



Emerging Donors in International Development Assistance:

The Brazil Case

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Executive Summary

Brazil has provided development assistance to developing countries since the late 1960s and expanded its development activity considerably beginning in the 1980s. In doing so, the Brazilian government has emphasized international cooperation over traditional concepts of development assistance and foreign aid.

Brazilian assistance programs focus on technical cooperation in developing countries (TCDC), a concept Brazil has promoted since the 1960s. As a result, the country does not undertake programs that involve grants or concessional loans. TCDC programs and projects represent the largest component of Brazil's cooperative activities in developing countries and are based on Brazilian scientific and technological advances.

Research for development constitutes a smaller and more recent component of Brazilian assistance. These types of programs involve Brazilian research institutes, which develop joint programs and projects with research institutes in developing countries. While research for development programs have evolved separately from development assistance projects, the programs share many similarities with TCDC policies. As such, Brazil's scientific prowess has made the country a valuable international partner in scientific and technological cooperation.

There are several important focal points in Brazil's government for assistance programs, including:

- the Ministry of External Affairs and its adjunct the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC);
- the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), which is linked to the Ministry of Science and Technology (MCT); and
- the Ministry of Planning's Department for International Affairs (SEAIN).

Important line ministries such as health, education and agriculture also play important roles, and several other institutions are active as well. In addition, there are a whole range of unofficial programmes not examined in this report.

Development programs sponsored by Brazil have traditionally reflected the different phases of the country's foreign policy. While a consistent theme in these policies has been the emphasis on cooperation and solidarity with developing countries (a reflection of Brazil's recent experience as a recipient of assistance), some observers suggest that the country's policies are also consistent with its own economic self-interest.

As Brazilian development assistance programs have grown and matured, the country's government has sought to introduce greater coherence to these programs through coordinating institutions such as the ABC, which was created in 1987. Despite this effort, the formulation and delivery of development programs remains largely fractured and decentralized. The absence of a centralized institution with overall responsibility for development assistance programs means that it is virtually impossible to calculate the precise amount of resources devoted to these activities.

Priority areas for Brazil's TCDC programs are: agriculture, health (particularly HIV/AIDS), water, professional education, public administration, meteorology, energy, environment, electoral support, cooperation in sports, and production and use of biofuels (especially ethanol and biodiesel). Research for development priorities include health, education, agriculture, and science and technology.

Geographic priorities for Brazil have been Latin America generally and the country's Mercosur

partners in particular, as well as East Timor, and the Portuguese-speaking nations of Africa. Many recent cooperative ventures, however, have been in keeping with a tripartite arrangement Brazil reached with India and South Africa. China is also fast becoming an important partner. In addition to partnerships with these developing countries, Brazil has also engaged in many multiparty relationships with Japan, Canada, and wealthier donor countries in Europe.

While these programs may expand as Brazil's own activities grow and its status as a recipient fades, the government has been cautious not to replicate the older hierarchical patterns in which its interests may be subordinated to those of other countries. Consequently, Brazilian international cooperation policy is undergoing a gradual expansion and differentiation, and is evolving toward greater inter-agency coordination as the country consolidates its reputation as a global actor.

This report consists of four main sections. The first provides the historical background of Brazilian international development assistance programs. The second presents an overview of the political objectives, institutional framework, operational components, and disbursement patterns of the country's development assistance. Section three gives a similar overview with regard to research for development. A brief analysis of Brazil's international collaboration in development assistance and research for development is supplied in section four.

1. A History of Brazilian Development Assistance

From 1930 to 2003, Brazilian foreign policy was designed to promote national development. While the goal was clear, strategies to achieve it were based on two different ideas about development: national developmentalism centred on promoting national autonomy and a more closed economy, and liberalism, which sought integration with international markets and a more open economy. From 1964 to 1969, the liberal approach prevailed, while during the next two decades, national developmentalism was the main driver of foreign policy. With the full restoration of democracy in Brazil in 1990, and in keeping with general trends throughout Latin America, liberalism again became the driving force of foreign policy.

One enduring principle of Brazil's foreign policy from 1960 to 1980, however, was universalism. This approach derived from the diversity of Brazilian state and societal interests, historical affinities and cultural, political, and economic ties with different regions. As a guiding principle of foreign policy, universalism represented a way for Brazil to exercise autonomy in relation to the major powers and pragmatism to maximize international opportunities. In a sense, universalism reflected the political and economic nationalism that marked Brazilian policies since the early 1960s.

During this period, particularly in the 1970s, Brazil pursued the building of autonomous economic, military, and technological capabilities as a key objective of domestic and international policies, with particular focus on energy (including nuclear energy), aerospace, and telecommunications. While these initiatives were important dimensions of the nationalist project, the country did not have the human, economic, and technological resources necessary to accomplish its strategic and political goals. The country, therefore, sought sources and partners for technological cooperation among developed countries.

Unfortunately, partnering opportunities were restricted since Brazil was not yet a member of the most influential export control and non-proliferation regimes. Additional impediments also arose: other developing nations were technologically incapable of contributing to Brazil's areas of strategic interests, while global economic difficulties hindered the main technology projects being pursued. Macroeconomic instability, budgetary restraints, and administrative inefficiencies also led to instability in the government's science and technology programs. And as economic stagnation set in from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, science and technology expenditures declined.

One of the objectives of the universalist approach was to project Brazil beyond South America and strengthen the country's strategic and economic presence in the wider South Atlantic region. Accordingly, during the 1970s and 1980s, Brazil reached out to Africa as a way to reinforce its influence in the international system and address its vulnerability in the energy sector. In addition, Brazil attempted to serve as a bridge between European and African countries, even though the latter were not disposed to this initiative.

The 2003 election of Luis Inacio Lula da Silva to the presidency resulted in the most recent inflection in foreign policy. On the one hand, recent Brazilian foreign policy has returned to traditional policies, including an emphasis on relations with developing countries, South-South cooperation, and regionalism and universalism in foreign trade. On the other hand, liberal economic orthodoxy introduced in the mid-1990s has remained a basis for both domestic and foreign economic policy.

Despite these variations in general foreign policy, development cooperation has retained its status as an important function of Brazil's government and a foundation of the country's international cooperation policy. The government has emphasized the concept of "international cooperation" over traditional terms and concepts such as "official development assistance" or

“foreign aid”. Brazilian programs for technical cooperation in developing countries (TCDC) have evolved into core components of the country’s foreign policy. According to the government, the primary objective of these policies is to strengthen relationships with developing countries. However, as Brazilian foreign policy has emphasized development promotion as a means for furthering economic growth, access to markets can also be seen as a goal of TCDC.

The origins of Brazil’s policy of international cooperation can be found in the years from the 1950s to the early 1980s, when Brazil was mainly a recipient of development aid and technical assistance. In 1969, when Brazilian foreign policy and public policies were consolidated around the promotion of national development, the government established a national system for international cooperation. The idea behind this system was to link cooperation and assistance received from developed countries to national development plans, and centralize and coordinate cooperation through the Ministry of External Relations and the Office for National Planning.

When this system was established, the government also set up a technical assistance program for foreign countries. To make the initiative viable, negotiations were carried out on two fronts: internally with Brazilian institutions that were capable of delivering technical assistance, and externally with prospective partner countries. The first agreements with developing countries were negotiated with countries in Latin America and Africa. At the same time, Brazil began to promote horizontal cooperation and search for support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through participation in the Conferences for Development, which were organized by the United Nations in the 1960s. Through this process, international technical assistance evolved into international technical cooperation (ITC).

In this context, Southern countries and Brazil in particular, demanded that the UNDP foster ITC among developing countries. This process resulted in the UN World Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires. With the approval of the Buenos Aires Action Plan in September 1978, TCDC was officially introduced into the international system and Brazil began to use its capacity for horizontal cooperation to overcome the limitations of North-South cooperation.¹

For the Brazilian government, this conference was a landmark.² It signalled a commitment from developing countries to find solutions to their own problems and according to their own socio-economic conditions. Since then, Brazilian TCDC programs have expanded considerably. Before the conference, the country sponsored only 28 projects (two were established in the 1960s and 26 in the 1970s). In the 1980s, the number increased to more than 600. At the same time, there was a decline in the amount of bilateral and multilateral development assistance received by Brazil.

In addition to the establishment and expansion of TCDC programs, other aspects of Brazilian international cooperation also underwent revision. Until the mid-1970s, the country did not have a policy toward the Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs), because the Treaty of Friendship between Brazil and Portugal restricted Brazil from openly opposing Portuguese colonialism. With the demise of Portuguese imperialism and the emergence of Brazilian foreign policy pragmatism, however, the PALOPs became a policy priority for Brazil. Technical cooperation between Brazil and the PALOPs became an efficient instrument of Brazilian foreign policy, because it created new opportunities for political, social, and economic cooperation. Despite this restructuring of regional priorities, however, Brazil has continued to pursue many projects and activities in Central America, the Caribbean and Mexico, with an aim to promote and strengthen the country’s presence in the region.

Institutional reforms accompanied programming changes. With the creation of the Brazilian

¹ According to Correia (1997:19-21), TCDC emerged between 1970 and 1980 as a consequence of the deterioration of North-South relations; however, it did not completely replace North-South cooperation.

² See http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc_ctpd.asp (February 23, 2007).

Cooperation Agency (ABC)³ in 1987, the government attempted to provide central coordination for a national system of international technical cooperation. The agency was created within the Ministry of External Relations and combined two functions—external and internal coordination—that were previously performed by the Ministry of External Relations and the Office for National Planning. The goal of ABC was to foster international technical cooperation (ITC) by linking foreign policy priorities to internal development needs. In addition, there was an effort to conceptualize and define ITC to encompass the receipt of technical assistance from developed countries and international organizations, and the sharing of it with other developing countries.

The creation of ABC also brought about a revision of existing TCDC programs and mechanisms. Development cooperation, including TCDC, began to emphasize the need to address issues that numerous developing countries then faced, such as North-South gaps, hunger, access to natural resources and technological innovations, environmental degradation, social discrimination and non-tolerance, and the effects of economic crisis. In addition, from 1970 to 2002, new actors began to engage in ITC projects, which required operational changes in order to promote a more efficient use of resources.

Rising levels of per-capita income during the 1990s enabled Brazil to complete the transition from recipient to provider of technical cooperation. The country operated under the assumption that Brazil—being sensitive and responsive to the interests of its partners among developing countries—could take into account the lessons learned as a receiving country to guide its own delivery of technical assistance.

³ Prior to 1987, two federal bodies were in charge of Brazilian technical cooperation. One was linked to the Ministry of External Relations (DCOPT-MRE) and was responsible for establishing partnerships; the other was linked to the Secretariat for Planning (SUBIN-SEPLAN) and was responsible for national coordination. Both groups viewed projects and activities as part of the National System of Technical Cooperation, which was linked to the National Development Plans (Inoue and Apostolova 1995). The Brazilian Cooperation Agency, created in 1987, replaced this arrangement.

2. International Development: Political Aspects and Institutional Framework

Despite having separate origins and evolving independently, technical cooperation and research for development have gradually converged, and are being increasingly integrated into what might become a single policy for international cooperation. Consequently, many institutional actors are relevant to both approaches, and financing patterns are also quite similar. At the same time, coordination between key political institutions in both areas is still loose.

Figure 1 illustrates the different layers of Brazilian international cooperation. At the highest level are the ministries engaged in international cooperation, representing the primary focal points for policy-making and policy coordination for both development assistance and research for development. The Ministry of External Relations, however, plays a different role than other ministries, as it is responsible for articulating the action of each ministry according to foreign policy priorities. The main executive body for this task is the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), which also helps finance⁴ development assistance programs and projects.

The two major branches of Brazil's cooperation policy are illustrated in the lower part of the figure. The right side relates to development assistance, with the ABC being the primary coordinating body and also playing a meaningful role in program and project financing. The left side portrays research for development, with three main institutions: CAPES (Coordination for the Development of Graduate Human Resources), FINEP (Brazilian Innovation Agency), and CNPq National Council for Scientific and Technological Development) in charge of funding universities, research institutes, and other public agencies engaged in research for development. Although two key agencies, EMBRAPA (Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation) and Fiocruz (National Health Research Institute/Oswaldo Cruz Foundation), are the most active players in both development assistance and research for development and receive funds from both sides, all groups rely on external financial sources, as represented in the lower part of the figure.

Political underpinnings of technical cooperation

Brazilian TCDC, which emerged in the late 1960s and has grown steadily since the 1980s, has always been loosely linked to Brazilian foreign policy toward developing countries. According to the ABC⁵, Brazilian international cooperation policy aims to strengthen the country's presence internationally, especially in Latin America.

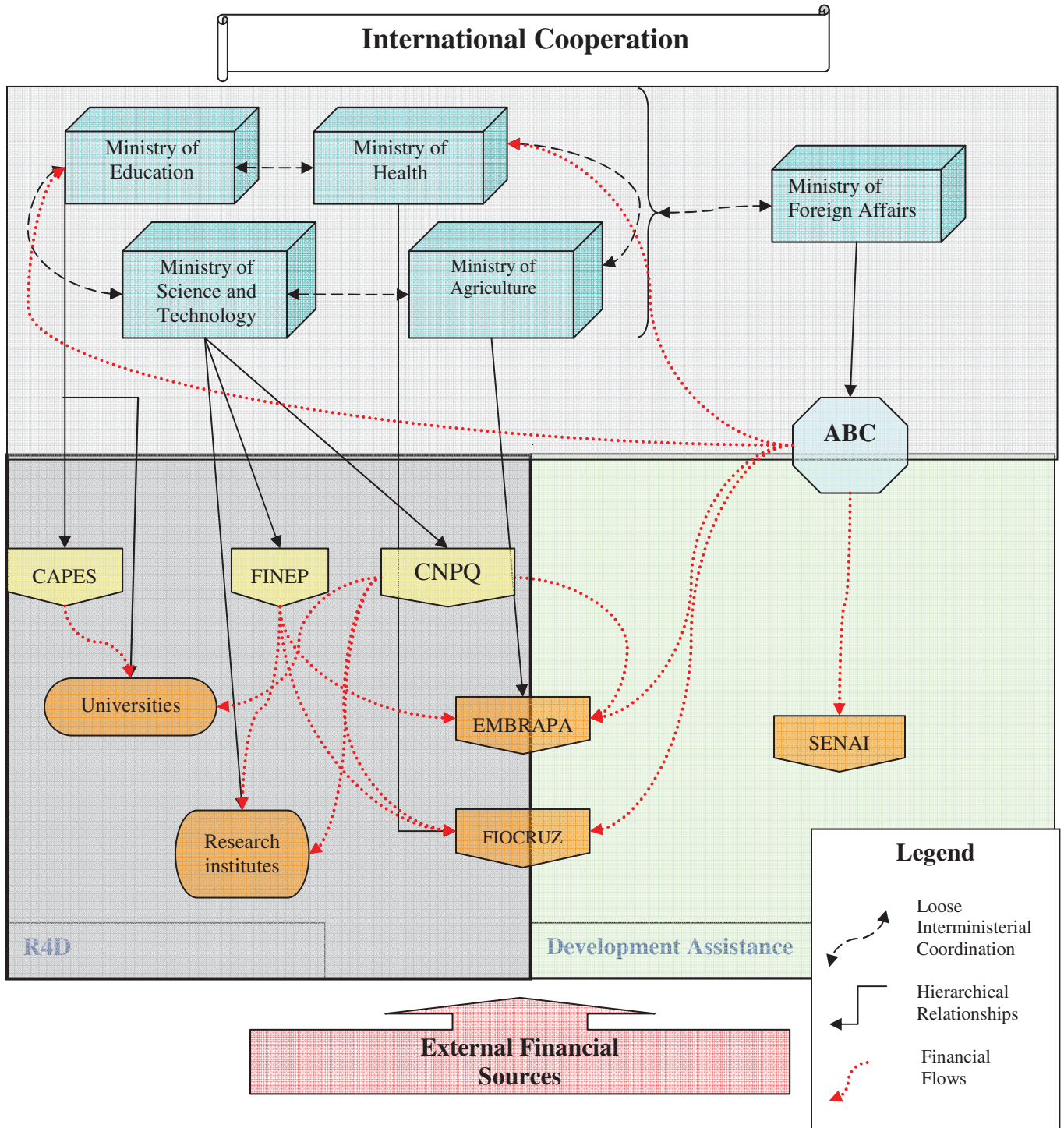
Many Brazilian organizations participate in the implementation of programs and projects. These programs focus on agriculture, health (particularly HIV/AIDS), water, professional education, public administration, meteorology, energy, environment, electoral support, cooperation in sports, and the production and use of biofuels (especially ethanol and biodiesel). Current trends suggest that projects related to energy and biofuels will become particularly important in the near future.

In addition to these traditional areas, projects in Africa have targeted education, enterprise development, telecommunications, social development related to gender issues, and developing relationships between international organizations and civil society. Cooperation with the PALOPs has focused on professional education, health, and education.

⁴ In this report, finance should not be understood as grants or concessional loans to recipients but as budgetary outlays—much of it originating in the ABC—to pay for part of the expenses involved in carrying out development assistance programs and projects.

⁵ *Publication of the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation*, June 2006 (available at http://www.abc.gov.br/noticias/banco_noticias.asp?id_Localizacao=3) and *Publication of the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation*, October 2005 (available at http://www.abc.gov.br/noticias/banco_noticias.asp?id_Localizacao=3).

Figure 1: Key players, financial and administrative flows of scientific and technical cooperation



Bilateral agreements provide the legal basis for TCDC between Brazil and developing countries. As such, the political will for cooperation must first be stated in a Framework Agreement. After an agreement is signed, meetings are conducted at the political level. Known as joint commissions (*Comissão Mista - Comista*), the meetings are the institutional mechanism through which the parties negotiate the main areas and guidelines for the programs, projects, and activities to be implemented in the field. In these meetings, representatives of partner countries deal with the ABC, as well as with other Brazilian agencies that are the main deliverers of the specific technical cooperation project.

Data indicate that the main sectors of international technical cooperation are professional education, agriculture, and health⁶. In fact, these three areas comprise two-thirds of Brazilian technical cooperation with developing countries. The leading Brazilian organizations in these areas are the International Affairs Office of the Health Ministry, Fiocruz, EMBRAPA (which is linked to the Ministry of Agriculture), and SENAI (the National Service for Industrial Learning - a nongovernmental body that serves the industrial sector in Brazil).

Projects in these areas focus on capacity development to enable people and organizations in developing countries to improve their capabilities and solve their own problems. Generally, training is one of the main components of these projects and is carried out by Brazilian specialists.

According to the ABC, international technical cooperation (ITC) is an important instrument of development. ITC is specifically geared toward helping encourage structural changes in productive systems as a means to overcome obstacles to growth.⁷ Brazil also uses the concept of partnership for development, which emphasizes shared efforts and benefits. According to the ABC,⁸ cooperation efforts do not have a commercial purpose but are based on shared interests and mutual help. Some observers, however, argue that ITC enlarges and strengthens Brazilian interests by opening new markets for its products and services.

Despite these divergent views, the ABC recognizes the political meaning of ITC when it states that actions within the scope of ITC among developing countries strengthen Brazil's presence in countries and regions identified by national interests.⁹ According to observers, technical cooperation is used as a political instrument to strengthen leadership in Latin America, while cooperation with the PALOPs opens markets and creates possibilities for economic, political, and social cooperation. Since Brazil cooperates in TCDC activities primarily with less powerful countries,¹⁰ TCDC could be viewed as an expression of Brazilian power.

Institutional framework for TCDC programs

Several Brazilian organizations are engaged in TCDC as project implementers. The institutional framework for international technical cooperation (development assistance) is centred in the ABC, which acts as an agent of the Ministry of External Relations. The role of the ABC is to negotiate, promote, and monitor the Brazilian government's technical cooperation projects and programs, as established in Framework Agreements with third countries and international organizations.¹¹ The primary role of the ABC is to coordinate the relationship between Brazilian executing organizations and their counterparts in partnering countries. The ABC also acts as a subsidiary financing agency, coordinating the allocation of financial resources to support projects. This system, however, is poorly coordinated. As projects and activities are diffuse, it is difficult to identify coherent patterns or comprehensive framing strategies.

⁶ Calculated from federal budget figures available at www.camara.gov.br/orçamentobrasil (March 21, 2007).

⁷ See <http://www.abc.gov.br/ct/ct.asp> and http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc_ctpd.asp (April 16, 2007).

⁸ *Cooperação Bilateral com América Latina e Caribe* (Publication of the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation, June 2, 2006; see http://www.abc.gov.br/noticias/banco_noticias.asp?id_Localizacao=3).

⁹ See http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc_ctpd.asp (April 16, 2007).

¹⁰ Among the exceptions are Mexico and Argentina.

¹¹ See <http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc.asp> (April 16, 2007).

The ABC is guided by foreign policy established by the Ministry of External Relations and national development priorities established through sectoral plans and programs. But while the ABC is guided by firm principles, it does not always adhere to foreign policy priorities.

The ABC controls three forms of ITC: TCDC, bilateral received technical cooperation, and multilateral received technical cooperation. The structure for managing TCDC is called general coordination for technical cooperation among developing countries (CGRB) and is divided into the following units¹²:

- Management of Africa, Asia, Oceania, East Europe, and Middle East;
- Management of Latin America and the Caribbean;
- Management of Programs and Special Projects; and
- Administration and Funds Centre (*Núcleo de Administração e Finanças-NAF*).

To provide a sense of the activities undertaken as part of TCDC, a brief description of three participating Brazilian institutions follows. All three groups exhibit similar patterns of engagement, but as they do not have special budgets for this work, everything is negotiated on a case-by-case basis. The ABC usually supports project implementation by paying for travel and per diem expenses, consultants, and capital investment.

Ministry of Health International Affairs Office

Priority areas in the health sector are tropical diseases, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, breast-milk banks, humanitarian assistance (donation of medication and vaccines in crisis situations), and the Brazilian public health system itself.¹³ Environmental health seems to be emerging as an important issue as well. In Africa, tropical diseases and HIV/AIDS are the main focus of projects. Capacity building in breast-milk banks has been highlighted in Latin America. Another area that has attracted attention has been assistance to help countries, such as Bolivia and Panama, establish public health systems modelled on Brazil's structure. Triangular initiatives have been identified as well. For example, in Haiti, the Brazilian Ministry of Health has partnered with Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

The target countries, defined primarily by foreign policy priorities, have been identified as Mercosur countries in South America, the Portuguese-Speaking Community of Countries (CPLP) (Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and East Timor) and African countries such as Nigeria. Rather than respond to strategic plans, many cooperation projects arise as outcomes of presidential bilateral summits. Consequently, many projects are spread across Latin America and Africa haphazardly. Contributing to this ad hoc approach to programming is the fact that diseases or epidemics that erupt in any of Brazil's many neighbouring countries prompt joint initiatives to control the spread of disease. Moreover, the World Health Organization's list of priority countries is also taken into account when identifying partners.

There is no specific line item for international cooperation in the Ministry of Health budget. Usually, the resources for TCDC come from either the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) (this agency created a specific budget allotment for technical cooperation among countries and provided US\$140,000 to Brazil in the last two years) or the ABC, which pays the trips and per diem expenses of experts. Within the Ministry of Health, it is estimated that each project costs approximately US\$30,000 – US\$50,000 dollars.

National Service for Industrial Learning (SENAI)

In Brazil, professional education is the responsibility of private organizations that are linked to the

¹² See http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc_ctpd_gerecias.asp (April 16, 2007).

¹³ Science and technology cooperation in the health sector also exists outside of the Ministry of Health, making it even harder to identify sectoral programs. For example, some health programs operate in cooperation with Cuba, Israel, and Argentina but are coordinated through the Ministry of Science and Technology.

business sector (the so-called 'S' System: SENAI, SESC, and SEBRAE). The primary group for TCDC professional education is SENAI, which operates as a network that consists of a national office and many regional branches. The unit for international cooperation at the national office connects the ABC to regional offices, which implement projects in the field. SENAI works closely with the ABC and follows foreign policy priorities. Priority country partners are members of the CPLP, as well as Paraguay,¹⁴ Costa Rica, Honduras, Colombia, Peru, Panama, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, and Jamaica.

SENAI works primarily in the professional education and industrial technology sectors. Representative examples of TCDC were projects in Guinea Bissau and East Timor that sought to establish professional education centres. These projects typically involve training tutors and managers, as well as building the actual centres, which are similar to the ones SENAI runs in Brazil but specially adapted to local conditions. The centres provide professional education in basic industrial activities such as baking, civil construction, and sewing.

Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA)

EMBRAPA is an important TCDC-implementing organization that has worked historically with the ABC on agricultural-sector projects that focus mainly on training and transferring technology and know-how. As with other sectors, foreign policy priorities have been key to identifying priority partners. In addition to the emphasis on CPLP countries and Mercosur partners, however, an EMBRAPA office has been established in Ghana, and projects can be found in many other African and Latin American countries. Again, presidential diplomacy drives the initiation of these projects.

There is no specific budget for international cooperation within EMBRAPA, and the resources for TCDC projects are defined on a case-by-case basis. EMBRAPA itself is divided into many centres around Brazil, with each centre asked to participate in TCDC projects according to its area of specific expertise. Typically, the organization contributes experts from one of its centres to provide training and technical assistance, while the ABC pays for travel and per diem expenses. As such, estimates of the amount EMBRAPA spends are inexact. A rough estimate is that each expert that EMBRAPA assigns to work on a TCDC project costs US\$300 per day. There are about 10 to 12 projects per year, costing an average of US\$50,000 each. Much of the demand has been for projects dealing with tropical fruits, horticulture, and biofuels. EMBRAPA, however, is largely a foreign policy instrument that participates as a state-owned agent rather than as an agricultural research corporation.

Disbursement patterns

Figures from the 2005-2007 federal budget show that the Ministry of Health has the largest budget for international cooperation, followed by the ministries of foreign affairs, education, agriculture, and science and technology.¹⁵ The amount for fiscal year 2007 for international cooperation—allocated among 19 ministries—totals US\$85 million. Some US\$68.7 million, or 81 percent, is concentrated in these five ministries.¹⁶

The actual amount channelled to international cooperation, however, is much higher, as most programs and projects do not rely on national sources of financing. Trilateral cooperation and partnerships with international organizations are also important components of most Brazilian international cooperation programs and projects, but their finances are not outlined in the federal budget. As such, budget figures provide only a rudimentary assessment of Brazilian expenditure in international cooperation.

¹⁴ Paraguay was highlighted as a major priority.

¹⁵ The figures for fiscal year 2007 are: Ministry of Health, R\$52.7 million; Ministry of External Relations, R\$35.5 million; Ministry of Education, R\$20.9 million; Ministry of Agriculture, R\$15.7 million; Ministry of Science and Technology, R\$12.5 million. Source: www.camara.gov.br/orçamentobrasil (March 21, 2007).

¹⁶ Federal Budget, www.camara.gov.br/orçamentobrasil (March 21, 2007).

Resources for TCDC programs are drawn from deposits made to the United Nations Development Programme international account, quotas from national institutions that are ABC partners, and other sources, such as the Organization of American States (OAS) Brazilian Fund for Cooperation (Fundo Brasileiro de Cooperação-FBC), and the Pan American Health Organization.

Brazilian organizations that execute TCDC programs do not have specific budgets for cooperation. Instead, they contribute experts while the ABC channels resources through the UNDP to pay for travel and per diem expenses, capital investments, and consultancy work. According to the Ministry of External Relations,¹⁷ programs operate jointly, with Brazilian technical institutions seeking support for TCDC activities that involve financial or personnel costs.

As there is no specific budget for TCDC in the organizations that participate in programs and projects, it is impossible to know precisely how much money is spent. In the TCDC category, there are approximately 120 Brazilian institutions that cooperate either with similar institutions in partner countries or via the Brazilian government. The ABC estimates that, for each R\$1 spent by the agency, approximately R\$15 is spent by these institutions.

Although there are no precise expenditure figures, expenses have presumably grown rapidly as TCDC projects increased during the last five years. In fact, data show that the number of projects grew from 23 in 2003 to 176 in 2006. In turn, the ABC's budget has increased six-fold during this period. In 2006, the total amount spent by the ABC on TCDC projects channelled through the UNDP was US\$5 million. The region that received the highest percentage of the resources was Africa (46 percent).¹⁸ This percentage, however, should not be used to make any inferences about the actual activity by geographic region, as the projects carried out in Africa are generally more expensive than others due to travel, equipment, and transportation costs.

¹⁷ See http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/politica_externa/temas_agenda/cooperacao_inter/cooperacao01.asp (March 19, 2007).

¹⁸ Calculated from figures obtained at http://www.abc.gov.br/ct/pesquisa_projetosctpd.asp.

3. Research for Development: Political Aspects and Institutional Framework

With the development of a differentiated science and technology infrastructure among developing countries and significant advancement in some key science and technology activities, Brazil has established a reputation as a valuable international partner for scientific and technological cooperation. This reputation is particularly strong in developing countries in Latin America and Africa.

While Brazil's international cooperation policy remains dominated by TCDC development assistance programming, over the past decade, research for development has evolved independently to become a significant feature of the country's international cooperation policy. In recent years, research for development has followed the same priorities as development assistance with regard to priority issues, sectors, regions, and countries. The political foundations of research for development also mirror those of other development assistance efforts.

As Brazil seeks to consolidate its role as a global actor, the country has expanded and differentiated its policies and institutional arrangements for international cooperation while simultaneously attempting to move toward greater interagency coordination. As a result, these efforts have generated opportunities for Brazil in research for development.

Institutional framework

Although recent and still limited in terms of human, material, and financial resources, research for development encompasses a broad range of state agencies and research institutes within the ministries of health, agriculture, and science and technology. These ministries reflect the priority assigned to these areas in terms of international research cooperation in general and developing countries in particular.

The National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) is the chief executive coordinator of international scientific and technological cooperation. Although independent, this agency interacts indirectly with the Ministry of External Relations via the ABC. The ABC supports the international cooperation initiatives of research institutes by financing travel and per diem costs of employees.

As the chief national agency for science and technology development, CNPq is directly associated with universities, technology institutes, and research centres throughout the country. It usually directs financial resources through three different means: calls for applications in all science areas, calls for specific priority areas, and inter-institutional programs.

CNPq supports research by financing individual and collective projects, scientific publications, academic exchanges, and scientific congresses and seminars. It also provides scholarships to Brazilian students and researchers in Brazil and abroad, and supports training activities for those in the scientific community. Most of its support is channelled as research grants to researchers in individual or collective projects and scholarships to students. Institutional partnerships with public and private research institutions, ministries, state and local governments, and other public agencies are governed by specific agreements.

CNPq makes regular public announcements to advertise grants. Proposals are examined and selected by a technical and scientific council that includes 300 senior researchers. The council also monitors and evaluates research projects financed by CNPq.

Within the structure of the Ministry of Education, the major agency for scientific cooperation is the Coordination for the Development of Graduate Human Resources (CAPES), which provides grants and scholarships for graduate studies and is responsible for the regular evaluation of all graduate programs in Brazil. It also supports and finances exchange programs through bilateral

agreements, and grants scholarships to foreign graduate students in Brazil. Given its core mission and the relatively few resources it manages for international cooperation, its role in research for development is much more limited than that played by CNPq.

As Brazil is a federal system, each state may have its own agency to support scientific and technological development. As such, there are ten state agencies that support scientific research and technology development in Brazil. The most well known are FAPEMIG (Minas Gerais State Foundation for the Support of Research), FAPERJ (Rio de Janeiro State Foundation for the Support of Research), and FAPESP (Sao Paulo State Foundation for the Support of Research), which is the oldest and largest of the state agencies.

FAPESP receives about one percent of the annual revenue collected by Sao Paulo, the richest state of the federation. In 2006, the state's budget totalled US\$273 million. It is the only state agency that has formal international partnerships with foreign institutions, such as the British Council, CIRAD of France, DAAD and DFG of Germany, and Fulbright in the United States. However, cooperation with developing countries is extremely limited. The only formal partnership with a developing country is between the Ministry for Higher Education (MESC) of Cuba and the Ministry for Investments and Economic Collaboration (MINVEC) of Cuba. Brazil's diffuse institutional framework for research for development, therefore, is structured around a hub of federal institutions, with several public universities at the federal and state levels, technology institutes and research centres, and various associated private universities and organizations also playing a role.

Brazil's research for development activity focuses primarily on human capacity development in science and technology. As Brazil has a large and consolidated university system, especially at the graduate level, the country has concentrated much of its efforts on exchange and scholarship programs, as costs in this area are relatively low. Joint research and development, despite its political and strategic significance, encompasses only a minor share of Brazilian international cooperation in science and technology, and is restricted not only by the financial resources available, but also by the limited capabilities of the counterpart countries. Joint research and development in advanced areas are restricted to few areas and partners. To overcome these limitations to effective science and technology exchange, most of Brazil's programs and projects target the developing world and seek to create physical infrastructure or develop human resources.

Sector priorities reflect wider Brazilian TCDC interests and focus on areas of strategic relevance, such as nanotechnology, biotechnology, information and communication, space sciences, maritime sciences, meteorology, climatology, and hydrology. Health and agriculture are also priority areas for research for development programs. Despite the country's substantial interest in these areas, however, capabilities of partner nations constrain Brazil's research for development activities in the developing world.

Program components and disbursement patterns

Research for development is a new element of Brazilian international cooperation policy. Data collected show clearly that the research institutes and other public agencies responsible for research for development cooperation are often core agents of development assistance, making it difficult to distinguish a clear policy pattern for research for development. This duality is a natural feature of a cooperation policy traditionally centred on technical assistance but currently repositioning itself to meet new foreign policy objectives and demands. As such, research for development has not acquired a proper identity in the context of Brazilian international cooperation; its functionality is still assessed in direct association to development assistance and, therefore, its major political objectives do not differ substantially from those envisaged for development cooperation as expressed by TCDC.

In the absence of policy guidelines, the objectives and relative importance of research for development cooperation efforts reflect assorted sectoral interests. In such cases, cooperation

with developing countries is not pursued to enhance Brazil's international presence and influence, but to consolidate and advance technological development in specific sectors. Clear examples are the space cooperation programs with China and Ukraine, Fiocruz's engagement with Indian and South African institutions for scientific exchange and parallel research, and some actions pursued by EMBRAPA in Latin America.

In other cases, such as CNPq, cooperation with developing countries seeks to enhance the recipient country's scientific and technological capabilities. Therefore, in projects such as PROAFRICA and PROSUL, primary emphasis is placed on development of human resources and research infrastructure, and on joint work in areas of mutual interest, which is a much broader scope than projects carried out by INPE, Fiocruz, and EMBRAPA.

The same rationale applies to the identification of priority areas for cooperation in research for development. There is a clear focus on Latin America, Africa (especially Portuguese-speaking African countries), East Timor, and China as priority areas for international cooperation. Cooperation efforts directed toward PALOP countries are the only ones that currently enjoy a specific budget within the Ministry of External Relations (US\$3.25 million for 2007, from a total of US\$17.5 million allocated to all international cooperations)—a clear sign of the high political priority assigned to relations with these countries. The same sort of attention is not paid to Latin America or the Caribbean, in spite of the priority assigned to South America and Mercosur as regions, and important cases such as Haiti.

While country priorities are clearly set, there is no formal, clearly stated, and institutionally encompassing policy definition of priority areas. The definition of priorities for research for development is again made on the basis of a diffuse and sectoral-based assessment of the importance of areas and issues in which cooperation is demanded, and a consideration of anticipated benefits.

Although the universe of areas for research for development cooperation is smaller than that for development assistance, research for development enjoys the same priorities: health, education, agriculture, and science and technology. These priorities can be identified by comparing their respective budgets for international cooperation. Nevertheless, federal budget figures do not provide details on the amount of funds specifically destined for cooperation through research for development programs. As previously noted, many agencies and institutes do not have a specific budget for international cooperation; however, these official figures do provide a reasonable picture of priorities for international cooperation from which the priorities for research for development cooperation can also be inferred.

Two programs are illustrative of the kind of action Brazil is pursuing in research for development: PROSUL and PROAFRICA. These programs are sponsored by the CNPq and focus on South America and Africa—priority regions of Brazilian foreign policy. PROSUL was originally proposed by Brazil in the context of the 2000 South America Summit as a means to create a regional strategy for science and technology development. It aims to enlarge science and technology cooperation by intensifying regional research initiatives. PROSUL supports initiatives and projects that generate regional networks, innovation, joint research, and science and technology events. During the past two years, the program has supported 102 projects in agriculture, biology, health, social and human sciences, the natural sciences, and engineering—61 projects in the latter two areas alone.

PROAFRICA, which was created in 2003 in the framework of the Portuguese Speaking Community of Countries (CPLP), has the same objectives as PROSUL, but its primary focus is on exploratory missions, joint research, and the support of scientific events. The program supports 40 initiatives in agriculture, health, and earth and human sciences. Four countries are targeted: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Cape Verde. A specific program was also established in 2004 for academic exchanges in the social sciences, especially anthropology, sociology, and political science. The program currently sponsors 16 initiatives.

These two programs are the most important Brazilian research for development activities in Latin America and Africa. From its initiation in 2002 to 2006, PROSUL spent US\$4.9million. PROAFRICA, which implementation officially started in 2005, was allocated a budget of US\$0.25 million for 2005 and US\$0.35 million for 2006.¹⁹

The profile of partner institutions in research for development vary considerably by agency. The programs and projects carried out by the CNPq, such as PROSUL and PROAFRICA, generally do not include financial transfers. These projects require a Brazilian institutional partner to receive and manage funds. Generally, the Brazilian partner is a university or a research institute. This structure reflects the kind of actions performed under these projects—financing of technical and scientific missions, support for events in science and technology, and support for joint research activities. Institutional partners in recipient countries are normally universities and research centres. In such cases, grants for scholarships are made directly to individual beneficiaries on a bilateral basis.

Other programs are essentially multilateral, such as CYTED (Iberoamerican Program for Science and Technology and Development) and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa Dialogue Forum). The CNPq also interacts intensively with corresponding agencies in recipient countries. EMBRAPA, in turn, interacts with more diversified partners, including public agencies, universities, public and private research centres and companies, nongovernmental organizations, and regional and international organizations. A similar pattern is observed for Fiocruz due to its wide agenda in international cooperation. Coincidentally, these are the agencies that are also engaged in trilateral cooperation. More narrowly focused agencies, such as INPE, interact largely with corresponding agencies and specialized research centres.

¹⁹ Data on PROAFRICA can be found at www.cnpq.br/editais/ct/2006/015.htm and www.memoria.cnpq.br/serviços/editais/ct/2005/edital_04720025.htm. Data on PROSUL can be found at www.cnpq.br/editais/ct/2006/014.htm and www.cnpq.br/serviços/editais/ct/2005/edital_0402005.htm (April 21, 2007).

4. International Collaboration

As a result of sustained economic growth, Brazil has entered the ranks of middle-income countries and became ineligible for many types of traditional development assistance. Brazil, however, still suffers from enormous internal economic and social disparities. As such, Brazil argued for a more gradual approach to promotion as a donor country during the negotiations for the VII UNDP Cycle. This gradual phasing-out approach would allow countries to continue to receive cooperation and strengthen regional relations via TCDC and other multilateral methods. As a result, many ongoing bilateral technical cooperation programs have continued, although new ones are not being negotiated. From the 1990s, the bilateral and multilateral cooperation received by Brazil concentrated mainly on the environment, social welfare, and sustainable development instead of economic and industrial development.

The result has been an increasing focus on TCDC and triangular cooperation. As stated by ABC, triangular cooperation occurs when two countries implement joint actions to provide professional qualification, strengthen institutions, and exchange technicians in favour of a third party. The ABC identifies seven countries as main partners in triangular cooperation: Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, Spain, France, and Italy.²⁰

A good example of triangular cooperation is the collaboration between Brazil and Japan for assistance to Latin America, PALOP countries, and East Timor. In fact, this collaboration is a priority for Japan, as this country views Brazil as an emerging country that can transfer know-how to other developing countries. An example of this relationship is the Japan-Brazil Partnership Program (JBPP), which targets the PALOPs and East Timor as third parties. On the Brazilian side, the participating organizations are FIOCRUZ and EMBRAPA.²¹ Two five-year programs were established: one provides training for tutors in public health distance education in partnership with FIOCRUZ; the other is run in association with EMBRAPA in the area of tropical fruit and manioc management.

Germany also considers Brazil an important partner, taking into account its economic weight and role in economic development and security in Latin America. In addition, the German government perceives that the country has an important role to play in natural resource and environmental protection. As such, bilateral cooperation is considered important and could have a multiplying effect in neighbouring countries.²²

As of March 2006, bilateral programs with the United Kingdom had been phased out and replaced by a more regional approach. However, the Department for International Cooperation (DFID) of the United Kingdom has continued to work in Brazil to stimulate research and debate, and share lessons learned on issues such as trade policy, HIV/AIDS, poverty reduction, and reaching the Millennium Development Goals. This means that DFID has started to develop a regional approach to Latin America and envisions a central role for Brazil in the region.

According to the ABC, developed countries could support Brazil in TCDC, as the country has enough expertise in several areas, although it lacks financial and other resources to become fully engaged in cooperation with developing countries. At the same time, Brazilian officials are concerned that triangular operations might divert the country's assets to priorities other than those pursued by Brazil. They argue that triangular cooperation should not be an avenue for Brazilian organizations to subcontract work in developing countries. For this reason, Brazil is inclined to follow a careful and selective approach to triangular operations, seeking to avoid a

²⁰ See http://www.abc.gov.br/abc/abc_ctpd_triangular.asp. (March 13 2007).

²¹ *Idem* (March 14, 2007).

²² BMZ Position Paper. Anchor countries - Partners for Global Development, page 9.

replication of traditional North-South international cooperation patterns. The country sees such operations as positive when fair partnerships are developed, and also when ownership by the beneficiary evolves.

While Brazil engages in triangular cooperation and regional programs, no estimates of the disbursement for these programs are available. Assessing the costs of consultancy work and training—mostly the salaries, equipment, publications, travels, and per diem expenses—is simply too difficult. However, the fact that these programs exist leaves the impression that, as bilateral cooperation with developed countries continues to be phased out and as Brazil receives less development assistance through traditional modes, triangular cooperation and regional programs will become increasingly important.

But despite their growth, these collaborative arrangements do not yet represent a significant proportion of Brazil's development cooperation efforts in comparison to more conventional projects within the TCDC program. Within this context, collaboration in research for development programs for other developing nations is even less significant and more recent. In fact, research for development partnerships with Argentina, India, and South Africa are now being conceived and therefore are not subject to scrutiny at the present stage.

5. Conclusion

Brazil's earlier status as a recipient of traditional development assistance from wealthier donor countries and its identification with other recipients, have made its government sensitive to the term "development assistance". The country has emphasized the idea of international cooperation as an alternative to the more traditional term with its hierarchical implications, using the language of partnership and collaboration. Brazil successfully promoted this concept within the UN framework and helped develop the notion of Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC). Brazil's institutional framework for the delivery of international cooperation encompasses two primary branches: a larger one devoted to technical cooperation, representing the most traditional and active dimension, and a smaller and more recent one related to cooperation in science and technology (research for development).

TCDC has been practiced in Brazil since the 1960s and has grown considerably since the mid 1980s as the country's economy expanded and the capabilities of national organizations increased. The main objectives that can be identified are strengthening foreign relations and Brazil's international presence; to open and consolidate markets for Brazilian goods and services; and to strengthen Brazilian science and technology capabilities.

Presently, Brazilian foreign policy focuses on South America and Africa as priority regions. A competing and emerging political priority is the strengthening of political and economic ties with other emerging market countries, specifically South Africa and India. There has also been an increasing focus on triangular cooperation. The ABC identifies seven countries as main partners in triangular cooperation: Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, Spain, France, and Italy. Sectorally, there has been a special focus on health, agriculture and development of human resources (in the case of technical assistance), and again, health, agriculture and education in the case of research for development. Energy, ethanol in particular, represents a strong emerging issue in both areas, although actual projects in this area remain minimal to date.

Although formally responding to similar policy priorities and objectives, development assistance (technical cooperation) and research for development are independent from one another in terms of their institutional frameworks, sources of financing and other operational considerations. Due to the absence of a coordinated system, they evolved rather independently. Recently, these two branches of Brazilian international cooperation gradually began to converge to create what might be regarded as an international cooperation policy. There is certainly a clear perception among Brazilian policy makers and public servants that technical cooperation and research for development are increasingly responding to policy priorities set at the highest levels.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABC - Brazilian Cooperation Agency
Anvisa - National Sanitary Control Agency
ASSIN - Department of International Affairs of the Ministry of Science and Technology
CAPES - Coordination for the Development of Graduate Human Resources
CenPRA - Renato Archer Research Center
CIAM - Inter-American Collaboration on Materials
CIRAD – French Agricultural Research Centre for International Development
CNPq - National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (
CGRB - General Coordination for Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
CPLP - Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (Portuguese-Speaking Countries)
CTRB - Bilaterally Received Technical Cooperation.
CTRM - Multilaterally Received Technical Cooperation
CTPD - Technical Cooperation amongst Developing Countries
CYTED - Iberoamerican Program for Science and Technology and Development
DAC - Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
DAAD – German Academic Exchange Service
DFG – German Research Foundation
DFID - Department for International Cooperation (UK Government)
DMAE - Division of Sea, Antarctica and Space of the Ministry of External Relations.
EMBRAPA - Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation, linked to the Ministry of Agriculture
FAPEMIG - Minas Gerais State Foundation for the Support of Research
FAPERJ - Rio de Janeiro state Foundation for the Support of Research
FAPESP - São Paulo State Foundation for the Support of Research
FBC - Brazilian Fund for Cooperation
FINEP - Brazilian Innovation Agency
Fiocruz - National Health Research Institute/Oswaldo Cruz Foundation
GTZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German cooperation agency)
Ibama - Brazilian Institute for the Environment
IBICT - Brazilian Institute for Science and Technology Information
IBSA - India, Brazil and South Africa Dialogue Forum
IDB – Interamerican Development Bank
IICA - Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Cooperation
INFOLAC - Information Society Program for Latin America and the Caribbean
INPE - National Institute of Space Research
ITC – international technical cooperation
JICA - Japan International Cooperation Agency
JBPP – Japan Brazil Partnership Program
Latindex - Online Regional Information System for Scientific
MCT - Ministry of Science and Technology
Mercosul - Southern Common Market
MESC - Ministry for Higher Education of Cuba
MINVEC - Ministry for Investments and Economic Collaboration of Cuba
NAF - Núcleo de Administração e Finanças/ Administration and Funds Center of CGRB- ABC
NPT - Non-Proliferation Treaty
OAS - Organization of American States
PAHO - Pan American Health Organization
PALOPs - Portuguese Speaking African Countries
RECyT/Mercosur - Mercosur Specialized Meeting on Science and Technology
R4D - research for development
RITLA - Latin American Technological Information Network
SEAIN - Ministry of Planning's Department for International Affairs
SEBRAE – Brazilian Agency for the Support of Micro and Small Companies
SENAI - National Service for Industrial Learning

SESC – Commerce Social Service Agency
STIC-Amsud - South America Regional Programme for Science and Technology
Information and Communication
TCC - Technical Cooperation among Countries of the Pan American Health Organization
(PAHO/WHO)
TCDC (or CTPD) - Technical Cooperation amongst Developing Countries
TCTP – JICA's Training Program for Third Countries
TWAS - Academy of Sciences for the Developing World
UNAIDS United Nations Agency for AIDS
UNDP- United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA – United Nations Population Fund
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
WHO – World Health Organization