I - NIGERIA - BRAZIL RELATIONS 1960 -1935

BY

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ABSTRACT '

In this study, we examine various aspects of relations between Nigeria and Brazil in the general framework of South-South Relations of two developing[1] countries with differing levels of industrialisation. Our theoretical focus is the dependency perspective which we use to explain the idea of South-South cooperation in which there is assymetrical development. We analysed the historical development, economic, socio-cultural, diplomatic and political relations between The two countries. We attempted to show that the idea of South-South Cooperation cannot be mutually beneficial to the parties where there is assymetrical development between the parties. This clearly manifests itself in our study of relations between Nigeria and Brazil. While economic relations might be skewed in favour of Brazil to the detriment of Nigeria, cultural relations between them does not follow the same pattern of dependence. What exists is more of interdependence or mutual relationship. It is however clear from the study that Brazilian multinational corporations exploit this cultural links to forster her economic interests in Nigeria. While the economic relation

between two countries remain the pivot on which other relations revolve, the Nigeria-Brazil relationship is not devoid of empty commitments on political issues.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents

Mr & Mrs. I. Adegbola Oguntona; my Wife, Bimbo

and children, 'Demola, 'Dewale, and 'Dekunle.

DECLARATION

I, T. Ademola OGUNTONA declare that to the best of my knowledge the data contained in this dissertation is from my original research and it has not been submitted to any other University for examination. All references in the work have also been duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "Nigeria-Brazil Relations 1960 - 1985" by T. Ademola OGUNTONA meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of M.Sc. (Political Science) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.P. - African, Carribean and the Pacific.

A.D.B. - African Development Bank.

A.N.C. - African National Congress.

C.I.A. - Central Intelligence Agency.

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States.

E.E.C. - European Economic Community.

F.C.D.A.- Federal Capital Development Authority.

F.I.I.R.O.- Federal Institute of Industrial Research Oshodi.

I.G.O.- International Governmental Organisation.

I.T.F.- Industrial Training Fund.

L.D.C. - Less Developed Countries

M.N.C.- Multinational Corporation.

M.N.R.- National Resistance Movement.

N.I.E.O.- New International Economic Order.

N.I.I.A.- Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

NOVACAP- Companha Urbanizadora da Nova Capita.

N.N.P.C.- Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation.

O.A.U. - Organisation of African Unity.

P.A.C. - Pan African Congress.

PRODA - Project Development Agency.

SATO - South Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

SWAPO - South West Africa Peoples Organisation.

T.C.D.C.- Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries.

T.N.C. - Transnational Corporations

U.A.C. - United African Company.

UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

VARIG - Viacao Aerea Rio Grandense S/A.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

This study investigates various aspects of relations between Nigeria and Brazil. Our intention is to look at the historical development of the socio-cultural; economic and political relations between the two countries. These are to be analysed in the general framework of South/South relations of two 'developing' countries with differing levels of industrialisation.

Since the main thrust of this study is to analyse Nigeria's relations with Brazil, it will be necessary to determine the character of both countries, the nature of their socio-economic system, the dynamics of change, whether either or both are already in the semi-periphery or simply have potential of becoming one. As might be noted:

> the concept of South/South co-operation envisages, using their collective political will as a leverage, contacts at the levels of financial flows, trade and sharing industrial and technological experience, without importing the inequalities inherent in the North-South relations. It is therefore necessary for the South to provide a United front against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and therefore the domination of dependence 'stemming from old historical links with former metropolis, embodied in relations of deep subordination in production, trade, finance, technology, and intellectual and cultural fields.(1)

The ideal of NIEO and South-South co-operation seems noble, but the question could be asked as to the guarantee

that the semi-peripheral countries will not grow at the expense of the peripheral countries, replicating all the inequalities in the classical pattern of relationships between the North and the South. This is the basic question this study is set out to answer.

Our aim therefore is to evaluate the benefits that the relations between the two countries bring to them, and to ascertain whether this bilateral relations is zero sum game for one country or mutually beneficial.

1.2 Background to the Study

There are various factors which make this rather broad topic selected. First, both Nigeria and Brazil occupy special positions in their respective geographical environments. That is, Nigeria's position in Africa vis-a-vis Brazil's position in Latin America; each being the most populous countries in their respective regions.

Furthermore, Nigeria has the highest population of blacks on the African continent. Brazil on the other hand is the 5th largest country in the world, and also, the most populous country in South America (forming 42% of the total continental population) and has the highest population of blacks in South and North America.(2)

In addition to this, Brazil like Nigeria consists of diversities expressed in large heterogenous geographical regions each with its own distinctive

ethnic, cultural and economic features. As a matter of fact, both countries have suffered threats of secession, but have managed to find unity in diversity. They also have in common abundance of raw materials, a vital resource base, for which they need technology to explore.(3)

Also, there are socio-cultural and historical ties between Nigeria and Brazil which manifest themselves in the ways of life of peoples of the two countries. This, no doubt, is an important factor for choosing the topic. From a historical standpoint, of the first generation of immigrants from Africa who were taken away to the 'New World' as slaves, particularly to Brazil, "the few who could undertake the journey back to Africa in the later half of the 19th and early 20th centuries were from Brazil."(4) Within this period also, large numbers of returnees from Brazil settled around Lagos. Family names such as Gomez, Cardoso, Da Silver, Da Rocha, Da Costa, Fernandez, Pereira, Ribeiro, Almeida, Grillo, Madeiros, Santa Ana, Montiro, Quirino, Anthonio etc. are eloquent testimony of the presence of descendants of Brazilian returnees in the major coastal cities of West Africa, especially, Lagos.

These Afro-Brazilians and their descendants who had stayed in Brazil returned to Nigeria with customs, habits and ways of life to which they were permanently attached while in a foreign land. They returned with new cultural

traits and characteristics of the 'new world', especially the Roman Catholic religion.(5)

They also made considerable contribution to the spread of Western type of education, and played a role in the emergence of a Western educated elite by supporting the establishment of mission schools. Furthermore, they brought with them an early realisation of the need to emulate and acquire Western Technological skills, and provided the core of carpenters, builders, masons, and other categories of skilled workers in Lagos in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.(6)

This same group, mostly based in Lagos were anxious to be recognised, though not too openly, as a minority group. They had in fact made an impact on politics and commerce and were also bent on preserving the Brazilian culture which they cherished and perceived as part of the Western civilisation yet to flourish in Nigeria. To the educated and well placed Brazilian of all races, the Brazilian quarter symbolises the historical and cultural ties that bind the two countries and which should place Brazil in a category of special relationship with Nigeria politically and economically.

Replicas of Brazilian architecture are manifest in Lagos. The Afro-Brazilians descendants are primarily associated with a part of Lagos Island which was long known as the 'Brazilian quarter'.(7) The Brazilian returnees in

Lagos had a strong influence on the early architecture of the city, with the classic colonial Brazilian style of house (known as Sobrado) being recopied in the Brazilian quarter, as well as in a number of towns in the interior of Yorubaland.(8) Some of the outstanding examples of this model are the Muslim Central Mosque along the present day Azikiwe Street in Lagos, the Holy Cathedral on Catholic Mission Street, "Water House" or residence of Da Rocha, Breadfruit Street, and various other buildings of the Sobrado type, some of which can still be found in the old part of central Lagos.

According to Ola Balogun,

> the returnees generally formed communities of their own, identifying themselves as "Brazilians" and observing catholic feast days with some pomp and pegantry, never failing to mark these and other occasions with carnival and displays characteristic of Brazilian creole culture. Some of these displays, such as careta (carnival masquerade bumba meu boi (known at one time as burinha festival in Porto novo) were quite prominent during the Christmas and Easter seasons in Lagos up to as recently as the 1940's and 1950's.(9)

Furthermore, Brazilian descendants in Lagos still prepare a Brazilian dish known as freijoada at Easter as well as delicacies like kanjika (a kind of desert).

As pointed out by Nwere, "with their acaraje (akara in Yoruba language) and vatapa still today consumed in Brazil and Nigeria, it is almost a certainty that the past is very much with the present for the 'Nigerian Brazilians'."(10)

Another vital aspect of the cultural impact of the Brazilian returnees on Nigeria is that 'New World' negro musical forms made a very stimulating impact in the musical sphere, and were partly responsible for the emergence of the type of contemporary urban music embodied in such forms as highlife. Ironically,

> it was through public performances linked to the observance of catholic religious festivals, as well as during displays such as the carreta masqurades performed by the Brazilian returnees that the musical influences from Brazil began to spread in Nigeria.(11)

In Brazil also, the vestiges of Nigerian culture that persist till today are of significant interest, most especially in the area of religion. Religious cults of African origin, such as condomble, macumba, voodoo etc. drew much from the worship of such daities as Sango, Oya, Ogun, Obatala, and many other Yoruba daities in Nigeria. Afro-Brazilians crave to study Yoruba language and authentic worship of Yoruba daities and this underscores Brazil's enduring cultural affinity with Nigeria.

In view of the above, Brazil's Africanity can be viewed as an extension of Nigeria's culture and values, because of its pervasiveness, history and continuity. Hence, it has been demonstrated by stressing affinities and cultural similarities of the two peoples. Nevertheless our preoccupation goes beyond the sphere of cultural ties as it is necessary (unlike other studies) to examine the mechanisms and contradictions of two underdeveloped countries working in a bid to co-operate on the economic level.

This study is therefore important in as far as it demonstrates the similarities and differences in a North/South co-operation vis-a-vis South/South co-operation. The fact that the two countries belong to that region of the world described as 'developing' and grouped in the South makes the study a unique one. The study will therefore enable us to understand relations between two countries in the "South". The study will also examine the notion of exploitation to determine whether it is only the relationship between North and South that is exploitative or whether that between countries in the South can be.

The above focus is borne out of the fact that Nigeria is the largest buyer of Brazilian products as well as its most important commercial partner in Africa, displacing South Africa from 1976 which hitherto held the lead. We therefore intend to find out whether Brazil adopts a different approach from developed market economy countries,

> whose enterprises have only been willing to 'transfer' limited skills, in order to ensure the control of the direction and pattern of growth of industrial productive capacity.(12)

Briefly, the essence or the significance here would be to further our understanding of South/South co-operation, with special reference to Nigeria and Brazil.

The political dimensions of the Brazil-Nigeria exchanges is equally important. We assert that with increasing trade relations between the two countries, there will be a rapprochment of political options and stance on a

variety of international issues. Already, the two countries share a common stand in the attempt to create a viable auto-sufficient economic base. But as relations between MNCs operating on both sides of the trade relations increasingly share anxiety about the creation of optimum conditions for operation, issues relating to the political structures in the two economies will become increasingly important too. The racial question, which is a point of divergence (latent, though) between the two economies is likely to take another turn.

Racism is a mere form of economic exploitation. The colour is used to further subjugate the oppressed. So looking at economic relations in the international system, this oppression cuts across races. One could, therefore, argue that one of the undesired products of Nigeria-Brazil exchanges might be for Nigeria to condone the glaringly anti-black conjuncture in the Brazilian economy.

1.3 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This study is generally located within the framework of dependency perspective and it is germane to see its usefulnes for the study. The dependency perspective encompass a set of ideas with a strong potential for influencing policy actions in the Third World. Originally developed during the 1960's to explain the problems of development in Latin America by scholars working in that region, the perspective has attracted a great deal of attention both in the

literature and in the Third World countries. The logical consistency and empirical validity of the perspective have been questioned.(13) Evidence about the influence of the dependency perspective on the economic policies of specific countries has been scanty.

The mainstream of the dependency perspective focus on underdevelopment, holds that the linkage of less developed countries (LDCs) with more developed, industrialised countries has worked to the detriment of the former. The technology, financial and real capital, and management skills that originate in developed countries are supposed to have hurt less developed countries because, among other things, import technologies do not take their relative factor abundance into account. Advanced technology is usually associated with high capital labour ratios and a high degree of skill mix. Because LDCs are relatively capital and skill poor, technologies from developed countries are supposed to leave them alienated in the production process as well as deprived of a large share of the value added in production. Foreign technologies(14) compete unfairly with and destroy local production techniques, creating a pool of unemployable, "marginalised" people.

The evil role of financial and real capital in LDCs is the extraction of surpluses. Equity holders of investments in LDCs demand annual returns as a condition for their continued support of such ventures, returns that are sometimes

made possible or guaranteed by tax concessions in the LDCs.(15) The result, is a 'decapitalization' that frustrates the development potential and aspirations of host countries. Also, the world trading and monetary systems and the cultural and taste preferences of the developed countries that may be emulated by LDC elites work to the detriment of LDCs. World production and exchange system allocate to LDCs the production of raw materials and labour intensive processed goods for export at relatively cheap prices. Developed countries specialize in relatively capital - and skill-intensive goods for export to the LDCs at exhorbitant prices, leaving LDCs with perpetually unfavourable terms of trade - a process called "unequal exchange.(16)

Due to the historical experiences of these countries of the third world-experiences rooted in colonial subjugation by others, they find themselves in a situation where they are dependent on the advanced capitalist world politically, which is reflected in the types of political models practised - usually by the mother country's at Independence. At the level of International Organisations, e.g. the U.N. these countries of the third world follow or rather are led by the nose by the imperialist world. They lack initiatives of their own and merely follow the cue of the U.S.A., Britain, France, etc. when it comes to discussions and taking positions at such international fora.(17) As such, political collaboration at that level is not one of rubbing

each other's back, but one leading the other by the nose.

Political dependence, which reflects the dependence of the structures of the third world politics on the advanced capitalist world, is, also reflected at the level of decision making in the third world.(18) Multinational corporations and their home states bring pressure to bear on third world governments in terms of their profound interests. The interests of such third world states are seen as in contradiction to those of the imperialist world represented by the M.N.Cs and their home states. But due to the dependency syndrome, third world capitalist states are left with no option but following the directives of the representatives of monopoly capital. Any third world capitalist state, one looks at, this school holds,(19 would be seen to vindicate this position. And that where third world governments prove stubborn or unamenable to the wishes of imperialism, they are summarily overtly or covertly dealt with. Examples are given of Allende of Chile, and C.I.A. Sponsored subversive activities throughou the world e.g. U.N.I.T.A. in Angola M.N.R. in Mozambique, the Contras in El Salvador etc.

Dependence can also be cultural. Due to the historical experience of the third world which is rooted in colonial rule, the fact of domination by a superior power entails the compromising and subjugation of the conquered state culturally. The point is made that colonial rule

which means the forced physical occupation and ruling of another territory gives rise to forceful assimilation or improbation of the alien's culture in terms of dressing habits, language, aesthetic tastes, religion, national or cultural celebrations etc. They further make the point that formal Independence or (20) decolonization does not negate this phenomenon of cultural imperialism as such alien cultures are already fully integrated into the national way of life or the process of assimilation is, consciously or otherwise, continued by the powers that be after independence. And that such cultural dependence denies or stultifies and erases the particular third world state's cultural history, which might even be richer than the imperialist power's. Furthermore, the cultural ties established by decades or centuries of colonial rule left a new national elite.(21) Unable to identify properly with local customs and values, members of this elite seek rather to measure their success and status in society by the degree to which they identify with foreign cultural taste preferences. The negative effects of these cultural ties include a denial of all that is good in local traditions, traditions that might play an important role in a "genuine" national development, and high import bills to satisfy the tastes of a few while the rest of the population go without imports needed for national developme

Dependency perspective has a considerable appeal, particularly in LDCs. First, the perspective is heavily rooted in (economic) history. It is easy to verify that, under colonial government protection, foreign capital penetrated the colonised countries. It is also easy to verify that while the colonizing countries and their partners grew economically particularly from the 18th to the mid 20th centuries, the colonised and the less developed countries grew relatively little. Attempts to promote rapid development in the Third World since the Second World War have not on the whole been very successful, giving continuity to the previous dynamics of world development.

A second reason for the appeal of dependency perspective is that, like traditional marxian economic analysis in which it is rooted, it carries a call for justice and equity on behalf of the perceived victim, the LDCs. Justice and Equity are the characteristics of the virtuous, it is hard to argue a theory with such seeming objectives without appearing to be mischievous, cruel, or misguided. A third reason for the appeal of the dependency perspective is its invalidation of neo-classical economic analysis which is more of ideological weapon than scientific theory, i.e. it serves the economic interest of imperialism and imperialist nations.(22)

Not much work has been done on relations between Nigeria and Brazil. Nevertheless, due to the present bilateral

cooperation subsisting between the two countries there are a number of Nigerian daily newspaper articles, monthly journals, news talks, seminar papers etc. on relations between the two countries. Most of these articles focus on the recent increase in trade with Brazil and its implication for Nigeria.

The existing gap in the literature reviewed is that they do not enable one to comprehend fully the nature and the core issues involved in the relationships between Nigeria and Brazil. To fill this gap, our task is to give systematic and analytic study of the problem. Hence reliance will be placed on fragmented information available and some works which have attempted, although in a preliminary way to study relations between the two countries

The material on the subject of relations between Nigeria and Brazil has been categorised into two, for convenience and ease of reference. The first category of the literature deals with the various aspects of the relationship in general, while the second category deals with the specific problem of our study: namely relations between Nigeria and Brazil, using dependency theory.

Among such texts in category one are studies carried out by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in:

> "Nigeria/Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign policy, which discussed issues relating to foreign policies of both countries. The essence of the

> dialogue as reflected in the report is the recognition of the lack of balanced relationship and the urgent need to take a longer perspective about the national interest of Nigeria in its bilateral relations with Brazil. The dialogue therefore 'presented a challenging opportunity for both sides to explore and review vital issues affecting Nigeria-Brazil relation".(23)

Hinjari's paper focused on the Brazil foreign relations with Black Africa as a whole, and not Nigeria-Brazil relations in particular. The paper gave the historical development of relations between Brazil and Black Africa, as well as key areas of relations like culture, economic, diplomatic and political aspects.(24)

Also, Odutola's article asserts the necessity for expanding diplomatic relations between Nigeria and Brazil. The article highlighted the historical content of the relations and justifications for expanding such relations.(25

Another article by Joy Ogwu, demonstrated a full grasp of dimensions of relations between countries of the 'South' with particular reference to the relation between Nigeria and Brazil. She pointed out in the article that Brazil had expanded her contact with Nigeria and the key to the relative success of the Brazilian strategy is the advancement of the concept of South-South co-operation, a (horizontal' relationship among developing countries to serve as an alternative to the 'vertical' relations of dependency with the North. But current trends appear to indicate that the North-South horizontal relationship is being replicated in

a South-South context.(26)

Tokuta's paper highlighted the possible areas of co-operation in the field of agriculture. Brazil economic development, which she considers could lend possible lessons for Nigeria's development strategy is discussed. She also examined the domestic economic and political situation in Brazil, in addition to its dependency factor and foreign policy orientations and concluded by appraising the desirability of increased relations between Nigeria and Brazil.(27)

A study by B.P. Menon which focused on 'Technical Co-operation Among Developing countries tried to look at co-operation among developing countries in a much wider perspective than is customary. The book draws upon the work of many other authors of United Nations studies and reports of U.N. Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries (TCDC). The book throws light on the genesis of technical cooperation among developing countries to which Nigeria and Brazil also belong.(28)

An address by Garba to the seminar on the Role of Angola, Brazil and Nigeria in the Southern Atlantic calls for a collective security in the South Atlantic Ocean which will make it a nuclear free zone. He therefore, justifies the need for cooperation among the three above mentioned countries in the Atlantic ocean.(29)

The second category of texts deal with the main focus of this study. Some of them examine the specific implications of economic cooperation among the countries in the developing world in general. A paper by Osita Eze, on 'Nigeria and the South-South Co-operation', used Brazil as the main focus of the Nigeria's economic relations with the South outside Africa. The paper tries to show the nature of relationship that exists within the South-South orbit, which is also our focus in this study. It is quite analytical but the emphasis is on economic rather than the other facets of relations between Nigeria and Brazil.(30)

Finally, a paper by Carlsson on "The Brazilian Penetration of Nigeria through trade - A case of South-South Relations", examined the Brazil-Nigeria trade within the framework of international trade theory and tried to provide an opening for a theoretical understanding of this bilateral exchange of goods.(31)

1.4 Hypotheses

1. In a co-operation diad, there is a relationship between the level of development of the parties and the level of benefits that acrue to them.

2. In a co-operation diad, where the level of development of country A is greater than the level of development of country B, the relationship would tend to be more beneficial for country A.

This could be explained in the dependency theory we intend to use, by arguing that when country A's level of development is higher than country B, i.e. in terms of the development of productive forces and the adaptation of the social institutions to the above, its co-operation with country B is likely to be that of a greater volumn of trade in industrial and proportionately more expensive goods, while its purchases will mainly be raw-materials of a proportionately lower value (lit+le value has been added yet to them). This situation is likely to create a relationship of unequal dependency of country B on country A in the long run.

The economic relations between any two countries influence the nature of political relations between them. The political influence any one country can exercise over the other depends on its economic positions vis-a-vis the other.

Although cultural relations may influence political relations between two countries, ultimately economic relations determine the nature of these relations.

1.5 Operational Definitions

Level of development by our operational definition means the extent to which the two countries are beginning to utilise available human and material resources in order to bring about a sustained increase in per capita production of goods and services. This is, capacity for substantial

improvements in income level and general well being of the populace.

In this case the operational definition of the level of benefits will entail analysis on economic relationship vis-a-vis terms of trade, GNP, balance of trade, deficit or surplus and other exchange relationships. Therefore, the balance sheet of the two countries' trade relationship will be analysed to enable us know which country gains or loses more in the cooperating diad relationship.

1.6 The Scope of the Study: 1960-1985

The period 1960-1985 is chosen because it represents the period when both countries were able to operate as different nations. Although Brazil gained its independence since 1822 from Portugal, her relations with Nigeria were through the I.G.Os and British colonial government till 1960 when Nigeria also gained her freedom from Britain. In this light, it is logical that the period will be most suitable for analysis. It is also during this period that relations between the two countries became meaningful in terms of diplomatic exchange and official representation in each other's Federal Capitals. As a matter of fact, the official contacts between the two nations reached their peak during this period.

The rest of the work is organised into five additional chapters. In Chapter two, we shall be tracing the historical development of the cultural, political and economic

relations between Nigeria and Brazil. In the th.. chapter, we shall carry out a study of the economic aspects of the Nigeria-Brazil relations in an indepth manner.. Chapter four will deal with the cultural aspects of the relations, while Chapter five will deal with the political aspects of the relationship. Chapter six will provide the summary and conclusions.

Foot Notes

1. UNCTAD, 'Technical Dependence. Its nature, consequences and policy implications' Ltd. (190); Proceedings of o the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development 'UNTAD' 4th session, Vol.III TD/128 Basic Documents (U.N. Publications, Sales No. E76 II, D12); Amin, S.,, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa - Origins and Contemporary Forms" in Political Economy of Africa, selected readings, Cohen, D.L and Daniels, J.(dts), New York, Longman Group Ltd. 1981, pp. 28-44.

2. 'Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy - A Report of a Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue held in Sao Paulo, Brazil, from July 29 - August 1, 1980 p.6 by the N.I.I.A, Lagos (U. Joy Ogwu - Rapporteur at the Dialogue).

3. Ibid, p.6.

4. Balogun, O. 'Metro Magazine' of July 1985 p. 57 (an extract from a paper on the Cultural Contribution of the Black Diaspora to Africa, for a UNESCO meeting which took place in Cotonue (Benin) in March 1983).

5. Ibid, p. 57

6. In the course of a meeting between Governor Moloney and representatives of the Brazilian Returnees to Lagos in August 1890, the Chief Justice of Lagos testified that "To the Brazilian repartriates, Lagos is largely indebted for her skilled labour, more of the best artisans have come from Brasil" Ola Balogun, Ibid, p.57.

7. Balogun, O., op. cit. 58

8. Governor General Sir Henry T. Holland Bart on July 20, 1887 was quoted as saying that late Sir John Glover set a part of a district on the Lagos Island for the Brazilian Returnees and many of the streets were named in 1869 after the Principal, Settlers, namely, Tokunbo street, Pedro street, Martins street, Bamgbose street, etc. In 1871, these were 1,327 Afro Brazilians in Lagos and by 1881 the figure increased to about 2,732. Ola Balogun op cit pp 50.

9. Balogun, O., Ibid, p. 58.

10. Nwere, A.C.K. Nigerian Statesman 7th Dec.1983, p.3.

11. Ibid, p.3.

12. Ogwu,J.U. "Dimensions of Nigerian Brazilian Relations" National Concord of 4/4/85, p.3.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BRAZIL

After having had long standing commercial and social relations with Black Africa for over 300 years, Brazil is said to have then 'turned its back' on the African continent and concentrated its external relations with Europe and later U.S.A. This development took place at the time when the slave traders could no longer defy British prohibition of the slave trade.(1) It was, in the late 1960's and 1970's that Brazil turned to Black Africa in order to re-establish more strongly these old commercial, social, cultural and political relations.

Brazil's relations with Africa were first established as a result of Portuguese contact with the continent which made it possible for the transportation of African slaves to work on the Brazilian coffee, sugar and cotton plantations. This dates back to as early as 1500 when Brazil was 'discovered' and African slaves were immediately brought to that part of the world as cheap labour for the European farmers, especially the Portuguese. By 1888 when slave trade was abolished, an estimated 3.5 million African slaves had arrived in Brazil.(2) Between 17th and 18th centuries Brazil was able to establish direct social and economic intercourse with Africa without Portuguese control "Relations

were so strong that certain areas that were under direct Portuguese control such as Angola came to be more dependent on Brazil than Portugal".(3) When Portugal began to experience a period of commercial decline, Brazil moved in to establish a strong commercial and shipping link with the West African coast. Brazil was able to play this role because of the political and economic transformation that it began to experience by this time. Commercial relations were not just in slaves but also in a variety of products such as palm products.

The break in relations between Brazil and Africa came about as a result of the abolition of the slave trade in 1855 when Britain brought too much pressure on Brazil to end the slave trade from which she was benefitting a lot. Another reason was the competition for colonial possessions by Western colonial powers in Africa that effectively began in the early 1900's. Brazil not being a power could not engage in acquiring colonies for itself and could not challenge Portugal in areas where they shared interest with her. Since the various colonial territories that were carved out came to have exclusive social, commercial and political relations with their respective colonial metropole Brazil came to be dependent on Portugal in its relations with Portuguese colonial possessions in Africa. This was because Portugal, like all other colonial powers, dominated social,

economic, and political relations with her colonies. The only difference was that Portugal being a poor country compared to other Western countries, allowed the more advanced and wealthy countries to help prospect for the resources in her colonies. This further limited Brazil's role in any social, economic and political relations that were developing between Portuguese colonies, not to talk of non-Portuguese colonies. These developments led to a near total break in relations with Africa. The African image came to be what the slaves and slave traders transmitted to Brazil in form of tradition and the actual presence, among the Brazilian population, of the Afro-Brazilians.

This is to suggest that for a long time Africa featured on Brazil's foreign policy only through the colonial masters, particularly Portugal. Brazil was caught up during this period in the contradiction of maintaining its strong relationship with Portugal and having to cultivate a favourable relationship with newly sovereign African states in view of its long-term interests of creating a market for its industrial goods in these states.

This new development was possible due to the transformation of Brazil's domestic economy, which necessitated the development of a more rigorous external economic policy, not only to penetrate the traditional markets of Europe and the U.S.A. and Japan, but also of the third world particularly

Africa. The domestic economic transformation has also influenced the external image of Brazil particularly in Latin America in a way that may threaten its isolation in the region. In order to avoid this, Brazil sought to establish stronger political relations with other areas particularly the third world and especially Black Africa. By this, Brazil expected not only to overcome its isolation, but also to enhance its global image especially within the third world group and in the bargaining process between this group and the advanced industrialised world. Another reason why relation with Africa were sought at this time was the fact that Black Africa was now largely independent from colonialism. The door was now open for Brazil to come in, in order to re-establish old relations on the basis of common experiences of the past and to share new experiences of the present. It was expected that if these relations were made possible then Brazil would be able to realise both its domestic and international objectives.

2.1 History of Nigeria/Brazil Relations 1960-1985

As already discussed, the development of relations between Nigeria and Brazil preceded their independence. Their relations are no doubt rooted in history and culture. As also stated earlier, by 1888 when slave trade was abolished, an estimated 3.5 million African slaves including some from what is now called Nigeria arrived in Brazil. From 1835 onwards, some Afro-Brazilians were to migrate back to West

Africa, especially to Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Ghana, either as deportees, following the 1835 slave revolt in Bahia, or as voluntary returnees.(4) Nevertheless, those who remained behind formed Brazil's African roots.

However, since the scope of this study is between 1960 and 1985, our intention therefore, is to look at the development of the relationship within this period. As stated earlier in Chapter 1, the period represents the time when both countries were able to operate as independent nations. The relations between Nigeria and Brazil became more meaningful in terms of diplomatic exchange and official representation in each other's Federal Capitals. It is in this light we trace, in the course of this study, the historical development of the economic, cultural and political relations within the period. Brazil was the first to take the bull by the horn when on 20th August, 1962, she opened her diplomatic mission in Lagos at the level of a second secretary. The first Brazilian Ambassador was installed in 1963 when Ambassador Luiz de Sousa Bandeira presented his credentials to the then Nigerian Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa on the 6th of February, 1963. Nigeria also reciprocated the gesture in 1966, by installing her Embassy in Rio de Janaro, (then capital of Brazil).(5) With this official representations in each others capitals relations between the two countries became formalised. This, as a matter of fact led to chains of interactions between

the people and governments of both countries.

At the economic level, not much could be recorded in intercourse between the two countries before 1970s. This was due to the political instability in Nigeria, and in Brazil as well. The break-through in Nigeria-Brazil relations only came about between 1972 and 1974 when the Brazilian Foreign Minister Mr. Gibson Barboza undertook an extensive tour of African States including Nigeria with the weight of the buoyant Brazilian economy behind him. He carried with him the image of a third world country enjoying world wide publicity due to its on-going 'economic miracle'. African states themselves third world nations, had no cause not to associate with such a nation. After the Barbosa's trip, a Brazilian trade mission followed, tracing the trail of its fore-runner. That trade mission was sent under the umbrella of Afro-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce whose president was Senhor Adalberto Camargo, a black Brazilian businessman and a federal legislator in the Brazilian government. Senhor Camargo personally accompanied the trade mission.(6) The primary thrust of Brazil's new African policy was an accelerated commercial relation based on ethnic ties. Indeed, the 1972 visit of Foreign Minister Gibson Barboza - the first by a high-ranking Brazilian official to Nigeria, not only highlighted but set the tone for accelerated bilateral relations which has had an

important bearing on Brazil's bilateral relations with African countries. By the end of Babosa's visit numerous trade agreements were concluded, followed by Nigerian delegations to Brazil in search of Brazilian services, technical advice and investment ties. Consequently, trade between Nigeria and Brazil expanded with balance of trade in favour of Brazil. For example, exports to Nigeria from Brazil increased from US$460.100 in 1971 to US$92,196,000 by 1979, while Brazilian imports from Nigeria amounted to only US$32,183,000 in 1979.(7)

However, the visit received criticisms from eminent scholars and the press. Dr. Jide Aluko in a write up after the visit, pointed out that in normal circumstances, all the various agreements were fine and should be encouraged, especially in view of the fact that about one third of Brazil's population are black. But it is the Brazilian government's policy to its black population, and Portugal and South Africa that has cast a pall of criticism and doubts on the increasing co-operation with Brazil. According to him, it is not that Brazil practices racism at home as such, but that it pursues a policy that creates the worst form of social injustice in the world, and in which the hardest hit are the blacks. About 95% of the blacks belong to those below the poverty line. He however argued that we don't have to bother ourselves with what the Brazilian government does to its population perhaps! But

given the large black population of over 30 million in Brazil most of who could trace their ancestry to Nigeria, we can't but show some grave concern about their fate.(8) Aluko's argument was based on the premise that Nigeria's declared foreign policy is striving for the rights, freedom, and human dignity of all the black people in every part of the globe. The logic he saw in this is that Nigeria cannot reasonably be friendly with a country that denies basic political, social and economic rights to its black citizens. Also during this period, Brazil was consistently in support of Portugal's colonialism in Africa, and for South Africa's apartheid. Additionally, since 1970, it was speculated that Brazil would join Argentina, Portugal and South Africa to form an anti-freedom defence bloc to be known as the Southern Atlantic Alliance.(9) During this same period, and on the eve of the visit of Barbosa to Nigeria, Brazil joined other five colonialist and neo-colonial powers to vote against a U.N. General Assembly resolution on Portuguese colonies in Africa.(10) The resolution merely urged Portugal to regard the liberation movements in its African territories as the true representatives of their people, and to negotiate with them with a view to granting them self-government and independence. It was in view of all these that one could not easily see how Nigeria can cooperate with the enemy of Africa which Portugal was and South Africa still is. It appears all Brazil wanted was to have the

best of both worlds. To dump its manufactured products into the markets of independent African countries, and to support in the same breath colonial and fascist regimes in Africa.(11)

The heightened level of relations between Nigeria and Brazil is reflected in the number of visits of statesmen and private sector executives and entrepreneurs of one country to the other and vice versa. It can be argued that at the governmental level both comtries have never enjoyed better relations with each other. The same goes for private sector cooperation. A trend that one sees in the relationship between both countries, and which may help to understand the dynamics of the economies of the two countries, is one of patronage at the angle of Brazil and hopeful emulation on the part of Nigeria, which is quoted in an ideology of South-South cooperation.

In early 1973, Mr. Femi Okunnu, then Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing of Nigeria paid a visit to Brazil, and being impressed with the pace of physical development going on in Brazil expressed the belief that both countries had much to gain by exchanging knowledge and personnel in fields like town planning, housing and highway projects.(12) One can discern a commercist attitude on the part of Nigeria. Without two thoughts about benefits that would accrue should a more worthwhile and lasting co-operation be sought and struck, the managers of the

Nigerian economy merely, as they did with other industrial economies, imported wholesale what Brazilian goods they could lay their hands on.

Brazil on its own part, has been quite successful in projecting its 'economic miracle' through its foreign relations mechanism. In 1973, about 40 Brazilian businessmen visited some ten African states, Nigeria inclusive for the express purpose of developing strong economic links with these countries. Development of economic links in the sense of finding markets for Brazilian finished goods which were having a tough time competing with the goods of imperialist economies and also looking for cheaper sources of primary materials for its industries. An angle of the Brazilian economy we cannot overlook nor wash away is the fact of the high level of foreign capital ownership in Brazil's industrialisation process. As such, even within the framework of South-South co-operation (which is the relevant ideology bandied for this purpose) a relevant question to ask is, how Brazilian is the Brazilian economy? By extending trade with Brazil especially from the angle of a buyer, and an unprincipled buyer at that, Nigeria is merely continuing its relationship with imperialist capital as a hewer of wood (in terms of its own exports to these economies), and the buyer of finished furniture (in terms of its imports from the same economies). The fact that the goods came from a 'Southern' port does not change the ownership of such capital goods.

In a Brazilian organised industrial exhibition in Nigeria held on 2nd September, 1976, the then Federal Commissioner of Industries of Nigeria, Dr. R.A. Adeleye who declared it open, contended that a lot of Brazilian manufactured goods, including motor vehicles can be found all over Nigeria and their popularity was a result of their efficacy in terms of high quality and excellent performance.(13) This goes to show what Nigerian policy makers think the cooperation between both countries should look like, i.e. a producer-consumer relationship. The exhibition which was mounted in the fields of light and heavy engineering focused on the building materials industry. The Minister expressed his belief that the exhibition was timely as the Nigerian government was at that time embarking on gigantic constructions in the country, embracing dwelling houses, offices, highways, dams, hospitals and schools. The Commissioner emphasized that the exhibition was a concrete demonstration of the readiness of Brazil to co-operate with Nigeria in her task and determination to forge ahead and keep faith with Nigerian people and her destiny! He finally expressed the hope that the exhibition would further strengthen the ties, friendship and understanding between the two countries.(14)

To show the correlation of viewpoints and attitudes of statesmen or representatives of both countries we need to report the Brazilian Ambassador's speech on the same occasion. Mr. G.H. Lima, the Ambassador opined that Brazil

was not only geographically and culturally the closest non-African country to Nigeria, Brazil he continued, is also a country that had achieved a considerable degree of industrialisation that was reflected in terms of international trade in low freight rates and fast deliveries. The Ambassador remarked that the exhibition was to show building machinery and equipment for construction with an emphasis on the establishment of joint ventures. He added that many Brazilian companies were prepared to discuss with prospective Nigerian partners the production of building materials in Nigeria by using Nigerian raw materials and Brazilian technology. Such materials, according to him would include clay bricks, clay pipes, glazing tiles, wall and floor tiles, locks, hinges, prefabricated houses and electric installations.(15)

The economic relations between Nigeria and Brazil remain the pivot on which relationships in other sectors revolve. The Nigeria-Brazil relationship is also not devoid of what amounts to empty expectations both on the economic and other issues. While opening a one-day seminar on 'Brazil-Nigeria-Angola Axis in the South Atlantic Ocean' at the N.I.I.A., Lagos, the then Federal Commissioner for External Affairs, (13th April, 1976) Brigadier Joseph Garba claimed that if given the history and experience of the states in the South Atlantic - with the notable exception of apartheid South Africa - the aim of Nigeria, Angola and Brazil was to search for new arrangements to safeguard their

national interests and sovereignty from other nations and powers. He called for making the South Atlantic ocean nuclear free and the evolution of a collective security system although such an arrangement has never taken place.(16)

The two countries have also, on occasions, reiterated adherence to the principles of the United Nations in particular those relating to the equality of states, territorial integrity, self determination of peoples, non-interference in states' internal affairs, settlement of disputes by peaceful means and non-acquisition of territories by force. They have also jointly condemned the continuation of apartheid in South Africa, called for the independence of Namibia, called for an equitable resolution of the Middle East conflict, and also called for nuclear disarmament.(17)

Also on January 10, 1979, a number of agreements were signed by both countries. These include:

1. Agreement on Economic, Scientific and Technical cooperation;
2. Agreement on Friendship cooperation and Trade;
3. Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Coordination Commission;
4. Agreement on Air services;
5. Agreement on Exchange of Notes on cooperation in the field of Radio and Television;
6. Protocol to the Agreement on Cultural cooperation of November 16, 1972;

7. Memorandum of Understanding on the Expansion of Economic, Trade, and Technical cooperation;
8. Joint Communique as per above.(18)

These agreements are a culmination of Brazil's effort over the preceding seven years to strengthen her political and economic ties with sub-Saharan Africa, especially Nigeria. It was estimated that the bilateral agreements between the two countries would result in bilateral trade worth over US$5 billion over the following five years.

As a result of the above agreements, a Joint Co-ordination Commission was set up to monitor their progress. The inaugural session of the Joint Coordination Commission which was held in Lagos between 23rd and 25th March, 1981 was led by Brazilian Foreign Minister Savaiva Guerreiro and the various aspects of bilateral economic relations between Nigeria and Brazil which were examined during the inaugural session of the commission include the following:

1. Agriculture: Both sides agreed that the existing areas of cooperation in agriculture should be expanded and new areas of cooperation, particularly in food production should be explored. The Nigerian side expressed interest in cooperation in the areas of forestry, livestock and poultry, fisheries, food production and processing and research. Preference was also shown for an integrated approach, which covers from production to marketing, on a

joint venture basis between Nigerian and Brazilian enterprises.

2. Water Resources and Irrigation: To boost food production in the drought affected areas, Nigerian side expressed interest in collaborating with Brazil in the setting up of irrigation projects in Nigeria.

3. Industrial Training Fund (I.T.F.): The Nigerian side requested for assistance in teaching materials and facilities for the establishment of formal and non-formal vocational training centres in Nigeria. A draft protocol which was accepted by the Brazilian side recommended the establishment of a joint working group for implementing the proposed technical cooperation.

4. Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture: Brazilian assistance was sought in the training of personnel for social development in the areas of rehabilitation, child and maternal welfare and community development. The Nigerian side also sought the cooperation of Brazil in the supply of coaches and physical education specialists for the development of Nigerian coaches, using existing local facilities in particular areas of sports such as soccer, basket-ball, and volley ball. Both sides expressed interest in the exchange of art works, creative and visual artists and journalists.

5. Health: The two sides agreed to exchange information and research materials on preventive medicine generally and malaria and yellow fever eradication in particular.

6. Education and Research: The Brazilian side expressed interest in the Nigeria's College of Technology system which it felt, would be relevant to Brazil's development in the areas of technological education. The Brazilian side submitted two draft proposals for the consideration of the Nigerian side. The first was on a technical cooperation project to be implemented between the faculty of Architecture, University of Sao Paulo and similar faculties of the Universities of Lagos and Ife. The second proposal was on the technical cooperation programme to be implemented between the Institute for Technological Research, Sao Paulo and the Project Development Agency (PRODA) at Enugu.

7. Industry: Both sides agreed to cooperate in the establishment of Industrial Development Centres (IDC) in Nigeria and that such cooperation should include exchange of technical staff. On consultancy services, the Nigerian side noted the useful inputs from Brazilian organisation and requested for additional similar inputs in the establishment of consultancy services for new Industrial Centres in different parts of Nigeria.

8. Oil and Energy: Both sides expressed satisfaction at the existing relationship between Petrobras of Brazil and NNPC of Nigeria, and were determined to strengthen their exchanges and cooperation as regards oil matters. The intention of the Brazilian side to increase its purchase of

Nigerian oil to about 60,000 barrels per day in the nearest future was noted by the Nigerian side. The Brazilian side also expressed its reliance on Nigeria for emergency additional sale to Brazil in case of unexpected disruptions in Brazil's oil supplies due to events beyond her control. The Nigerian side observed that provided there is available uncommitted oil, Brazil's request would be favourably considered. The Nigerian side re-emphasised its interest in the training of NNPC technicians and engineers in Brazil. For that purpose a team of engineers would be sent to Brazil, to study the modalities for the proposed training programme.

9. Trade Reinsurance and Finance:

(a) Trade: The Nigerian side expressed its interest in diversifying its trade with Brazil with a view to correcting the existing trade deficit. The Brazilian side observed that new areas will certainly be opened as the trade relations between the two countries develop further and both countries develop their respective structures of production and marketing. The Brazilian side however, indicated its intention to double its purchase of Nigerian rubber from 5,000 tons per year to 10,000 tons in 1981 and possibly 15,000 tons in 1982.

(b) Reinsurance: Both sides exchanged information on reinsurance business in each country and agreed to cooperate further in this field. The Brazilian side submitted a draft Protocol of Intensions for the exchange of business between the Nigerian Reinsurance Corporation and

its Brazilian counterpart, IRB. The draft was examined and adopted for subsequent approval. The Brazilian side also expressed its readiness to assist in training personnel of the Nigerian Reinsurance Corporation in Brazil.

(c) Lines of Credit: The issue of a previous Brazilian Government offer of US$100 million line of credit for the sale of Brazilian products to Nigeria was re-opened. The Brazilian side explained that resources for lines of credit were limited due to constraints imposed by current economic policies. The matter was reserved for further negotiations between competent authorities of the two countries.

(d) Double Taxation: Both sides agreed on the need for an agreement to avoid double taxation and prevent fiscal evasion relating to tax on income and capital. They also agreed to start negotiation of the agreement as soon as possible.

(e) Banking Relations: After reviewing the banking relations between the two countries vis-a-vis the national rules and regulations in force, the Brazilian side expressed interest in the expansion of bilateral cooperation in this field through the establishment of its banks in Nigeria, on the basis of reciprocity. The Nigerian side welcomed the idea and indicated the possible areas of cooperation feasible under existing Nigerian legislation.

10. Cooperation Between FCDA and NOVACAP: Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the draft protocol between

the government of Nigeria and Brazil in the field of technical cooperation related to the building and setting up of the new Federal Capital of Nigeria in Abuja. The protocol is to be implemented through the exchange of experience between the Compantria Urbanizadora da Nova Capital of Brazil (NOVACAP) and Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) and will provide the opportunity for joint action by both companies and authorities of the two countries in the overall establishment of the city of Abuja.

11. Aviation: The Nigerian side requested for Brazilian assistance in the provision of experienced flying instructors to serve in the Nigerian Civil Aviation Training Centre in Zaria for periods ranging from one to two years and for the training of Air Traffic Controllers. The Brazilian side agreed to forward the proposals to its country's competent authorities for consideration. New areas of cooperation in this field are to be defined as time goes on and official delegations exchanged.

12. Transport: In realisation of the importance of maritime transport to export trade, both sides recommended the need for the beginning of technical studies which would lead to the signing of a shipping agreement between Nigeria and Brazil. The studies are to take account of the draft proposals on the subject submitted by the Brazilian authorities. A delegation of experts from the Federal Ministry of Transport will visit Brazil to discuss the matter with its Brazilian counterpart at a date to be

mutually agreed upon. The Nigerian side expressed the wish that the Nigeria-Brazil-Nigeria Freight Conference be re-organised with a view to making it adaptable to Nigeria's existing maritime legislation.

13. Communications: Both sides recognised the need for bilateral cooperation in communications. To that end, both sides agreed to the implementation of such cooperation in the following areas:

(a) Encouraging the establishment of local manufacturing units on joint venture basis (b) supply of qualified Brazilian engineers to train Nigerians in P and T schools; (c) supply of maintenance personnel familiar with available equipment in Nigeria, (d) facilities for training Nigerians in P and T schools in Brazil; and (e) supply of technical services and equipments. For a steady implementation of cooperation in the field, both sides agreed to conclude an agreement on Telecommunications. As a result, Nigerian side will further examine a draft agreement presented by the Brazilian side.(19)

After the report of the inaugural session of the Joint Coordination Commission was presented to the appropriate government authorities all relevant Ministries and agencies were directed to take necessary follow up actions on issues relating to their respective areas of operation.

The interest that was generated by the nature of opoperation agreed upon in both the agreements signed and the Joint Commission led to the sponsoring of a dialogue which attracted participants from all walks of life. In

July, 1980, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, sponsored a three day Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy, which was held in Sao Paulo. In the course of the dialogue, thirteen Nigerian scholars, businessmen and news media executives met with an equal number of their Brazilian counterparts.(20) The recognition of the lack of balanced relationship and the need to take a longer perspective on the national interest of Nigeria on its bilateral relations with Brazil were some of the reasons given for initiating the dialogue by Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, then Director General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. The dialogue presented an opportunity for both sides to review vital issues in the Nigeria-Brazil relations.(21)

The prominent themes at the dialogue were security, economics and the problem of racism. It was noted that the reported(22) South Atlantic Pact between South Africa, the U.S. and South America would pose the real threat of transforming the South Atlantic into a region of military confrontation rather than an ocean of peace between the peoples of Africa and Latin America.(23) The upsurge of Brazil's stake in South Africa, economically and militarily, it was noted, is not in consonance with her avowed support for the African cause and aspirations.(24) It was concluded that trade alone should not be enough to justify Brazil's

penetration into the country, as Nigeria is "vitally interested in her security, the development of her productive forces, rather than a ready market for finished goods from Brazil.(25)

Another land-mark in economic relations between the two countries was the formation of Nigeria/Brazil Chamber of Commerce in 1983. During the inaugural meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, a cooperation agreement was signed. 'The agreement was in promoting relations based on mutual friendship and good will, as well as to engage in commercial exchanges with a view to cooperating in the technical and economic fields'.(26) The document signed by representatives from both countries set out the terms of the cooperation agreement thus:

1. To organise economic and trade missions between both countries and to give support to their members, with the aim of developing business in Brazil and Nigeria in the economic and technical fields;
2. Both parties shall work within the laws and regulations in force in the two member countries to endeavour to fulfil the aims of the present agreement through commercial promotion, exchange of goods and services, and cooperation in the technical and economic fields between Brazilian and Nigerian enterprises and economic organisations;
3. To stimulate, encourage and promote visits by trade

missions from both countries with the aim of investigating markets and developing activities within the scope of the possibilities offered by the respective economies;

4. To provide members with the necessary assistance to do business in industry, commerce and agriculture;

5. To intensify trade relations by holding trade fairs and exhibitions and thereby create favourable conditions for the publications of promotion and publicity materials in general;

6. Both parties shall hold periodic meetings to exchange ideas and information of use to the two countries;

7. To act as a link and a channel between the two countries with a view to enforce agreements and protocols governing import tariffs, so as to consolidate the promotion of commercial and economic cooperation and the realisation of joint projects;

8. To undertake a systematic exchange of commercial, economic and technical cooperation information between Brazil and Nigeria by means of the following:

provision of publicity material in fairs and exhibitions;

exchange of publicity in the technical and economic fields and of resources existing in both countries;

cooperation in drafting laws concerning trade and import tariffs in both countries, and especially as assistance in concluding commercial contacts and joint ventures undertaken by members or by Brazil and Nigeria;

to provide information on the registration of licenses, patents and trademarks to the governments of both countries through the mutual exchange of information between the parties and trade between Brazil and Nigeria;

9. In order to consolidate the promotion of commercial exchanges, whenever necessary both parties shall offer assistance with the organisation and participation in exhibitions, fairs, and other events which may strengthen the commercial relations between the parties to this agreement;

10. To stimulate exchanges of specialists by giving grants, organising trade fairs and exhibitions, or undertaking other activities of mutual interest;

11. In addition to the above items, both parties shall exploit all the opportunities available for achieving mutual commercial, economic and technical benefits for both countries and for their members; and finally,

12. The present agreement shall be valid as of the date of signature and may be amended whenever necessary(27)

When the Ambassador of Brazil to Nigeria Mr. Fernando Abott Galvao paid a visit to the council, the executive Director of the Chamber, Mr. Mutiu Owolabi Ishola-Lemomu noted with delight the sustained interest shown by the Ambassador in the affairs and progress of the Chamber.(28) He said that the aim of the NBCC is to promote the development of commercial economic and industrial relations as well as technological development between the two countries. He however recalled that until recently, Brazil was a major trading partner of Nigeria. According to him, Brazilian imports from Nigeria decreased from ₦547 million level in 1981 to ₦179 million in 1982 while Brazilian exports to Nigeria equally fell from ₦578 million to ₦184 million during the same period. By the end of the first half of 1983, exports to Nigeria from Brazil had further nosedived to ₦79 million. The interest of the Chamber therefore, lies in increasing conditions favourable to reactivating the economic and commercial ties, he added.

In his response, the Ambassador told the meeting that the Chamber and himself shared common interests and ideas as far as promotion of trade relations between Nigeria and Brazil was concerned. He said further that he spent a greater part of his time in Nigeria working relentlessly to achieve similar goals as those set out by the Chamber.(29)

During the civilian regime (1980 - 1983) there over fifty official delegations to Brazil, including the

Senate President, the speaker of the House of Representatives, Governors of Ogun and River States, the Ministers of Agriculture, Aviation, Telecommunication, Federal Capital Development Authority, several Parliamentary Committees and State delegations led by commissioners, military delegation led by Vice Chief of Defence Staff, Rear Admiral H. Abdullahi and two tours of Nigerian Green Eagles etc.; while the only Brazilian ministerial visit to Nigeria in nearly ten years were the visits of Foreign Minister Barbosa and Saraiva Guerreiro in 1972 and 1981 respectively.

Nigeria/Brazil relations culminated in the visit of the Brazilian former Head of State to Nigeria in 1983. It could be said that the President's visit was the culmination of the vigorous efforts on both sides to work out arrangements that would put the relations on a solid footing. It is therefore significant, that President Figueiredo became the first Latin American President to visit Nigeria. One of the principal aims of the summit was to find out how and why the volume of trade between the two countries slumped drastically over the last two years. Second among the officially stated aims, was to study the possibilities of streamlining credit arrangements between the central banks of both countries by creating a system of periodic settlement and balancing between the two countries through direct credit transactions. The visit was also to provide an opportunity to review the existing cultural accord between the two countries, under which about 200 Nigerian students

study in Brazil annually. Further, the summit may also have been set up 'to afford Nigeria the opportunity of learning a few lessons from the Brazilian economy, lessons which could come in helpful to Nigeria in realising her national aspiration toward industrial development'.(30) It would be recalled that the joint communique issued at the end of the state visit noted relations had developed in a 'mutually beneficial' manner. The two presidents according to the communique expressed the belief that the "necessary conditions existed for their future development (bilateral relations) in all areas based on the principle of equality and mutual benefits".(31)

As significant as the visit might be it did not go without being criticised by the Nigerian Press and academicians. The National Concord in its editorial of November 24, 1983 has this to say:

> ... when talks between the two leaders ended with the issue of a rather scanty communique last week, it only gave credence to doubts earlier on expressed in some quarters, as to whether the summit was really worth the climb.(32)

On the aims of the summit, one of which was to find out how and why the volume of trade between the two countries slumped drastically such an inquiry would not have called for a presidential summit. For as is widely known, due to the global economic recession which has

reduced export markets and slashed commodity earnings, most countries now suffer acute foreign exchange shortages. They are therefore unable to sustain imports at the same level as in the past.

On the question of studying the possibilities of streamlining credit arrangements between the Central Banks of both countries, such a study, loaded as it would be with technical details, would have been better undertaken by banking authorities in both countries, without presidential involvement on either side.

On the ground that the visit was to provide an opportunity to review the existing cultural accord between the two countries, there seemed to be no reason why any tangles in that accord could not have been sorted out by the two ministers of education of both countries.

That the summit might also have been set up to afford Nigeria the opportunity of learning a few lessons from Brazilian economy, today's Brazil is hardly the kind of country where any truly development oriented - Third World country could go to for tuition courses. Once the "economic show case" of Latin America, the country today has run up a 110 billion dollar debt, enjoys the dubious distinction of standing as the Third World's heaviest debtor, and is now the principal contender for the Chairmanship of the proposed debtor nation's cartel.

It is necessary to point out that after more than three years of severe recession its inflation rate now hovers around 150 percent and about two out of every five breadwinners in the country are out of job. Its currency, the crazeiro, has been devalued about 30 times in the last two years without yielding the desired result. In short, the once vounted Brazilian economic "miracle" is now a dim memory, and even under the best of global conditions, the country faces a future of severely limited options. Whatever there was to learn from such an economy could either have been learnt from studying the records which are available worldwide, or at most by sending a Nigerian expert delegation to Brazil, but certainly not by hosting a 143-man presidential entourage from Brazil.(32)

In 1985, the Minister of National Planning, Chief Michael Adigun led Nigerian delegation to Brasilia for the second session of the Joint Commission of the two countries(33 At the conclusion of the 3 day session, Nigeria and Brazil agreed to strengt their areas of cooperation in Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Technology and Education, Energy, Sports, Culture and Social Development. During the session, the two sides reviewed and assessed the achievements of past cooperation efforts in the period following the first joint session. Addressing the closing session, Chief Michael Adigun expressed delight that much ground was covered

during the three-day session, adding that the future looked very bright for Nigeria-Brazil relationship and the essence of South/South cooperation. Chief Adigun promised that Nigeria would give speedy and appropriate consideration to the Brazilian proposal for a consular agreement to facilitate closer interaction between the people of the two countries. He however, called for Brazil's commitment and contribution to the realisation of the goals of the resolutions adopted at the session for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

Also speaking at the closing ceremony, the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Olavio Egydio Setuba, expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the Joint session.(34) He was optimistic that the decisions reached would contribute to the deepening of relations between his country and Nigeria. He also pledged his country's commitment to fully execute the protocol.(35)

As a result of all these contacts, on Ministerial, Presidential, specialised levels, and as a result of the creation of institutions like the Joint Commission, trade between Nigeria and Brazil has flourished abundantly, to the extent that the cooperation between the two countries is always held up as a model, a type of mutual trade relations which should be encouraged among developing third world countries. For example, since the Brazilian official delegation visited Nigeria in 1972 and that of Afro-Chamber

of Commerce in 1973, there had been many Brazilian companies which became interested in Nigerian market and actively participated in several Lagos trade fairs. Today, Brazil's well nurtured and painstaking export investment drive is amply rewarded as evidenced by the proliferation of firms engaged in diverse economic activities.

These companies cover a wide spectrum of the country's social, commercial and industrial life. For example, COTIA is engaged in agricultural modernisation and cattle ranching. To date, the company is involved in the construction of four integrated cattle ranches in Bauchi State and forestry development within Nigeria while PROTEC-SOBRATEL consortium and GRAHAMBELL work exclusively on Nigeria's telephone system. As stated earlier, the oil boom of the middle and the late seventies saw the fortunes in business transactions between the two countries which warranted a commercial delegation from Brazil in 1981.

The first time an African country broke into the ranks of Brazil's top ten partners was in 1981, when Nigeria far above any other, accounted for 3.3% of Brazil's total exports surpassing Great Britain as a customer of Brazilian goods. "A serious constriction of Nigeria's market prevented a repeat performance in 1982 or 1983.(36) In this same boom year of 1981, Nigeria as the major market, took manufactured products as 99% of its purchases, thus becoming Brazil's second largest market by country for manufactures,

expansion occured at 2.3 times the rate of expansion of Nigerian imports as a whole between 1975 and 1980.

According to sources at CACEX, Brazilian foreign trade department, the trade balance as at 1982 shows exports to Nigeria amounting to US$244,160,000, while imports recorded US$227,224,000, placing Nigeria as Brazil's 7th largest trading partner in the world. Owing to the world economic recession and a general decline in international trade, Brazil's trade with Nigeria declined considerably between 1982 - 1983. Nevertheless, Nigeria continues to maintain a significant position in Brazil's external trade. There has been a definite recovery in 1984, with a greater promise for the future. (See table below).

TRADE AND BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Year	Export to Nigeria (U.S.$)	Import from Nigeria (US$)
1971	460,100	-
1974	11,986,000	142,000
1975	57,180,000	77,000
1976	86,693,000	77,838,000
1977	115,110,000	90,000
1978	233,517,353	67,598,236
1979	137,475,000	33,202,000
1980	271,505,000	87,836,000
1981	770,250,000	728,540,000
1982	244,160,000	227,222,528
1983	195,702,000	82,822,000
1984	653,707,754	967,296,086

One striking aspect of Nigeria/Brazilian relations is the phenomenal growth in trade. Brazil exports a variety of manufactures to Nigeria including sugar, tractor, textiles, paper, glass, beef, fish, soyabeans, steel products, building materials, domestic appliances, textiles, airconditioners, shoes, buses, parts of volkswagen cars, tyres, tools, oil derivatives, machinery, nearly all the parts / of volkswagen cars assembled in Nigeria are imported from Brazil and Nigeria is one of the largest importers of mercedes Benz trucks and buses from Brazil, Bilateral trade rose from less than a million dollars in 1971 to 1.5 billion dollars in 1981. Since then, there had been a steep down turn in the bilateral trade as shown in the table.

There are sizeable number of Brazilian firms engaged in small, medium and large industrial projects. Such firms include Hydroservice, Mendes Junior, and NOVACAP. Cicatrade also engages in a wide range of food products, commodities, auto-spare parts, building materials and many other manufactured goods. The double taxation agreement signed by both countries was said to have aimed at facilitating joint industrial ventures by removing any obstacles which might hinder collaboration, and which has indeed encouraged trade relations between the two countries.

Also, to restore the level of trade to the 1981 position, Brazil put forward proposals early in 1983 for a new system of settlement of trade transactions. The Brazilian strenous efforts resulted in the signing of

Protocol of Intention by the Central Banks of the two countries during the visit of President Figueiredo in November, 1983. The objective is to establish reciprocal lines of credit (special payments arrangements) between the two sides. It is understood that a Trade Agreement signed in 1984 between Nigerian Ministry of Trade and COTIA, (a Brazilian Commercial and Industrial firm) was aimed at facilitating trade between Nigeria and Brazil to the tune of US$1 billion dollars both ways through special payments arrangements.(37)

The scope of energy cooperation covers agreement for the supply of 10,000 barrels of Nigeria oil per day to Brazil on commercial basis. A contract signed early in 1984 between NNPC and Petrobras (Brazil's equivalent of NNPC) allows the importation of 110,000 barrels of oil per day by Brazil for refinning and re-exporting to Nigeria the finished products. These refined products include gasoline, kerosene, lubricants, Aviation fuel, etc. which will be made available to Nigeria's domestic market. It is assumed that the agreement has mutual benefits for the contracting parties. Nigeria is to gain from the low refinery charges while Brazil's idle refineries which have capacity of refining up to 350,000 barrels of oil per day will be kept busy beside retaining some of the derivatives.

The other major export item is rubber for which the Nigerian Rubber Board signed a contract to supply 5,000 tons a year to Brazil.

Technological cooperation between the two countries involve the transfer of technological know how. It covers such areas as technical assistance, consultancy services, human resources development and training, telecommunication and transport development systems, Engineering and Mining, hydroelectric power development etc.

ITF/SENAI

In this light, a technical cooperation agreement which was signed between Industrial Training Fund (ITF) and SENAI (the Brazilian equivalent of ITF in Lagos in 1982, led to a team from SENAI, composed of three experts visiting the ITF in Jos in May, 1982 to assess areas of cooperation with the latter. Also a group of Nigerian officials from ITF visited Brazil from 29th August to 18th September, 1983. Their discussions with SENAI covered the establishment of informal vocational training centres in Nigeria, manpower training of ITF staff and technicians in Brazil, consultancy services of SENAI experts/consultants to ITF in Nigeria and training and/or industrial attachment of Nigerian technicians in Brazilian industries. A number of Nigerian students have since been placed in SEN AI institutions.

Air Services

Air services agreement was signed between the two countries in 1979. So far, only the Brazilian National Airline Viacao Aerea Rio-Grandense S/A (VARIG) has been running regular schedule flights to Lagos from Rio de Janeiro. Nigerian Airways is however not in a position yet to run the route mainly because of low traffic flow,(38) but however, its personnel have benefitted from exchange programme and training offered by Brazil's VARIG. For example, a number of Nigerian Airways pilots have been undertaking conversion courses in Brazil for Boeing 737, 727 and 707 and DC 10. Several pilots, flight office and flight engineers have been involved in one form of training or the other. It is also gathered that arrangements are on hand to service some Nigerian Airways planes in Brazil.

Defence

In the area of defence, not much has been achieved in the relationship between the two countries. However, during the state visit of former Brazilian President in 1983, bilateral talks were held on military cooperation, and a protocol of understanding was initiated. This covers exchange of visits, arrangements for exchange of technology, procurement of weapons, training of personnel and the establishment of joint ventures.

2.3 Cultural Relations

Looking at non-commercial areas of relationship between

the peoples of both sides, there appears to have been some interesting exchanges. In the early 1960's, some Nigerian doctors were trained in Brazil as part of Brazil's 'aid' during the Janio Quadro and Joao Ceoulart regimes. During that period also, scholarly exchanges began also to be noticed. University of Bahia scholars like Dr. Quillheme Castro came to the University of Ife to study while Mr. Lashebikan went to University of Bahia to teach Yoruba which is very important to the worship of the Orishas. The Brazilians were very active in FESTAC I and II. The University of Ife is rapidly becoming the leading English-speaking African University specialising in Portuguese Area Studies.(39) Many students have indeed graduated with a degree in Portuguese language. The first known course titled 'History of Portuguese Speaking Africa' started. In 1975 during the active period of the University's African Studies Institute, the "Brazilian Diaspora Project, involving illustrious scholars like Professor Akin Euba, S.A. Akintoye Wande Abimbola, Pierre Verger, Mr. Clabiyi Yai, the late Dr. Mariano de Cunha, Dr. Manuels da Cunha and others, were initiated. The inactivity of the institute has made it im impossible for the joint projects to assume as large a scope as originally intended. Each researcher has now tailored his work to suit the new reality. It is significant to also note that at present, the University has a link with

Universities of Bahia, Sao Paulo and Brazilia, for scholarly cocperation. Apart from this, the University of Ife also has an agreement for its foreign language students with the Universities of Sao Paulo, Bahia and Brazilia; while the University of Lagos maintains a similar agreement between its medical school and the University of Sao Paulo.(40)

The protocol to the cultural agreement of November, 1972 included among other things, an exchange of non-fee paying students between the two countries. There are at present over two hundred non-tuition fee paying Nigerian students in Brazilian institutions of higher learning undertaking courses in Medicine, Engineering, Social Sciences, Architecture, Administration, and Journalism.

2.4 Political Relations

Brazil's economic felations with Nigeria in particular, and other Third World Countries in general have influenced its political positions vis-a-vis the Third World bloc. Its contacts with Nigeria may have influenced the Brazilian state into flexing its attitudes towards the apartheid regime in S. Africa. It has recently reduced its Embassy staff in Pretoria to a Charge d'Affairs level, headed by a very junior diplomatic officer, and closed down its consulate in Cape town. President Figueiredo's administration tried to maintain a strong stand on the South African attacks on Angola and supports the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola as long as the South African threats on Angola exist.(41

In this chapter, we have seen how with the attainment of Independence by Nigeria in 1960, Brazil-Nigeria ties became strengthened and formalised. We have also seen how particularly from 1970, there grew greater economic cooperation between both countries characterised by Nigeria's consumption of Brazilian finished goods and technology and Brazil's consumption of Nigeria primary products, particularly oil. We also examined the setting up of the various formal agencies of cooperation between the two countries, e.g. the Joint Coordination Commission and the Brazil Nigeria Chamber of Commerce and how these have helped to create a Brazilian economic presence in Nigeria.

Foot Notes

1. Hinjari, W.L., 'Brazil's Foreig lations with Black Africa' - a seminar paper at t epartment of Political Science University of Pittsb November 1981. pp. 1-3.

2. Hinjari. Ibid

3. Ibid.

4. Abdias do Nascimento ed. 'Afro-Brazilian perience and Proposals for Social change' Journal of B ck Studies Vol.II, No.2, Dec. 1980. p.42.

5. The Brazilian Embassy started its operations by installing its chancery in Bristol Hotel in 1962 and having as its charge d' Affairs, Second Secretary Antonio Carlos de Souza Tavares.

6. Ogwu, U.J., 'Dimension of Nigerian-Brazilian Relations' National Concord 4/4/85 p. 3, being a text delivered at the annual luncheon of the Nigeria/Brazil Chamber of Commerce March 1, 1985.

7. "Nigeria, Brazil reach agreement", Daily Sketch Report of 22/2/73, p. 12.

8. Aluko, J., Brazil and Nigeria: what kind of partnership? In Daily Sketch of 18/11/72 p. 6. Also Renaissance, Newspaper. Our Brothers in Brazil 26/11/72 titled ' Friendship and cooperation between Brazilia Africe.

9. Aluko, ibid

10. Aluko, ibid

11. Ogwu, J. op. cit

12. Daily Sketch op. cit. p.12

13. Speech by Dr. R.A. Adeleye the former Federal Commissioner for Industries, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the second Brazilian Industrial Exhibition held in Lagos on 2nd September, 1976.

14. Federal Ministry of Information News Release No. 1084 Lagos September 5, 1976, p .1.

15. Ibid.

16. See Address of Rt. Joseph Garba to the seminar on the role of Angola-Brazil-Nigeria in the Southern Atlantic organised by N.I.I.A. Lagos 13/4/86.

17. Federal Ministry of Information News Release op. cif.

18. See the text ia the Federal Ministry of Information Press Release No. 75. "Nigeria and Brazil sign cooperation Agreement"Lagos, January 16, 1979.

19. Ibid

20. See Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy - "A Report of a Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue July 29th,- August 1, 1980. See also U. Joy Ogwu, Nigeria and Brazil: Perspectives on Dialogue N.I.I.A. Nigerian Forum pp. 167-172.

21. U. Joy Ogwu, Ibid

22. Ibid.

23. Garba, J., op. cit.

24. See Nigerian Tribune of 10/9/84 Brazilian Envoy visits Nigeria-Brazil Chamber of Commerce, p. 10.

25. The Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy. op.cit.

26. "Nigeria and Brazil set up Chamber of Commerce with cooperation agreement" in Afro-Chamber publication of the Afro-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce, Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 1984, No. 13, 6 & 7.

27. Ibid.

28. Nigerian Tribune 10/9/84 op. cit.

29. Ibid.

30. See the Editorial in the National Concord of November 24, 1983 p. 2, titled "The Brazilian carnival.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. Fed. Dept. of Information, Lagos, Press Release No.941 22/5/85, captioned "Nigeria-Brazil to widen Areas of Cooperation".

34. Fed. Dept. of Information, Lagos Press Release No. 941 22/5/85 captioned "Nigeria and Brazil to widen Areas of Cooperation. Ibid.

35. Ibid. No. 941 of 22/5/85.

36. See the New Nigeria of 23/5/85 p. 11, on the outcome of talks in Brazilia, in an article titled "Nigeria, Brazil to strengthen ties.

37. Ogwu, U.J., "Dimensions of Nigerian-Brazilian Relations, National Concord of 4/4/85 p. 3

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41. A Report of a Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy op. cit. p. 30.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 NIGERIA-BRAZIL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

This chapter will examine whether the relationship between Nigeria and Brazil is premised on exploitation and dependence or on mutual benefit. Given the clear superiority or advancement of Brazil in terms of technological and industrial strength, we shall argue that a relationship of dependence similar to that obtaining between the North and the South is being replicated between Brazil and Nigeria, both belonging to the South in the International Economic Order. This will be evidenced by an analysis of the volume of trade between the two countries and the character of exchange or the type of goods exchanged.

There has been an internationalisation of capital, as a result of the epochal transcendance of national boundaries by capital.(1) The mass and large scale movements of capital from one territory to the other do not conform to regional classifications. There is indeed a high incidence of transfer and then, nationalisation of American and European capital to certain Southern countries like Singapore, Hongkong, South Korea, Brazil and Nigeria.(2) Also a lot of Southern capital are being expatriate for investments in the North. This is true of Nigerian, Saudi Arabian, Iranian, Brazilian capital which is being effectively employed in the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany, France, Switzerland etc. to yield profits for the 'Southern' investors

Additionally, there is transfer of investments of capital between countries of the South.

Due to historical factors, one of which is the early start certain countries had in capitalism, and the objective strength they have in relation to other countries (the late starters), we have whol countries reflecting the town and the country cleavage. This cleavage is increasingly becoming apparent between countries of the South where there is, also, uneven and unequal development.

As a result of the transition from capitalism to imperialism, a feature of which, according to Lenin is the shift from mere export of goods from one country to another to the export of capital from one part of the globe to another, capital became an international social force. It is with the rise of imperialism as a historical epoch that we had the preponderance and centrality of foreign capital represented in the form of transnational corporations in the economic life of capitalist nations, which taken together form the global capitalist order. One tendency that has been manifested under imperialism (the internationalisation of economic life) is the centrality of foreign capital through transnationals in the development of capitalism, (albeit development that continues to be dependent on foreign capital) in selected areas. The one thing capital is always after is profit and as long as there is enough profits to be made in a particular territory, capital will be there.

But we have to understand that various capitalist economies are objectively inter-linked. Thus, while certain countries are good only for extraction of raw materials, supply of labour and a market for finished goods, other countries may be suited for production of raw materials as part of capitalism's global strategy. But a central factor as we mentioned earlier is the centrality of foreign capital in such development.(3)

All these mean that while we can empirically ascertain the pattern of production and exchange within and between Brazil and Nigeria, and conclude that there is a dependency relationship leading to the relative development of Brazil and conversely, relative underdevelopment of Nigeria, we would still have to find out the owners of capital and as such movers of economic life in the two territories. Foreign capital dominate both countries, and while good points can be made for employment opportunities, and development potentialities in the territory of employment, in the final analysis, it is international capital that stands to gain from such developments. If a particular country e.g. Brazil, develops, from the exploitation of such countries, it is coincidental. The prime motive of such development is profit. Thus, while there are indigenous capitalists (and, there are such powerful indigenous elements) that stand to gain and they do gain a lot, from dependency relationship between Brazil and Nigeria, in the

final analysis, this relationship is just a part of the global strategy of international capital imperialism.(4)

From the outset we want to note that goods exchanged between the two countries fit the statelite metropole or North/South construction. Where Brazil exports to Nigeria such high industrial goods like vehicles and spare parts, Nigeria exports to Brazil only crude oil and rubber. The consequence of this is that, while Nigeria can be said to be part of Brazil's global market, and as such, helps it in realizing the value of her products, which also means helping it to further the process of its capital accumulation, Nigeria on the other hand merely exports goods to Brazil that have only immediate benefits to the Nigerian economy in terms of availability of money. But the long term interests of accumulation, of the development of industry and technology, of the overall development of the economy are not served.

The goods exchanged from Nigeria are themselves primary goods which yield quite a variety of other goods which improve the productive capacity employment situation, technology of Brazil. A variable in the dependency and underdevelopment syndrome is the fact that what country 'A' loses, country B gains, i.e. that phenomenal development of one country will not be possible without the relative and at the same time absolute impoverisation of another. As such, there is a way in which the development of industry and concomittantly technology in Brazil can be linked to the objective wasting

and under-utilization of the potentialities of Nigeria.

3.1 Overview of Nigerian Economy

With an area of 913,072.64 square kilometres, Nigeria occupies one of the largest territories on the African continent. Nigeria's population of about 100 million inhabitants is multi-ethnic and has largest concentration of blacks in the world. The country is also endowed with vast and largely untapped human, natural and mineral resources.

Nigeria operates a mixed economy in which government owns and runs rail-roads, public utilities, radio and television services, as well as mining, iron and steel and agricultural enterprises. The private sector is dominant in agriculture, small and medium-scale industry, commerce and construction. Both the government and private businessmen (mostly foreigners) jointly own and operate banking, insurance and several manufacturing industries.

In spite of the obvious rapid growth in Nigeria since 1960, the economy remains largely undeveloped. The management of the vast petroleum and other natural resources appear less than adequate. Consequently, the economy had not been placed on the correct path towards attaining its full potentials. The agricultural sector is backward and unresponsive to the demands of other economic sectors. Industrial development had been minimal, lopsided and heavily dependent on imported inputs. Above all, economic

growth has largely been determined by the fluctuating external fortunes of the petroleum industry. In particular the instability of the oil industry has had severe adverse impact on the industrial sector and government development programmes.

The main economic problems which policy makers had tried to find solutions to remained broadly the same from independence to date. The core of these problems is the high level of poverty of the Nigerian population. With per capita income of about ₦60 in 1960, Nigeria was among the poorest countries in the world. The impact of the petroleum sector was to substantially increase per capita income from the 1970s, but the increase was more illusory than real largely because the petroleum sector is an enclave with little direct linkages with the rest of the economy.(5) On the other hand, not only did the average income among the small group of wage earners and businessmen mean that the bulk of the population peasant farmers, artisans, petty traders, etc. just managed to survive at subsistence levels. A high level of unemployment, under-employment, as well as the extreme shortage of skilled manpower were other problems to be contended with. Unemployment was rampant among school leavers and unskilled persons, while under-employment was most visible among petty traders and farmers during the off-season.(6) In addition, lack of executive capacity was the bane of major projects in the various National Development

Plans and special development institutions charged with the execution of key policies.

One major problem the solution of which increasingly preoccupied the government was the over-dependence of the Nigerian economy on foreign capital. In the early 1960s, the greatest symptom of this was the excessive reliance on foreign sources for development finance. But, as oil generated the much needed resources, it was discovered that foreigners controlled the technical know-how and management of most manufacturing concerns, as well as banking, insurance and other commercial enterprises. We have also referred to the over-dependence on petroleum whose fortunes are determined from outside.

Needless to say that the oil boom increased dependence on imported goods. It also undermined agriculture, whereby the imported food products out-competed local farmers.(7) Further, the oil boom has not only created a new consumption pattern reliant on foreign products, there was no productive structure to reorient oil resources into the local economy to produce inter-linkages within the economy.

Faced with these problems, the major long term objective of Nigeria's development has been woven around that of bringing about an appreciable improvement in the living conditions of the population. Other specific objectives of economic development have been articulately spelt out as the occasion demanded. These may be summarised

as increase in the real income of the average citizen as well as a more even distribution of income among individuals and socio-economic groups; a reduction in the level of unemployment and under-employment; an increase in the supply of skilled manpower; increased sectoral and regional balanced development; increased participation by Nigerians in the ownership and management of production enterprises; increased dependence on local resources in the development process and maintenance of economic stability.(8)

Nigeria has taken a long stride in terms of economic growth. The GDP at current prices estimated at ₦46.7 billion in 1983 is more than twentyfold increase over the figure in 1960, while the value of manufacturing production of ₦4,239 million in 1982 is thirteen times as large as the figure in 1960. The economy has also recorded impressive developments in infrastructure,(9) transportation, construction, medical care and education.

But in terms of set national objectives enumerated earlier, achievements have generally fallen short of expectations. Several undesirable changes have taken place. One of these is the shift from a position of self-sufficiency in domestic food production in the sixties to one of massive importation of food in the seventies and eighties. Another is the shift from a multi-commodity export economy. The single commodity-crude-petroleum accounted for about 90% of

the country's total foreign exchange earnings in the 1970s and '80s. This over-dependence on crude petroleum export has made the economy more vulnerable to the uncertainties in the world economy. The other change that has taken place within this period is the substantial drift of people from the rural areas to the urban centres, especially during the period of the so-called oil boom, resulting in under-employment and the over crowding in the cities and the loss of farm labour in the rural areas.(10)

3.2 Nigeria in the International Economic System

To fully appreciate the position of Nigeria in the international economic system, it is necessary to understand the character of the Nigerian state, its level of development, the basic thrust of its foreign policy and its role in the regional and world systems. Nigeria emerged from independence as an underdeveloped neo-colonial state. For the first ten years of independence it continued by and large with policies which at the international level ensured close collaboration with the metropolis emphasizing the special relationship between her and Britain even when it had gradually begun to diversify her relations with the capitalist countries of the West.(11)

The industrial sector was dominated by low technology and the pattern of relationship between her and multi-nationals did not encourage the development of an autocentric industrial base. The lacked the capacity to

exploit local raw materials, work intermediate industries and produce capital goods which alone could provide the basis for production and reproduction required for national development. Import substitution policy initiated during the colonial period and confirmed by subsequent governments, which hardly took into consideration the local endowment, led to increased dependence on imported raw materials, industrial inputs, machinery and equipment, technology and expatriate personnel. Unequal exchange and pre-determined international division of labour persisted. Great reliance was placed on direct foreign investments as a factor to accelerate both financial flows and the so-called technology transfer. To this end, all manners of fiscal and other incentives were offered.(12)

1970s marked an epoch which appeared to herald a new direction in Nigeria's relationship with the world. The attempt to minimise foreign control of the national economy, which resulted from a realisation of its vulnerability during the civil war, already led to the passing of Companies Decree of 1968, requiring foreign companies, operating in Nigeria or wishing to operate in Nigeria, to incorporate in Nigeria. This growing tendency to nationalise capitalism was articulated in the Second National Development Plan where it was stated:

> The Government will seek to acquire, by law if necessary equity participation in a number of strategic industries that will be specified from time to time. In order to ensure that the economic destiny of Nigeria is determined by Nigerians themselves, the Government will seek to widen and identify its positive participation in industrial development.(13)

From 1972 a spate of Indigenisation Decrees were promulgated, especially with enormous increase from 1973, to achieve this objective. As events transpired the new found oil wealth, neither led to structural changes in the economy nor to the control of the economy by Nigerians. Even though Nigerians now own varying degrees of equity in all companies, the productive sector is dominated by foreign enterprises, and remain mainly enclaves not being integrated into the national economy, and deriving their inspiration from the headquarters in the metropolis even when as is the case they have become Nigerian companies under the 1968 Decree. Nigeria's near total dependence on foreign sources was eminently exemplified by the oil and iron and steel as well as automobile, and electronic sectors of the industry and dependence on industrial raw materials including components that vary from 60 to 90 per cent of the locally assembled products and that consume 60k out of every Naira.(14)

There was also, particularly after the Nigerian civil war slow but increasing contacts with the Communist countries of the East, of which the most obvious is the Russian

involvement in the Ajaokuta Steel Complex. This did not, however, indicate any qualitative shift from the predominant presence of Western economic interests and ideology in Nigeria.

Despite the apparent desire to achieve greater self-reliance in economic and social development, Nigeria after twenty-five years of independence is still caught in the web of classical international division of labour.(15).

Her main export is crude petroleum oil which provides over 90 per cent foreign exchange which is exploited through foreign technology, know-how and personnel. Nigeria is still incapable of exploiting her local raw materials. There is hardly any notable intermediate industry and the capacity to produce capital goods, despite limited success of some national Research and Design Institutions such as PRODA and FIIRO. The national science and technology infrastructure remains underdeveloped. Increased government participation, in the economy is gradually waning in the wake of shrinking oil revenue and world economic crisis. If government intervention in the economy, which was primarily intended to promote the private sector and protect it against foreign domination, subsequently gives way to predominance of private sector, the capacity of the latter to survive becomes precarious. In view of the low level of development of national productive forces, and the absence of a comprehensive policy to reverse the trend,

privatisation is more likely to open up the gates for foreign domination especially since foreign investors are being overtly wooed as part and parcel of the privatisation package.(16)

Ironically, the new found oil wealth, despite the under-developed productive forces created the illusion that Nigeria had become a middle or semi-peripheral power: Africa had particularly in the mid-seventies remained the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. Her moderate stance within the O.A.U. which favoured a rather loose cooperation had by the early 80s led to a more aggressive quest for African Economic Cooperation as enunciated in the Lagos Plan of Action.(17)

Nigeria has also been in the forefront of negotiations at the international level for New International Economic Order (NIEO), appearing as one of the 'leaders' in the African sub-region. This posture which derives more from Nigeria's increased oil wealth, the size of her national market and her potential as a newly industrialising nation, has led to Nigeria, with the encouragement of the West to which she is still tied as a peripheral partner and because of her commitment to the market economy, to perceive herself as a 'leader' of sorts in the world system.(18) This perception, may have some merit but its fragility is better expressed in her underdeveloped and dependent economic system.

It is perhaps within the West African sub-region that Nigeria's leadership role is better appreciated. Nigeria and Togo under Yakubu Gowon and Eyedema initiated the diplomatic offensive that led to the signing of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Treaty that groups the countries of the West African sub-region in 1975. Nigeria's perception of herself as an emerging regional power was at the root of this development. At the economic level, Nigeria expects to exploit the economies of the community, that should serve as market for her industrial products which as already indicated are produced - thanks to foreign enterprises. The establishment of the West African Clearing House is intended to facilitate such trade and minimize foreign exchange outlays in trade between the countries of the sub-region. Nigeria intends also by promoting ECOWAS ideals to minimize French influence in the sub-region - although, in the meantime French investment in Nigeria has grown by leaps and bounds. The proposed ECOWAS Defence Pact, now still-born, was part of the effort not only to ensure security in the sub-region but also to minimize foreign military interventions.(19) ECOWAS was thus a process towards the realisation of collective self-reliance in the spirit of NIEO and South-South cooperation. Nigeria investment in iron and steel in Guinea and refineries elsewhere in West Africa and the supply of electricity to Niger Republic reflect Nigeria's desire to be accepted as a semi-peripheral power.

So far, there is no evidence of reasonable export of industrial goods from Nigeria to ECOWAS, but both the government and the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce have been engaged in a flurry of activities to find markets for Nigerian goods in the sub-region.(20)

Nigeria has been actively participating in the various meetings on the relationship between the enlarged EEC and the ACP countries. She has been taking active part in the Commonwealth officials meetings in London; hosted and chairmanned the first African Commonwealth Trade Ministers meetings in Lagos; sent two officials to the East African Community Secretariat for the preparations for the Second African Commonwealth Trade Ministers Conference. As a result of these meetings the African-Commonwealth countries were able to establish a common position on the negotiations. Nigeria also served in the African Commonwealth delegation to the Carribean and the Yaounde group to hold consultations with a view to bringing together the associated and countries in order to negotiate on a common platform with the enlarged EEC. She took active part in the African group of Experts meeting at Addis Ababa, organised jointly by the O.A.U., A.D.B. and the Abidjan Ministerial Meeting to adopt the main principles governing negotiations albeit with reservations by some countries. She also actively participated in ACP/EEC Lome Conventions I and II and she is signatory to its treaties.(21)

In March 1986 publication of a London based monthly SOUTH Magazine, it was reported that forty two companies operating in Nigeria are among Africa's 400 companies listed. Nigeria's share represented 10.5% of the lot which mainly featured companies with foreign interests such as the well known multinational, CFAO, Optong and UAC. The listing (done country by country) was based on 1984 results (turnover, profits and net assets) and denominated in US dollars. The ranking for Nigeria showed the grip oil has on her economy as NNPC (which topped the list) and four petroleum companies were among the first ten companies. These are Gulf Oil (8th), Agip (7th), Total (9th) and Mobile Oil (10th). African Petroleum came 12th. "South" said the combined sales of the 5 petroleum companies in the top ten eclipse "the remainder of the corporate sector". UAC of Nigeria was listed second while Intra Motors was the 42nd. Mobil, Guinness and Unilever improved on their positions last year to the 10th, 16th and 20th positions in this year's listing. A.C. Christlieb was the 36th. Apart from the oil companies, the list featured largely agro-industrial and food companies with substantial foreign ownership. Ibru organisation was one of the very few indigenous companies in the listing coming 17th, up from the 21st position last year. Some companies in last year's list were not in this year's because of import licence problems. Though many were ranked based on their 1984 results, for some 1981 to 1983 results were used.(22)

Nigeria has built up an important import substitution industrial sector. But this has a corollary disadvantage of inducing few internal linkages. Its over dependence on oil as foreign exchange earner makes it vulnerable to the world oil market and puts limitations to its industrial ambitions. Nigeria's industry too has not been viably linked to the agricultural sector. This creates imbalances and flares importation dependency for both food-stuffs and raw materials. What one can conclude is that Nigeria has not broken some of the barriers that Brazil had for industrial development. Its mode of insertion therefore into the international system is a bit different from that of Brazil. It may be expected however that Nigeria would gradually find a place besides the newly industrialised countries like Brazil in the International Economic System.

3.3 Overview of the Brazilian Economy

Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world and the largest in Latin America, covers an area of 8,511,965 square kilometres, almost half of the South American continent and about ten times the size of Nigeria, and has a population of 130 million inhabitants. Brazil is rich in culture, human resources and it is also endowed with a rich abundant vegetation which provides a variety of hospitable seasons and beautiful landscape. Her potential

commercial, mineral, industrial and agricultural resources are enormous and far from being fully tapped. It is among the world's leading producers of a number of important commodities; it is a major producer of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, and cassava. Apart from being the largest exporter of coffee and orange juice and the largest producer of sisal, Brazil is the second largest producer of maize, soya beans, oranges, cocoa, and the third most important in asbestos and jute. It has one of the four largest beef herds in the world and its timber reserves are the third largest. It is also the world's largest rice producer outside Asia.

Brazil is equally rich in yet untapped resources. It possesses the world's second largest known high grade of iron ore deposits, vast hydro-electric potential, extensive hardwood forests and some 2,100 million acres of soil, most of which could be fertile given sufficient water and appropriate agriculture technique. In the manufacturing sector, Brazil takes a significant place among the world's industrial producers. In the early sixties, Brazil only assembled vehicles and exported raw materials, but today, it is the leading manufacturer of vehicles, merchant vessels, crude steel and cement in Latin America.(23) It produces over 14 million tons of steel yearly and has installed capacity of nearly twice that amount. Major infrastructural projects such as Itaipu and Tucurui dams and the Carajas iron ore projects have come on stream. Brazil is not only self-sufficient in food production, it is also a major

exporter of consumer goods. Its petro-chemical, ship building and aircraft industry is now competing with those of the industrialised Europe and the U.S.A.(24)

Militarily, Brazil could be regarded as a regional power, and an emerging world power. It has the largest best trained and well-equipped army in Latin America. It produces and exports a variety of military equipment and was of recent classified as 4th arms exporter in the world, a position that is leaving many developed nations very uneasy.(25)

3.4 Brazil in The International Economic System

Primary/Basic Industries: Brazil has gone much further than Nigeria in consolidating its basic industries. This has given it an edge in trade terms over Nigeria, although at a high cost of dependency. It has as a result become the leading Third World Debtor. Brazilian steel industry, is one of the world's largest. It is now at its peak after a decade of massive investments in government owned steel mill. Brazil also boasts of the important iron ore mining operations like the Carajas projects and has made massive investment in infrastructure. Steel production in 1984 stood at 14.5 million tons and has an installed capacity for nearly twice that figure. Today, Brazilian steel capacity is estimated at 22 million tons per year and is expected to increase to 27 million

tons by 1990. Although the industry is not without its problems. For instance, the U.S.A. started a protectionist policy against Brazilian steel of recent. This appears to be a serious problem because the U.S.A. has always been responsible for the purchase of nearly 80% of Brazilian steel. In 1984, revenue from sales of steel accounted for about 10% of the total US $25 billion dollars export revenue. As a result of this Brazil has intensified its export promotion in Third World, of which Nigeria is a privileged party.

As a motor behind the industries and as a way of creating internal sectoral linkages Brazil has constructed giant hydro-electric projects. Itaipu dam was inaugurated in October 1985 and Tucurui dam in November, 1984. Itaipu which is considered the largest in the world, had been producing energy at a commercial basis since 1983. It cost an estimated US $15 billion dollars and contains 18 turbines each to supply 40% of the energy needs of the industrialised states of Brazil. Tucurui, which is said to be 4th largest in the world is expected to cost $5 billion dollars by the time it is completed in the mid 1990 and generating 8 megawatts of energy. With these two projects almost completed, the government is attaining its objective of securing alternative sources of energy. Thus the country's energy dependence and vulnerability is being checked. Also worth mentioning is another project which was stimulated by a similar desire to find alternative

sources of energy and avoid dependence on crude oil, is the Pro-Alcool Project. This objective has no doubt been fully realised. It is interesting to note that Pure Alcohol produced from Sugar cane was mixed with a certain percentage of petrol to produce alcool. As of today, cars are completely powered by pure alcool. Out of 520,000 cars in 1984, 95% of that total was alcool driven.(26)

With a serious balance of payments crisis and growing external debts, the public sector cannot provide the market for further expansion of industries - so Brazil has to export, or change its growth model. And herein lies the source of the latest problem. For to be able to export competitively, it has to offer better products and/or lower prices.(27) This provides an insight into the Brazilian official policies: a switch from special relations with its old trading partner (South Africa) to her newly discovered (oil rich) brother in Africa, especially Nigeria.

> Brazil's economic and social structure is built on oppression and injustice and now small privileged minorities within the country, who have become accomplices of international capitalism, are using every possible means to maintain their favoured position.(28)

Professor Peter Evans was quoted in 'New Nigerian' of 26/7/77 as putting it more bluntly when he said that the new consumption patterns complement increasing foreign ownership of industry and that:

> The greater the success of foreign firms in creating a group of elite Brazilians with consumer tastes similar to those found in the United States and Western Europe, the easier it becomes for them to transfer products from their home markets to Brazil and the greater their advantage over local firms, Such prolucts may be wasteful luxuries from the point of view of the 80 million [sic] Their production may use the resources that might otherwise be used to provide the necessities for the 80 million people [sic]. But the 80 million [sic] are not making decisions. Production of necessities in less likely to involve new technology that is an increasingly important source of profit to foreign firms. It is more profitable to cater to the needs of the elite.(29)

The Automobile Sector: The most dynamic sector is perhaps the automobile one. Here we notice certain interestin features of Brazil's economic dependency on foreign capital. In 1975 for instance, we notice a trade gap of U.S. 207.8 million dollars, with imports (mostly of spare parts and components) of U.S. 476.3 million dollars and exports of U.S. 268.5 million dollars. If we add service payments, the deficit in current accounts for that year adds up to U.S. 276.5 million dollars.

Volkswagen of Brazil is one firm in this sector worth having a look at. Beyond all its apparent success, it had in reality been one of the crudest means of exploitation via this technology swindle. The inflow of foreign capital in Volkswagen, from its establishment in the country up to 1975 was only U.S. 199.5 million dollars. They had

invested U.S. 72.8 million, remitted U.S. 72.8 million dollars as profits and dividends (from 1965-75 alone). The real extent of the highly profitable business can only really be grasped if we consider the fact that in those ten years (1965-75) Volkswagen of Brazil sent out U.S. 208.5 million dollars as payments for technology. Thus what Brazil had to pay in the name of technology (and for what it is still paying) accounts for over 174% of the total capital inflow into Volkswagen of Brazil from abroad. Even though some of us may think it is rotten, it is true that dollars do not smell.(31)

The Automobile sector has indebted Brazil. But today Brazilian companies also supply Nigeria with spare parts and other components of Brazil's manufactured vehicles. Brazil reaps the bigger share of value added while Nigeria buys the already manufactured goods.

Though imports of petrol were significant at least we see that as an excuse for poor performance of Brazilian economy, it is untenable. Machinery and components alone account for over 32% of total imports. When we add metals and industrial chemicals, the Brazilian industrial sector imports U.S. 7.3 billion dollars worth of goods, accounting for over 60% of total imports.

Hence, not only is Brazil a dependent neo imperial capitalist nation with restricted growth possibilities due

to non-expanding internal market, but, like most nations in the so-called "Third World", it is exploited with the latest tools - technology and consultancy.(32)

Brazil has been able to achieve a higher level of local integration of the economy through its industrialisation drive. She has built electricity plants, steel and transport and coal industries. The Itaipu hydro scheme is a technical triumph, built on the border with Paraguay, it is the largest dam on earth. Brazil has succeeded in breaking some of the technological barriers due to its heavy investment in a high-technology importation drive. This puts it in a different level of insertion in the international economic system. It has industrialised only to get more dependent at a higher level. Its connection with Nigeria modifies both countries positions in the international economic system. Brazil is better equipped to take advantage of new forms of world capitalist integration.

Agricultural sector: Brazil has also succeeded in developing the integrated national food technology, whose basic objective is suitable warehousing of agricultural production and consequently the reduction of losses of perishable commodities while at the same time intensifying industrialisation of raw materials. Brazil has also set up a research and experimental station connected with the

various processes of livestock production including research into feeding, fodder and pasture; also zoo - pathological studies. The basic objective of such schemes is to raise the level of productivity, through identification of those practices and techniques that are very efficient,(33) which is not the case with Nigeria. Today, Brazilian finished agricultural products such as sugar, flour, canned foods, frozen fish and chicken are common sight in Nigerian markets.

Transnational Corporations: Transnational corporations emerged as dominant participants in the Brazilian economy from 1960s to date. By 1975 a total of 7.3 billion dollars had been invested in the Brazilian economy by transnational corporations, of which 31% came from the United States. Transnationals controlled "all of Brazil's automobile production, all of the rubber goods production, 94% of pharmaceuticals production, 55% of machinery production, 32% of food stuffs production, 32% of alluminium production and 80% of chemical production".(34) These investments were mainly concentrated in "the most dynamic and profitable sectors of manufacturing"(35) and therefore of the economy. Moreover, the transnational corporations created a class of Brazilian capitalists whose production was directly linked to and dependent on their production processes, notably

> ....the network of 4000 firms which are under contract to supply services to Volkswagen, of 1,700 firms which are under contract with Ford, and of other smaller supplier firms under contract with Sanbra, Nestle and Anderson Clayton.(36)

The transnational corporations alliance with local capitalists was such that it blocked the latter's option for autonomous production of the total finished products and thus their potential for competitive accumulation and expansion. A preliminary committee of inquiry appointed in 1975 found that in the period 1963-1969, for instance, transnational firms "had brought in ar estimated U.S. $298.8 million and had taken out something of the order of U.S. $774.5 million".(37) These were funds (and their multiplier effects) which had been taken out of Brazilian development.

The third actor in this economic drama was the state. In 1975 the Federal government owned 78 enterprises of which 65 were among the 100 top enterprises in Brazil. The Federal and state governments also owned, totally or partially 180 enterprises. Both by virtue of functional responsibilities and due to corruption, the civilian and military technocrats who run and managed these enterprises developed vested interests in the overall economic model (the so-called "Brazilian Model") based on a triangular partnership of ownership between transnational corporations,

satellite Brazilian capitalists and the state.(38) Between 1964 and 1984, the real income of an average Brazilian worker was "well below the increase in the cost of living".(39) This loss of income meant that the masses could not become an effective internal market for the consumer goods that the industries were producing. The regime also encouraged massive inflow of technology and capital from outside, thus increasing the external debt from 4.4 billion dollars in 1969 to 17.3 billion dollars in 1974. To compensate for the lack of a mass internal market, the regime opted for an industrialisation for export to markets outside Brazil. The value of exports went up from 1.7 million dollars in 1967 to 6.2 million dollars in 1973, representing an increase of 275%.(40)

Where all these lead us is that multinational corporations are agents of neo-colonialism. As such, economic relations between Brazil and Nigeria could be described as another "imperialism" by proxy.

3.5 Nature of Cooperation Between Nigeria and Brazil

The nature of cooperation between Nigeria and Brazil can be perceived from Brazil's interest in Africa, and particularly Nigeria. This interest is by no way accidental. In pursuing her systemic objectives as an upwardly developing nation, Brazil has employed a pragmatic

bilateral diplomacy to foster its export-oriented domestic economy, and enhance its image and prestige among developing nations of the South. Nigeria is one of the major countries where the Brazilian diversification strategy and economic thrust has not only been visible, but also most effective.(41) Among Brazil's advantages in dealing with Nigeria and Africa in general are its ability to use imaginatively its Third World credentials.

As indicated in chapter one, the key to the relative success of the Brazilian strategy is the advancement of the concept of South-South cooperation, a 'horizontal' relationship among developing countries to serve as an alternative to the 'vertical' relations of dependency with the North. The first time an African country broke into the ranks of Brazil's top ten partners was in 1981 when Nigeria, far above any other, accounted for 3.3% of Brazil's total exports, surpassing Great Britain as a customer of Brazilian goods. A serious constriction of Nigeria's market prevented a repeat performance in 1982 or 1983. However, present trends indicate that the Brazilians share of Nigeria's foreign trade is again increasing relative to other countries. Brazil itself is anxious to keep Nigeria as a major market for the growing exports of its manufactured products.(45)

Brazil has attained a higher level of technological capacity than Nigeria. Although they both belong to the

South, Brazil could be described as semi-peripheral or new industrialised country while Nigeria still remains at the level of peripheral or developing country. It is on the basis of these two levels of development that we analyse relations between the two countries. We investigate the notion that the nations in the South through their toil and labour provide vital raw materials at cheaper costs for the North which imposes prohibitive prices for their finished goods and see whether such relations could also exist between the nations of the South.

According to the report of a Nigerian/Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy in 1980, the Nigerian participants observed that:

> there is a tendency to define the new international economic order in terms of issues. This would enable both Nigeria and Brazil to discern the possible areas of cooperation in the global quest for a new international economic order. The issues of contention between the North and the South can be broadly categorised into the follwwing: (i) the finance, which covers the debt problem and the real transfer of resources; (ii) trade, including the commodity problem and the indexation of relative prices; (iii) transfer of technology, the role of the multinational corporations and a code of conduct; (iv) reform of the international monetary systems; the problem of energy; and (v) the allocation of information resources. (42)

The subject of a new international economic order appears to be a complex issue for diverse reasons the most

notable being the lack of a clear perception of the concept, even by the Third World countries. For example, there is no clear perception of the relationship between the NIEO within the South relations. As noted earlier, if the North/South relation is exploitative, could not South/South relation be equally exploitative, given the level of developments between the 'Southern' nations.

Worthy of note is the fact that although Brazil has attained a higher technological capacity which is essentially operated by multinationals. The overwhelming presence of multinationals in Brazil raises serious doubts as to the extent to which Brazil has really internationalised its technology.(43) To put it differently, the question is whether Nigeria is dealing with Brazil or the multinationals?

Nigeria has been bogged down by her colonial heritage which has indicated her trading partners and continues to influence her commodities in this trade relations. Nigerian primary products such as cocoa, groundnut, palm-kernel, cotton, and most importantly, petroleum oil has come in to boost the economy. Under the petrol dollar, generated by petroleum, Nigeria has decided to push ahead her industrialisation policy. This gave birth to indigenisation policy, and import substitution, still with reliance on the North. Indeed, indigenisation dictates that Nigeria's international economic relations should not be dominated by foreigners who are merely

interested in making the Nigerian market the dumping ground for foreign made products. In spite of this, Nigeria still remains one of the less developed countries of the Third World.

Brazil on the other hand is at a higher level of economic development due to her long history of independence, at it attained freedom from Portugal since 1822 compared with Nigeria's 1960. Certain industries are very well organised and developed in Brazil. Petrobras is a typical example. It is an integrated oil company which is involved in all stages of petroleum industry. The core of its economy is iron and steel complex which has made Brazil to achieve a reasonable level of technological development. Agricultural technology is also highly developed. Brazil has a very diversified export industry; more than 34 different items, ranging from raw materials to frozen chicken, meat, fish, etc. to finished products like cars, buses, aeroplanes, oceanic liners, various war equipment, and other machineries.(44)

Nigeria remains the largest buyer of Brazilian products as well as the most important commercial partner in Africa, displacing South Africa from 1976 which hitherto held the lead. Brazilian exports to Nigeria rose from a mere U.S. 2.8 million dollars in 1973 to U.S. 271.5 million dollars and U.S. 770.3 million dollars in 1980 and 1981 respectively. From 1978, Nigeria had displaced Algeria

as the main African importer of Brazilian products. Argentina (U.S. $349 million) remaining the only Third World country that imported more from Brazil than Nigeria (U.S. $233.5 million) in the same year. Even though the figure for Brazilian exports to Nigeria dropped to U.S. $137.5 million in 1979, it picked up in 1980 and 1981 as already indicated. Brazilian import from Nigeria declined from $13.4 million in 1972-73 to US $0.1 in 1974 to zero in 1975, rising sharply to U.S. $77.8 million in 1976 and U.S. $90.4 in 1977, declining once more to U.S. $67.6 million and U.S. $33.2 million in 1979 respectively.(46)

In the same boom year of 1981 that was mentioned earlier, Nigeria as the major market, took manufactured products as 99% of its purchases, thus becoming Brazil's second largest market by country for manufactures, after the United States. Indeed in Nigeria, Brazil's market share expansion occured at 2.3 times the rate of expansion of Nigerian imports as a whole between 1975 and 1980. In fact, the pattern of Nigerian imports points to a strong receptivity to Brazil. Brazilian firms have made effective use of public relations and ethnic affinities in their efforts to consolidate the Nigerian market. One of such campaigns was launched in 1978 by INTERBRAS, whose goals were to sell a line of electrical products designed for use in the home. The sales force consisted of Brazilian

soccer team and Pele himself. It was, indeed, Pele's collaboration, sympathetic personality, and nationalism (Brazilian Nationalism) which lent success to the campaign. What this vividly illustrates is that Brazil appears to be systematically making greater use of its African-cultural components to advance its economic and development interests.(47) Nonetheless it is certain that for nearly two decades, despite the fluctuations in volume of trade Nigeria has come to stay as a major trading partner of Brazil.

The structure of trade relations reveals, however, that the bulk of Brazilian imports from Nigeria is made up of petroleum crude, yet Brazil's role as a customer for Nigerian oil is still especially limited, relative to its domestic oil needs. The Brazilian economy is highly dependent on petroleum as an energy source (at least until the end of the decade), and in relation to global Brazilian imports of petroleum, the Nigerian share is quite minuscule. The recent agreement to have PETROBRAS refine 50,000 barrels of crude oil daily constitutes only a consolation. Furthermore, such an arrangement does not necessarily increase Nigeria's role as a supplier, as much as it makes it a customer for Brazil's refined petroleum products. Exports from Brazil were very diversified consisting mostly of industrial products, mainly building materials, paper and paper products. Others

are durables like refrigerators, air conditioners, ventilators, assorted types of machines, mainly equipment for road building and simple metal and electrical instruments, among many other industrial goods.(48)

Apart from imports, technical and social know-how is offered by a Brazilian based NOVACAP (Compantia Urbanizadora da Nova Capital) - to the new capital of Abuja.(49) Cotia, a Brazilian national private company has four subsidiaries operatingi in Nigeria. Areas of operation include cattle raising and agriculture, vehicle components and assorted screws in a joint venture with the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank with a factory in Kaduna employing about 800 workers, and commercial ventures comprising mainly of food and building materials. Capital flows has tended to favour Brazil although the pattern will finally be determined by Brazilian requirements for oil and Nigerian capacity to import industrial goods. There is also indication that Counter Trade agreements entered into by Nigeria with Brazilian businesses centred more on importation of consumer goods. The intention of the Babangida Government, announced during the 25th Independence Anniversary speech, with the intention of tying them to specific projects may yet benefit Brazil.

There is also a danger, that in the bid to accommodate the I.M.F., the reluctance to continue with counter trade might in the end serve to benefit more the developed

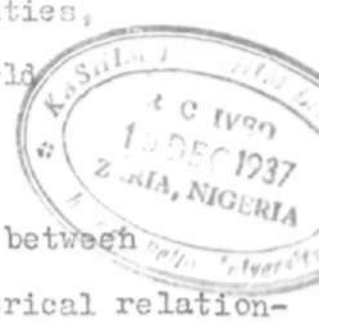
countries who fear that it might encourage greater South cooperation. On the economic level, Brazil needs markets for her increasing industrial products, in the context of shortfall in local demand occasioned by its exploitative socio-economic system that keeps wages down and in the face of increasing protection of the Western economies. Brazilian advantages are deemed to include, adoption of foreign technologies to environments similar to Nigeria's, lower level of technology and know-how which are more easily assimilable and more labour intensive technology deemed appropriate to Nigeria's local endowments.(50 The extent to which these factors will lead to the development of local technological capabilities and satisfy local needs is still to be tested since there is limited Brazilian industrial activity in Nigeria and it therefore becomes difficult to assert that Brazil will adopt a different approach from the developed market economy countries whose enterprises have only been willing to 'transfer' limited skills, in order to ensure the control of the direction and pattern of growth of industrial productive capacity. If the logic of capitalism prevails, then it is difficult to see how Brazil can willingly 'transfer' her industrial secrets to Nigeria to assist her compete with her in the world market. One time Brazilian Minister of Planning, Delfin Netto, buttressed this assertion by frankly stating that:

> Brazil does not have yet the conditions to finance the development of other.... countries...what Brazil could offer is technological assistance, which we are already doing.

That is why Brazil pays more attention to trading than investment that may involve 'real' transfer of its 'intermediate technology.(51)

While the quest for markets and profits provide the motive force for the expansion of Third World MNCs, their willingness to enter into joint ventures, and the intermediate nature of technologies could lead to local acquisition of skills. It is unlikely that they will willingly transfer such technology unless the national environment compels or induces them to do so. Nigeria's policy on technology since independence, relying as it does on import substitution and transfer of technology, without a clear policy on science and technology development and absence of direct Government intervention, is not likely to encourage the exploitation of the opportunities, limited though they may be, offered by the world multinationals.(52)

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An examination of the economic relations between Nigeria and Brazil provides a model of asymmetrical relationships and suggests the need to lend greater structure to the relationship. Indeed, in recent years, the economic dimension of the Nigerian-Brazilian relationship has moved towards centre stage and has become an interesting case

study for economists examining external penetration of developing countries by multinationals.(53) In a recent project titled, "The Brazilian Penetration of the Nigerian Economy", some Swedish economists observed that as Nigerian-Brazilian economic relations intensify, some points of attrition may arise if Brazil is unable to deliver the level of co-operation Nigeria would like. Since Brazil's industrial progress is propelled primarily by foreign enterprise, the question that many Nigerians have raised is whether Nigeria is dealing with Brazil or the multinationals.(54)

Many of the theoretical literature on dependency suggest that it is one thing to have natural resources and capacity located on national soil, while it is something else again to have these resources penetrated by external influences such as foreign investors, foreign lenders, foreign trade activities and donors of foreign aid. In real terms, the more a nation's economy is penetrated by loans, investment aid and reliance on external trade, the more dependent the nation is. To a significant degree, the Brazil's overall dependence has increased. Most of the evidence supports this hypothesis. In many significant ways, external penetration of Brazil's economy has increased dramatically since 1964. The most dramatic indication is the foreign debt. The figure has risen from U.S. $100 billion in 1985.(55)

It is true that no country can today escape economic involvement with the economies of others. In Brazil, as well as in Nigeria, external trade has always been of central importance to the economies. But it is precisely this situation that should provide us with the challenges needed to transform our economies into self-reliant systems. Indeed, the nature of Nigeria's indigenisation policy offers great opportunities for Brazilian involvement in the development efforts of Nigeria. Meaningful involvement should be directed towards industry and agriculture, rather than to the mere selling of Brazilian finished goods to Nigeria. There are significant areas in which Brazil has excelled in indigenising sophisticated technology - producing simpler, but more durable goods. Nigeria would welcome Brazil's transfer of such intermediate technology without mystification, and of course, with adequate protection of Brazil's investments. On balance, relations between the two countries inevitably fall short of mutual advantage, with Brazil holding the advantage in the economic sphere.

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CHAPTER FOUR

NIGERIA-BRAZIL CULTURAL RELATIONS

The extent and manner in which economic relations influence cultural relations is not clearly in evidence in the relationship between Nigeria and Brazil that began in the 1960s. In effect the evidence of cultural dependence is not borne out by our findings. The two countries do however have very important cultural links that predate Nigeria's independence and which needs to be examined.

In this chapter therefore, we have made the point that while two countries may have emotional i.e. historical, cultural, and as such sentimental links, the emotional will not really explain the nature of their relationship. That in the final analysis one would have to look for something else in order to be able to explain the nature and profundity of their relationship. This is a germane point to make, particularly in view of our earlier stated conviction that while other variables may be part of what are generally called a relationship, e.g. the cultural, it is at the level of the economic that we should really begin and situate our analysis in order to be able to capture the rational kernel from the mystical shell.

We make the point in this chapter that while there indeed is a cultural link between Nigeria and Brazil, this link does not explain much until situated within the context

of the material needs of either or both of the countries under study. Like we showed in the third chapter, the point is made that it was only when it was economically rational for Brazil did she come to realise that there are indeed some ties between her and Africa, particularly Nigeria. It is clear that Brazil exploited these cultural links for less 'mondane' considerations and this bears out our thesis as to where to locate focus in the course of analysing relationships between two economies, especially where development is assymetrical.

In any case, as we have endeavoured to show, the issue is not to deny the cultural links between Nigeria and Brazil. As a matter of fact, we have endeavoured to really establish these links, in order to set the records straight.

4.1 Nigerian Cultural Impact on Brazil

Records show that the most prominent African slaves to Brazil were the 'Nagos', and the 'Mohammedans' who came mostly from Northern Nigeria and were called 'males'.(1) According to J.H. Rodrigues:

> Negroes from Yoruba group were usually classified 'Nago', which was the African language most in use and the one that, with the Bantu tongues, mostly influenced the Portuguese vocabulary of Brazil. Lagos was the African port of most importance in the export of Yoruba Negroes. The least submissive Negroes in Brazil were the Hausas; they headed all uprisings in Bahia, and Brazil, being, especially prominent in those of 1920, 1806, 1809, 1813, 1814, 1822, 1826, 1835 and 1836.(2)

Freyre noted that Brazil benefitted from a better element of

Africans than was to be found in other American countries, this may have been the result of the tribal diversity, which led to larger stocks of part-Hamite Negroes, the Fula-Fulos and Hausas.(3)

Despite uprisings, the Negro in Brazil was generally 'the important and flexible collaborator of the whiteman in the work of agrarian colonization', and even played a civilizing role among the Indians.(4) Both white and Indians underwent a definite Africanisation in food, dress, language, music, religion, and folklore. Brazil did not limit itself to collecting from Africa the black silt that made its fields of sugar cane, and coffee fertile, its arid lands irrigated - from Africa came also 'mistresses' for the homes of colonists who had no white women, skilled labour for mines, workers in iron, breeders of cattle and sheep, cloth and soap merchants, master and journeymen - craftmen of Mohammedan faith.(5)

In 1798, there were approximately 406,000 free Negroes in Brazil, following the war with Paraguay, some twenty thousand slaves who had fought in the war were freed, and at the time of abolition, there were three times more free Negro slaves. It may be said that the negro's major contribution to Brazil is contained in the ration's demographic compositio which is what distinguishes Brazil's populace from those of most 'Latin American' countries. The number of Negroes is higher than others, and Negro-white miscegenation representin

a very high percentage of the total. Compared with Peru, Guatemala, Ecuador and Nicaragua, the population of which are about 40% Indian; Brazil is distinguished by the relative proportion of its people who are pure Negro, even from other nations such as Costa Rica, Argentina and Uruguay where Negro has no demographic importance; and from nations like Haiti and the British Federation of the Caribean (Jamaica, Barbados and Tobago) where the Negro element is dominant.(5b) On the other hand, Brazil is to be likened to Cuba, where the Negro played an important economic role and influenced cultural development and miscegenation was decisive in the ethnic make up of the country. In short, Brazil is neither so aboriginised as some countries nor so Africanised as others; its population is more balanced and homogenous.(5c)

Plants and Foods

From Africa also came certain plants, among them Sago, Santa grass, and agapanthus. The Brazilian diet came to include Indian pepper, palm oil, guava, and to be spiced by a variety of chicken dishes, and such dishes as mush, caruru, bean cakes, cooked in palm oil, efo (shrimps, greens, pepper and palm oil are its ingredients), vatapa, which is prepared of manioc flour cooked with chicken or fish and highly seasoned, ximxim, and pumpkin and water melon. The Negroes also introduced Angolan chicken and kolanut. The beans and rice dish, so common on the tables of Brazilian middle and proletarian classes dates from the middle of the

18th century, when the cultivation and use of rice were developed.(6)

Music, Dance, Folklore and Religion

In music and folklore, African influence was decisive. It is enough to recall popular dramatic dances like 'samba'. Melville J. Herskovits in a comparative study of the music of the West Coast of Africa and that to be found in Africanised areas of America has pointed out the processes in the transformation of the African patterns and demonstrated the historical relations between the various traditions. Negro music shows basic African fundamentals upon which local characteristics are superimposed with other characteristics resulting from contact with European peoples. Each area therefore has its own rhythms and style. Brazil's macumbas, jongos, and batuques may be thus linked to their origins in West Africa and the Congo.(7)

African survivals, religious and folkloric, have been fully studied, particularly by Mario de Andrade, Artur Ramos, and Edison Carneiro.(8) Ramos made an exhaustive study of mytho-religious survivals in music and dance, concluding that the Negro concealed his belief, expressing them only through his macumbas and candombles (annual festivities and ceremonies of Afro-Brazilian fetichistic cults) while exploiting music, dance, popular festivals, and carnival time as opportunities to pour out his unconscious. Carneiro in his book Sabedoria Popular criticises studies on the

Negro as tending to confuse the problem rather than to clarify it, because they are not based on rigorously scientific investigation and field work. For him, "the great folkloric contribution of the Negro lies in the entertainments that he has bequeathed us - and not in the tales nor the oral literature generally that he brought with him". Examining critically the two principal Negro cultures, Bantu (Angolans, Congolese and Mozambiques) and Sudanese (Nagos and Fula Jejes, Minas, Mandingas, and Hausas), he adds that Brazil owes the most important diversions of African origin, the Samba, to the former.

The contribution of the negroes to the first forms of Brazilian popular music and dancing was only the contribution of something begun when the first African slaves arrived in Iberia during the second half of the 15th century. African music is characterised by its percussive rhythm, choreography religious mysticism, sound, language and humour. All these characteristics became a part of Brazilian music, thus giving it new forms and new characteristics.

The African influence on Brazilian music can be found in the melody and rhythm of certain styles of music, in the types and arrangement, and in the choice of instrument and enuciation of words, both by soloists and choirs. Basically, two poetic characteristics of Brazilian music can be traced to a Nago-African influence: the use of scales which characterise a certain type of music and a constant

stereotyped, systematic rhythm. Another quality of Brazilian music borrowed from its African counterpart is the tendency to use low tones more than the high ones.

A number of Brazilian dances resemble African dances a great deal. In terms of instruments, the use of percussion instruments is a trait inherent from Africa. Indeed African music has really influenced its Brazilian counterpart. When considering folklore - dances, their choreography and the use of percussion instruments are direct throw back on Africa.(9)

The choreographer Clyde Morgan and the Federal University of Bahia's Grupo de Danca Contemporanea (Modern Dance Group) have found, by means of study, experiments, work shops and group activities, a body movement capable of expressing another Afro-Brazilian myth. They have thus proved that since the myth is a code of man's worries and obsessions, it can be transmitted and revitalized in the language of modern dancing. The legends, dances and rituals of the Orisha (Yoruba divinity) Oshosse are already known and the choreographer clyde has undertaken the first step of converting and codifying the images and essence of them into theatrical symbols, to thus bring them into a dimension which is broader, understandable and personal in the present day Brazil. Starting from the premise that all Afro-Brazilian communities have their own myths in oral, traditional form of

Oxosse N'Aruanda, the group is attempting to touch the myth by means of an expressive dramatic form of Afro-Brazilian and modern dances and music.(10)

The legend of Oxosse turns into a show to the sound of flutes and the noises of the forest. Each dance follows a sequence of movements which characterise all the action in the dance. The entire myth is told in an abbreviated form by means of movements which symbolise birds, snakes, and wild beasts. Man, the animals, the forest, divinity, the past and the present are all personified. The choreographer explains that the purpose of any type of art is to absorb Brazilian most profound and incomprehensible sentiments, the mysteries and dreams of society, and present them in a plastic, objective manner. In terms of motivation and creativeness, Clyde Morgan said that he strongly believes in the value of improving as a technical invention which plays a part in the magic and structure of the dance: the dancer stops being a structure while maintaining the essence of the dance. There is always an air of expectancy as to what may come forth through collective group creation - 'tranquility and activity are convergent qualities in the work.(11)

Brazil would be culturally very poor were it not for the Negroes who made a material and artistic contribution to it and therefore left certain of their characteristics in everything in every way possible. The Negroes played an

extremely important role in the history of the building of the nation in every important social field: religion, food and music. Above all, they also enriched the Portuguese language. By introducing Africanism into Portuguese, they played a part in the choice of language for Brazilian fiction right from the beginning of its history. During the 16th century, the poetic and fictional charge which the slave brought from Africa with him paved the way to Brazilian literature. Though during the totemic phase there was an enormous amount of 'primitive fiction' which preserved original language and beliefs, folklore expanded mainly through the birth of a character made up of some Brazilian parts: Pai Joao. He represented Africantradition while telling the story of slavery in Brazil.(12)

The Pai Joao cycle set popular stories down in history. The same character was caught red-handed again in the Congos auto (a short dramatic piece) which having spread all over Brazil, acquired new fictional material and came to life once more in the bumba-meu-boi alto. Martins Pena used this same fiction in his plays and Bernado Guimararaes and other writers included it in their novels. The plays written by Jose de Alencar during the colonial period are based on the same theme. The mother-slave is an example of one character Jose de Alencar borrowed from original, 'primitive literature'. The urchin which appears in all Brazilian novels was also an outgrowth of it. While Alencar continued to speak of slaves, however, other characters were born such as in 'O lego'

by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo. The Opera 'O Escravo', by Carnes Gomes shows how the same process took place in classical music. The slave theme, which lasted from Martins Pena to Benardo Guimaraes, was the first phase in the use of negroes as a theme. The fact that they are still being used as one proves that if it weren't for the Negroes Brazil wouldn't have the fiction she has.(13)

Religion

The religious heritage of the Negro must also be stressed. Though it belongs to him alone, and is the part of his "life in which he most resists Americanization", yet it is wide spread among non-coloured people too. The Afro-Brazilian cults have merited the closest attention of scholars; they are usually Nago or Jejes in origin, as Edison Carneiro attempted to demonstrate.(14)

The preservation of the fetichistick religion in forms syncretized with Catholic beliefs and rituals was, as Octario da Costa writes, the most important element of African culture in its resistance, under all the disadvantages of slavery, to the pressures of the dominant culture. Roger Bastide showed that this syncretism took place, thanks to a convergence of religions and magical concepts.(15) The Afro-Brazilian cults are not practiced by Negroes only: Yemaja, the water mother, confounded with our lady of Compassion and our lady of the Rosary, is worshipped on the beaches of Rio

with growing frequency. Rene Rebeiro, in research conducted in Recife, concludes that:

> the function of the Afro-Brazilian cults and of participation in and familiarity with the system of rituals and beliefs to be found in Brazil's North East is to offer the individual, especially the individual who belongs to certain socio-economic categories there, alternatives of behaviour and attitude vis-a-vis the supernatural which have been incorporated into Brazilian regional sub-culture from the beginnings of colonialisation, and most benefit persons on the lowest levels of Brazilian social hierarchy(16)

As observed by Benedita G. Damasceno,

> cultural links between Brazil and Nigeria can better define African contribution to the Brazilian culture. We have up to now in Brazil, important Afro-Brazilian communities very proud in keeping their Nigerian culture, mainly the Yoruba ones. In these communities you can find a lot of Nigerian food as acaraje, (Akara in Yoruba), eba, amala and others. And one of the most important religions in Brazil is candonable, which originate from Africa, but which took a special and characteristic Brazilian form. The ritual is composed of dances, colours, gifts to the Gods and the African rhythms of the drums. The candomble gods are the same as Yoruba ones: Sango, Oshum, Obatala, Ogum, Omulu, Esu, Ossossi, Yemaja and Obaluwaye. Yoruba language is spoken in their religious ceremonies. All the gods have Catholic counterparts, creating a fantastic sycretism which involves the whole participants and constitutes a great part of the Afro-Brazilian's soul(17)

It is impossible to talk about the influence of the Nigerian cultures in Brazil without referring to an anachronism. Of the African tribes which live within Nigeria, several played a part in the history of Brazil: the Hausa, Ibo, Edo, Nupe (Tapa) and Yoruba (Nago). The culture most

assimilated in Brazil is that of the Yoruba, in the fields of literature, folklore, language, and religion. The history of the contribution made by the Nigerian culture to Brazilian literature during the last centuries remains to be written. We do know however that a type of Nigerian literature which greatly influences Brazilian literature is the short story. Mestre Didi, whose last book is 'Contos Crioulos' da Bahia, uses a structure and style which is strangely enough very like that of the Yoruba short story.(18) The Yoruba culture is also felt in the oral literature of carnival. Though carnival did not originate in Africa, its make up and purpose were recuperated and changed by descendants of Africans. It is necessary here to point out the similarity there is between the oral literature common to a Brazilian carnival and the Yoruba gelede or eje.

The Yoruba culture is also a part of the themes and the processes of certain Brazilian present day writers. An example is Jorge Amado, for the Yoruba religion has exuberantly inspired his writings. The poet Martin Fontes, in his 'Rapsodias Negras', also used the alliteration and repetition techniques common to Nigerian poetry.(19)

The effects the Nigerian culture has had upon the Brazilian language are greater than can be imagined. All the Nigerian languages spoken in Brazil, and especially in Bantu still contain traces, to a greater or lesser degree, of their original form. Though all Yoruba religions affected

the Brazilian religions, from popular catholicism to Umbada, both in practice and doctrine, only candomble has conserved the Yoruba message which is not an offspring of anguish nor 'fear of the gods'. It is above all, an attempt to find an answer to the problems which man faces within his physical and social environment.

Further, the mixture which resulted from the immigration of the Africans gave rise to a new type of physical build and new types of female beauty. Culturally speaking, it gave birth to new combinations which were made up of traces or values of the African culture adding something new to the values or traces of Indian or Amerindian culture as well as that which was born in Europe and certain areas of Africa.

The African influence is also evident in the biological and sociological spheres. An example is the changes that took place in catholicism which, through contact with the beliefs and rites of the Africans, acquired symbols and rituals characteristic of them. "The African influence also seeped into Brazilian cooking, music (popular and classical), sculpture, painting, women's clothing and the use of herbs, plants and fruits, some of which have, due to a certain Afro-Brazilian mystic, been awarded aphrodisiac abilities"(20)

In terms of Brazilian folklore, many outstanding Africans who were a part of the Brazilian patriarchal society - the key to the history and understanding of the

Brazilian Ethos - have served as ideals and inspired many classics:

> A Escrava Isaura (Bernardo Gurmaraes); O mulato (Aluisio Azevedo), O molegue Richado (Jose Lins lo Rego); O Bom Crioulo (Isaias Caminha); Essa Nega Futo (Jorge de Lima); and O Balduino (Jorge Amado). Di Calvalcanti's "Mulatas" (Mulattresses) show their use in painting as well. Brazil today tends to be increasingly proudor of the African or Negro traits in its culture and people and to accept the negro or African as one of its co-colonists.(21)

The German naturalist, Karl Friedrich Phillip Von Martins, who had spent three years travelling extensively in Brazil, in his prize winning essay, called for the need to investigate the black's influence and contribution to Brazil. Later, the perceptive Silvio Romero assigned the blacks their just place in the formation of Brazilian civilisation. He emphasised the adaptability of the Africans to the New World, their ability to learn quickly and their miscibility with the European. Concluded Romero, "We owe much more to the Negro than the Indians; he entered fully into all aspects of Brazilian development"(22) The literary critic Romero preached that the African had made significant contributions to the creation of Brazilian culture thus:

> The African race has had an enormous influence in Brazil, second only to that of the European. The African penetrated the confines of our most ultimate life, and in that way greatly molded our popular psychology. ...The Portuguese alone could not repel the Indian nor till the soil, and therefore he had recourse to a powerful ally: the Negro from Africa. While on the one hand, the Indians proved themselves unproductive, fled, scattered into the hinterland, and died, the

> Africans, agile, strong, and able, arrived in ever greater numbers. They made possible the establishment of plantations and sugar mills, of towns and cities, and they penetrated the very bosom of the colonial families. The Indians, in general, were not up to the tasks and disappeared, the Negroes, allies of the White prospered (23)

He went further to say that the Negroes as slaves lived closely with the families as domestic servants. From that intimate contact came a mixing of the races; the mulattoes appeared and were yet another link between the two races. The negro worked in the fields producing the sugar, coffee, and other products known as "colonial" which Europe consumed. Just in the three factors of slavery, labour and miscegenation, it is easy to discern the immense influence the Negroes had in the formation of the Brazilian people. Slavery, in spite of all its vices, worked as a social factor modifying the Brazilian habits and customs. It enables the Brazilians to cultivate the land and to withstand in leisure the vigours of the climate. It developed as an economic force, producing wealth, and the Negro thus was a robust civilizer. The mixing of the races modified relations between the master and the slave, relaxed Brazilian customs, and produced mulatto who constitutes the majority of Brazilian population and to a certain extent the most beautiful part of Brazilian race.(24)

Also among the first to assign the black an important historical role in the development of Brazil was Afonso Celso, a contemporary of Romero, in his blatantly nationalistic Porque Me Ufano de Meu Pais' (Why I am proud of my

country).[25] In sharp contrast to his other contemporary, Bonfim, Celso boldly and proudly affirmed,

> Today it is a generally accepted truth that three elements contributed to the formation of the Brazilian people, the American, Indian, the African Negro, and the Portugue ... Any one of those elements, or any combination of them, possesses qualities of whic we should be proud.

Celso's book contained a chapter praising the heroic resistance of the slaves at Palmares. The author lavishly bestowed the adjectives "courageous" and "noble" on the black defenders. Brazilians at first timidly explored the idea that their unique civilisation was strengthened by the contributions of the blacks. Inhibited by European racist doctrines, they slowly began to investigate those contributions. Their previous concepts changed and their doubts and misgivings disappeared. The new nationalistic temper recoiled before any concept condemning Brazil to an inferior status. Clearly the racist doctrines seemed to twentieth century Brazilian intellectuals as one more European effort to subjugate their country.

The pioneer of anthropological studies of the African in Brazil was Dr. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, a physician, born in Maranhao and partially trained in the medical school at Salvador. He worked in Bahia from 1890 to 1905, and it was at that time he made his anthropological studies. He delved into African cultures with the intention of

identifying their survivals in Brazil and thus consulting the ethnic groups of blacks representing those cultures. He disproved the long accepted idea that the Bantu predominated in Brazil by demonstrating the strong cultural presence of the Sudanese groups, particularly the Yoruba, in Bahia. He was the first to study the Afro-Brazilian religions. After him came a small but important group of Bahian scholars, among whom figured Braz do Amaral and Manuel Raimundo Querino, who continued research on the African contributions to Brazil.

Manuel Querino (1851-1923) maintained an active interest in labour and political affairs but increasingly devoted more of his time and energy to historical studies after the turn of the century, in particular to his research and writing on the contributions of the Africans to Brazil's growth. Those studies had a two fold purpose. On the one hand, he wanted to show his fellow blacks the vital contribution they had made in Brazil, while on the other, he hoped to remind the white Brazilians of the debt they owed Africa and the blacks. As Querino turned his attention to history, he hoped to rebalance what was by then the traditional emphasis on the European experience in Brazil. No black had ever given his perspective on Brazilian history before. Querino emerged as the first Brazilian black or white to detail, analyse, and do justice to the African contributions to Brazil. He presented his

conclusions amid a climate of opinion which was at best indifferent, at worst prejudiced and even hostile.(26)

Querino, then, brought to Brazilian historiography the perspective of the blackman. Living in the Matatu Grande section of Salvador, he was immersed in, an intimate part of, the black community. He knew perfectly well the habits, aspirations, and frustrations of black Brazilians. Speaking of his source material, Querino revealed that much of his information came directly from respected black elders who spoke with him without inhibitions since they recognised in him a friend exuding understanding and sympathy. Evidence exists that besides writing about the black people, he helped to defend them. He tried to bring to the attention of municipal officials the persecution inflicted on the practitioners of the Afro-Bahian religions. The police, labelling the religions as "barbarian and pagan", frequently raided the terreiros where the ceremonies were held, destroying property and injuring the participants. Querino's intervention on their behalf before the local government revealed once again the unique position he held bridging different cultures and classes.

History certainly owes a heavy debt to Querino. He preserved considerable information on the art, artists, and artisans of Bahia. No one can do research on any of those subjects without consulting his works. Further, he is an

excellent source for social history. His "As Artes na Bahia", for example, includes an ample sampling of biographies of workers, artisans, and mechanics, those who qualify as "the common man". Such brief biographies are unique sketches providing an invaluable look into the lives of the humble upon whom much of the growth of Brazil rests. He also offers in his essays abundant information on popular customs, culture, and religion.(27)

It could be said that one of Querino's chief contributions to Brazilian historiography was his insistence that national history take into account its African background and the presence and influence of the blacks. Brazil, he emphasized, was the reluctant fusion of the Portuguese, Indian, and African. Yet the contributions of the Africans had gone unheralded. He sought to redress the imbalance in his suggestive essay "O Colono Preto como Fator da Civilizasao Brasileira" now translated into English under the title 'The African Contribution to Brazilian Civilization.' It abounded with insights, many of which later scholarship adopted and expanded so much so that it is now difficult to appreciate the originality of Querino when he first suggested them. Scholars have emphasized, for example, that Africa provided the skilled and unskilled labour for Brazil.

Finally, on the influences and contributions of Afrien (especially Nigeria) on the Brazilian culture, it

may not be out of place to conclude in the words of Freyre that "Every Brazilian, even the fairest blond, bears in his soul, if not in both his soul and body - for there are many in Brazil - whose whiteness hides a tint of black dye - the shadow, or at least the imprint, of the Negro". Long before however, Antonio Vieira had written that "Brazil has its body in America and its soul in Africa.(28)

4.2 Brazil's Cultural Impact on Nigeria

Cultural contact with Brazil had a two-way effect. In as much as Nigeria's culture had lasting effect on Brazilian ways of life, the latter also had cultural traits imparted on Nigeria.

The Brazilian Nigerians (The Brazilian Returnees): There is no gain saying the fact that some present day Nigerians have Brazilian descent. This group are mostly based in Lagos and its environs. They have indeed made impacts in politics and commerce, and also have succeeded in preserving the Brazilian culture which they inherited from their forefathers. In their cultural revival effort, they have introduced the famous end of year carnivals for which Brazil is famous.(29)

The historical prologue of the Afro-Brazilian appearance in Nigeria is linked to the result of the

religious rebellions which broke out in Bahia between 1807 and 1835, and the Act of Aberdeen, whereby many emancipated Africans were forced to leave Brazil. The flow of emigrants became even greater after the abolition of slavery. The Egbas, Ijeshas and some other Nigerians made up mostly of Nagos who left Brazil returned to West Africa especially Nigeria. The Afro-Brazilian communities of Egbos and Ijeshas settled in Lagos which resulted in the foundation of a Brazilian district in the centre of the Island of Lagos.(30)

In 1880, the Brazilian population in Lagos was 3,221 out of total population of 37,458. The percentage formed by the natives was the highest, but the Brazilians (called Agudas from the original name of the Brazilian quarter, Popo Agudas) were in greater numbers than even the whites or the Sierra Leonians (Saro). Some other Afro-Brazilian repatriates also went to settle in the inland, may be looking for their genealogical roots. They settled down in towns such as Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode, and Ilesha.

A book titled "The Water House" by Antonio Olinto provides an excellent source for the enrichment of our knowledge of the history of Brazilian Nigerians. It provides us with illuminating insights into the lives and thinking of the Nigerians in Brazil, of their passage back to Lagos and their resettlement in Nigeria. It

reveals their livelihood, social life, religious practices, family life and personal feelings, all unfolding against the well-delienated background of the history of Lagos and Nigeria.(32)

Olinto torched on the family of one Catarina who was a young girl named Aina, lived in Abeokuta in the 18;Os. When she went on a visit to Lagos, her uncle sold her to slave traders and was transported to Bahia, Brazil. There she was purchased by a white Brazilian Joaquim dos Santos. She had only a daughter, Epilania, apparently fathered by the son of Santos, but born free, who in turn had three children Mariana, Emilia, and Antonio. In 1898, Catarina resolved to travel back to Nigeria with her family. They settled in Bamgbose street in Lagos; with already established Brazilians. Catarina set up as a street trader selling kola-nuts and tobacco products. Catarina insisted on being called Aina. "It was in Brazil that they changed any name.... They shouldn't be allowed to change people's names" (Antonio Olinto, p.89). Shortly afterwards Aina (Carina) died and when her own daughter Mariana had a baby daughter, she named her Aina. The family engages in trade with Brazil: exporting Palm oil, kola-nuts, feathers and importing tobacco, dried salted meat and cachaca (a drink made out of sugar cane). The only member of the family who ever went back to Brazil is Antonio who went on a business visit in 1933 and returned with a Brazilian (black) wife.(33)

One further example of the returnees to Nigeria is that of the da Rocha family, with particular reference to "The Water House". Joao Esan da Rocha was said to have been sold into slavery, sent to Brazil, gained his freedom, there married another Nigerian, Angelica Martins and they returned to Lagos with their four year old son Candido in the early 1870s. Esan set himself up in Lagos-Bahia trade, was given land in Kakawa Street, Lagos and there built a strong Brazilian type house. 'It was Esan who conceived the idea of building a well in his compound and of selling the water: thus his house became known as "water house". When Esan da Rocha died, he left an estate of £1,500 to his four children, and his share helped the first son, Candido, to launch his own successful business career. The second son, Moyses Joao da Rocha was one of the earliest Nigerian doctors, graduating in 1913. When Joao da Rocha left Brazil he also left behind other wives and children with whom he maintained contact and these relationships are maintained across the Atlantic till today.(34)

Turner documents a number of such cases of movements of repatriates from Brazil to Nigeria and back to Brazil. One outstanding example is the Alakija family of Bahia, Lagos, and Abeokuta. Snr. Maxwell Porteira Assumpcao Alakija, late prominent Negro lawyer and teacher of Bahia, was born in Lagos in 1878 of Brazilian-born parents who had gone to Nigeria before the abolition of slavery in

Brazil. His father shortly after reaching Nigeria bought a farm in Abeokuta and was the first person in that city to own a cotton gin. He died in Lagos in 1920. Jnr. Maxwell Alakija lived in Bahia from 1898 until his death in 1933.(35)

The basic tale of a Yoruba taken as slave to Brazil gaining freedom and returning to Lagos is, historically a very common one. In 1853, Consul Campbell found 130 Brazilian families living in Lagos. These Nigerian Brazilians, who were mainly Yorubas, but they also included people of Hausa and Nupe origin. Although the majority opted for catholicism, there were a number of muslims who remained loyal to their faith.(36)

The Brazilians were known as Amaro, settled in the centre of the Island around Campus square known as Popo Aguda (Portuguese) or Popo Maro and worked as builders and artisans to shape the face of colonial Lagos. Some others went towards the inland, may be looking for their genealogical roots. It is clear from the reports of the time that most of them knew and practised some of the most sophisticated techniques both in the building trade and craftsmanships. This allowed them to rapidly organise themselves in those activities that were most requested by the local elites. Initially the local inhabitants reacted hostilely to them. After sometime some 'Amaro' forged ties with other groups in the populace through inter marriage, patron-client

relationships and participation in religious or other voluntary associations.(37)

Religion: The Brazilian -Nigerians were "the torch bearers" of the Catholic Church in Lagos, but theirs was "a Roman Catholicism syncretized with Yoruba traditional worship".(38) Which they had acquired in Brazil. For instance, the Yoruba god Obatala was synchretised in Brazil with 'Our Lady of Glory.(39) Many religious festivals fused Catholic and Yoruba rituals and practises plus features peculiar to Brazil such as the Brazilian dance the Bumba-Meu Boi. At Christmas the 'Amaro' celebrated the feast of Nossa senhora de Bonfin (Our Lady of End) with nocturnal outings of masquerades, the most famous of which was the Bull.(40)

Due to the fact that the Amaro did not speak English until years after their settlement in Lagos, they were not employed by the British administration as were the Saro (SierraLeoneans). Little official interest was also taken in them until the late 1880's. "When Moloney dealt first with the question of steamboat communication between Bahia and Lagos and he encouraged Brazilian immigration as a way of promoting agricultural development in the colony",(41) on the question of the

emancipation of slaves in Brazil, September 25, 1888, the governor described the Brazilian repatriates as "orderly, industrious, settled and highly respectable portion of the community and present generally praise worthy example as citizens".(42)

Problems with English also meant that 'Amaro' were less involved in large scale trade with England and English companies in Nigeria than were the saros. However, they did promote trade between Lagos and Bahia. Generally, as stated earlier, the Brazilian Nigerians brought from Brazilian experience skills and artisans and craftsmen and earned their livelihood as masons, carpenters, cabinet makers, tailors, smiths, launderers, dressmakers and bakers, which are traits of Brazilian cultural impacts on Nigeria.

One interesting aspect of the 'Brazilian Nigerian' on foreign acculturative process was that few of them upon arriving in Lagos, returned to their actual home village or communities. While the stated rationale for returning to Africa given by them was 'a return to lost family and ethnic group relations",(43) reality upon returning to the continent was different, in that the majority of settlers chose to remain along the Coast of Benin, in the small trading enclaves and towns. Their acquired Bahian skills of urban street vendor, small scale merchant mason, carpenter, ship-builder, tool

mechanism, waggon-maker, would be more easily incorporated into the coastal economies and trading system than in the central interior; commercial opportunities, because of the number of European traders and commercial houses proved greater upon the coast, also providing the Afro-Brazilians with a specialised economic role, that of middlemen.(44)

Increasingly, during the 19th century, they became agents for European firms selling manufactured goods, initially for slaves, but after 1860, for Palm-oil, produced by up country farmers. Speaking some African language, with a certain but not complete ethnic identification with a local group and with the additional ability of being able to speak Portuguese, the "lingua franca" of the coastal trade during the 19th century, the "Brazilian Nigerians", easily adapted to this role of middleman.

The 'Brazilian-Nigerians' frequently accompanied European consular agents on missions into the interior, acting as guides and interpreters. This middle position between native Nigerians and Europeans served to typify not only their profession but also emerging social status along the coast. For them, it was their ambiguity being neither African nor European, which constituted their major asset and perhaps also major deficit. They were in

a middle position which by its nature called into question their loyalty as individuals and as a group or community.

It is possible to discuss the 'Brazilian Nigerians' as a community or another ethnic group (popularly a tribe), upon their arrival on the African coast. Although their actual ethnic origins were diverse, many of them born in Brazil and not in Nigeria, they began to manifest group traits and characteristics soon after their return to Nigeria. Important was having shared the experience of Brazil and that particular culture. Within the Brazilian Nigerian community this meant a certain superiority in attitude and often behaviour to the indigenous coastal groups who lacked the'advantages' of having been slaves in Brazil.

In the larger Afro-Brazilian communities, especially among many of the families settled in Lagos, there was a refusal to relinquish the Portuguese surnames, or names given to them by their Brazilian masters, and accept only African patronynics.(45) The Portuguese surnames, apart from being an instant identification of either foreign background or heritage was for them a certain source of pride, a distinguishing trait or difference from other Nigerians. Following the established custom, these 'Nigerian-Brazilians' mini-fundiaries upon establishing their own plantations along

the coast would then give their slave-surnames to their own Nigerian slaves, who in turn would guard these names as a badge of distinction, in the 20th century being mistakenly considered full-fledged members of the larger 'Nigerian-Brazilian' clans.(46) Any trait or characteristic which illustrated a social difference or distinction for the Afro-Brazilian became desirable in their often erroneous belief that it conferred upon them a certain superior status. This, according to Turner, was manifested in their choice of architectural style which self-consciously modeled itself upon Brazilian colonial architecture, found notably in Salvador, culinary habits and patterns of dress, all of which harkened back to their singular Brazilian history.

Of course, it may not be very difficult to distinguish the 'Nigerian-Brazilians' from their Yoruba neighbours. Conservative as they may seem, a typical Brazilian is clean-shaved, would prefer to dress in the conventional attire of bowtie and suspenders of course a "sombrero" (a hat) is an important feature of the Brazilian attire. It is also in the area of menu that these Brazilian offspring in Nigeria are drawn closer to their past. 'With their acaraje and vatapa still today in Nigeria and Brazil, it is almost certain that the past is very much with the present',(47) for the 'Nigeria-Brazil cultural relations.

Architecture: Perhaps, it is in the area of architecture that Brazil's cultural relations with Nigeria can more manifest itself. This also symbolises the historical and cultural ties that bind the two countries and which should place Brazil in category of special relationship with Nigeria politically and economically. This is why strong attention has to be placed on this aspect of the cultural relations between the two countries.

As already indicated, the Brazilian returnees in Lagos had a strong influence on the early architecture of that city, with the classic colonial Brazilian style of houses (known as sobrado) being recopied in the Brazilian quarters, as well as in a number of towns in the interior of Yorubaland (See Plate 1).

The phenomenon of Brazilian houses in Nigeria has the following rare peculiarity: it has blended in a homogeneous way and in conformity with the living body of the West African architecture, providing elements of enrichment and of dialogue with the existing building types. There are then further precious characteristics: that of having kept their look practically intact, their own distributive characteristics and their functionality through the decades. With the exception of a very few cases of hybrids of little importance - however, some

dissonant reverberations are the inevitable physiological side effect of every development - there is no doubt for whoever goes through the villages and towns of Yorubaland whether one is facing an example of traditional architecture in the strict sense of the word, or an African example of Brazilian architecture.(48) Giorgetti hypothesised thus: "the Brazilian houses in West Africa are a perfectly compatible of cultural graft, as the agents, the bearers of the technological transfer, belonged completely to the two worlds they have since linked."(49)

The understanding of how the new shape "Brazilian house" fitted into and became naturalized with the Yoruba civilization, will offer us new means of understanding the new African architecture. It will allow us to get things into perspective and possibly annul some experiences and revalue other architects and builders, even to mention them as examples.

West Africa, from the 19th century onwards, has witnessed the rise of various building types built by groups of African immigrants coming from the American continent after the abolition of slave trade.(50) We have buildings which differ greatly among themselves both in shape and original character and which are rapidly adopted by the local population as "possible"

models of residence fitted into an urban development not yet contaminated by the modifications of the impending European colonialism. Historical examples of this architecture are present at the same time in at least three contemporary African countries: Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria. This study however illustrates some of these buildings found in Yorubaland, and in particular in the towns of Ilesha, Ibadan, Abeokuta and Ijebu-Ode (See Plate 2).

From historical point of view, the Brazilian houses are architectonic epilogue of migration between Brazil and West African which is a consequence of the process of redemption from slavery starting with the ribellion of Bahia in 1835, which was mentioned earlier. It is therefore a matter of an event whose roots show a systematic relationship between the three continents, Europe-Africa-America within the span of five centuries (1400 - 1900) and which reflects the greatest moment of growth of pre-colonial Yorubaland. In this context the Brazilian house has taken up a very interesting position as an autonomous model and original typological elaboration in comparison to all the types traditionally present in the territory. Added to this, is the Yoruba conception of spartial relationships linked to the context of the traditional family organisation. The first examples of Brazilian houses are to be seen in Lagos. They, characterised by a symbolic content which makes them

appear as symbolic objects belonging to a different group, almost a local bourgeoise class in embryo: this hypothesis was successively confirmed by the analysis of the ways the imminent English colonial system used in trying to first acquire and then reject the influence of the Brazilians on the local trade (See Plate 3).(52)

The 'Nigerian Brazilian' house is a building type which as far as the formal symbolic expression is concerned, does not derive from the traditional Yoruba model but from the successive modifications of the Portuguese colonial residence in Brazil. It is the architectural evidence of thrust towards different non-traditional cultural directions urged by an emerging and cultural ethnic component in a time which precedes the interferences of the English colonial policy.(53) The Brazilian house presents itself structurally as a residential building in which the architectonic elements are so articulated as to realise a building with a high topological concentration in comparison to the surrounding urban pattern formed by the aggregation of compounds (See Plate 4).(54)

So far no complete catalogue has been produced, i.e. an instrument which could discriminate between the factors of classification and the Nigerian architectural types on a national scale. The causes of this are first of all the enormous quantities of types, and secondly

the objective difficulties of difining origins and sources beyond the information offered by the oral evidence of the owners, always useful but often undatable.

The only work which followed the criteria and method mentioned above is "Historical Preservation In Lagos State", published in April, 1983. This paper describes and lists all the buildings of historical architectonic interest and hopes that an intervention of preservation and restoration will be promoted to cover the whole building wealth of the state of Lagos.(55) The Report lists 81 buildings, 4 of which are already under the protection of NCMM(56), i.e.: the Ilojo Bar of Tinubu Square, also known as Fernando's House and classified as Brazilian architecture; the Oba Palace, Old Iga Iduganran precedent to the Portuguese arrival and which is a collection of samples of interventions performed in successive times until its completion in 1960; the Famous "Water House" of Kakawa Street, whose historical vicissitudes are described in the splendid homonymous book of the Brazilian novelist, mentioned earlier, Jose Antonio Olinto; the Old Secretariat, situated in the Marina water front, built by the colonial English government in 1906.(56) (See Appendix for the Map of Lagos showing the various Brazilian Nigerian house locations, and also the Inventory list of Historical Buildings and Monuments in Lagos State (Plate 5)

4.3 Cultural Exchanges 1960 - 1985

As a result of the cultural interaction between the two countries, a number of exchanges at official and private levels have been taking place. These have repercussions on the political and economic relations between the two countries.

Formal cultural exchanges between the two countries became more meaningful in the 1960s when both were in a position to operate as different independent nations. In 1961, for instance, when Janio Quadros came to power in Brazil, he declared that Brazil will play the role of a cultural bridge between tropical America and Africa.(57) As a result of this declaration, some Nigerian doctors were trained in Brazil as part of Brazil's aid in the early 1960s. During that period also, scholarly exchanges began to be noticed. As stated in chapter two, University of Bahia scholars like Dr. Guillheme Castro came to the University of Ife to study, while Mr. Lashebikan went to University of Bahia to teach Yoruba, which is very important to the worship of the Orishas. There were other Nigerians who went to Brazil to study. Nevertheless no other substantial cultural exchanges came out of Quadros declaration. However, cultural linkage and affinity have been of recent used by Brazilian officials to promote relations with Black Africa. 'Brazil', according

to Hinjari, 'wants to present itself as a valuable partner to Africa, who because of its unique history is capable of understanding and identifying with African values'.(58)

The cultural relations between the two countries became more formalised in 1972 during the visit to Nigeria of the Brazilian Foreign Minister Mr. Gibson Barbosa. During the visit, various agreements including cultural ones were signed, The rationale behind the treaties is to facilitate exchange in science, technology, higher education, sports and arts, and to raise mutual awareness. 'In pursuit of the policy of cultural linkage, an Afro-Brazilian museum was established in March 1974 to research into and publish African and Afro-Brazilian cultural similarity. Brazil also provides scholarship for Africans to come and study in Brazil.(59)

4.3(a) Educational Relations

Educational relations have however been increasing since the visit of Barbosa. Many Nigerian students have been taking advantage of the tuition free programme to study in Brazil. The Brazilian Embassy in Lagos screens Nigerian students who may be seeking for admission into Brazilian universities. For, according to the cultural Agreement between the two countries, the first requirement

for admission is the knowledge of the Portuguese language. In this regard, the University of Sao Paulo has a permanent and intensive Portuguese course for foreign students, after which they are posted to the various Brazilian universities for their substantive courses. Although the students do not pay school fees, but they are responsible for their own accommodation, books, feeding, traveling, entertainment and transport, which represents a minimum amount of about four hundred (US $400) U.S. dollars per month. At the moment there are about 400 Nigerian students undertaking undergraduate courses in Brazilian universities, in almost all areas of human knowledge.

In 1982, the Brazilian government decided to extend the students agreement to include graduate programme to enable postgraduates to undertake courses in Engineering, Medicine and Economics. To this effect, Portuguese language knowledge is also required.

The University of Ife concluded agreements with the University of Sao Paulo, Brasilia and Bahia respectively, for completion of Degree course in Portuguese language by the students of the University of Ife. The Portuguese course at the University of Ife is now being expanded due to the efforts of Mr. Antonio Vieira da Silva, who was responsible for

the contract of two more Brazilian lecturers, Mrs. Yelda Santos and Mr. Arnaldo dos Santos to lecture at the University.

In 1982, the Vice-Chancellor of the Federal University of Bahia was in Nigeria to sign cooperation agreements with the Universities of Ife, Ibadan and Lagos. The following year, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos also visited Brazil to examine the possibilities of cooperation with both Universities of Sao Paulo and Brasilia, as well as to seek cooperation with Television Globo of Brazil in the field of educational television programmes. Further, in accordance with the agreement between the Faculty of Architecture and Environmental Studies of the University of Sao Paulo and the University of Lagos, the Nigerian Professor David Aradeon from UNILAG went to Brazil in 1982 to give a six month course in African Traditional Architecture to Brazilian students. The course was to enable the University of Sao Paulo students to carry out excellent research works on the Modern Application of Traditional Technique in Architecture.(60)

4.3(b) Private Cultural Exchanges

In recent years, many Nigerians have been travelling to Brazil for the annual carnival which

normally takes place in February of each year. Apart from this, there had been series of meetings, and conferences among the adherents of Yoruba traditional worships, among which is the Congress of 'Orisha' worshippers. In 1983, the Oni of Ife paid private visit to Brazil. During the visit, he was given a red-carpet reception and was able to witness the survival of the various Nigerian culture which still persists in Brazil. On his arrival, he was quoted as saying that he was highly impressed with Brazil, more especially with the survival of Nigerian culture in that country.

Apart from the Brazilian descendants, who had always been, theonly representatives of the Brazilian cultural heritage in Nigeria, Nigeria now has a large number of Brazilian nationals, living and working in the country. They are over one thousand people, distributed in various established Brazilian companies in Nigeria, such as Banco do Brazil, Varig Airlines, Cobec, Cotia, Graham Bell, Hidro Service, Promint, Protec, Cicatrade, Paranapanema and Mendez Junio . Most of them are based in Lagos and others are in Kaduna, Ibadan, Benin City, Zaira, Bauchi, and Port Harcourt This shows the growth of the Brazilian presence through out Nigeria.

4.3(c) Second World Black And African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC II) 1977

Brazil was represented by a large delegation at the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC II) held in Lagos, Nigeria, between January 15, and February 12, 1977. The contingents were scholarly involved in all aspects of the events. Brazilians of African descent featured in sculpture, paintings, drawings and engravings, dance, music and movie - portraying the Negro as model in Brazilian art. The exhibition entitled 'The Impact Of African Culture On Brazil"(62) is the leit motif of the Brazilian Pavillion at the Festival. The title itself reflects an inherent commitment toward a historical representation, side by side with a demonstration of the current presence of the Brazilian art of African descent in Brazil.

Renowned artists who have already achieved through their work deeply rooted in the African culture, as established in Brazil and others of African ancestry, who display creativity on a more all-encompassing plane in current time featured most prominently at the FESTAC II. Very few of such people are worth mentioning thus:

Sculptors: Francisco Biquiba Dylafuente Guarany, - he is the oldest of all Brazilian representative artists, still in full activity, and born in April 2, 1864; Geraldo Telles de Oliveira -GTO, born in 1913, he is considered to be one of the most original sculptors of modern Brazil; Boaventura Silva Filho, Louco, born January 26, 1932, prominent in "Model Market" in Salvador and his work is in great demand by collectors, decorators and art dealers; Maurino de Araújo, born in 1949, his themes are linked with Catholic hagiology, having trained as a priest for six years before quiting the priesthood; Miguel dos Santos, born in 1944 and specialises in folklore art, from Ceramics to literature art,; Juarez Paraiso, born in 1934, one of the most cultured figures of the arts in all Brazil, very good in engraving and drawing; and Waldeloir Rego born in 1930 is a student of African religious ethnology in Bahia. At FESTAC II, he exhibited Afro-Brazilian jewelry.(63)

Paintings, Drawings and Engravings: Emanoel Araujo, born in 1940. He has received a number of Brazilian and foreign awards for his graphic paintings; Jose de Dome, his painting is a self-taught achievement with the more subtle aspects of genuine African art; Helio de Souza Oliveira, born 1929, died in 1962, but

his works were prominent at FESTAC II, especially his 'Peji de Oxum, woodcut in colours; Rubem Valentim, he has achieved a type of plastic composition identifiable with the plenitude of the 'constructivist' movement; and Octavio de Araujo, born on March 22, 1926, his background is fundamentally classicistic, especially Renaissance, one of his famous works at FESTAC II is Yemanja, the Yoruba goddess of the sea.(64)

Dance: Olga do Alaketo, Her reputation as a ritualistic dancer and as a singer has been recognised by a number of critics, writers and ethnologists in Brazil and abroad. She presented a rapertoire of song and dances of Keto, the ancient Kingdom in what is today Nigeria and from Gege, the neighbouring kingdom, in modern Benin. The whole thing is in accordance with the remaining "Orixas" of Afro-Brazilian tradition, as seen in the Alaketo of Bahia.

Clyde Morgan's dance is that of 'Contemporary theatre dance' as related to its African origins. His presentation is the choreographic theme of Oxossi n'Aruando, taken from Afro-Brazilian mythology as developed in Bahia and research by Pierre Verger. The show lasts seventy minutes, and one of the episodes is based on the music of Marlos Nobre.(65)

Music: Gilberto Gill, is a popular black Brazilian musician who has Africanism at the background of his music. When he was asked about his music, he replied, "I really couldn't say. All I know is, part of it is from Africa. And now we're taking it back there'.

Paulo Moura is another popular black Brazilian ak the Festival, and he is well known through the length and breath for his genous in Samba music. Of all the popular festivals in Brazil, Carnival is the best known. It is a period of four free working days that vibrates to a type of music all its own, predominantly percussive. As each year's carnival comes round new compositions arise and are on the lips of the public at all times. The "Blocos" and the "Escolas de Samba" have their own theme music, selected in internal contests before the event starts. This is where Paulo Moura specialises and he excells others. According to him, "In the religious rites of the negroes that were carried over into Brazil, percussion alone was used. Thus it is that in the "maracatu" of the North East and the "Escolas de Samba" in Rio the strongest melodic and mythnic features of African music have been retained and applied to popular music." He finally stated that, "the ultimate result is to bear out the fact that the strongest influence of all still is

the music of my forbears. It is the influence of the African continent on the culture of Brazil."(66)

Movie: For the FESTAC II '77 event covering the cinema, the Brazilian Representation Selection Committee selected three documentary films covering chapters of key interest in the study of mankind and the negro culture in Brazil.

First is the feature film "Isto e Pele" (This is Pele), a full length presentation designed according to the principles of 'cinema verite' and built up in accordance with a chronological arrangement by key movie scenes over a period of fifteen years, takes in material from all over the world. Luiz Carlos Barreto and his team succeeded in performing extensive research in depth, so as to bring together the best scenes ever taken, covering the star player of all time, the footballer universally hailed as king Pele.

Second is 'the Crafting of the Samba' which was a 35mm, shot in colour, by Vera Figueiredo and Zozimo Bulbul, shot between 1974 and 1975, and which has been described as the very best instrument for answering the query that comes from all over the world: "What is an "Escola de Samba" - What Goes on at a Samba Academy?"

The third film is titled "Partido Alto", which is the Samba brought from the Lundu the rhythm of percussion, the drum tattoo, and the festive attributes of fertility and fecundity. Yet the evolution of the Samba is definitely urban in nature. "Partido alto" is a musical and choreographic performance put on by certain families and their friends in Rio de Janaro. The emergence of this musical form in the city dates back to the early on the 16th century, and its roots are connected with two ethnic sources, the bantu and the Yoruba. From the "Partido alto" arose the greatest and most authentic manifestation of Brazilian popular music the Samba. This 'shot' presents the general aspects of this musical form, together with three outstanding figures of Brazilian music. Marinho da Costa Jumboba, Clementina de Jesus and Martinhoda Vila.(67)

From the points of view of sociology and the History of Arts, the response is clear and unequivocal. African origins are a basic component of the work of many Brazilian artists, as well as in the more widespread expressive sweep of the creativity of the people at large. The negro people emerged in Brazil side by side with religious art, that which was intended to move entire populations through the decorative splendor of the places of worship.

4.3(d) Exports: Nigeria's sporting links with Brazil is a product of the cultural agreement between the two countries which was signed in November, 1972; article III of which undertakes to "promote co-operation between sports organisations of both countries in the interest of developing sports and also with the aim of arranging friendly competitions between their two countries."(68)

As part of the efforts to actualise this aspect of the agreement, there has been increased activities, especially in the game of football, in which Brazil is acclaimed as one of the world's best football playing nations.

Nigerian football today can be said to have a remarkably Brazilian influence. Until recently, the Nigerian National football Team "the Green Eagles", was handled by a prominent and renowned Brazilian coach, Professor Otto Gloria. Although Nigeria failed to qualify for the 1982 World Cup in Spain, under Otto Gloria, he was instrumental to Nigeria's championship during the 12th African Cup of Nations hosted by Nigeria in 1980.(69)

Apart from the National team, other Nigerian top first division clubsides had been handled by

Brazilian coaches. Some of these clubsides include the Rangers International F.C. of Enugu, which exchanged Coach Roberto Dias for another Brazilian coach; and the Rovers of Calabar under Coach Paulo Campos, of the Vasco Da-Gama (of Brazil) fame.

In addition to this, the Nigerian National Team, the Green Eagles are almost always flown to Brazil to "tone-up" whenever they are preparing for important international assignment. For example, during the preparation for the 12th African Cup of Nations and throughout Nigeria's participation in the World Cup (Africa series) the National Team always perfected their style in Brazil before heading for the march.(70)

Talking about playing-tours of Brazilian clubsides to Nigeria, a number of Brazilian Football teams have undertaken playing tours of Nigeria and engaged in many exhibition matches before now. The Fluminence F.C. which toured the country are not strange to Nigerian football fans. [illegible] Santos F.C. of Brazil, accompanied by the world greatest football personality and soccer prodigy Edson Arantes da Nasimento, better known as Pele of Brazil, visited Nigeria in 1968 and played a number of matches, one of which was with the Nigerian selected side. The match

ended in a 2 - 2 draw.

Eight years later in 1976, the legendry Brazilian footballer Pele of Brazil who has been adjudged by the World football body (FIFA) as "the most complete player in the history of soccer" came back to Nigeria, on a coaching clinic, a programme sponsored by the Pepsi Cola International Company. Unfortunately, the military upheavals that erupted in the country had an adverse effect on his long drawn programme "to get the youths more involved in the game of football". Again, Pele came back to Nigeria in 1978 the third time, and this time with the Fluminense F.C. For a two week playing tour of Nigeria, sponsored by a Brazilian Electronic Company -Commacio International Company (Inter Brazil).

Pele at this time was made to play public relations officer for the company by advertising some Brazilian products under the trade mark of "TAMA" which is produced and marketed by Commacio International Company of Brazil.

Sporting relations between Nigeria and Brazil, especially on the game of football has been extensively used to promote cultural and economic relations of both countries.(71)

4.4 Conclusion

From the foregoing, there definitely has been an important cultural interaction between the two countries, as the preceding sections show. This has an impact on the political and economic relations of the two countries. The common cultural heritage have formed a basis for mutual cooperation at official and private levels. Brazilian MNCs have sought to invest in the Nigerian economy successfully, exploiting the cultural linkages.

The formalisation of trade, cultural and political ties are closely tied to this common historical heritage. Emphasis has been placed on cooperation on the South-South axis. It can be assumed therefore that the increasing participation of Brazilian capital in the Nigerian economy will rely more and more on the cultural links to form a solid basis for economic cooperation.

Nonetheless in this chapter, we made the point that while economic relations might be skewed in favour of Brazil, to the detriment of Nigeria, cultural relations between them may not follow the same pattern. What exists is more of interdependence, or mutual relationship as has been shown in the chapter. Furthermore, while aspects of culture like taste,

aesthetic preferences, consumption patterns aan be said to contain Brazilian influences in Nigeria, and this may be a point to make for cultural dependence on the whole (culture perceived in its entirety), what exists is not a relationship of dependence. Since Nigeria was never colonised by Brazil, and since formal and full scale relationship between the two countries began only in the post colonial period, there is a limit to the influences each can bring to bear on the other - which is different altogether from a colonial relationship where the colonising power's presence is felt in all spheres of life, including the reculturisation of the colonised people, such as the relationship between Nigeria and Britain.

Footnotes

1. Nwere, A.C.K., 'Nigerian Statesman' of 7/12/83, p.3.

2. Rodrigues, J.H., , "Brazil and Africa" - The African Contribution, University of California Press, 1965, p.45.

3. Ibid, p.44.

4. Ibid, p.45.

5. Ibid, p.45.

5b. Slave and Citizen; the Negro in the Americas, New York, 1947.

5c. Ibid.

6. Pierson, D., , Braucose Pretos, pp.93-103; Arthur Rancas, p.316; Jose Honorio Rodrigues, Teoria da Historia do Brazil, 2nd Edition, S. Paulo, 1957, 1st Vol.p.215; Ernesto Ennes, 'As Guerras nos Palmares, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938, Carneiro, E.(1958) 'O Quilombo dos Palmares", Companhia Editora Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1958.

7. Herskoris, M.J. , "Patterns of Negro Music, n.p.n.d. in Brazil and Africa, Op.cit., p.47.

8. See Mario de Andrade, "Folclore", in Manual Bibliografico de Estados Brasileiros, Rio de Janeiro, 1949, pp.299-317; Edison Carneiro, O Roldore Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1954 (for the bibliography of these studies) and his A Sabedoria Popular, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; Arthur Ramos, O Folclore Negro no Brazil, R.J. 1935.

9. Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, "The African Influence in Brazilian Music" in Cultura Brazileiro Ano 23 Oct. - Dec. 1976, p.134.

10. Ibid. 20/29 "Negro Rhythms and Dances in Brazil," p.132.

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12. Ibid, 39/43, "The Negro in Brazilian fiction", p.137.

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14. Edison Carneiro, "O Folclore de Negro" - Chapter in A Sabedoria Popular, 65-87; and Condombles na Bahia, Salvador 1948; See also Donald Pierson, O Condomble da Bahia, Curitiba, 1942.

15. Octavio da Costa, The Negro in Northern Brazil' - A study in Acculturation, N.Y. 1948, pp. 124-128.

16. Rebeiro, R., "Cultos Afro-Brazileiros do Recife, Um Estudo de Ajustamento Social, Institute Joaquim Nabulo, Recife, 1952, p. 140.

17. Damasceno, B.G., was a cultural attade in the Brazilian Embassy, Lagos, and the extract was part of the brief appraisal she gave on "the political social and Educational relations between Brazil and Nigeria" to the Association of Modern European Languages Students of University of Ife, Ile-Ife 7th April, 1983, p. 3.

18. See Culture Brazileira Ano 23 Oct. - Dec. 1976 94/100" Certain faces of the influence of the Nigerian Culture on Brazilian Literature, Folklore and Language, p. 139.

19. Ibid, p. 140.

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23. Romero, S., , 'Historia da Literatura Brasileira 2nd Ed. (Rio de Janaro 1902) Vol.1 p. 89-90, as contained in "A History of Brazil" by E. Bradford Burns p. 366.

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25. Afonso Celso, "Porque M's Ufano Meo Pais", first published in 1901 and today, it is in its 14th Edition. This is extrected from "A History of Brazil - Chapter on The New Brazil" by E.B. Burns. p. 367.

26. Op. cit., 368.

27. Ibid, 369.

28. "Sibre O. Padre Jeao de Almeida" as quoted by Joao Incio de Azevedo, Historia de Antonio Vieora, Lisbon 1931 p. 404, which is also quoted in 'Brazil and Africa by Jose Honorio Rodrigues p. 40.

29. Op. cit, c. 6, Nwere p.3.

30. See the Intalian cultural Centre Publication on the Nigerian Brazilian Houses, Lagos, 1983, p.5.

31. Ibid. 8

32. Mba, M., "Literature as a Source of Nigerian History" Case Study of 'the Water House' and the Brazilians in Lagos. Being an unpublished paper presented to the Conference on the History of Lagos, UNIL AG, April 23-25, 1986.

33. Olinto, A., - "The Water House" - Pan African Library, London, Rex Colino. The author is a Brazilian novelist of European descent who was a cultural Attache in the Brazilian Embassy in Lagos in the 1960's. He carried out a detailed Research into Lagos history, with special reference to Brazilian Nigerians.

34. Nina Mba op. cit. p. 10. It may be interesting to know that before the introduction of the well, 'water house' Lagosians were going to Abeokuta to draw drinking water.

35. Kopytoff, H. J.,A Preface to Modern Nigeria "The Sierra Leonians in Yoruba 1830-1890, Madison 1965, p. 36.

37. Echerno,M.J.C., Victorian Lagos. Aspects of 19th century Lagos Life, Ibadan, MacMillian 1977 p. 16.

38. Kopytoff, H.J. op. cit, 1965, p. 87.

39. See Olaitan,A.B., "The Torch Bearers of Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, Ife, Olu Printing Works 1943 p. 8. Also see Kopytoff (1965), 87 and Olinto A. (1970) p. 407-408.

40. Bumba - Men-Boi is a dance in which a big puppet figure Ox plays the important part with a woman giant, an ostrich and a donkey playing other parts.

41. Kopytoff. op. cit, p. 208.

42. Echeuro op.cit, (1977) p. 16.

43. Turner, L. "Cultura" p. 20. Also see "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria, West Africa", in the Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXVII No.1 January, 1942.

44. Ibid, Turner, p. 21.

45. Ibid., Turner, "Les Braziliens, Chapter VII.

46. Turner, J.M, 'Africans, Afro-Brazilians and Europeans 19th Century Politics on the Benin Gulf, University of Sao Paulo, 1981, p. 10.

47. Op. cit, Nwere p. 3.

48. Giorgetti, C.,(1983) in the Forward to the 'Nigerian Brazilian Houses', published by 'Instituto Italiano Di Cultura, (Italian Cultural Institute) Lagos, 1983 p. 5.

49. Ibid, p. 5.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 NIGERIA/BRAZIL DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS

The extent and manner in which economic relations have influenced the political aspects in the relations between Nigeria and Brazil is not clearly in evidence. Diplomatic and political relationship began only in 1960s. Thus, while economic interests might have contributed to the intensification of diplomatic contacts, political dependency is not borne out by our findings. In this chapter therefore, we take a look at the beginning of the political relationship; after which the major trend and positions in the two countries' foreign policies are analysed to draw attention to areas of cooperation and those in which, as they stand now, there are conflicting interests. We make certain policy suggestions, as well as draw attention to both internal and extraneous variables that are likely to impede meaningful cooperation between the two countries.

5.1 Evolution of Diplomatic And Political Relations

After Brazil attained what was described as the 'Brazilian economic miracle', the Brazilian State, Brazilian private and foreign capitalists in a tripartite alliance, had to ensure a durable

market for its new export oriented industrial goods. It is this more than anything else, that explains Brazil's 'pragmatic' overtures in the 1960's to the then independent states in Africa, including Nigeria. Brazil before then, could not have hoped for a market in Nigeria because Nigeria was a British colony, and the protectionist colonial policies saw to it that she remained the exclusive market of Britain. This fact accounts for the non-existence of political relationship between Nigeria and Brazil. Nigeria was not yet a sovereign state and her internal government was handled by the British colonialists. As such, the political relationship between Nigeria and Brazil is relatively recent. Hence no meaningful diplomatic and political relations were established between them until 1960's. Before this time, relations were carried on principally through International Governmental Organisations (I.G.O.s) and Commodity Organisations.

There were no direct contacts in the form of diplomatic exchanges, through permanent diplomatic missions. The Brazilian association with Portugal influenced her policies on Africa, particularly on the question of colonialism and racism. Also before 1960's, Brazil was very conservative in its political relations towards Africa.(1) This point was echoed

in the speech by Mr. Qucodros, the Republican party presidential candidate - Subsequently elected on May 12, 1960, when he declared that:

> ... Brazil could not continue in its current timid position, for the way was clear in Asia and Africa. Expansion of international relations and advantages shift in trade will increase our activity among nations, for we already are a country with a definite future. (2)

From 1960 therefore, the intensification of relations between the two countries can generally be characterised by 'eagerness' and 'boldness' on the part of Brazil. But on the part of Nigeria the relationship has been characterised by 'reluctance' and 'caution'. In the majority of cases involving the establishment of diplomatic, trade, economic and cultural relations between the two sides, Brazil initiated the events.(3) The explanation of this pattern of behaviour can be located in the historical processes of development in the two countries.

In 1960 when Nigeria attained independence, Brazil was already one hundred and thirty eight years old. It had weathered various strains and stresses of nation building, while Nigeria was just embarking on her own efforts at creating a multi-ethnic state. The 'real' Brazil was unknown to Nigerian and other African leaders. Brazil was seen

by Nigeria and a few other African countries only in terms of her economic domination by the United States, and feared that she might well be a front for American capitalist enterprises which sought to spread their tentacles all over the world.(4) Others saw Brazil as a country in which multiracialism was at the expense of the Black population. Even in 1974, the late Dr. Agostinho Veto, when interviewed during the period of Angola's transition to independence about his concept of a new Angola, replied that:

> We don't wish to be a Brazil as some say, ... We do not have evidence that there is elevation of the status of blacks over there. Those blacks .... that are in Brazil only sell sweets and peanuts .... in the streets and live in favelas and is not the type of solution we want. (4b).

On the colonial question, not much was accomplished in 1960's as Brazil constantly preferred to maintain relations with Portugal. Brazil as an original member of the U.N.O. during the San Francisco conference on colonial territories in 1946 did not demonstrate the least interest in the aspirations of colonial peoples. The declaration related to colonial territories (Ch. XI, Art. 73 and 74) a U.N.O. document of the great significance which proclaimed the importance of the interests of the inhabitants of these territories and affirmed

the two countries became formalised. This also could be said to have facilitated the economic exchanges in favour of Brazil.

Relations betwen the two countries received a boost in 1972 when the Brazilian Foreign Minister then, Mr. Gibson Barbosa under-took an ambitious African tour which took him through several Black African States including Nigeria. As stated earlier, before this tour of African States, Brazil's African policy tended to be determined by its close relations with Portugal. This situation completely changed after the socialist revolution in Portugal in early 1974. This was because Portugal gave up its colonial territories in Africa due to the pressures from the various liberation movements in Africa. This meant that Brazil could enter into closer relations with Africa, especially the former Portuguese colonies. Brazil also felt the need to expand its political influence in Africa during this period due to the increasing competition it was facing from other Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina for influence in the Latin American region. Apart from this challenge other Latin American countries began to be suspecious of its growing power status. Having friends on the African

continent was then considered desirable to avoid isolation. Despite the rapid economic development that Brazil had experienced it did not want to be categorised among the developed countries of the world. It wanted and still wants to stay among the developing world so that it can enjoy the best of the two worlds.(9) This explains the motive behind Barbosa's visit which carried with it the image of a third world country.

Since the early 1970's, Brazilian foreign policy assumed a new pragmatism. The pragmatic national interest orientation propelled the nation to focus on trade matters as one of the highest priority concerns of Brazil's multilateral diplomacy. The major interest areas became principally commodities, shipping, transfer of technology and international finance.

With regard to multilateral political objectives, Brazil aspired to gain a wider international presence and acquire prestige status and prominent participation. In pursuing its economic foreign policy objectives, Brazil has become not only vociferous, but highly visible in the movement of Less Developed Countries LDCs for the restructuring of the international economic

technological orders primarily through negotiations and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC). It was also active in talks to introduce reforms in GATT and Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN) in Geneva.(10)

The Latin American bloc led by Brazil has participated actively in negotiations at UNCTAD aimed at changing the under-previleged situation of developing countries. Although Nigeria and Brazil face similar economic problems, and it would be expected that such fora could help in solving their common problems, Brazil's active participation is thought to contribute to its carving out a privileged position among the underprivileged. At the U.N., for example Brazil's economic relations with Nigeria led to the signing of significant declarations on World energy and international trade, as the 'Declaration of Rio de Janeiro aimed at International cooperation price stabilisation.(11)

Here, we make the point that Brazil's active participation in these organisations is related to its interests to search for markets in the Third World, particularly in Nigeria in a more profitable manner.

The diversification of Brazil's foreign policy interests also brings into focus her relation with Nigeria and other Southern Countries. The historical and traditional ties with Africa, especially Nigeria have been revived and expanded principally in the areas of trade and through International Economic Associations like UNCTAD which we have just mentioned. Expanding economic ties with Nigeria and other African countries has therefore become the primary thrust of Brazil's new Africa policy.(12) The 1972 visit of Foreign Minister Gibson Barbosa to Nigeria and some other African countries set the tone for renewed bilateral relationships which had an important bearing on Brazil's multilateral objectives. The new Africa policy sought to achieve the following objectives:

> Project Brazil's image as in industrialising tropical power with something to teach other less developed countries; project and defend a strong African policy to convince black African States that Brazil's previous relationship with Portugal should not inhibit development of closer ties with Africa; Muster sufficient political support for Brazil's 200 mile territorial waters positions; sign trade and technical cooperation treaties that would allow follow up by private enterprises; Advance cultural relationships based on Afro-Brazilian ties; survey the possibilities for Brazilian services and investments in development projects; and work to increase direct transportation routes across the South Atlantic. (13)

The growing importance of Nigeria in International relations is quite evident in her leadership role in the OAU and ECOWAS as a major step in promoting the Pan African consciousness. Nigeria's leadership role in Africa makes not only imperative for Brazil to expand diplomatic ties with Nigeria, but also to consider that relationship as a model of Brazil's relationship with the rest of Africa. According to Ali A. Mazrui:

> ... There are other links and similarities between Africa and Latin America. There is the burden of fragmentation in Latin America comparable to that in Africa, though not so acute. Both continents are split into competitive countries, some of them tiny, and both are vulnerable to external exploitation as a result. Both continents have one member dramatically larger than any other. Latin America has its Brazil, Africa has its Nigeria. (14)

The concentric pattern of dependency relations would therefore spread from Nigeria with her neighbour with less developed economies to Brazil with Nigeria whose cooperation involves dependency structures at a higher level.

5.2 The Racial Question In Nigeria - Brazil Relations

Nigeria's foreign policy on the racial question is mainly focused on its support to the liberation of African countries still under colonial rule and its support for and solidarity with black human rights all over the world. Nigeria has joined the many countries in the international system in their

call for among other things; the immediate cessation of diplomatic relations with South Africa; the implementation of economic and other sanctions according to the relevant resolution of the UNO General Assembly; the demand for the immediate release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners of apartheid; and the diplomatic recognition of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC) in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia as legitimate representatives of the peoples of these two countries.

Nigeria's tough stand on the racial question is in conflict with the economic relations with Brazil whose position on the issue is vacillating. Nigeria shares with Brazil the underlying concept of non-interference by big powers in the internal affairs of small states, Nigeria has also been demonstrating its commitment to the protection of the political and economic rights of black people whereever they may be. Successive Nigerian governments have reiterated in major official pronouncements Nigeria's commitment to Southern African Liberation and the rights of the blackman; and has also been demonstrating in practical terms its total opposition to which ever country that deals with South Africa.

At the various exchange of visits at the government official levels, the issue had always been reechoing in communiques and official statements made by the two countries. For instance, during the visit of Yar'Adua to Brazil in 1979, it was reported that on the question of apartheid mention was made to the effect that "Nigeria was irrevocably committed to the total eradication of apartheid in South Africa."(15) In the same 1979, the outgoing Brazilian Ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Geraldo de Heraolino de Lima declared that "Brazil is opposed to South Africa's apartheid policy."(16) That was when he paid a courtesy farewell call on the then Nigerian Head of State, General Obasanjo. In his own reply, General Olusegun Obasanjo called on Brazil to "identify herself more positively and directly with the aspirations of Africans as far as South Africa was concerned."(17) On the same issue of apartheid, the former Brazilian President Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo in 1980, while receiving the former Nigerian Senate President delegation, during the 2nd Republic Joseph Wayas, in Brazilia was quoted as also saying that "he would do everything to erase apartheid and racist discrimination from South Africa."(18) He also said that 'Brazil was opposed to racial discrimination

and would continue to support the struggle against apartheid."(19) He further informed Joseph Waya's delegation that his statement against apartheid during the visit of President of Guinea Bissau, Luis Cabral reflected his total conviction on the evil of apartheid. Wayas had earlier noted that "while Nigeria was very much encouraged by Brazil's present stand on racist Pretoria regime, there was room for more concrete steps in collaboration with Nigeria to eradicate apartheid from African continent'

At the international level however, what sustains apartheid and its illegal occupation of Namibia is the refusal of European countries and the U.S.A. to implement the economic and military sanctions approved countless times by the U.N.O. From our studies it has been discovered that it is not only these countries that ignore the international community's pleas against apartheid. Brazil also maintains extensive diplomatic, economic, commercial and aviation relations with the racist regime,(21) a fact which its resounding phrases in the bilateral relations with Nigeria are never able to disguise. What is well disguised are its military links with Pretoria, not formalised by the signing of treaties, but nevertheless real.(22)

According to a respected Brazilian journalist, Newton Carlos, for example, the official Banco do Brazil's foreign comercial desk itself informs that Brazil is exporting arms to South Africa.(23)

Today, according to Abdias do Nascimento, "the black community in Brazil is tired of so much hyprocrisy." He went further to say that "the Aryan-pure dandies of the "carriere" continue declaring their anti-racism and "condemning" apartheid, while Brazil shelters the racists' diplomatic representation, which distributes to Brazilians firms and Universities, and population in general, its glossy colour magazine Panorama, carrying the praises and propaganda of apartheid.(24) Brazil's major international airlines, Varig, flies to Johannesburg once a week, carrying commerce and business concerns to South Africa. Brazil gives space to tourist advertising, supported by the official Brazilian tourist agency Embrateur, portraying South Africa as "a country of marvels" inviting to all. Brazil exchanges millions of dollars worth of trade with the racist regime.(25)

It was also noted during the Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Policy that Brazil's close ties with South Africa could be illustrated by the presence of over three hundred South African families

in Brazil (most of them employed in the labour force as technicians and skilled workers). This has caused apprehension among black Brazilians that there may be an intensification of racism.(26)

Where this leads us is that Brazil comes into every possible contradiction with the economic and other sanctions voted by the U.N. and Nigeria's strong position on the issue which also contradicts the spirit of South-South relations.

Brazil, as already mentioned is the second largest country in the world with black population after Nigeria, with black population of over 40 million, which constitutes 44% of 120 million population of Brazil.(27) This factor points to the common struggle which Nigeria and Brazil must share i.e. the fight to eradicate racism whereever it exists in the ?World. Yet Brazil openly seeks parallel relations with South Africa. Her trade amounted to 60 million US dollars in 1975, the greatest among Latin American countries. Brazil has always displayed reluctance to vote in favour of forceful measures against apartheid South Africa.(28)

The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations has however responded to complaints of Afro-Brazilians and of African Ambassadors, particularly Nigeria's

Timothy Anacle Mgbokwere, (who made a moving appeal to Brazil to consider the extent to which its extensive commercial involvements support the apartheid regime, and who refused an interview to Jornal do Brazil on the grounds of its pro-apartheid stand), with an allegation remarkably similar to that of Ronald Reagan's "constructive engagement." The Brazilian Foreign Ministry (Itamarati) maintains that only by continuing its relations with South Africa will Brazil be able to extend its"positive anti-racist influence" over the South African authorities.(29) This goes to suggest that Brazil is very much hand in glove with apartheid South Africa. Whereas at international conferences and at official interactions with Nigeria, her posture is different. For example, at the international conference on sanctions against South Africa in (Paris, 20 - 27 May 1981) the official representative of the Brazilian government stated that:

> ... Brazil has openly condemned the apartheid policy of South Africa, as well as South African military invasion of Angola, Zambia and recently Mozambique. The Brazilian position of course arises from our respect for the basic principles of the U.N. Charter, as well as from the non-racial character of our society and the experience we have in ethnic integration. The Brazilian government, therefore rejects apartheid as a

> marked violation of human rights and as a threat to international peace and security. The ideology, totally foreign to Brazilian reality, is condemned by all in Brazil, as can be seen on occasion such as the celebration of international Day for the elimination of racial discrimination, Namibia day, the anniversary of the Universal declaration of human rights and other solemn occasions that refer to what happened in the fight for Southern African Liberation. (30)

Judging from these pronouncements, it will appear as if the Brazilian foreign policy is very much in line with Nigeria's position on support and solidarity for black human rights all over the world. But the question could be asked as to Brazil's record with regard to treatment of black people, even in its own territory? "If the truth must be told, her record is unimpressive, if not downright despicable. At home, her black citizens clearly live as second class citizens. In relation to South Africa, Brazil has consistently maintained an ambigously clear position in support of apartheid."(31) For example, rarely are Afro-Brazilians seen working in banks, restaurants, airline companies, big stores, or other professions which require direct dealing with the public. Racial selection is already seen in advertisements for employment when they require "good appearance. This expression, we know perfectly means: "We do not accept Blacks." It is not by chance that 83.1% of Black women and 92.4% Blackmen

are concentrated in occupations connected with non-qualified manual work.(32) Or 4/5 of the Afro-Brazilian labour force fall within occupation characterised by low income and school level.(33)

Black Brazilian community is also already accustomed to police harassments, brutality and violence: when dealing in neighbourhoods and residences of the white ruling class, police action is to protect; but referring to slums and popular peripheral areas, where the Black population is concentrated, police action turns to repression. For this reason, Afro-Brazilians are afraid to go out without their identity cards, especially without their work card, one is liable to be arrested without just cause, tortured or simply murdered as a "dangerous delinquent."(34)

> "Now, in a society where racial discrimination is seen everyday in admission to employment (especially in the current recession period), one can imagine the only way out that the Afro-Brazilian worker finds: without a way out of police violence, he sells his labour at any price to a white boss who agrees to sign his work card. Furthermore, the Law Infractions Code in its Art. 159, reads that the practice of vagrancy (referring to unemployment) results in prison, so, it is easy to see that it is not permitted that a Black worker be out of work. It is not by chance that the jail population in our country is constituted mainly of Afro-Brazilians." (35)

Racial democracy could therefore be regarded humorously as 'racial division in work'. The black population is always pressed to remain in the lower scales of the social hierarchy.

Another ideological notion that defines Afro-Brazilian identity is the ideology of whitening, or simply whitening. According to Carlos Hasenbalg, "in Brazil's self image, the negro is almost invisible. Its most objective expression is in the text of Decree-Law 1967 (of September 18, 1985), which states in its 2nd Article, the following.(36)" "In admitting immigrants, one will keep in mind the need to preserve and develop the characteristics in the ethnic composition of the population which are most convenient to its European lineage as well as defense of the national worker".(37) Despite this type of preoccupation, such an ideal has not come true in demographic terms, since the Black population has reverted to its growth process beginning in the 1960s. However, from the cultural point of view, whitening is there, trying to demonstrate to the African historical contribution in building Brazilian socio-cultural heritage.

While the racial democracy myth works at public and official levels, whitening defines Afro-Brazilians

at the private level and at two other levels. In a conscious dimension it reproduces what whites among themselves say with regard to Blacks, and this constitutes a full repertoire of popular expressions, punctuated by negative images of Blacks: "A Whiteman running is an athlete, a Blackman running is a thief"; "If a Blackman does not do something dirty when he enters some where you may be sure he'll do it when he leaves"; and "A white woman to marry, a mulatto, to fornicate and a Black woman to work." This latter expression points to the second level in which whitening mechanisms are processed: a more unconscious level which corresponds to the stereotyping of roles and places attributed to Blackman or woman. Thus he or she is represented as a heavy work labourer, non-qualified; or else as someone who has managed to rise socially, but always within channels of social mobility considered adequate for him or her. Positive images are those in which Blacks play social roles assigned to them by the system: singer and/or composer of popular music; soccer player, and mulatto woman. In all these images there is a common element: the Black person is seen as an object of entertainment. This cultural typification of Blacks also points to another common element condensed in corporal

attributes: strength/physical resistance, rhythm/ sexuality.(38)

It is worth noting that the popular expression previously cited, "White woman to marry, mulato to fornicate and blackwoman to work" has become a privileged synthesis of how Blackwoman is seen in Brazilian society: as a body that works and that is super-exploited economically, she is cleaning woman, cook and washer woman - "heavy worker" of the white families for whom she works; as a body that generates pleasure - and that is super-exploited sexually - she is the mullato woman of Carnaval Parades for tourists and of porno films, whose sensuality is included in the category of the "erotic-exotic".(39)

Judging from the above, it is not difficult to see that the statements contained in the Brazilian government's message to the Paris Conference, (except reproduced) sound not only false, but quite misleading, not only to the Afro Brazilians active in the Black movement, but to Africans who arrive in Brazil newly. Brazilian "Africanity" like "racial democracy" highlighted in the Brazilian official discourse directed specially to Africa, are no more than, as Afro-Brazilians say among

themselves, just "folklore".(40) In his communication to the 1st International Brazil-Africa Seminar, held at the Centre for Afro-Asian Studies, in August 1981, Professor Jose Maria Nunes Pereira, having characterised the historical process of proximity/separation/proximity between Brazil and the African continent, said:

> Brazilian technicians, executives and businessmen, along with an easy relationship with Africans in Africa, display an aggressive paternalism - the classic form of Brazilian racism (...)
>
> The first image Africans have of racial inequalities in Brazil appears as soon as they get off the plane at the Airport of Rio de Janeiro, the usual port of entry to the country. They see practically no Blacks in the first echelons of the airport staff; they are present only in maintenance and cleaning services. Later, in meetings at Ministries, here come the negroes to serve the coffee, as usual. One or another Black public relations officer in companies that export to Africa do not change the reality detected by the African as soon as he arrives in Brazil. (41)

In addition, not rarely are African students, taken for Afro-Brazilians, arrested by the police as vagrants (unemployed) since they are also black, and, as such, suspect.

Moreover, Brazilian "white superiority" ignored almost everything referring to the African continent; with exception of news of unforeseen events (wars,

coups d'état and riots), Brazilians are very much uninformed about African political and cultural processes. In this sense, Africa does not escape the stereotypes which began with films like Tarzan. One is frequently asked this question, by so called 'cultured' persons. Ah! have you been in that African country? What is the dialect spoken there? The stereotype functions as follows: Since Africans are 'savages' and 'backward', they only speak in dialects, because only civilised people can speak a language!!(4'b)

Despite 'ecumenical, pragmatic and responsible' policy of the Giesel government (1974 - 1979) through which Brazil embarked on a path of closer relations with Africa, a series of obstacles, such as the ideological tenor we have attempted to depict here are still to be overcome.(42)

These are Brazil's posture towards racist S. Africa, its own policies towards Black Brazilians and its economic drive and interests on the African continent. Dr. A. Akindele, former Director of Research of the N.I.I.A., Lagos, speaking on the occasion of the first International Brazil-Africa Seminar at the Centre for Afro-Asian Studies in August 1981 put it this way:

> The first problem area is Southern Africa. Africa is still very much worried with the contradictions and ambivalences in Brazilian policy for South Africa. We are perfectly aware that, although Brazil verbally condemns the South African government for its criminal policy and for apartheid, Brazil continues to expand its trade with that country, and has refused to aid liberation movements in South Africa and what is most disappointing for many African countries, Brazil has refused to endorse the O.A.U. position that only armed conflict will resolve the problems of political change in that part of the continent. (43)

It is also in contradiction of Nigeria's stand on the rights of the Black race whereever they may be that her close trading partner Brazil should ignore the Afro-Brazilian population. The latter do not influence the articulation, formulation or implementation of Brazilian policy. Therefore, Brazil's cultural, historical and economic interests with Nigeria and the African continent as a whole is put into question.

The other problem is the nature of Brazil's economic relations with Nigeria. Brazil pays a lot of attention to trade and bank investments in its relations with Nigeria and many African countries. One has the impression that Brazil sees Nigeria and then African countries firstly, as a market for its manufactured products, and only secondarily as an economy or a series of economies to be assisted in

their development, by means of investment and transfer of technology.(44)

Nations that have accepted the equality of races should assume international obligation to foster these rights. The commitment of Nigeria to the protection of blacks all over the world, the emphasis is that an increased economic and social interaction between Nigeria and Brazil, in which Brazilian blacks do not participate and benefits would be difficult to justify to the Nigerian people. Here lies the contradiction. Hence, prerequisite for mutual cooperation needs to be decided by the two countries.

There could be enormous differences in the social set up between the two countries, but this does not discountenance the fact that there are shared aspirations namely, "Justice for all race", which makes it imperative for the two countries to work together to accomplish common objectives. This does not amount to interfering in the internal affairs of one another, rather it is an attempt to fulfil the implementation of international action against apartheid and racism.(45) This point can be drawn closer home if one recollects that even the United States linked the sale of wheat to Jewish emigration

from the Soviet Union. Over forty nations excluded themselves from the 1980 Olympics in Moscow to demonstrate their opposition to the abuse of the sovereign rights of Afghanistan, and Over thirty nations boycotted the Commonwealth games in 1986.

Political and diplomatic relations with Nigeria will generally be warm and receptive. This warmth and receptivity however predicates on Brazil's general attitude towards the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and particularly relations with South Africa. Its relations with South Africa are primarily economic. Anyhow it has tended to keep its diplomatic relations with the country at a low level, and she has since the mid 70's tended to adhere to UN resolutions against S. Africa, especially those relating to sporting activities and aggression against other African States. But she has not been so disposed as regards resolutions calling for mandatory economic sanctions. With increasing pressures from Nigeria, it is hoped that Brazil may be more disposed towards supporting Nigerian interests in the UN as regards the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. In turn, this will win Nigerian support for Brazilian interests in the U.N. and any other I.G.O's.

The principal objective of Nigeria on political front should be directed towards winning Brazil into the Freedom Fighters Camp. In view of the latest events in colonial Africa, this should present little or no problem. To accomplish this, Nigeria should promote a greater knowledge of not only Nigeria but Africa as a whole. This strategy will serve the useful purpose of naturalising the reference to Portugal on issues affecting Africa by the Brazilians. It will also serve a better awareness and understanding of Nigerians and African people as a whole. Such will facilitate better understanding of African points of view on decolonisation. More importantly however, is constant and continuing dialogue on international issues."

5.3 South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO)?

Regarding Nigeria-Brazil cooperation in the South Atlantic, geographical contiguity is a factor that is important in Nigeria-Brazil relations. The significance is in relation to the defense of the South Atlantic ocean. The South Atlantic does not only unite Brazil with Africa in economic alliance but also presents the possibility of "a broad intercontinental policy, the improvement of her defence and security issues."(46)

Brazil and Nigeria have indicated the need to create a South Atlantic Pact. But the reasons the two countries have offered contrast their respective individual positions, especially as regards the South African question. While Brazil sees in the South Atlantic Pact a buffer organisation against communist expansion and underplays the action against apartheid South Africa, Nigeria sees a South Atlantic Pact which would foster regional military security and economic development to include a military isolation of apartheid regime to which Nigeria is so strongly opposed. The eventual establishment of such an organisation therefore, will face the problem of crisis of expectations and ambiguity over intentions.

Since 1977 there have been rumours that Brazil, Argentina and South Africa backed by the U.S. have been planning the formation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO);(47) and that such an organisation will be modelled on the NATO system. In an interview with the African mirror, the Brazilian Ambassador to the United Nations Mr. Sergio Correa da Costa said that the "Brazilian Government has no plans whatsoever or has it ever had .... for any strategic or military alliance in

the South Atlantic involving South Africa." Also in an interview with the African Mirror the Argentinian Ambassador to the U.N. pointed out that there have been meetings between Latin American countries in a joint inter-American Defence Board which was established by the treaty of Rio. Together the Latin American countries have joint naval exercises because of their concern for the safety of the South Atlantic. The Argentinian envoy however, went on to say that there has never been ... a time when either a joint statement for or exercise with South Africa was considered." That the possibility of Argentina or other nations, particularly South Africa, preparing a common strategy for South Atlantic defence has been a "misrepresentation."(48) Whatever the case these countries have expressed some concern about the safety of the South Atlantic particularly at the time of war. This is because about 80% of the foreign trade relations is by boat, especially for Argentina. It therefore appears that the possibility for the establishment of 'SATO' had been mentioned at one of the joint meetings. In spite of the denials by the two envoys recent developments have tended to confirm the fact that the possibility of the formation of 'SATO' is in progress. It has been

reported that in early June, 1981 a meeting of strategic experts from the U.S.A., Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and South Africa met in Buenos Aires to discuss the possibility of creating 'SATO'(49). Although it has equally been reported that the meeting was privately sponsored and not official. The four Latin American countries also attended ceremonies in Cape Town and Durban marking the 20th anniversary of the South African Republic. This further confirms the fact that the possibility of 'SATO' is under consideration.(50)

> Both the U.S. and South Africa are very much interested in the security of the South Atlantic region. The U.S. is particularly concerned about an increase in Soviet influence in Southern Africa and naval presence in the Indian Ocean. It is therefore possible that in order to check this growing influence and presence, the U.S. would like to strengthen the countries of the South Atlantic region through the creation of 'SATO' for the defense of the South Atlantic sealane. South Africa on its part is interested in the defense of its apartheid system and is increasingly afraid of Soviet support of Southern African Liberation Movements. Defense cooperation with NATO and with SATO would increase its defensive position against such forces that threaten her. (51)

The Brazilian concern with communism has inevitably steered the country into a pro-Western policy path and a preoccupation with security. Even though the allegation of seeking hegemony in

Latin America is also denied, Brazil nonetheless stresses her concern about communism which she perceives as a clear and ever-present danger in the Brazilian society. She therefore identifies the real danger in South Africa to be communism and not apartheid. Brazil also assumes that S. Africa may run into the communist orbit and the Soviet Union may pose a threat to African States subsequently. The Brazilian strategy therefore is to combat communism in Latin America and in the South Atlantic. Hence the strong strategic relations that Brazil appears to be cultivating with S. Africa in recent time is aimed at establishing a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) and basically designed to police the South Atlantic from Soviet Communist influence.(52) This relationship with South Africa points to the fact that Brazil has not accepted the view of African States that the only remaining instrument that can be used to bring about the desirable political solution to the S. African problem is military force.

To Nigeria, the Soviet Union does not constitute a threat to African States. In fact, the Soviet Union among other powers has been relatively more consistent in her support of African countries and has also demonstrated the willingness to support

African cause: why then should Nigeria decline to accept her hand of fellowship? Since Nigeria has identified the Soviets as supportive of African problems, especially the Southern African problems, it is only logical that they should be encouraged. According to a Nigerian participant at the "Nigeria-Brazil Dialogue on Foreign Policy",

> there is no basis for a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation."(53) His argument is that the question of strategic cooperation between Nigeria and Brazil irrelevant because Brazil identifies communism as the real threat to be dealt with in South Africa and the South Atlantic, while Nigeria identifies apartheid and the associated evils as the major threat."(54)

Nevertheless, there is the need for both Brazil and Nigeria to realise the potentially strategic importance of the South Atlantic Ocean in both countries' quest for industrialisation; moreso that the Northern countries have converted the ocean into dumping ground for nuclear waste. This poses a potential threat to acquatic and even human lives. There is therefore need that efforts be geared towards initiating a process of dialogue for some form of mutually beneficial arrangements, to free the common threat by banding together to exert

that this would be a question of collective security in all its aspects - economic, political and military. "What we want is a nuclear free,

aggression free South Atlantic where cooperation rather than confrontation will be the guiding principle", he said.

He, however, made it clear that the three countries would seek to turn the region into a haven of peace, to create a new world order based on justice, freedom and economic cooperation. The three countries would also commit themselves to the encouragement and respect for rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religi in the region. He drew the attention of the seminar to organisations like the NATO, SEATO and the ANZUS. He said "these bodies which are first and foremost military blocs" were formed according to the member states, by and large for the collective security of states in the area. He also said that it was obvious that the strategic importance of the both Atlantic would engage the minds of military and diplomatic planners more seriously than ever before. According to him: "It is therefore, essential and indeed imperative that by taking the initiative we ensure that others with better technical equipment and military might, do not take action that will be inimical to our interests".(56

The question now remains how the quest for safeguarding Nigeria's sovereingnty and the fight for human rights regardless of race, or religion will be reconcilied with Brazil's pragmatic, but purely political and economic calculations as regards the 'SATO'.

This strategic development is of great significance in Nigeria-Brazil relations because a defense cooperation with South Africa would only serve to incense Nigeria, and in fact African States that Brazil is only concerned with her economic interests in Africa and not with the political interests of African States in Southern Africa. Brazilian participation in SATO will greatly affect her economic interest and image in Nigeria and black Africa as a whole. Her desire to penetrate African markets particularly those of Nigeria and Angola are bound to suffer a set back. African States are not so much dependent on Brazil as much as Brazil depend on their market, so they can easily break economic ties in favour of other more traditional countries or make new ones. Brazil seems to have realised the delicate position it will find itself if she engages in defense cooperation with South Africa. It is reportedly participating in the discussion of SATO

the political sphere, the fact that in practice the two countries pursue conflicting political policies is a manifestation of the unequal nature of the ensemble of their relations.

CHAPTER V

FOOT NOTES

1. Hinjari W.L., 'Brazil's Foreign Relations With Black Africa' University of Pittsburg Nov. 1981. P.25 (unpublished).

2. Odutola A. "Expanding Diplomatic Relations between Nigeria and Brazil' - Paper presented at the Conference on Angola-Brazil-Nigeria South Atlantic Axes", N.I.I.A., Lagos April 1976; Also see Tokuta R.A. "Nigeria and Brazil: Problems and Prospects", Paper presented at the same seminar (unpublished) See also "O Globo" Rio de Janeiro 12/5/60.

3. Report of the Dialogue on Nigerian Brazilian Foreign Policy July 29 - August 1, 1980, N.I.I.A. Lagos p.28.

4. Ibid. p.28.

4b. Ibid.

5. Tokuta R.A. op.cit.

6. Aluko O., Brazil and Nigeria: What kind of Partnership? in Daily Sketch of 18/11/72 p.6.

7. Abdias do Nascimento, 'Brazil: Accomplice to the crime of Apartheid "Folha de Sao Paulo" May 25, 1983.
Also see Jide Aluko op.cit. p.6.

8. Abdias do Nascimento ibid.

9. See ChaptersII and III of this thesis.

10. Hinjari op.cit.

11. Rodrigues J.H., 'Brazil and Africa Beckley: University of Carlifornia p.213 - 255.

12. Report of the Nigerian-Brazilian Dialogue on Foreign Relations op.cit.

13. Ogwu J.U. Nigerian Forum, N.I.I.A. "Perspective on a Dialogue "Nigeria/Brazil p.168.

14. Mazrui A.A. "African conditions" - Reith Lectures", London Heinemann p.XI.

15. A Report in the Nigerian Herald to the effect that "Nigeria-Brazil reached accord" after the visit of Yar'Adua's visit to Brazil to Brazil in 1979, Nigerian Herald 15/1/79 p.9, Also see the communique that emerged out the discussions with the officials of both countries, after the visit.

16. Ibid. p.9.

17. Newspaper Report titled "Brazil opposes Apartheid-Envoy" in the Sunday Times of 18/2/79. p.32.

18. Newspaper Report captioned "Brazil's Support in War Against Apartheid Assured" in the New Nigerian of 1/9/80 p.24.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Abdias do Nascimento op.cit.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Report of the Dialogue on the Nigerian Brazilian Foreign Policy op.cit.

27. Brazilian Census figure of 1980 (The Blacks officially called Preto and Pardo AFRODIASPORA, Journal of Black World Thought 2nd Ed. 1981.

28. Lelia Gonzalez, 'Brazilian support of the Namibian Cause. Difficulties and Possibilities, in AFRODIASPORA(2) Journal of Black World Thoughts. U.N. Symposium in support of Namibia's cause in Latin America (San Jose 16 - 19 August, 1983 p.24 - 32.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Peter Olamu, 'Apartheid and the Brazil-Nigeria Countertrade in National Concord of 20/9/85 p.3.

32. Lelia Gonzalez p.25.

33. Araujo Costa Oliveira e Gonzalez, 'Mulher Negra: Uma Proposta de Articulacao etre Raca, Classe, e Sexo, Rio de Janeiro 1983, as contained in Leila Gonzalez op.cit. p.25.

34. Ibid. p.26.

35. Ibid. p.26.

36. Hazebalg, Carlos' and Gonzalez, Leila (1982: Lugar de Negro (Place of Black) Rio de Janeiro, (edited by Marcio Zero) p.184.

37. Ibid. 106.

38. Ibid. 106.

39. AFRODIASPORA, Journal of Black World Thoght(2) p.26. Op.cit.

40. Gonzalex, 1979, Hasenbalg and Gonzelez 1982 op.cit. AFRODIASPORA.

41. AFRODIASPORA op.cit. p.27.

41b. Ibid.

42. Ibid. p.28.

43. The except can be read in full in the report produced by the Centre of Afro-Asian Studies in Aug. 1981, on the 'First International Brazil-Africa-Seminar.' For the part quoted here, see the Journal of Black World Thought op.cit., on the U.N. Symposium in Support of Namibia's cause in Latin America in an article by Leila Gonzalez. Brazil: Internal Contradictions and External Ambiguities p.29.

44. Ibid.

45. Nigerian Forum N.I.I.A. Lagos, July 1981, p.170.

46. Rodrigues op.cit. p.309.

47. African Mirror Dec. 1977, p.32 in Hinjari op.cit.

48. Ibid. p.33.

49. Africa Research Bulletin: Economic Financial and Technical Series Vol.18, No.6, July 15, 1981 p.6096, in Hinjari op.cit.

50. Ibid. p.6096.

51. Hinjari op.cit. p.14.

52. Dialogue on Nigerian/Brazilian Foreign Policy op.cit. p.9.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. See "Address of the Honourable Commissioner for External Affairs. Rt. Brig. Joseph Garba to the Seminar on the Role of Angola-Brazil-Nigeria Axis on the South Atlantic, N.I.I.A., Lagos, 13/4/76.

56. Ibid.

57. African Research Bulletin: in Hinjri op.cit. p.14.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this study we have analysed a case of South-South relation between Nigeria and Brazil with a view to finding out whether in our particular case there is a replication of the dependency structure as observed in North-South relations or whether there are fundamental differences in this nature of relations.

Our study shows that although Nigeria and Brazil are both dependent economies there exists an assymetrical level of development between them. This, we found tend to replicate the North/South unequal relations in favour of Brazil. We established in the study that Brazil had attained a much higher level of industrialization than Nigeria. It has established well organised and export-oriented industries. Btazilian manufactured goods find their way into Nigerian markets, the same way the goods from the North do. These range from raw materials to finished goods. On the other hand, in relations with Brazil, Nigeria remains a primary producer of such products (with low added value) as cocoa, groundnuts palm-kernel, cotton, rubber and crude petroleum oil.

Trade between the two countries is heavily biased towards Brazilian imports of petroleum and exports of

manufactured industrial products. As a result of this structural imbalance in trade, Nigeria has since 1973 had a deficit in its balance of trade with Brazil. An increase in exports has not been possible. Nigeria's capacity to import consequently declined considerably.

It is clear that Brazilian relations with Nigeria follow the classical pattern of North-South economic relations. Brazil, like the developed countries seeks to penetrate the economies of other less developed countries through its MNCs (what has been referred to as subimperialism). This is the case for example of Giant Parastatals like Petrobras which play a dynamic role in penetrating new markets including Nigeria. The Brazilian companies are infact mostly intermediate companies of the TNC of the capitalist world. This is also the case of the Automobile companies. Most of the parts used in the Volkswagen Assembly Plants in Nigeria are supplied by Brazil.

In 1984 Nigeria and Brazil entered into a counter-trade agreement in which Nigeria was to sell to Brazil 100,000 barrels of oil a day in exchange for various imports from Brazil including completely knocked down parts (CKD) of Volkswagen cars. Opposition to aspects of this counter-trade agreement was cited by the new rulers in Nigeria as one of the factors responsible for

the coup of August 26/27, 1985, presumably because its intentions were distorted by certain interests to favour imports which would not have promoted Nigeria's long term economic development. This is a further testimony to the intensive penetration into Nigerian market. Nigeria sells quality crude oil very cheaply to Brazil in exchange for manufactured goods.

Our study also showed that Brazil's relations with Nigeria are primarily governed by the economic motive. Brazil's emphasis on historical cultural and colonial links is intended to create a stable base for the economic relations. As a result of a systematic exploitation of these links, Brazil's exports to Nigeria today are the most diversified of all African countries.

The differences in the political stance between the two countries is best demonstrated in the respective attitudes of both countries to apartheid South Africa. Again, the internal economic interests dictate the terms rather than the political solidarity that one could expect between two countries in the South. Brazil has not been as forceful as Nigeria in its fight against racism. To the contrary her positions have often condoned it. It has been alleged[1] that Nigerian oil sold to Brazil is subsequently re-exported to South Africa in exchange for hard currency US dollars.

Moreso that South africa has always been prepared to pay as much as 30% higher than world prices for petroleum products supplied to it, because its continued existence in the face of limited voluntary sanctions imposed against it by few countries, depends on it. This means that Brazil is making a fortune at Nigeria's expense. What is more worrying still, is that Nigeria would unconsciously or inadvertently be propping up the apartheid edifice. Apart from Brazil's flirtation with apartheid South Africa, she also has a poor record on racial issues affecting black people in Brazil itself. This, from political view point is very disturbing, and if these are what is meant by horizontal cooperation between two South countries, one must hasten to say that no discernible difference is seen between this kind of relationship and that between Nigeria, for example, and imperialist nations.

Horizontal cooperation between two South countries is not fundamentally different from the vertical North/South cooperations. Political positions are dictated by the economic interests of any one country and their capacity to push positions is a reflection of the economic power such countries wield. Just as the MNCs have served as agents of neo-colonialism, trade between Nigeria and Brazil could also become another form of neo-colonialism

by proxy.

Further research should be carried out on ways in which other terms of cooperation, not merely based on trade could be carried out. A more global attitude towards development issues should be cultivated. This would show that the pursuit of individual interests by South countries could be detrimental rather than helpful in the advancement and growth of the specific economies.

Despite the apparent assymetries of economic ties, Nigeria and Brazil possess ample reasons for the continued cultivation of friendship. A mutual desire for economic growth is the most basic ingredient in this regard, but in addition, each country should have a direct practical interest in the advancement of the other.

Trade alone cannot be exclusive basis for relations between the two countries. The inspired men who wrote the Bible some thousands of years ago asserted that "man cannot live by bread alone". No where is this statement more applicable than in interactions between Nigeria and Brazil. They share a lot more than in commerce. As already indicated, history has made the two countries children of the same family, economics can only make them partners. But the two combined would make them formidable allies.(2)

The factor of ethnic ties between the two countries place an additional element that is unique among pairs in the South. Brazil is the home of over 40 million blacks of African descent. As a Brazilian Ambassador declared in New York in 1977 'Brazil is the second largest African country after Nigeria in terms of population.'

Sovereign states in international politics have interests that cut across territorial boundaries. Nigeria as the largest and most endowed African country demonstrates, in its foreign policy, interest in the black diaspora wherever they may be. The lack of black Brazilians in influential positions, and their scarcity in the relationship with Africa is a great cause for concern. In a random search through Nigerian press reports between the year 1968 and 1985, it is observed that even the public and press opinion sympathetic to the economic advantages of Brazil in its relations with Nigeria, find it difficult to justify morally the de-facto exclusions of blacks from Brazil - Africa relations when Brazil claims to be second only to Nigeria in size of black population.(3)

The economic and political powerlessness of black Brazilians appears to be a reflection of the inconsequential role (or lack of role) that they play in the making of Brazilian foreign policy. This defficiency may not be in

harmony with Brazil's official doctrine of "racial democracy". Given Nigeria's official expression of concern for the black diaspora as a principle, this contradiction in Brazil's approach to Africa would give a litmus test to the durability of relationship between the two countries. As Brazil begins a new era of participatory democracy in a plural society, the Nigerian people would like to see black Brazilians not only as potential power brokers for African interests in Brazil, but also for Brazilian interest in Africa.

Also, the racial question within Brazil and the so-called pragmatist flirtation with apartheid South Africa could well affect, negatively, Brazil's design in Africa. The extent to which Brazil is able to 'straighten' out itself in terms of this contradiction would go a long way to inform on the kind of political relationship she is going to have with Nigeria in the future.

Finally, Nigeria should resist attempts to sustain Brazil's economic interests by making Nigeria a dumping ground for some Brazilian manufacturers. A well coordinated economic relations has got to be deviced. This economic programme should be more pragmatic than the present "standard" economic agreement in operation between

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the two countries, if relations between them are to be mutually beneficial in the spirit of cooperation between countries of the South.

Nyerere has very succintly stated the pitfalls in the Brazil-Nigeria type of cooperation:

> ...South-South cooperation cannot be developed along the pattern of past North-South interactions. Within the Third World there are the poor and the less poor, there are the large and the small; the land-locked and the littoral states. If within the Third World, those with advantages seek to exploit the weaker ones, then we shall simply repeat, among ourselves, and at a lower level, the kind of dependence which now exists between the South and the North. And if we try to establish systems of Third World cooperation which would produce reasonably balanced results only on condition that all started equal, then we shall intensify the inequalities which now exist between us (4)

The significance of Nyerere's views raise a very fundamental point in the whole South-South problematique i.e. the exploitative relationships in South-South exchange. These views, no doubt, are proving prophetic in terms of the present state of relations between Nigeria and Brazil.

Foot Notes

1. Olowu, J. Apartheid and the Brazil-Nigeria counter-trade' National Concord, 20/9/85 p. 3.

2. Ogwu, U.J. "Dimensions of Nigeria-Brazil Relations". National Concord, 4/4/85. p.3.

3. Ibid.

4. Nyerere, J. "South-Souther option" in Gauher A., "South-South Strategy: Third World Foundation, London, 1983, p. 916.

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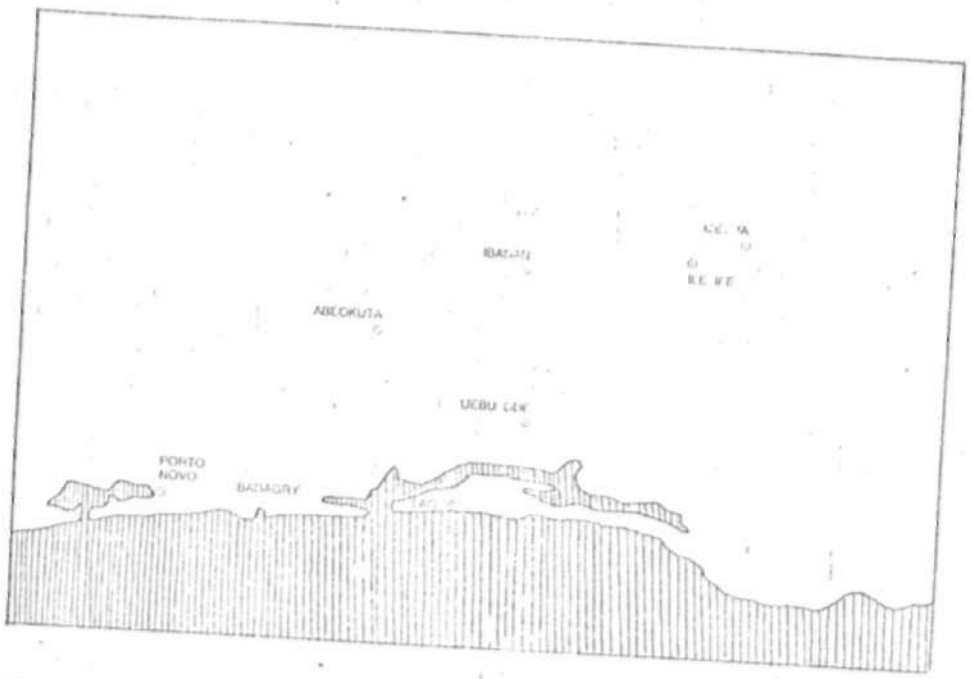
Fashina E., Cultural Attache Brazilian Embassy.

PLATE I



Source: Massimo Marafatto (1983)

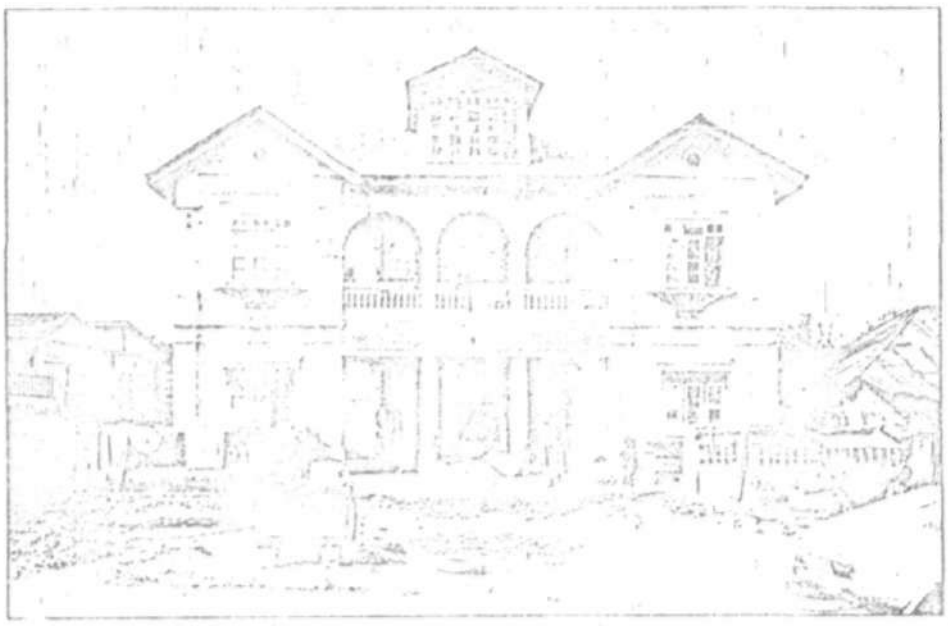
PLATE II

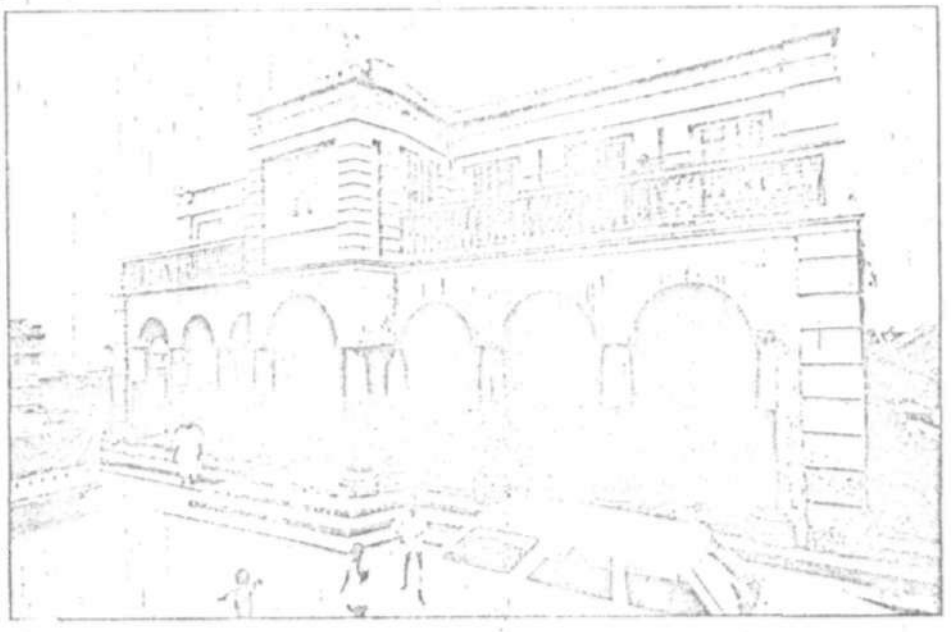




Source: Massimo Marafatto (1983)

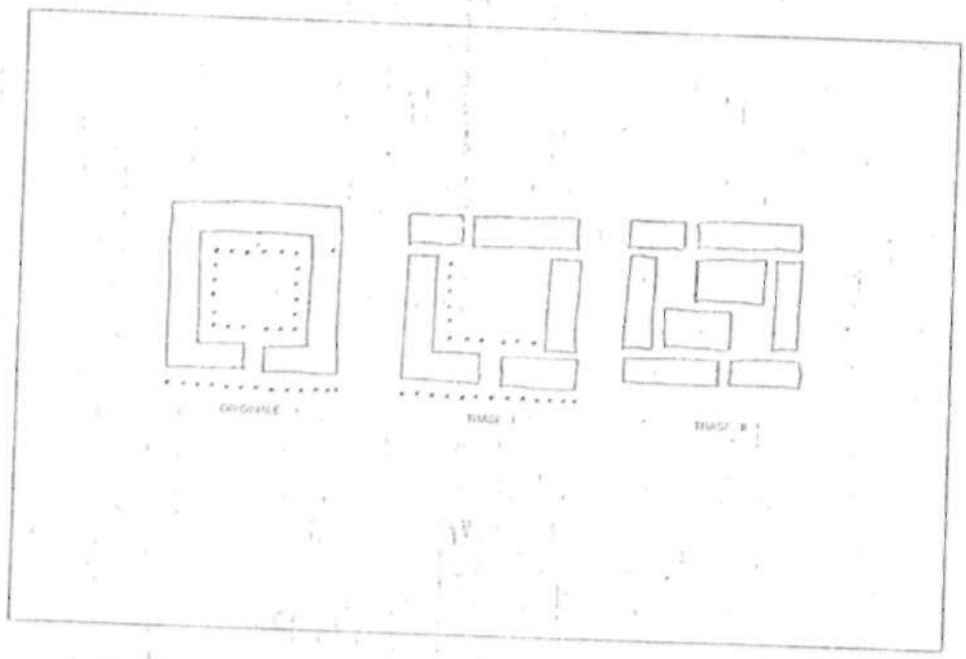
PLATE III

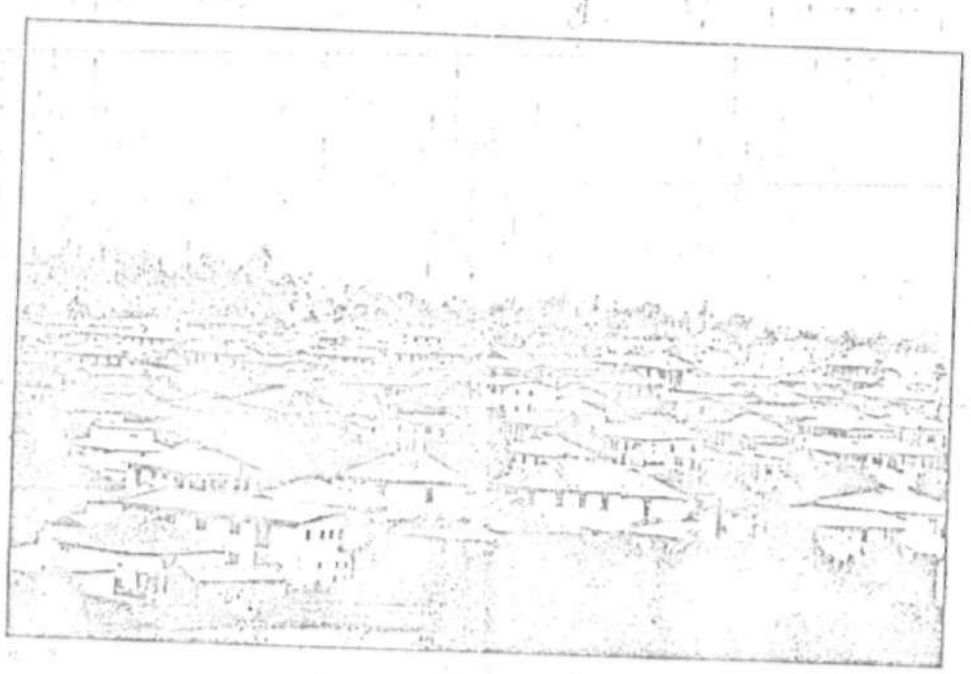




Source: Massimo Marafatto (1983)

PLATE IV





Source: Massimo Marafatto (1983)

MAP 4.1 The Map Showing Various Brazilian Nigerian House Locations.



LAGOS ISLAND: Buildings and Monuments of historical and cultural value.

Source: Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters: Urban and Regional Planning Division, UNDP Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos, April, 1983.

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APPENDIX V

INVENTORY LIST OF HISTORICAL BUILDINGS AND MONUMENTS IN LAGOS STATE

First Generation Brazilian Residences, Lagos Island

- Freeman Street 80, 15, 52, Epetedo
- Gambari Street 2,6, 17, 25 Epetedo
- Oshodi Street 49, 50 Epetedo
- Lewis Street 66, 73, 76, Okesuna
- Okesuna Street 15, 16, 18, Okesuna
- Igbosere Street 149, 195, 205
- Oil Mill Street 43.

Brazilian Influence

- Isale Mosque (1911) Imaja Square

Brazilian Influence

- Arimi Ojikutu, Apena Street 7
- Abobene Madchin House, Olaja Street 3
- Central Mosque (1931) Oke Balogun Street

Brazilian Architecture

- Elias de Silva House, 1880, Elias/Odutege Street, Ita Agarawu
- Fernadez House (Ilojo Bar), 1880, Tinubu Square
- Vaughan House, Kakawa Street 29.
- Water House (Dan Rocha House), 1895, Kakawa Street 12.
- Doherty Villa, 1895, Campos Square

Colonial/Brazilian Architecture

- Cuban Lodge, 1931, Odunlami Street 40.

Source: Ministry of Economic Planning and Land Matters. Urban and Regional Planning Division , UNDP Master Plan for Metropolitan Lagos, April, 1983.