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White Bank, Black Money

Brazilian Geopolitical of the Brazilian Development Bank to Financing Odebrecht in Angola

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ABSTRACT: Living in a racial segregated country, I understand the premise to enlarge and to deepen those debates about inequalities resulted of racial prejudice and discrimination. This paper theme is a proposition to criticize territory of money as consequence of Brazilian geopolitical intervention thru public bank fomentation to large companies interested in accumulation of capital. The objective presupposes to analyses relations of power linked to Brazilian geopolitical of the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) financing to Odebrecht in Angola. Therefore, analyses are stablished in three scales. The first one, which reflection method is based in Franz Fanon, through perception that without a transformation, the system of colonization, domination, subordination, remains on substitution of elites, who negotiate exploration of the nature and local people by interests imputed to the territory. It becomes strategic to be in the place of leadership in the reconstruction of states destroyed by armed conflicts as civil wars, but only in those that have strategic benefits as petroleum, gas, and ores. In Milton Santos, the method considers territory of uses, territory of money and perverse globalization as categories of analyses in which the experiences of oppression and racism lived by one is an important problem for thinking dispute of power. The second one, Brazilian foreign policy to Africa, here conceptualized as Africanist foreign policy, reproduced a commonly used geopolitical, this time from Brazil to Africa, mainly Angola. Based on the substitution of one colonized elite to another dominated one, there's a continuity of nature exploration in other to the benefit of an specific group. As the period of Brazilian foreign policy distance to Africa strengthen racial talks to that continent, the rapprochement since 2003 reproduced the same foreign policy executed by colonialists nations of the North. The third one, about BNDES financing as instrument to internationalization of Brazilian large companies, mainly working in the South region, like countries of Africa, based on continuing strategic policy to enforce some groups of enterprises and based on the absence of transparency and available information. The model of exploration in Brazil and from Brazil to Africa is the same used by white colonizers during Brazilian economic cycles of resources explorations like sugar, coffee, and gold and at the recent Brazilian industrialization. For more than five hundred years, Brazilian accumulation of capital has been the result of black people work however; the access of this money comes from a while elite. From 2003 to 2015, Odebrecht concentrated BNDES credit financing to services and construction in South America, Central America and Africa. Angola was the country that mostly accessed the Brazilian Nacional Bank financing. In my finals considerations I point out that ideological money maintained by racism reproduces exploration of black people, by a white elite with public money concerning private interesting. Inside Africanist foreign policy, Brazil reproduces the place of colonialist that explores African nature. Therefore, when the Brazilian National Bank concentrates financing

to Odebrecht, Brazil takes the disputes in Angola. I recommend the inclusion of black movement positions to Africanist foreign policy, the enlargement to access of BNDES financing and transparency policies.

Key Words: Brazilian Geopolitical 2. Racism 3. The Brazilian Development Bank Financing 4. Odebrecht at Angola

RESUMO: Enquanto vivemos em um país segregado pelo racismo, entendo por premissa ampliar e aprofundar os debates sobre as desigualdades resultantes da discriminação e do preconceito racial. O tema deste trabalho propõe-se a criticar o território do dinheiro, como consequência da intervenção da geopolítica brasileira por meio do estímulo de um banco público às ações da grande empresa com fins de acúmulo de capital. O objetivo pressupõe analisar as relações de poder vinculadas à geopolítica brasileira do financiamento do Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social (BNDES) para Odebrecht em Angola. Para tanto, as análises se estabelecem em três escalas. A primeira, cujo método de reflexão está posto em Franz Fanon, por meio da percepção de que sem uma transformação, o sistema de colonização, de dominação, de subordinação permanece por meio de uma substituição de elites que negociam a exploração da natureza, e, portanto, das pessoas, por interesses imputados ao território. Torna-se estratégico estar em posição de liderança na reconstrução de países destruídos por conflitos, como guerras civis, somente naqueles que há benefícios estratégicos, petróleo, gás, minérios. Em Milton Santos, o método considera o território usado, o território do dinheiro, da globalização perversa, como categorias de análise nas quais a experiência de opressão e racismo vividos pelo sujeito é, sim, o problema importante no pensamento da disputa de poder. A segunda, a política externa africanista executou uma reprodução de geopolítica do Brasil para África, especialmente em Angola. Por meio da substituição de uma elite colonizadora por outra dominadora, há uma continuidade da exploração da natureza em benefício de um grupo específico. Se os períodos de afastamento entre Brasil e África fortaleceram o discurso racista referente ao continente, a reaproximação após 2003 reproduziu a política externa tradicionalmente executada por nações colonizadoras vindas do hemisfério Norte. A terceira, sobre o financiamento do BNDES como mecanismo para a internacionalização de empresas brasileiras, proeminentemente nos países do Sul, especialmente em África, apoiada na manutenção de uma política estratégica de fortalecimento de determinados grupos empresariais e na ausência de transparência de informações. O modelo de exploração no Brasil e do Brasil para África é o mesmo usado

pelos colonizadores brancos na exploração dos ciclos econômicos e no processo contemporâneo de industrialização. O acúmulo de capital no Brasil em mais de quinhentos anos é realizado pelo trabalho do povo negro, entretanto, o acesso a esse dinheiro negro parte do poder decisório de uma elite branca. No período de 2003 a 2015, a Odebrecht concentrou aportes de crédito do BNDES para obras e serviços em países da América do Sul e África. Angola foi o país que mais acessou o financiamento. Nas minhas considerações finais, aponto que o dinheiro ideológico mantido pelo racismo reproduz a exploração de um povo negro por uma elite branca com uso do dinheiro público em prol de interesses privados. No ensejo da política externa africanista, o país reproduz o lugar de colonizador ao explorar a natureza em África. Assim, quando o BNDES concentra o financiamento na Odebrecht, o Brasil assume a disputa pelo poder em Angola. Recomendo, então, a inclusão do posicionamento de resistência negra na política externa, a ampliação no acesso ao financiamento do BNDES, com o uso de políticas de transparência.

Palavras-Chave: 1.Geopolítica brasileira 2. Racismo 3. Financiamento do BNDES 4. Odebrecht em Angola

RÉSUMÉ: Habitant dans un pays teinté de ségrégation raciale, je comprends l'importance d'agrandir et d'approfondir les débats sur les inégalités entraînées par des préjugés raciaux et par la discrimination.

Le sujet de ce travail est une invitation à critiquer le 'territoire de l'argent' qui est une conséquence de l'intervention géopolitique brésilienne à travers la fomentation par la banque publique des grandes entreprises intéressées par l'accumulation du capital.

L'objectif suppose d'analyser les rapports de force, liés à géopolitique brésilienne, de la Banque Brésilienne de Développement (BNDES) à l'organisation Odebrecht en Angola. Par conséquent, les analyses sont établies dans trois échelles.

La première échelle proposée est une réflexion reprenant la théorie de Franz Fanon, selon laquelle sans transformation, le système de la colonisation, de domination, de subordination, reste sur la substitution des élites, qui négocient l'exploitation de la nature et les populations locales pour des intérêts imputés à leur territoire. Il devient alors stratégique d'être en position de leadership dans la reconstruction des états détruits par les conflits armés, par les guerres civiles, mais seulement pour ceux qui ont des avantages stratégiques comme le pétrole, le gaz et des minerais. Selon Milton Santos, la méthode d'analyse considère le territoire visé, le territoire de l'argent et celui de la mondialisation perverse comme catégories d'analyses, dans lesquelles les expériences de l'oppression et du racisme vécu par chacun sont un problème important dans la dispute du pouvoir.

La seconde échelle d'analyse est celle de la politique étrangère brésilienne en Afrique, ici conceptualisée comme la politique étrangère africaniste, terme couramment utilisé en géopolitique, cette fois du Brésil à l'Afrique, principalement en Angola. Basée sur la substitution d'une élite colonisée par un autre groupe dominant, il existe une continuité de l'exploitation de la nature par un groupe déterminé au profit des autres.

La troisième et dernière échelle d'analyse concerne le financement par la banque BNDES des grandes entreprises brésiliennes, travaillant principalement dans la région du Sud, pour exemple les pays de l'Afrique, comme outil d'internationalisation renforçant les politiques stratégiques de certains groupes d'entreprises et fondé sur l'absence de transparence et d'information disponible. Le modèle d'exploitation au Brésil et du Brésil vers l'Afrique est le même que celui utilisé par les colonisateurs blancs au cours des cycles économiques brésiliens d'exploration des ressources tels que le sucre, le café, et de l'or et également lors de la récente industrialisation brésilienne. Depuis plus de cinq cents ans, l'accumulation du capital brésilien a été le résultat du travail de la population noire, cependant l'accès à cet argent reste à une élite blanche. De 2003 à 2015, l'organisation Odebrecht a concentré ses financements provenant de BNDES à des finalités de services et pour de la construction en Amérique du Sud, en Amérique centrale et en Afrique. L'Angola a été le pays qui a le plus bénéficié de ce financement de la part de la Banque nationale brésilienne.

C'est pour cela que dans mes conclusions, je souligne que l'idéologie monétaire est maintenue par le racisme qui reproduit l'exploitation des Noirs par une élite blanche avec de l'argent public dans le but d'intérêts privés.

Au travers de sa politique étrangère africaniste, le Brésil reprend la place du colonialiste qui exploite la nature africaine. Par conséquent, lorsque la Banque nationale brésilienne maintient ses financements à l'organisation Odebrecht, le Brésil prend part aux conflits en Angola.

Je recommande l'intégration des propositions issues des mouvements noirs à la politique étrangère africaniste, l'élargissement de l'accès aux financements de la BNDES et la mise en place de politique de transparence de l'information.

Mots-Clés : 1.La géopolitique du Brésil 2.Racisme 3.Financement de la Banque de Developpment du Brésil 4.Odebrecht en Angola

INTRODUCTION

The ideas presented in this article were firstly inaugurated in a master dissertation defended at the Geography Department of UnB (Universidade de Brasília), and later, presented at the XVIII National Geography Meeting (ENG). During a working trip to Angola in 2010, I realized that Odebrecht fellows had private entrance at Luanda airport. Observing that situation, I questioned myself what were the possibilities created by the company to have those treatment. My first conclusion was that Odebrecht as a Brazilian company had such a privileged in Angola. It made me question about those instruments that facilitate the company activities in Angola territory. I identified historical process to allow an approach between the

company and Angolan government. Odebrecht has been in Angola since the liberation struggles against Portuguese colonialism system, during conflict eruption to civil war and remained with headquarters in Luanda until nowadays. My second one turned out to appear Odebrecht has become a large Brazilian company with great support for its internationalization. One of the main credit supports was available from BNDES financing. The research was organized in three analyses. Firstly, I share the methodology and research methods. Empirical process is based on the perspective of a subjective at the observed reality being also the researcher of that issue. Based on Franz Fanon, this research is built on the perspective that there are some development created by racism when there are limits imposed by the method and the methodology. Therefore, the language used to write this paper is looking forward to deviate from norms and pattern stablished by traditional Portuguese rules and to offer alternatives for writing expression. Without disbelieving other languages possibilities, focusing only on diversity of voices. Brazilian society is formed on dispute of power between white colonizer and black colonized one, social configuration, therefore political it gives structured racism at any levels of power relations. Fanon gives a reading that when a black elite stand up for the colonizer, white elite, allows racism continuity beyond the colonized envy. On the contrary, to conquer transformations is the revolutionary process. Milton Santos marked those geopolitical concepts of power, used territory, money, territory of money, globalization.

Secondly, I present a panoramic view of Brazilian foreign policy to Africa, which I recognize as Africanist foreign policy during 2002 to 2015. I insist that after Fernando Henrique Cardoso government, the years of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva first and second term intensified Brazil approach to the continent, mainly to Angola, a more consensual point of view to those studying this issue. However, South-South cooperation speech, without conditionalities to build a more equality development with inclusive grow advocated with the same forms that were aligned to colonizer violence against colonized ones. Brazil that approaches to Africa is a country more likely characterized by its appropriation from Brazilian elite, the dominator, aiming to profit and to explore African nature. Despite dissatisfaction about Dilma Rousseff less use of presidential diplomacy, foreign trade between Brazil and Africa, also with Angola kept around the same levels. Frustration refers to an absence of a revolutionary transformation at the Africanist foreign policy executed by a government in which there were some expectations to move beyond the hegemon praxis.

Thirdly, I present BNDES instruments to internationalization of Brazilian companies. I offer some questioning about those instruments, rules, obstacles, operations, required guarantees around The Brazilian Development Bank financing and transform an available credit to a privilege easy for large Brazilian companies and indirectly to some foreign countries government. Based on the data about BNDES financing to Odebrecht activities and projects in Angola I show what I call credit privilege situation that concerns the company. Ain the wrong to say it gave some easy way to transfer Brazilian public money to Angola, if the foreign country becomes responsible to pay for the financing debt, even though Odebrecht benefits with great profit, indirectly, foreign country end up receiving financial aid from subsidy Brazilian public money, because either Odebrecht or Angola, if taken a loan at private market banks would have to pay more for the same amount of money. In my final considerations, I present a summarized view of my argument advocated at the preview analyses. The method based in Franz Fanon gives me the chance to analyses Brazilian foreign policy as instrument of oppression reproduction over black Brazilian and

Angolan peoples. When political elite uses power to execute a foreign policy that privileges accumulation and profit for Brazilian large companies, Odebrecht for example, in favor of Angolan nature exploration, it denies chances of transformation advance. Brazilian Development Bank surges as instrument of Brazilian power at Angola territory. Not only Odebrecht is working in Angola, but also Brazil uses Angola territory to modify it according to the money territory.

At least, I offer some recommendations on how Brazil should work on partnership with African countries without intermediation of colonialism system. I also suggest how Africanist foreign policy can be settle based on freedom for one people against exploration, appropriation, subordination and domination. I point out some possibilities to use the Brazilian Development Bank financing as instrument of equity at the money territory produced by Brazil and Angola, a new type of rules started at a public bank proposal of transparency.

1. WAYS TO ACHIEVE THE RESEARCH

The main objectives of this work is to analyses power relations linked by structural racism in society as a category influence to Brazilian geopolitical of BNDES financing to Odebrecht in Angola.

There is a research proposition that Brazilian Africanist foreign policy constitutes itself as an policy inducing and maintaining as easier scenario to large Brazilian companies explore African nature. To substitute an elite colonizer, Portuguese for example, for other elite that negotiates with elites of the colony, elites that explore, Brazilian elites, could built an easy instrument for Brazilian large companies appropriate from subsided public money financing, money territory.

Therefore this research becomes relevant as it gives a critical point of view concerning the Brazilian Development Bank financing and tries to demythologizing Brazilian geopolitical and agents involved in this dispute.

This research was developed based on bibliography revision focused to those subjects of this experienced narrative. In my African reading I have chosen to work with African authors. On issues about Brazilian foreign policy I tried to make a dialogue with black Brazilian authors. Concerning BNDES financing to Brazilian companies I used the bank official data, avoiding to disqualification on data source. The text is written at the first person pronoun showing that as a black woman I put myself struggling against racism, while I have my opportunity to higher education and political formation. Also, The Language used is honestly chosen to be colloquial. So this paper dialogues with other subjects of the research, happening to have access by Brazilian public institution and BNDES itself. After the readings and data organization, I made my analyses also using thematic maps which show the geopolitical of BNDES financing. Respecting Brazilian political moment, guided interview designed to be applied to some actor from Odebrecht, BNDES, Brazilian Foreign Affairs Ministry and Angola government had been withdrawal.

2. Africanist Foreign Policy Geopolitical

I firstly presented this research as master dissertation at the Geography Department of UnB, somehow requires me bringing new perspectives developed ever since. My first chapter tries to internalize Franz Fanon understanding on racism as structural policy on social formation. Critics based on real decolonization shimmered on the opportunity of a "total substitution, complete and absolute from a mankind species to another mankind species, without transition" similar to a negotiation between dominators elites. Before demanding of dominated people, that is "colonized minimal claim". Fanon goes beyond, not holding harmless on himself from the paper to suggest recommendations, he line off that "success turn to be a social panorama totally modified thru transformation, a total disorder program with two antagonistically forces conflict" (FANON, 2005, p. 53). Conflict meaning sign of violence to come from colonizer exploration on colonized one; requiring total questioning on colonial situation. Decolonization happens when colonized thing became mankind into freedom processing.

[...] colonized one who decides to do this program, who decides on making he as his own engine machine is always prepare to violence. Since his born, his sure that this chosen world spread by interdictions can only be questioned by absolute violence (FANON, 2005, p. 53).

Violence enters oppression scenario thru victim reaction, supports unique place where stands as legitimate resource on colonized one to promote the pursuit of freedom. Closing colonial system will mark thru colonizer common customs, amid the return of used ways.

Colonial world is compartmentalized, ergo reflects fragmentations as inequalities. Therefore, in my opinion contemporary world is colonized, because colonization is set as a process. "Nowadays with globalization, it is correct to say that total earth surface is compartmentalized, not only on mankind direct action, but mainly by his political presence. Not one part of the world escapes from his influence" (SANTOS, 2015, p. 81). Santos realizes power politic as causing relations perversity between peoples, communities and societies. In this actual world, compartmentation is also fragmentation that turns to be the way of using territory. A territory universally used, so "the whole Earth surface has turned to be ecumene" (SANTOS, 2015, p. 81). According to Fanon, violence is the category that establishes colonization, meaning colonized one exploration, so used territory seems to be colonizer world of violence. Fanon used to observe what Santos confirmed, capitalist society has been using legitimate violence as instrument of domination. Thus, beyond impossibility to keep in power, bourgeoisie used to stablishes negotiation with colonized elite. After all, colonized envy is to pursuit the colonizer place of power.

Intermediaries from uses of forces, for example, police bossed by colonizer own legitimate monopoly of forces. In capitalist countries between explored one and elite power interposes a crowd of moral teachers, counsellors and disorientating ones. Also intermediary of power uses pure violence languages, do not disguises oppression, either domination. (FANON, 2005, p. 54).

According to Milton Santos used territory was the initial category of analyses. A territory with identity, belonging feeling and used for a specific population. Perverse globalization process has been leaden by money, "money desires to be measure of value that it really is, so, attributed to work and results" (SANTOS, 1999, p. 8). Santos used to analyses money and territory, that one "which tries to dislocate everything", this one "shows there are things not able to dislocate" at a contemporary globalized world (SANTOS, 1999, p. 1). Ergo, referred territory produces "globalized money" (SANTOS, 1999, p. 10). Money territory, globalized territory, ideological money and so a money from companies looking forward to more added value and persistent competition (picture 1).

My second chapter I propose a concisely perspective for Africanist Foreign Affairs from 2003 to 2015. Those years were chosen according to available data from BNDES financing at internet official page. Foreign policy is analyzed as Brazilian public policy, ergo reproduces structural racism at our society. I make my own consideration on being black, people of designated black race, black color, using an aggregated data for those responding at the Brazilian Demographic Census on 2010 as black and pardo. Therefore black people assuming for Brazilian State their condition as afro centered identity. "Those who auto identify themselves, either for race classification, either for qualified method of identification, independent from biological and genetics identity, but for auto attribution belonging" (OSÓRIO, 2009). Moreover, based on interesting to discussion comprehension on black race belonging, I agree with Fanon when he says that (2008, p. 103): "[...] black people had to situate themselves between two systems of references. His metaphysics or less pretentiously their costumes and instances of references they had been abolished for contradiction with civilization of whom they had no knowledge of what were imposed to themselves". Seems to Fanon (2008), blackness is abstract, as an essence, but blackness is also real according to the way it comes up at power and domination relationship, blackness is situated by the colonizer, thru foreigners elites, white people, others, by those who imposes to black people a place of evil people.

PICTURE 1

Money territory: Belas Shopping Food Court, Luanda (2010)

Photo by the author, Luanda (2010)

So blackness is Geography, it is placed at the South of Europe, if white people comes from the North, being black is to be from the South, at least in essence. Besides many tentative for acculturating black people, mainly thru the doctrine of inferiority of the *pardo*, we black people (And when I say we, my sister and my brother, Yes I am including myself!), we black people do know who we are in this country (IANNI, 1987). I understand that concerning the aim of this research, where I demonstrate that racism is all over Brazil used territory formation, and by analogy, racism is presented at Brazil and Africa relationship, in the hall of Brazil and Angola friendship, being black comprehends the body and victimated people thru inequalities caused by discrimination imposed by racism.

Blackness so is configured at those details of life ideas, at those minimal sensations for being alive. Having the assurance that you could at any moment of your life became victim of violence operated by racism, if not individual as suspect body, collectively as social structure. Based at race and color, I assume also black people genocide in this country as my political position for those beyond rules, laws, and norms stablished over legal system created by those whom dominate the hegemony of power (FLAUZINA, 2006). We are talking here about a struggle for black people lives matter, a resistance not to be dead. "Black people who strive to conquer social mobility pay the price of more or less dramatic massacre of their identity" (SOUZA, 1983, p. 18). Because of this cost, yes, "black had believed at the tale and myth, starting to see themselves with eyes, and began to speak with the language of the dominator" (SOUZA, 1983, p. 29). Moreover, "castrated at his initiative, numbed from his spontaneity, black people begin to react, rather than acting and avoiding the action" (SOUZA, 1983, p. 30).

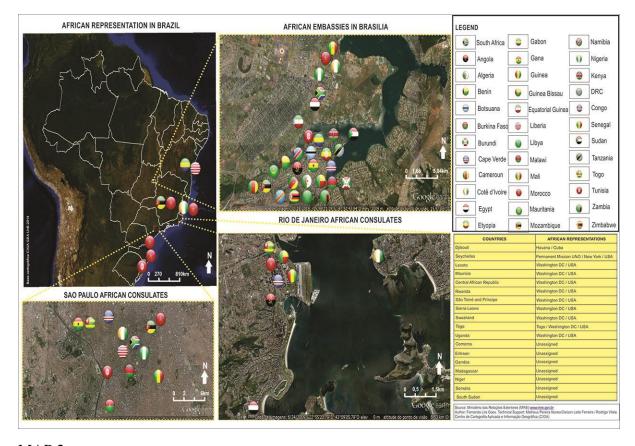
Whitening policy was not exclusive for Brazil or to that time. "It has been a while that same labs projects to discover a serum for disblackning; most serious laboratories in the world wiped their beakers, adjusted their scales, and started some research which will provide black people to whitening, and most of all not to have to support this cursed body" (FANON, 2008, p. 104-105). Public policy of whitening and exclusion of black people hold up until today, likewise Lula and Dilma Africanist foreign policy. On the one hand, this period Africanist policy approaches to Africa; on the other, reproduces movements of exploration African territory by Brazilian companies. The discourse of cultural ties by African Diaspora served as bases to presidential diplomacy. Lula visited 24 of the 54 African countries, while Dilma traveled to six of them. I've came to a conclusion that Dilma Africanist foreign policy was at the inertia to Lula's movement, that's because of the foreign trade between Brazil and Africa, or Angola had certain continuity likewise those years before. Enlarged diplomatic framework and carrier strengthened, Brazil inaugurated about 20 embassies at Africa. Some of them design Brazilian relations with more than hosted country. ² Map 1 shows Brazilian embassies at Africa with diplomatic relations open to four different countries. In reciprocity, African countries inaugurated eleven representations in Brazil, over embassies and consulates, shows Map 2. African countries representations are concentrated at Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, bases of many companies' headquarters'. Technical Cooperation to Africa was centralizer mechanism of cultural discourse reproduction imposed by Brazil to explore Angola.

MAP 1

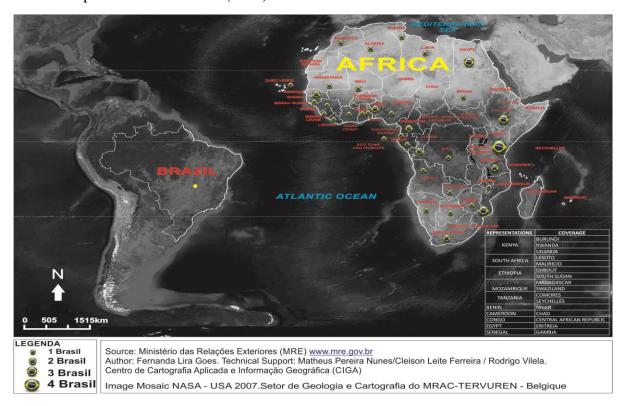
Brazilian Representation in Africa (2015)

¹ Available at: http://reajanasruas.blogspot.com.br/. Accessed on: August, 26, 2015.

² Tunisia, Togo, Tanzania, South Sudan, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Sao Tome and Principe, Congo, Mauritania, Mali, Malawi, Libya, Liberia, Guinea-Equatorial, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Comoros, Cameroun, Burkina Faso, Benin.



MAP 2
African Representation in Brazil (2015)



Bank and Money Color

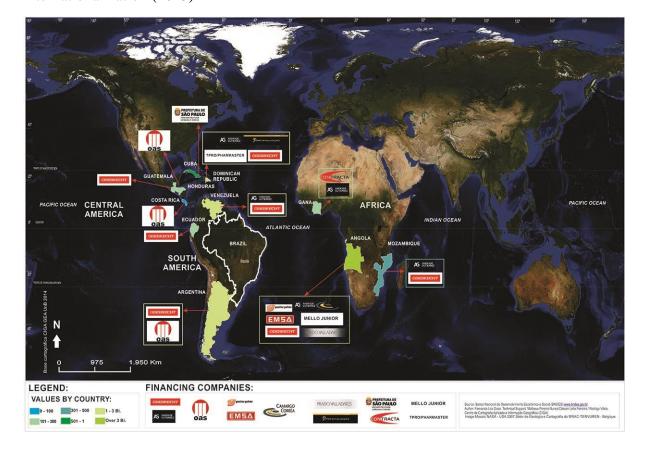
On the third chapter, I present my concerns about the historical process of Norberto Odebrecht internationalization. Based on Ivo de Santana research I assume that the company launched its activity in 1945 under the leadership of the holder who named it, at the city of Salvador, Bahia, as an attempt to avoid difficulties imposed by Second World War to construction market. Since its beginning, Odebrecht has shown some open taught to share profits with its foreman, to whom designated responsibilities to their construction (SANTANA, 2004, p. 104-149). According to Santana, Odebrecht phases can be divided in four. First one as local company from 1945 to 1954, second as regional by 1955 to 1969, third phase as national from 1970 to 1979, those periods where the bases for the next moment of the years 1980 and after as multinational company, actually international company, as an example of its presence at Angola constructing Capanda Hydroelectricity Complex.

I take the chance for a concisely overview of Angola struggles for freedom process based on references to Fanon over elites substitution, ergo colonization maintenance as a process. In this sense, I characterize Brazilian presence at Angola as colonialist action, with excuses interests to explore Angola nature in its three strategic aspects for Brazil: reconstruction industry, petroleum and gas and mining.

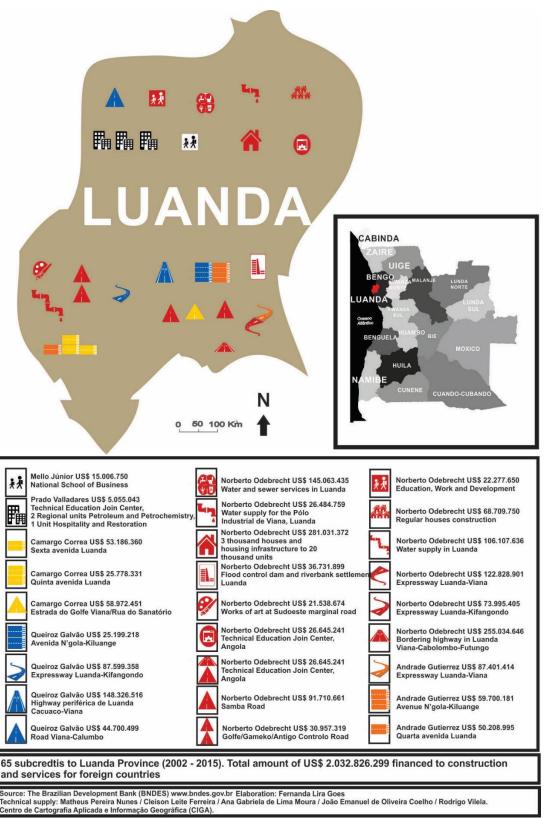
For its first aspect, Odebrecht centralizes joint actions with other Brazilian companies executing construction and services. Map 3 shows Brazilian companies financed by BNDES on construction abroad. Companies are not only at most diplomatic and political approached countries to Brazil, like members of CPLP (The Community of Portuguese Language Countries). Most principal aspect of Brazilian company's presence at African countries is conditional to potential of nature to be explored and simultaneously participating at the reconstruction of countries recently over conflict periods like civil war. I realize those factors connected implies on more Brazilian companies at the same country. In this model of financing and internationalization, North countries have been absence for Brazilian companies. They are actually at Central America, South America and African the same territory for South-South Cooperation. Andrade Gutierrez and Norberto Odebrecht concentrated BNDES financing.

According to data from 2003 to 2015, from 575 *subcredits* of BNDES, construction and engineering services, 91 have been focused to Africa, mainly Angola, Ghana and Mozambique. It's important to point the absence of BNDES data to some years. Those data available are not completed for all the years, either to all companies. For example, concerning Angola data, total value of financing is referred to period of 2007 to 2015, except to 2010. Also, there is not any data available about BNDES financing to Odebrecht from 2003 to 2006.

MAP 3
Brazilian companies' client of The Brazilian Development Bank financing to internationalization (2015)



MAP 4 Odebrecht The Brazilian Development Bank financing to internationalization (2015)



and services for foreign countries

The Brazilian Development Bank financing is concentrated at Odebrecht receiver of 79% of the total *subcredits* value for services and construction executed by Brazilian companies at Angola since 2003 to 2015, as shows figure 1. Each *subcredit* represents one part pf the total contract payment. The amount of *subcredits* concerning that execution is the final value for that activity operated by the specific company. From total of US\$ 14 billion, almost US\$ 9 billion were designated to Odebrecht, in which Angola received US\$ 3.15 billion, as shows table 1.

Odebrecht international activity reserved Africa a relevant territory, mainly from 2000. Angola ergo is the main entrance for the company in that continent. With Brazil approach to Angola, on june 2010, Presidents of both countries signed a joint declaration stablishing strategic partnership. The Declaration demands development for reciprocate trade and other issues as economic and financial. One aspect of this paper is to show hegemonic partnership between elites from Brazil and Angola in the dispute of power to access subsidiary financing from BNDES as easer instrument to achieve Strategic Declaration objectives. Therefore, 2010 becomes an important year because it represents the years of the higher BNDES disbursement. However, even though 2010was the year of Strategic Declaration signature, there is no data available for Brazilian Development Bank financing to Odebrecht at Angola. No doubt either there was not any financing at that year, nor data is available for common public.

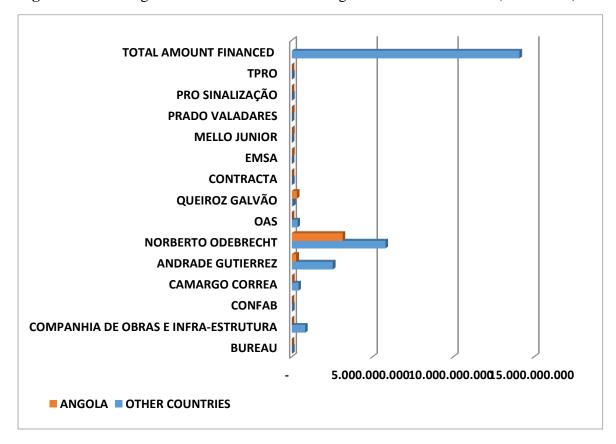


Figure 1 - Financing for the Brazilian trader to Angola and other countries (2003-2015)

Source: BNDES. Accessed on: 03/10/2016. Available at: www.bndes.gov.br. Elaborated by the author.

TABLE 1

Total value of *subcredits* from the Brazilian Development Bank to Odebrecht (2003-2015)

COUNTRY	TOTAL	
ANGOLA	\$	3.144.839.908,00
ARGENTINA	\$	1.809.428.529,00
ECUADOR	\$	227.197.110,00
GUATEMALA	\$	280.000.000,00
MOZAMBIQUE	\$	125.000.000,00
DOMINICAN REP.	\$	1.999.626.703,00
VENEZUELA	\$	1.359.392.485,00
TOTAL	\$	8.945.484.735,00

Source: BNDES. Accessed on: 11/25/2015. Available at: www.bndes.gov.br. Elaborated by the author.

Final Considerations

In conclusion, Africanist foreign policy is an instrument for Brazil to explore African nature on the same models that North countries used to colonize Africa. Colonization as a process of exploration is not overcome. Existing of negotiation of Brazil white elite with Angolan elite to unique benefits is an example that proves these perspectives. Brazilian elite reproduces exploring and colonizing model from white elite of the North countries. Therefore it is no wrong to assume that Brazilian foreign policy to Africa has been racist. BNDES financing to Odebrecht activity at Angola proves concentration of Brazilian black money in the hands of a power white bank. In my point of view, some recommendations deserve reflections in here: dialog with black voices in Brazil and in Africa to build Brazilian geopolitical; enlargement of access for BNDES financing inclusive medium and small companies, moreover cooperatives and associations; restriction of BNDES financing to large companies capable of accessing credit at private balks and at the open market.

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