kilometeric queues that formed at the crossings of the Igapó-Açu ferries, at Km 260 of the BR-319, and at the ports of the former Ceasa, in Manaus, and in Careira da Várzea, all demanded due to the increase in the flow of cargo vehicles on the BR-319.

According to the news site Amazonas Atual (2024), in an article published on October 8, 2024, a kilometeric line of buses, trailers, trucks and passenger vehicles formed along Km 13 of BR-319, in the municipality of Careira da Várzea, waiting for the ferry to return to Manaus.

¹¹ Available at: <https://portodemanau.com.br/nivel-do-rio-negro/>. Accessed on 19.10.2024.

Figures 2 and 3: Careiro da Várzea, Km 13 of BR-319.



Source: Miquéias Lira (2024)

Regarding the crossing of the Igapó-Açu, at Km 260 of the BR-319 highway, according to G1 Amazonas (2024), truck drivers who use the BR-319 highway, which connects Manaus, capital of Amazonas, to the rest of the country, were facing queues of up to eight days to transport products on the highway, waiting for the bullet. The following images depict the situation.

Figures 4 and 5: Igapó-Açu, Km 260 of BR-319



Fonte: Joel Silva (2024)

Silva (2021) assumes the understanding that in the narratives that make up the editorials, opinions and columns put into circulation by journalistic discourse are representations that constitute ways of seeing a given situation. And these, when permeated by journalistic narratives, highlight sometimes the legal dimension, sometimes the business and economic dimension, sometimes the social and ethical dimension of the object studied.

Wortmann, Costa and Silveira (2015, p.37) state that media studies, in turn, whether or not connected to the conceptions coming from Foucaultian studies, incorporate into their analyses "... a wide spectrum of contributions about the role, meaning, power and modes of operation of media artifacts in contemporary societies".

Silva (2023, p.43) states that "the media as an instrument of communication, is intertwined with power relations and, when this is exercised over social subjects, it also constitutes modes of subjectivation through discourses of truth, power relations determine what the subject is", in addition to also stating that the media is a "complex field, crossed by heterogeneous struggles that put at stake the dispute of values, political and economic interests" (Silva, 2023, p.43).

Silva (2023, p.45-46) also explains a circularity of power relations: "In the gaps, other discursiveness penetrated and circulated, sometimes with modest aesthetics and immediate discourse, that is, with little or no mediation."

The way the local media deals with the subject of the repaving of BR-319 is very different from the national media. While the local media focuses on the difficulties faced by the population due to the difficulty of the road, the national media focuses on the risks of deforestation. Thus, it is perceived how the media exercises the power linked to knowledge in order to conduct the subjectivity of people and the bases of public policies. It is important to emphasize that in Foucault's analysis, power is not only perceived as negative/repressive, but it is also positive because it produces truths, discourses and subjectivities. It is then easy to understand that the exercise of power takes place in a network and manifests itself in a diffuse, capillary, dynamic, sometimes repressive, sometimes productive way. The local media, in the game of power relations, has its resistance strategies limited, although possible and expected (Franco and Lemos, 2013).

CONCLUSION

Starting from the proposed analysis, the initial hypothesis of the investigation was found that the minister's speech, widely disseminated in the media, builds a narrative that reinforces the need to preserve the environment and to question the impact of the repaving of the BR-319. Thus, this discourse contributes to the formation of a regime of truth that privileges environmental control over economic development, influencing public opinion in favor of more restrictive policies and strict inspection in the region.

With the data obtained in this study, it was concluded that the two technical documents analyzed have dissonant narratives from the speech of Minister Marina Silva. In answering the guiding question, we pointed out that the analyses showed that Minister Marina Silva's speech reflects a regime of truth that understands that improvements in road transport in the Amazon region, specifically on BR-319, generate an increase in deforestation. It is a discourse that privileges environmental control over the economic and social development of the region, confirming the hypothesis formulated for this research, and, as a consequence, removes the Amazonian subject from the center of decision-making.

Deforestation is the common thread of this discourse, either to show how Brazil avoided deforestation between 2003 and 2008, or by using it as a strategy in conducting the conduct of the subjects and public policies contrary to the repaving of the "middle stretch" of the BR-319, of 405 kilometers.

Thus, it cannot be said that this regime is based on the concept of sustainable development for the peoples of the Amazon, since the Principle of Sustainable Development can be summarized in the right that human beings have to be able to develop and realize their potential, whether individual or collective, ensuring future generations a healthy life and a balanced environment.

Another regime of truth that circulates in the material analyzed is the one that defends improvements to the Amazonian population in a sustainable way, since according to the two technical reports analyzed, the repaving of the middle stretch of BR-319 has environmental viability. In this regime of truth, the repaving of the "middle stretch" of BR-319 is perceived as an ally to the environmental public policies already present in the region, as it facilitates the presence of the State to curb environmental crimes. The Amazonian political and media demand is consistent with this regime of truth. And in the end, Ibama itself, since it recognized in 2022 the environmental viability of the "Middle Section" of BR-319, by issuing Preliminary License No. 672/2022.

It was possible to perceive in this research that the truths produced about the BR-319 cause concern to Amazonas. Marina's speech is in line with the international understandings of the donor countries of the Amazon Fund and circulates widely and naturally in the most diverse environments where the issue of the repaving of the BR-319 is discussed. According to Foucault (2000, p. 28):

These previous forms of continuity, all these syntheses that we do not problematize and that we allow to be enforced by right, we must therefore keep them in abeyance. It is not, of course, a question of definitively rejecting them, but of shaking off the quietness with which we accept them; to show that they are not justified by themselves, that they are always the effect of a construction whose rules must be known and whose justifications must be controlled; define under what conditions and in view of what analyses some are legitimate; indicate those that, in any case, can no longer be admitted.

Thus, Foucault (2000) encourages us to question the ways in which the understanding of something is continuously accepted, and to understand that such understandings are consequences of constructions whose rules are not always known. And even though they do not agree with the materiality of what BR-319 is, the narratives cited by Marina Silva continue to have acceptability and are naturalized. Thus, we can understand that the increase in deforestation cited by Marina Silva in the area covered by BR-319 "only with the disclosure of the paving of part of the BR-319 highway" (TVSenado, 2023) shows the lack of public policies aimed at combating environmental crimes. This is to problematize the synthesis of something that is said, to show that they are not justified by themselves, according to Foucault (2000).

It is possible to think that the conditions of possibilities that allow the circulation and acceptance of the regime of truth defended by the minister are linked to the international expectations of the funders of the Amazon Fund.

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