The case of the transposition of the São Francisco River, or the environmental practices and indigenist policy of leftist governments in Brazil

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ABSTRACT
This article presents the results of research whose objective was to evaluate the environmental and cultural impact of the work of the transposition of the São Francisco River, which began in 2007, on Indigenous peoples directly affected by the construction in their territories. We conducted dozens of interviews with the chiefs and leaders of the Truká people, in Cabrobó, state of Pernambuco, Brazil, where the waters of the river were removed for transposition. The discourses reveal that the impact of this work does not only affect the lands and way of life but confronts Truká’s cosmology and representations they have about nature and the supernatural world always being in close connection. From the official developmental perspective, we raise the alternatives presented by those who rejected the construction of this work: the NGOs, social movements, and the Indigenous peoples (riverside fishermen). We understand the construction of the transposition in the context of developmental works of great magnitude, within the framework of a political project that has been unfolding in Brazil over the last decade. Finally, we dismantle the official justifications about the need for the work and raise questions about the real motives that led to the proposal of this megaproject despite popular resistance and technical difficulties that have prevented its inauguration.

Keywords: truká people, São Francisco river, transposition project, brazilian semiarid, ecological disaster, indigenous rights.

1 INTRODUCTION

According to Heringer Lisboa (2017, p.12), the nomadic people already knew the São Francisco valley for thousands of years, as Cariri people. They transited from Northeast to the valley, assembling traps for animals to be delighted in the meals, making hunting stories, funeral ceremonies, and love scenes in those starry clean skies with wonderful moonlighs, where they camped, hunted, and collected. In 1500, the coastal ones spotted some caravels, and everything changed. At first, they rejoiced, even being a little frightened, hardly knowing that a disaster would befall them, with those strange and powerful travelers.
Another culture had just arrived. It’s not hard to imagine the impact on the land being invaded by other civilizations.

Progress comes with monocultures of sugar cane and sugar mills. Grass on the farms of the drovers, endless eucalyptus trees, all kinds of fruit, corn, beans, soybeans, expanding exports. But the water was gone. The death surrounds the São Franciscan ecosystems. Its aquifers waning, disappearing with the base flow that supported life in the waters of rivers, which are now beginning to be temporary, while multiplying dams and wells accumulating water in larger properties.

Deforestation has drastically reduced biodiversity of the basin, dried up lagoons and paths. There is fire everywhere, poisons with high contaminating power are launched in plantations by aircraft. Urban, domestic, industrial and farms sewers run through the rivers. Miners dig riverbeds and rivers to export the raw material.

Since the second half of the twentieth century until today, new executioners arrived: the hydroelectric, changing the dynamics of the rivers, especially that flooded the oxbow lakes, taking from the riverine traditional forms of agricultural survival as the ebb agriculture and access to fish, which guaranteed them independent living; then came the outbreak of irrigation projects from agribusiness export of commodities.

“...The São Francisco is a miracle of nature, it "runs on the contrary": instead of going to Southeast, West or South, like other rivers in the region, it heads to the Northeast, due to a geological fault called "São franciscana Depression." Its historical importance is unique because it served as a way into the country and link between the Southeast and Northeast. For their it brought water, fertility, people, work, food, energy, beauty, culture, history... was regarded as "river of national unity." (Heringer Lisboa, 2007, p.15)

The "Waters of Illusion" Report (2007) affirms that Celso Furtado, an expert about Northeast and the problems caused by drought in this region, have not supported the transposition of the São Francisco. He was against the implementation of the project for "fear the risk of soil salinization in irrigated areas".

The Lula government (2003/10) was surfing on a temporary wave of relative prosperity, which placed the country, momentary and circumstantially, in the sixth placed in the world economy ranking, without, however, raise the HDI, index which reflects the condition of life of the population. Brazil has embarked on a development project, based on consumption.

To Marcos Lisboa (2009), former economic policy secretary at the Ministry of Finance, the left wing, adopted a 'great Brazil' project after decades fighting the military dictatorship, copies its development project: construct great buildings, known as pharaonic, completely disregarding the environmental damage.
The state began to coordinate major investment decisions through incentives and subsidies. For this purpose, it was made use of the National Development Bank (BNDES). To deal with the international crisis in 2008, the solution was to direct public banks resources to release loans to companies in certain sectors - notably the large construction companies, making prevail the figure of Intervening State.

The Growth Acceleration Plan would be the axis that would ensure economic growth at any cost, paid by the State, and create a development cycle. The Transposition Project was designed in context of accelerated growth and developmental constructions.

The transposition of the São Francisco River is a project of displacement of part of the waters of the São Francisco River. This work involves the construction of 700 km of concrete canals on two this major axes (north and east) along the territory of four states to divert the waters of the river. Along its way, the project will have nine water pumping stations. Aqueducts will be built in streams and rivers crossing the regions. To overcome regions of higher altitude, tunnels will be built. To reach their destination, the waters must overcome barriers imposed by the relief.

Transposing and keeping the structure functioning are costly. Those against the works of transposition of the São Francisco River affirms that it is nothing more than a "transamazônica hydric", a road constructed during the military dictatorship, an environmental disaster in the Amazon.

The complex construction, initiated in 2007, by the Army, it is estimated to end in 2017, at a cost 82% higher than originally anticipated, with signs of overpricing, as pointed the Federal Audit Court.

Even the World Bank ranked the economic model adopted by the country during the Workers Party governments, as unsustainable. Even though acknowledging that some social inclusion was promoted, it points to the fact that 10% of the poorest population is still holding only 1% of total wealth.

The economic growth, when increasing the wealth of a nation, helps to increase their potential to reduce poverty and solve social problems. However, History offers numerous examples where economic growth has not brought improvement to human development. On the contrary, when growth is achieved at the expense of great inequity, high unemployment, fragile democracy, loss of cultural identity and overexploitation of natural resources, the result is the worsening of the population’s lives, especially those who try to preserve traditional ways of life.

Development cannot be measured in economic terms and ignore aspects such as changes in family structures, attitudes and mentalities, cultural change, demography, political changes, transformation of rural society and urbanization processes.

The government’s rhetoric to justify the transposition was based on "without water, there is no development". However, it is one marketing fallacy that hides the fact that the misery spreads on the margins of the abundant waters of São Francisco. For the authors of Waters of Illusions, this project
doesn’t solve the impacts caused by drought, because the issue of drought should be managed considering the particularities of each locality.

In the semi-arid region, the rains are unevenly distributed throughout the year, but it reaches up to 800 mm/year, the same as in temperate and subtropical zones, and could be wisely managed if the political option were really "quenching the thirst" of those affected.

Authors Gilson and Silveira (2007) point to the "challenge of changing the prism through which we see the semi-arid". Silveira reiterates that the transposition of São Francisco River promotes the same ineffective pattern and unsustainable development promoted in the region over the decades.

Furthermore, Gilson explains, the Brazilian biome, Caatinga, is unique on the planet. What makes Northeast semiarid a minor desert is because caatinga is a highly adapted vegetation. In the caatinga or "white forest", the landscape can change quickly. With a few drops of rain, the dry branches fill with green leaves and flowers. However, this resilience is getting smaller, and it frightens researchers who warn of desertification risks in the caatinga due to environmental degradation. Rainwaters are stored by plants and consumed during dry season. The nutrients remain stocked in roots, while plants lose leaves to reduce water loss through transpiration. The hinterland dweller knows the function and utility of each species as well as researchers.

The changes brought by the transposition Project would impact on vegetation, biodiversity and activities that depend on natural resources. The government ignores it, being unable to carry out effective policies to ensure the distribution and use of existing water and create innovative alternatives as well as to educate for its correct use.

Although most of the rivers in the region are not perennial, they are polluted and bear the consequences of the lack of basic sanitation. The Northeast owns only 3% of fresh water. In state of Pernambuco, there are only 1320 liters of water per year per capita. The United Nations (UN) recommends a minimum of 2000 liters. In the semiarid, there was always a large concentration of land, water, and resources in the hands of a dominant minority (the coronelism) that has not been fully extinguished in these corners of the country yet. Social exclusion and environmental degradation are critical determinants of social and environmental situation in the region.

Data about the region reveals that about 1.5 million farmers (28.82% of total Brazilian family farms) occupy 4.2% of arable land in the semiarid region. Only 1.3% of farm settlements with more than 1 000 hectares, known as latifundia (plantation or large estate), holds 38% of the land. It is an absurd level of concentration that produces immense social inequality.
2 THE HISTORY OF THE TRUKÁ PEOPLE

Since the beginning of colonization of the Brazilian territories, the mainland was an object of interest for the Portuguese for occupational purposes. From the coastline to the hinterland, the colonizers found other people who lived there and, with them, were confronted in diverse ways, enslaving, exploiting their labor, waging wars, and wiping out entire ethnic groups, when they were not exterminating their indigenous identity to confine them into Catholic settlements.

The ethnic groups that occupied the region were submitted, or even massacred, the remaining descendants of these groups, in the past century, reclaimed, or fought to rescue their identities and their lands. In addition to Truká and Tumbalalá, the Tuxá, Atikum, Pipipã, Pankararu, Xucuru, Pipipã, among others, inhabit the basin of the São Francisco River. Mainly descendants of Cariri, who had a similar story of submissions, of newer settlements and resurgences.

According to Batista (2005), Assunção Village probably was founded around 1722, the island was formerly known as Pambu, after missionary orders, elevated the village in 1761. The village had many of its buildings destroyed by a flood in 1792. It was inhabited by a reasonable number of Indigenous families living from fishing, hunting, and land cultivation (Batista, 2005). With the decline of the cattle trade in the region, there seems to have been a decrease of colonizing pressure on its inhabitants allowing a period of autonomy in the villages.

However, the Marquis de Pombal’s decrees 1 of 1755 are worth mentioning, which sought to integrate Indigenous into Brazilian society, allowing marriage between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, and administrating their land by themselves, culminating in the extinction of the missionary orders in Brazil (OPIT, 2007).

Those are the same decrees that allowed the “Guaraníticas wars,” in the South of the country, exterminated the Jesuitical missions and more than twenty thousand Guaraní Indigenous. The XIX century, period of the Brazilian Empire, was marked by land conflicts in the region between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, having an unfavorable position the State in relation of the rights of the first (OPIT, 2007).

The XX century would be subject to various interferences with the issue of ownership and use of the lands. In 1967, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was created. This foundation worked sporadically and in an unorganized manner, generating conflicts in the redistribution of land on the island. For the Organization of Indigenous Teachers Truká (OPIT), there was great interference in the way traditional Truká organization was done "imposing a culture of hierarchy, overlapping the social organization of the people" (OPIT, 2007, p.30). FUNAI determinate the creation of a Tribal Council, following criteria such: being older, being male and acted in choosing a new Chief.
“The idea of organization imposed by FUNAI did not follow the same logic of social organization that our people had, as our leaders were chosen by nature, according to the following guidelines: belong to traditional families participate of Toré and Particular; must be approved by the Charms.” (OPIT, 2007, p. 31)

Amid the conflicts over land and the interference of the state and its policies for development and protection/subjugation of Indigenous peoples, Truká developed a history of struggle, resistance, and negotiations. Among Truká, Acilon Ciriaco were the most important leaderships in the recent process of struggle for lands and identity recognition of the people. His health declined, as he underwent serious physical and mental issues. Thanks to the work of the Tuxá women with the Particular Toré, it was revealed to him that he would be healed to fulfill the mission of "discovering the village." Between the 1930s and 1940s, he worked extensively with the Particular Toré in the development process of revealing Charms (ancestral spirits), that were teaching about their own people the Truká and their "science." The Charms revelations through the Toré and through dreams, allowed Acilon and his companions to start a new chapter of struggle for the reconquest of their lands in Assunção Island. Even with all effort, not just religious, but political they still would not get possession of the land.

The final possession of the entire island of Assunção occurs in 2002, after several actions organized by Truká known as "Recaptures", the reoccupation of portions of land, originally belonging to the Indigenous people, to pressure legislation to their advantage. The "Recaptures" are tactics that do not serve to claim the lands, but also reaffirm their ethnic identity. Between 1981 and 2007, five "Recaptures" were performed. The last one, in 2007, on a farm in the town of Cabrobó, is related to the transposition of the São Francisco River, when their position opposed the government's imposition of doing this project.

The continuity of the "Recaptures" indicates that the history of the struggle for lands, for political recognition, rights, and autonomy of the Indigenous Truká still remains.

With a population of about 4,000 Indigenous distributed in twenty-five villages, one can see the differences, disagreements, conflicts, and diversity. Among young people, some express a desire to have more diverse professions - such as actresses, doctors, social workers, singers, teachers, or just get a job with a formal contract. There are those who wish to conquer the world, while others want to stay on the island, get married, have children, and raise a family. Some are Catholics, others are more attached to the rituals with the Charmed. There are some more politically engaged in social movements, others are more busy working in the fields. Some live close to the city of Cabrobó, attend Salgueiro city college, while others work in the banana plantations, rice, onions and build houses for families that are starting. These differences highlight the complexity of Truká society, living among the modern and the traditional, conservative and its transformations.

The coexistence of the rural world is permeated by the urban world, worlds that are not separated but connected by information networks, that impact on lifestyles and promote cultural change while
demonstrating value and rescue the traditional cultural values. It is observed that there is a selectivity about which values and practices would be rescued because the intention is not to return to the XVIII century, or to abdicate achievements acquired with modernity. The Truká make use of traditional medicine, while maintaining health centers in the villages and a hospital exclusively for Indigenous people in Cabrobó city.

The complexity of social, economic and gender issues are present in this Indigenous society is part of a process of identity affirmation and the struggle for rights beforehand mainstream society that often opposes the interests of these traditional populations.

3 METHODOLOGY: TRANSPOSITION IN TRUKÁ´S VOICES

For Truká, the river is called Old Chico, it means life and ancestry. Therefore, expectations about what will happen to the transposition bring a lot of trouble. As noted in the fervent testimony of a shaman: “Because the transposition through the Truká territory goes far as it can, everything will be immersed with it... we will retake this land.” (Pajé Adilson)

No wonder, the impacts of the project were and are immense:

“They say "no, it will not have an impact." But if you take a stone from one place and put on the other, Nature is being modified. And for us, what else really hurts is to know that in addition to destroying nature, the poor will not benefit from this water, which is the worst. [...] At the time that the Army came, the number of prostitutions, according to the health department, and the number of sexually transmitted diseases increased sharply because people came from all over the country to work. And the issue of drugs also rose sharply... Our young people who went to work in the project knew people who were users and began to experiment. And all this because of the transposition, indirectly because it. (Chief Bertinho)

Chief Neguinho, a farmer, former councilor of the city of Cabrobó, being well articulated in political leadership at national level, having gone to Congress several times representing Indigenous peoples, worked throughout his life for Indigenous rights, especially Truká to "retake" lands.

For Neguinho, the struggle for the Truká and their rights, including the use of water, does not dissociate of its precepts and religious rituals. In them, the people Truká work with the Charms, entities that inhabit the waters and forests, in a reciprocal relationship in which humans, non-human and nature are in symbiosis:

“The culture of Truká, [...] our toré is given to the strength of the people showing what are the elements of nature. Our songs are for both the water and to the woods. We dance it when we are sad, when have a great loss, on times of "retaking" or when we have re-vindicated ourselves. At the Mesa ritual and in the Particular, it is focused on our ancestors, our Charms, it is a time to take advice, to ask for strength, to add strength. I would say it is the most sacred time for us. And toré is our daily life, the trajectory of the history of our people looks like a big toré. Does the simple Indian who lives in the fields have the same understanding as us? - He does! When we say that he will lose something, that will be impacted by this and that, he leaves the fields and dance tore with
us and come to ask for strength to God and the Charms of light to overcome any given obstacles.

(Chief Neguinho

Claudia, another Truká teacher and leader says:

“Neguinho, who was the voice of the people, told the representatives of the government that the asphalt and the houses do not, in any way, buy us, we were against the transposition and were going to do whatever it takes so that it did not happen, to recover our territory, this would not be an exchange, a currency trading, it would not be a bargaining chip”.

The opinion of young people on the river transposition project is essential to understand the meanings impacts and reactions, to understand how the Truka seek to rebuild their culture and cosmology and how, in the face of a threat to the environment, they can articulate their political struggle.

Maurilio is also a young teacher and the leader of the theater group; he is engaged in the indigenous movement and in social and youth movements of the Catholic Church. With intellectual, religious, and political rhetoric calling, he weaves a discourse on the relationship between transposition of water and Truká cosmology: ‘the existence of its people depends on the good condition of the river.”

To Maurilio, transposition would cause a significant impact also in the Light Charms that inhabit the waters of the river. Perhaps the people would be forced to migrate, leaving the island, and would no longer be a tribe because they would lose the Charms that makes them as such:

“[...] we would be without this water because this water would go on the channel. So, for us this is a big impact when it comes to the Charms of Light... if we get out of here, if people move, the Charm does not move, it. remains in the territory [...] So if we lose the water due the transposition, if we lose the small river, we lose the Charm. They will cease to exist. And for us, for our people, the Charm is what we live for. The Old Chico waters are enchanted to us, they have power. I would not be a Truká.

What is the connection that I will have with the wisdom of my land, my people? What is the wisdom that I will have from my ancestors?” (Maurilio, male Truká teacher).

The economy and the livelihood of the people living on the island absolutely depend on the waters of the river. There is no other source of water, and all agriculture and livestock depend on rivers water through a pumping system. Planting of rice, onions, bananas, passion fruit, are all irrigated by the river. Goats, sheep, cattle, ducks, pigs, and chickens depend on the same water as well as the people who live there drink the water of the Old Chico.

In the narratives about the fate of Charms of Light, a logic emerges: there is a symbiosis between Truká Charms of Light and the river. The loss of water means the loss of charms and therefore the loss of themselves, their world, as it is known. The rainfall is extremely low in the region with little precipitation of rain over the past few years. Without the river water, or even a decrease, the entire system of the island goes bankrupt.
These changes in the environment are accompanied by cultural changes, habits and customs, relations between young and old, men and women, old and new, traditional, and modern are being confronted and negotiated, transforming culture, stimulating values, ethos, and worldviews. Nature and culture do not oppose here, they interconnect, to interfere and change. Economy and religion are not formed as separate and different structures, they intersect and influence each other.

For Chief Bertinho, the main concern is a cultural change that disrupts the traditional ancestral worship of Charms of Light. Bertinho is also a religious leader, as shaman who commands rituals of Toré, Mesa and others. He is sought for treatments, healing the sick and initiating boys in religion. His abilities for spiritual work and his knowledge make him a religious leader that attracts many people from the village to the rituals:

“What draws more attention to me, these days is modified things, other religions are entering and our people leaving worship nature behind, they are leaving behind the value the thing of the earth, the things from which we were created. Arriving at a Jurema bush and to have humility to ask that tree to extract that plant, for us to make a remedy for a person, nowadays, we are losing that. We get in the river, and we ask permission to our Mother of Water, which is the Charm of water for us to enter the river for us to fish, and those are the things that are fading slowly.” (Chief Bertinho).

4 DISCUSSION: THE THREATENED COSMOLOGY AND APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY TRUKÁ

During the research, everyday festivities and ritual were observed, through participation and dialogue, always listening to their stories and talking to leaders and elders of the villages. In our conversations with young people and adults, one sees an effort, in their speeches and narratives, in stating two fundamental precepts for them: the political struggle within the indigenous movement and related social movements and a religion based on two rituals, the toré and Mesa.

Traditional Truká religion is quite complex, dynamic, and diverse. They are devotees of various bodies, between Catholic saints and nature's beings, they celebrate parties and practice rituals such as Our Lady of the Assunção Feast, the St. Goncalo feast, Penance, Easter Week, Cosme and Damiao and, Toré and Mesa. Lately, some have converted to a new Pentecostal church, which is not very well accepted by the tribe. The coexistence between different religious traditions, conflicts and confluences forms a mosaic too complex. The inter-influence of Catholicism and the cult of the Holy Jurema, practiced both in Toré as Mesa seems to be more structured and widespread event throughout the island, being experienced differently among diverse groups.

The cult of Jurema presents a broad and diverse tradition in the Brazilian Northeast and, these days, is expanding to other parts of the country. Each indigenous village and every yard of tradition can tell the origin of their beliefs and rank a pantheon of different entities, according to their own historical and spiritual processes. According to the Truká, God would have passed for an Old man, the ancestor of
Truká, the wisdom of the Holy Jurema. Such knowledge would be basically in the preparation of wine, from the bark of black jurema thornless, the anjicá, and how to teach it within both rituals, either the Toré, or Mesa. Although confluent, both rituals are placed by themselves as different, especially because the Toré is done publicly and has an identity connotation and more vehement policy. The Toré wheels were held in protest, in 2014, during the occupation of roads, which brought together five ethnic groups of Pernambuco hinterlands. The Mesa, also known as the Private ritual, on the contrary, it is a closed ritual, with few people, usually held at someone's house requested for specific reason, such as an illness or evil spirit, or own traditional officiating. Both rituals evoke Catholic entities as Our Lady of the Assunção, San Francisco, ‘caboclas’ entities and Charms of Light. The Charms have a strong correspondence with the elements of nature, many of them lived on earth as Indigenous in the past and are ancestors of the Truká currently. Among them there are: Mother of Water, who lives in the depths of the river, in the spiritual city full of gold; Captain Bernardino and Captain Duardo, which are juremeiros teachers, ancestors and founders of the village that sometimes are present in the closed rituals.

For each Master or Charm chants are presented to each that are also called lines, which function is to invoke the forces that are present in the Mesa and Toré. In their holdings, they often advise and promote healing of certain ailments, and the affliction rituals as fundamental to aid conflict resolution and disease. Working with Charms of Light was essential to Acilon Ciriaco and his friends "to upraise the village" and, even today, are important for their support.

For continuity, the spirits themselves summon people to become their spokesmen and perform the spiritual works. In conversation with chief Bertinho, we asked: "With the transposition of the São Francisco River, where to the Charms live? What about Mother of Water and other Charms that live in the water, how do they live?"

“Everyone is saddened by the loss of water. They are saddened by the devastation that the people are doing with pollutants being released into the river, they are sad, they are angry and nature itself revolts against humanity, many disasters, many waters of the sea are rising and ravaging the cities, it is the water Charm himself, the force of nature even if it is bringing change for the men who are doing it with the water, with nature, deforesting all. Playing the city of garbage, sewage, all in the water, he is killing his own life, because without water the human being cannot survive. Years from now, when searching for a safe drinking water, the water will be all polluted. That is when they will open their eyes, but it will be too late already.” (Chief Bertinho)

Traditional villages involved, such as Indigenous and fishermen, have questioned and opposed to these works strongly since they have shocked their daily lives, ruled in family relationships and subsistence economic activities. It is possible to see a variety of positions, perspectives, and concepts, as well as ways of negotiating. Among the various interpretations regarding the various impacts of large projects by the government and private companies, it is clear, in focus, with the Truká that motivated by traditional cosmology.
How do they think about ecology, the relationship between humans and nature, from the point of view of their religious beliefs? How do nonhuman beings think who live in nature or are the very nature? This is not only to understand how the AmerIndigenous think of the destruction of forests, rivers, scrublands, savannas, but think of the relationship between man and the environment from its own perspective. This is not to perform an interpretive activity of the ideas from local cosmologies, however, a dialogue, taking seriously the belief expressed in such cosmologies as the possibility of perspective transformation, habits, and action in the world.

For Bertinho, if the water leaves with the transposition, the Charms of water will also leave as well. If they are, what will become of the Truká living under his protection? What will become of the Truká, Riverines, tide-fishermen, Quilombolas, farmers, entire populations that inhabit the towns along the São Francisco River and have no other source of water to survive with?

The perception of the São Francisco River integration project, from Truká cosmology, allows us to observe, in reverse, the different interpretations of the process of death of river experts, scientists and technicians. Although it seems obvious, from the perspective of technical knowledge from the perspective of learning from magic, traditional, of Truká, the dissatisfaction of the water beings, the Charms of Light, could cause ecological disasters in different places, because to respond to the holistic logic, according to which everything is interconnected in a cycle of influences that are related.

Thus, the end of the water is the end of the Charms, it is nature giving the change across the country. If the Charms of Light appear in Bertinho speech as synonyms of nature, or forces of nature, the Charms of water appear as a being who commands strength wisely and is the energy of the water, it is the nature of a living being that suffers with human actions and react to these actions causing an imbalance that will threaten the life of the human beings on the planet. In this case, the logic of Truká cosmology, the force of the water is not running only downstream, but also upstream. When you open a channel to bring the waters of the river, it will affect other waters elsewhere, or if your vision is holistic and helps to better understand the source that drought is a result of devastation elsewhere beyond. We must see that the problem is planetary and that the works of the water transfer project cannot be causing, directly, the dry spring, but they also contribute, together with other projects, to the death of the São Francisco River.

Not be able perceive or hide the future impact the flow of 2% of the river water in this process of destruction, promoted by the Brazilian government, contrary to the holistic perspective of Bertinho and Truká cosmology. A project is ongoing and is not to revitalize the river but create a serious struggle for what remains of it in a few years.

One thing is connected to another as we learn with Amerindian cosmology. The river's death predictions and large migratory processes arising lead to think about the eschatological predictions...
Bertinho, in his reasoning, changing the course of the river as it is being done is not an action that moves only with a river, it is to put in course much larger forces than the white man can imagine.

The results are more complex and potentially of catastrophic dimensions indeed. The impact of the project is already large, without assessing what will happen to the river when its waters travel the canal. It will impact on public finances, on regional populations, on the daily lives of people, culture, religion, family relations, the regional economy.

When inaugurating a biodiesel plant, in November 2006, president Lula highlights the need for growth and development for the country, for him, it was necessary to take down the "the barriers that I have with the environment, all obstacles with the prosecution, all obstacles of the quilombola issue, the issue of Brazilian Indigenous, all the obstacles that we have in the Court [...]"). This is a statement which expresses exactly how the government implemented projects like Belo Monte and the transposition of the São Francisco River facing resistance to his model of modernization and development of the country.

Anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (2013), scholar of Indigenous issues, accused the management of former president Rousseff to promote a development of the facts of "aggressive character" without "barriers that meets imperatives of justice, human rights and conservation." She alerted to the fact we watch an unprecedented offensive in Congress against the Indigenous.

The São Francisco River is critical to the survival of Indigenous peoples, essential to agriculture and fisheries held by them. Opará is part of the heritage left by ancestors. Among the impacts of changes, is the defacement of the "cosmological dimension" of the natives, the customs associated with the river, amended to the extent that changes a space that integrates the construction of cultures and worldviews of the inhabitants of the bordering territories by its waters.

The leaders, the Indigenous teachers and the theater are organized ways to keep the memory of these struggles alive, to discuss the transposition. They are the bases for organization of struggles and rights of conquest narratives. In addition to resistance to face alone or almost alone, the Truká associated with other groups in the fight against the transposition, in the fight for the revitalization of the river. Since 2005, they participated in meetings with other Indigenous, quilombolas and riverine groups in relation to the transposition.

Over the years, the media silences, to know as little as possible about new rush of Truká against these injustices that accumulate over the recent times.

5 CONCLUSIONS: WILL THE RIVER, THE TRIBE AND THE CHARM SURVIVE?

_I love the great rivers because they are deep as the man's soul._

(Guimarães Rosa)
The fight against the construction of transposition brought to the scene friction between two realities that are intertwined but remain set apart from each other.

Unequal worlds. One imagines they won, leaving a devastation mark, and walking over everything that was valuable and sacred to the defeated, those who do not see the river as a mere water resource. Among the losers are those who understand that the river is a living being, where there is a world that keeps mysteries, so the river is a sacred element. Not only traditional people, environmentalists and others who participated in this struggle have this perception of the river and its uses are incompatible with the vision of a mere water resource. In fact, they clashed with different environmental ethics.

If not for the inclusion of scientists and activists, those unaware could understand that it is a clash between the rural past and pre-modern and the future civilization, whose roots are in the urban and industrial society. However, it is a false perception, the resistance is not an expression of an agrarian world stagnated against the advances of industrial modernity in the field and the benefits promised by it.

Since the Rio 92 Conference, politicians, activists, and scholars warn of the fact that the passport to the future, the gateway to the celebrated Modernity for countries such as Brazil is the conservation of 'natural resources': mangroves, basins, rivers, seas, forests, fields... because, despite its use condition, it does comply the homeostatic function, maintaining the planetary balance within acceptable standards to life forms.

The inclusion of Brazil in the select club of 'civilized/rich' countries demands preservation of what is left of their overworked nature. Ironically, it is necessary to rescue that nature, that the country tries to destroy to build a civilization.

Now, that is the price charged to be accepted as part of the same civilization. The idea of the living planet recognizes that technological advances do not have the power to allow us to continue growing indefinitely. Technology does not change the fact that there is a limited number of resources in a world with more people and, consequently, increased consumption.

In Brazil we continue to degrade the earth as much as possible, polluting rivers where water is scarce, tearing down and burning forests. Our citizenship is not refined enough to extend the idea of rights to inanimate nature, or the forms of non-human life.

We suffer from acute anthropocentrism. The fear is that when we achieve this level of environmental awareness, there will no longer be anything to preserve. The political upheaval that occurred in the country in the year 2016, the replacement of rulers does not seem to have caused any change in the implementation of the project of the São Francisco River. The statements confirm that there is no differentiation between the previous administration and the current. The new government did not condemn the work of its predecessors once 85% of the path is complete, it would be almost impossible to
reverse the damage that it caused, and at best- it can minimize the negative effects on the environment and affected populations.

A river is not a single channel water that flows for economic purposes of certain social classes. The dominant economic sector is indifferent to widespread deforestation and does not see the relationship between ecosystems, biodiversity, soil, water, people, and economy. It does not attach importance to the survival of marginal lagoons of the gutter and tributaries, vital to the richness of the fish fauna of the basin. The water crisis, not to soil conservation, the complex network problems with pesticides, monocultures, the social crisis are external phenomena seen as inevitable to hydroelectric interests, industrial, mining, and agricultural business. They work with the rationality of corporations and lavish financial and political incentives to circumvent environmental and legal limits.

Against the rationality of corporations, the decrement theory anchors a movement fighting to make the use of the planet occurs in a sustainable manner ensuring a future resilience. For this, it seeks to strengthen sustainable social and ecological practices that recognize the physical limits of the Earth.

The decrement or post-growth functions as an umbrella that shelters several emerging perspectives, new ways of seeing the world that suggest overcoming growth. They all point to a multiplicity of futures, or even to rescue lifestyles that exist in other societies. They all share the desire to have a healthy growth in which human potential can be developed without compromising the Earth.

The post-growth economy, in any of its variants, puts life at the center of economic and social activity. None of this will be possible without a new understanding of nature because we cannot continue treating the gifts of nature as a commodity to use and dispose of decrement involves treating the world as an ecosystem to grow.

A society, by adopting decrement can define multiple forms of economy, depending on the available resources, history, and culture of the people and of the vocation of each region. The Decrement movement opens the possibility to rethink civilization in more environmentally sustainable terms and more satisfactory interhuman relations.
REFERENCES


