

# MONITOR

## DEVELOPMENT POLICY

### THE ROLE OF NON-TRADITIONAL DONORS IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

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# Development partner for South and North

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## Brazil's role in international development cooperation

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- › In the first decade of the 21st century, Brazil became a major player in South-South Cooperation. However, the country does not regard itself as a traditional donor but rather as a development partner offering alternative solutions for global problems such as poverty and hunger.
- › Whereas various Portuguese-speaking African and Latin American countries profit from capacity development and knowledge transfers, Brazil also relies heavily on horizontal partnerships with industrial nations as well as on trilateral cooperation.
- › Brazil's multilateral focus and its manifest engagement in international forums have weakened appreciably as a result of limited financial resources and in the wake of the country's increasingly "anti-globalist" foreign policy.
- › Germany and Brazil can look back on almost 60 years of successful bilateral technical cooperation in numerous policy areas. Considerable potential remains untapped, however, especially in trilateral cooperation initiatives and the promotion of technical and financial cooperation for the development of strategic renewable energy sources.

## Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Brazil's development cooperation since 2014</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Momentum for trilateral cooperation</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Development cooperation in the foreign, security and defence policy context</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Multilateralism and regional integration in crisis?</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>German-Brazilian development cooperation</b>	<b>7</b>
German-Brazilian bilateral technical and financial development cooperation.....	7
German-Brazilian trilateral cooperation.....	8
<b>Summary</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Imprint</b>	<b>13</b>
The authors .....	13

## Introduction

Brazil has been involved in technical cooperation with developing countries since the 1960s and, over the past twenty years in particular, has consolidated its role as a major donor in the field of non-traditional development cooperation. Especially in the period between 2004 and 2014, Brazil developed into a major player in what is termed South-South Cooperation (SSC), mainly by fostering capacity building and knowledge sharing between partners in Africa and Latin America. The SSC Brazil supports has concentrated for the most part on content of a socio-political nature and has been implemented in both bilateral and trilateral formats<sup>1</sup>.

In contrast to the Federal Republic of Germany, there is no ministry in Brazil which exercises special responsibility for economic cooperation and development. Rather, the formulation of development policy guidelines, as a component of foreign relations, is the task of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Itamaraty*. However, it should be emphasised that in 1987 Brazil became the first South American country, ahead of Chile, to set up a state agency for development cooperation. The *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação*<sup>2</sup> (Brazilian Agency for Cooperation, ABC) is answerable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has a limited mandate restricted to technical cooperation, which can only be undertaken in response to an official diplomatic request.

According to the former diplomat and Programme Adviser with the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, Carlos Milani<sup>3</sup>, however, to describe Brazil as a “rising donor” is not without its problems, as the country rarely functions as a donor in development cooperation and hardly ever provides direct financial aid. In his view, Brazil was labelled a “rising donor” by the international community, although this in no way corresponds to any claim made by the Brazilian government. Contrary to Milani’s opinion, which largely coincides with the official discourse, numerous experts point out that Brazil’s development policy strategy, especially under President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011), was certainly motivated by foreign policy, being aimed at portraying the country as an “emerging power” and “rising donor” alongside countries such as China and India.

The fact is that the overwhelming majority of Brazilian international cooperation projects are no more than technical cooperation programmes and, due to a lack of financial resources, leave little scope for any financial development cooperation. They include, for example, expert advisory services, the training of skilled personnel and an exchange of experiences. It could be argued, however, that technical know-how, for instance in the field of social and health policy and in the fight against poverty, has been skilfully exploited to draw attention to the Brazilian “offer” and demonstrate that Brazil is in a position to contribute to the resolution of global problems such as poverty and hunger.

Based on the outcome of the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the United Nations SSC Conference in Buenos Aires in 1978, Brazil’s development cooperation rests on principles that differ from development assistance in the traditional sense<sup>4</sup>. Brazil’s SSC model questions the use of the terms “donor” and “recipient”, postulating instead the concept of a mutually beneficial, horizontal relationship between “cooperation partners”. This approach is reflected in official documents of the Brazilian Agency for Cooperation as well as in the Nairobi Outcome Document of the United Nations Conference on SSC that was held in 2009. Most remarkable of all is that Brazilian SSC does not stipulate any conditions and pursues a demand-driven approach in the formulation of development projects<sup>5</sup>.

Premised on such principles and coordinated by the ABC, Brazil’s SSC model has been implemented in recent decades by a series of actors, including civil society organisations and state institutions. These include, for example, the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (*Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária*, Embrapa) and the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (*Fundação Oswaldo Cruz*, Fiocruz), which are responsible for managing structure-building SSC projects in Africa and Latin America. Brazil’s SSC is concentrated in these two world regions. Between 2011 and 2013, 46.4 per cent of Brazil’s entire technical cooperation went to Africa and 45.5 per cent to Latin America<sup>6</sup>.

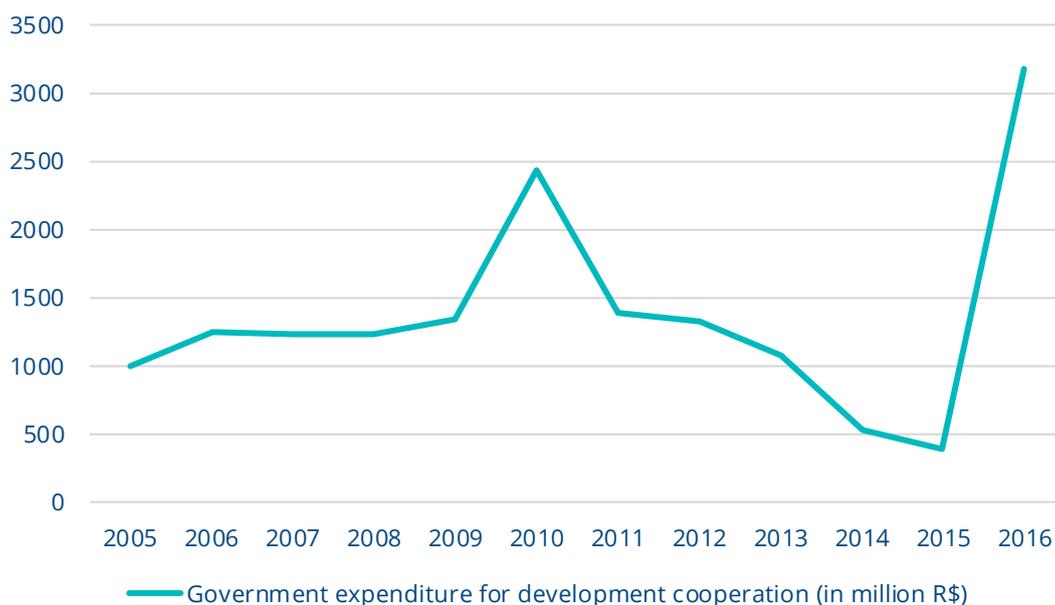
### **Brazil’s development cooperation since 2014**

The remarkable expansion of Brazil’s SSC in the first decade of the 21st century led to an intense inner-Brazilian debate about national interests and the outcome of this active commitment, Brazil’s role in international cooperation and the expenditure involved. Given that Brazil was in the throes of a deep economic crisis, there was very little justification for a global engagement, especially in view of the country’s increasingly serious social problems. In addition, there was a shift in foreign policy focus during President Dilma Rousseff’s second term in office. Beginning in 2015, the decline of what was called “presidential diplomacy”, which had exerted a considerable influence on SSC, together with a growing divergence in the interests of development policy players, led to a significant slowdown in the momentum of Brazil’s involvement in SSC<sup>7</sup>. After 2016, there was ever stronger support for the view that SSC was of limited benefit to Brazilian

society and did not coincide with strategic national interests. Accordingly, Brazil's priorities for development cooperation and the entire field of foreign policy were modified by the liberal-conservative Temer government and readjusted to bring about a renewed focus of cooperation with the developed countries of the "Global North".

Data from the Institute for Applied Economic Research (*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada*, Ipea) confirm this development: Brazil's expenditure on SSC has been decreasing since 2011. A particularly sharp decline was recorded in 2014, when the state budget was increasingly burdened by the economic crisis and offered less and less room for manoeuvre. As chart 1 shows, Brazilian government spending on development cooperation fell by 64 per cent between 2013 and 2015, but was followed by a sharp increase in 2016. However, this increase was entirely due to the late payment of contributions to multilateral organisations – including the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the International Criminal Court (ICC)<sup>8</sup>. This special case meant that 80.5 per cent of state development cooperation expenditure between 2014 and 2016 went to multilateral organisations. In the same period, only 9.1 per cent of development cooperation expenditure was on bilateral cooperation<sup>9</sup> (R\$363.7 million) and 4.7 per cent on trilateral cooperation initiatives (R\$184.2 million).

**Chart 1: Brazil's government expenditure in the area of development cooperation, 2005-2016 (in million R\$)**



Source: Authors' own diagram after IPEA 2018.

The financial resources the government in Brasilia made available between 2014 and 2016 for bilateral projects in the field of technical and scientific development cooperation were used first and foremost for cooperation with the following partners: Mozambique (17 per cent), United States of America (14 per cent), Haiti (12 per cent) and Cuba (5 per cent)<sup>10</sup>. The first two countries, Mozambique and the USA, illustrate Brazil's two-pronged approach to development cooperation. One of its pillars is undoubtedly knowledge transfer and capacity building within the framework of SCC, which primarily benefits developing countries in Africa and the Caribbean. At the same time, Brazil also relies on so-called "horizontal" partnerships, such as those with the USA and other

industrial nations, to improve its own technological capabilities as well as to promote human resources development<sup>11</sup>.

A close examination of the allocation of resources, especially in the field of technical cooperation, shows that there is a clear geographical focus on lusophone, i.e. Portuguese-speaking countries. Evidence of this is provided by São Tomé and Príncipe with a share of 17 per cent, Mozambique (10 per cent) and Guinea-Bissau (9 per cent)<sup>12</sup>. This reflects Brazil's traditional focus on promoting technical development cooperation especially with member-states of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, CPLP).

### **Momentum for trilateral cooperation**

Brazil, which prospered economically in the first decade of the new millennium, served as a global model in the fight to reduce poverty and hunger, which featured among the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). As a result, the country became a sought-after partner for trilateral cooperation projects, especially in the field of social policy. This development was particularly noticeable in the period from 2009 to 2015. Whereas in 2009 trilateral cooperation projects accounted for just 1.9 per cent of the ABC's overall budget, that figure rose to 73.8 per cent in 2015<sup>13</sup>. The growing expenditure on development cooperation of this kind was accompanied by a geographical diversification of the projects. Whereas trilateral cooperation projects with Brazilian participation had concentrated primarily on Africa up to 2012, an increasing number of projects were subsequently launched in Latin America and the Caribbean. The general purpose of these programmes was to support developing countries in areas such as agriculture and rural development, food security, public health and administration.

Trilateral cooperation projects were seen as an ideal way of exploiting the complementarities of various actors in the field of knowledge transfer, exchange of experiences and models of financing. In projects of this kind the third player, along with Brazil and a developing country, could be either an industrial country or an international organisation. Between 2014 and 2016, Brazilian expenditure on trilateral cooperation projects with international organisations amounted to 4.5 per cent of total national expenditure on development cooperation. The most important partners were the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Over the same period, trilateral cooperation projects with industrialised nations in the global North accounted for a mere 0.2 per cent of total national expenditure on development cooperation. The main partners here were Japan, the United States, Italy and Germany.

### **Development cooperation in the foreign, security and defence policy context**

During the time the Brazilian Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT) was in power (2003-2016), Brazil attracted considerable attention in international circles as a non-traditional cooperation partner in development cooperation. This was attributable not so much to the financial strength of the cooperation projects concerned as to the political priority the Brazilian governments attached to the matter as an element of their foreign policy agenda. SSC was directly related to foreign policy objectives and intended to help secure the support of certain countries in multilateral forums, for example. When international cooperation became less important under the government of Michel Temer (2016-2018), the financial resources made available decreased, while SSC also forfeited its status as a diplomatic instrument and part of a global strategy.

Previously, SSC had been a component of Brazil's strategy in security and defence policy, especially in the form of military cooperation and knowledge sharing with the armed forces of other countries. Joint military exercises account for 90 per cent of all technical cooperation projects listed by the ABC in connection with security and defence policy<sup>14</sup>. Between 2011 and 2015, military exercises were held annually with African partners such as Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Nigeria, Benin and Guinea-Bissau. Initiatives of this kind were in line with Brazilian interests in the security and defence sector and ensured that the capabilities of cooperation partners on the African continent were strengthened.

In addition, Brazil was an important supplier of troops for numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions during the "boom years" of SSC between 2004 and 2014. In 2010, the country ranked thirteenth worldwide in the provision of soldiers for so-called "Blue Helmets" missions. Particularly noteworthy is the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which was under Brazilian command between 2004 and 2017 and had a far-reaching impact on Brazil's general development cooperation with the Caribbean state<sup>15</sup>. Over the past decade there has been a steady decline in both the budget and troop contingents earmarked for UN peacekeeping missions. Whereas some 2,250 Brazilian soldiers had been deployed as Blue Helmets in 2011, their number constantly decreased in the following years and amounted to roughly 1,000 soldiers in 2017<sup>16</sup>. In 2021, Brazil will have no armed units involved in United Nations missions at all for the first time since 2004. The budget for such operations when Bolsonaro's government took office in 2019 was just over R\$100 million, which was already less than a quarter of what it had been in 2013, for example (R\$481 million). The decision not to extend Brazil's participation in the UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) mission in Lebanon, in which the German Armed Forces are also involved, meant a further 70 per cent cut in the budget. In 2021, this will amount to just under R\$ 25 million – a figure which signals the country's departure from a long-standing foreign policy tradition that advocated and promoted Brazil's participation in multilateral institutions and United Nations missions<sup>17</sup>.

### **Multilateralism and regional integration in crisis?**

During the first decade of the 21st century, Brazil also attempted to bring its economic strength and political influence to bear in order to claim a leading role for itself in South America. This was demonstrated, for example, by the leading role Brazil played in the founding of the Union of South American States (UNASUR), the founding document being signed on 23 May 2008 in Brasília<sup>18</sup>. The issue of regional integration generally ranked high on the agenda at that time and was regarded as a foreign policy priority<sup>19</sup>. That changed as of 2014, after which a consistent disassociation from the regional leadership position once sought by Brazil's foreign policy could be observed<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, Latin America and the Caribbean are still closely involved as partner regions in Brazil's development cooperation, receiving 26 per cent of total government spending on development cooperation between 2014 and 2016<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly, Brazil's influence in multilateral forums has also declined over the past ten years. From 2004 to 2014 Brazil played an active role in a variety of groups of states and coalitions, including BRICS<sup>22</sup>, IBSA<sup>23</sup> and G20, and exerted considerable influence on multilateral debates on development cooperation, especially SSC, and even in the drafting of the agenda for sustainable development. Brazil also played a significant role during the multilateral negotiations that led to the signing of the Paris Agreement at the UN Climate Change Conference in 2015.

Since 2014 the influence Brazil once had on multilateral institutions has decreased noticeably in conjunction with the weakening of the highly visible "presidential diplomacy" that had been pursued under President Lula, in particular. Accompanied by a deteriorating economic situation

and years of recession or stagnation, the country's influence on multilateral institutions has all but evaporated in view of the explicitly "anti-globalist" Brazilian foreign policy stance under President Bolsonaro and ex-Foreign Minister Ernesto Araújo, who was dismissed in March 2021<sup>24</sup>. Brazil is, for instance, not a member of the Alliance for Multilateralism initiated by Germany and France, which since 2019 has endeavoured to renew the "global commitment to stabilise the rules-based international order".

The drastic deterioration in Brazilian cooperation in multilateral organisations since the Bolsonaro government took office is also a direct consequence of the shift in domestic priorities in various fields of policy, which could have an impact on German development cooperation with Brazil. For instance, Brazil's dissociation from the multilateral sustainable development agenda – illustrated by its failure to implement the nationally determined contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Agreement – is closely bound up with the rapid dismantling of environment protection structures and the erosion of standards in Brazil. The weakening of environmental policy, on the other hand, directly affects one of the priority areas of German development cooperation in Brazil: the protection and sustainable use of the tropical forests. Specifically, the dismantling of structures and authorities in the environmental protection sector under the current government has resulted in the Amazon Fund for Forest and Climate Protection, in which Germany had played a significant role through the financial cooperation of the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW), being effectively brought to a halt since 2019.

## German-Brazilian development cooperation

### German-Brazilian bilateral technical and financial development cooperation

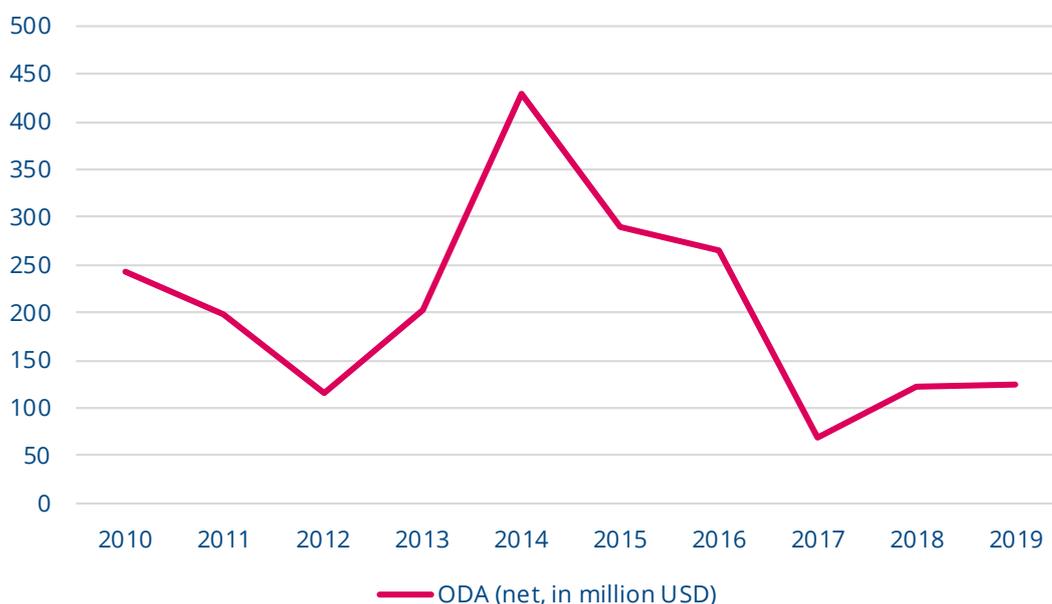
These challenges aside, Germany and Brazil maintain a strong tradition of cooperation based on almost six decades of bilateral technical and financial cooperation – and since 2008 also on trilateral cooperation initiatives. The first bilateral cooperation project between Germany and Brazil, approved in Alagoas in 1962, was followed in 1963 by the signing of the Basic Treaty on Technical Cooperation, which formed the basis for later complementary adjustments and remains the most important normative structure of bilateral technical cooperation to this day<sup>25</sup>. The agreement laid down procedures and rules to facilitate capacity building and knowledge exchange in the context of bilateral technical cooperation.

In recent decades, bilateral technical cooperation has covered a wide range of policy areas, including education, economic development, democratic governance, energy and environmental protection. Currently, according to the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), "cooperation centres on joint efforts for sustainable economic, social and ecological development"<sup>26</sup>. Specifically, German development cooperation in Brazil focuses on the promotion of renewable energies and energy efficiency as well as on the protection and sustainable use of tropical forests. In 2019, 45 per cent of the cooperation funds of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH went to projects for the protection of tropical forests, 31 per cent to energy projects, 12 per cent to combating climate change, four per cent to urban development and eight per cent to other initiatives in the fields of education and economic development<sup>27</sup>. As part of the BMZ 2030 reform, Brazil also became one of the cooperation countries in the "Global Partners" category, a group of selected emerging countries whose priority aim is to work together to achieve global goals<sup>28</sup>.

According to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Official Development Assistance (ODA<sup>29</sup>) with the Federal Republic as donor and Brazil as recipient

peaked at around 432 million USD in 2014 before declining by 84 per cent between 2014 and 2017 and stabilising at around USD 124 million in 2018/19, as shown in chart 2<sup>30</sup>.

**Chart 2: ODA payments made by Germany to Brazil, 2010-2019 (in million USD)**



Source: Authors' own diagram after OECDStat

### German-Brazilian trilateral cooperation

With regard to implementation of the MDGs in the first decade of the 21st century, Brazil and Germany shared the view that development cooperation could play a key role in supporting the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in addressing global challenges. This joint conviction was the motivating force for the realisation of trilateral cooperation initiatives aimed at combining the experience gathered by Germany and Brazil in implementing innovative and sustainable solutions to the needs of LDCs.

After a pilot project in Mozambique was approved in 2008, Germany and Brazil signed a memorandum of understanding on trilateral cooperation in 2010. In 2015, the Brazilian-German Trilateral Cooperation Programme (*Cooperação Trilateral Brasil-Alemanha*, CTBA) was initiated as a partnership between the ABC and the BMZ via GIZ. In 2016, the ABC published the Operational Manual of Brazilian-German Trilateral Cooperation, which sets out the processes and instruments for implementing trilateral cooperation as well as legal and programmatic guidelines<sup>31</sup>. One of the key guiding principles of CTBA relates to recipient country ownership, based on the sharing of accumulated knowledge and technology in order to increase benefits.

In 2019, German-Brazilian trilateral cooperation included projects in several African and Latin American developing countries, including Angola, Ghana, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, specifically in the areas of agricultural development, high-quality infrastructure and environmental protection. Of particular note is the Human Capacity Building (HCB) programme, which since 2017 has combined German and Brazilian expertise to strengthen the institutional capacity of organisations in Angola, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe in the fields of renewable energy and environmental protection<sup>32</sup>.

According to the IPEA, Germany ranked fourth among the most important developed partners of Brazil's trilateral cooperation initiatives in the period from 2014 to 2016, after Japan, the USA and Italy<sup>33</sup>.

## Summary

Brazil has been involved in technical cooperation with developing countries since the 1960s and has expanded its activities over the past two decades to the point where it can be considered one of the protagonists of non-traditional development cooperation. Three different phases of Brazilian foreign policy in the field of development cooperation stand out. The first covers the period between 2004 and 2014, when the country became one of the main champions of SSC, promoting capacity development and knowledge exchange with numerous cooperation partners in Africa and Latin America through both bilateral and trilateral channels, and focusing mainly on social policy. The second phase began in 2016, when the Workers' Party lost power and the subsequent government concluded that SSC had achieved only limited success for Brazilian civil society. From 2019 onwards, Brazilian foreign policy under the former minister Ernesto Araújo again focused on the "Global North", the approach being underpinned by an explicitly "anti-globalist" stance.

Germany has maintained a tradition of cooperation with Brazil for over sixty years, in the course of which trilateral cooperation was launched and a large volume of bilateral technical and financial cooperation was achieved. A continuation of cooperation, particularly in the priority areas of renewable energies, energy efficiency and environmental protection, and incorporating Brazil's experience as a development policy actor, can therefore make an important contribution to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

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- <sup>1</sup> Besharati, Neissan / Esteves, Paulo 2015: The BRICS, South-South Cooperation and the International Development Field, in: Contexto Internacional, 37 (1).
- <sup>2</sup> Further information available at <http://www.abc.gov.br/>.
- <sup>3</sup> Senior Researcher and Programme Adviser with the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, UNOSSC) und Senior Fellow with the Brazilian Centre for International Relations (Centro Brasileiro de Relações Internacionais, CEBRI).
- <sup>4</sup> Pino, Bruno 2014: Evolução Histórica da Cooperação Sul-Sul, in: De Mello e Souza, André 2014: Repensando a Cooperação Internacional para o Desenvolvimento, IPEA.
- <sup>5</sup> BRICS Policy Center / Agência Brasileira de Cooperação 2017: Caminhos para a construção de sistemas e processos de monitoramento e avaliação da cooperação Sul-Sul.
- <sup>6</sup> IPEA 2017: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): 2011-2013, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada/ABC, p. 35.
- <sup>7</sup> Menezes, Roberto / Fingermann, Natalia: Cooperação Sul-Sul no Governo Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016): Retração ou Transformação, in: Revista Sociedade e Cultura, v. 23.
- <sup>8</sup> IPEA 2018: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada/ABC.
- <sup>9</sup> In addition to technical development cooperation Brazil's bilateral cooperation projects encompass humanitarian aid, scientific and technological cooperation, the granting of scholarships and the assumption of costs for refugees.
- <sup>10</sup> IPEA 2018: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. Brasília: Ipea/ABC.
- <sup>11</sup> IPEA 2018: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. Brasília: Ipea/ABC, p. 273.
- <sup>12</sup> IPEA 2018: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. Brasília: Ipea/ABC, p. 286.
- <sup>13</sup> Milani, Carlos R.S 2017: ABC 30 Anos: História e Desafios Futuros, in: Agência Brasileira de Cooperação, here p. 224.
- <sup>14</sup> Caixeta, Marina / Suyama, Bianca 2016: A cooperação Sul-Sul na agenda dos Ministérios, in: Defesa e Segurança. Informativo Setorial - Observatório Brasil e o Sul. Nº 2.
- <sup>15</sup> Milani, Carlos R.S. 2017: ABC 30 Anos: História e Desafios Futuros. Brasília: Agência Brasileira de Cooperação, here p. 224.
- <sup>16</sup> Andrade, Israel / Hamman, Eduarda / Soares, Matheus 2019: A participação do Brasil nas operações de paz das Nações Unidas: evolução, desafios e oportunidades, in: Texto para Discussão 2442 - Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Ipea).

- <sup>17</sup> Brant, Danielle / Machado, Renato 2020: Sob Bolsonaro, verba para missões de paz atinge mínima histórica, at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2020/09/sob-bolsonaro-verba-para-missoes-de-paz-atinge-minima-historica.shtml>
- <sup>18</sup> Brazil officially left UNASUR in 2019 to become a member of the Forum for Progress and Development in South America (*Fórum para o Progresso e Desenvolvimento da América*, PROSUR).
- <sup>19</sup> Saraiva, Miriam 2013: Novas abordagens para análise dos processos de integração na América do Sul: o caso brasileiro, in: *Carta Internacional*, v. 8, n. 1.
- <sup>20</sup> Leão, André 2016: Política externa brasileira para a América do Sul: uma análise comparada entre os primeiros mandatos dos governos Dilma e Lula, in: *Boletim de Economia e Política Internacional* (BEPI), n. 22.
- <sup>21</sup> IPEA 2018: *Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016*, in: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. Brasília: Ipea/ABC.
- <sup>22</sup> The BRICS countries are a loose association of emerging economies; the designation BRICS stands for the initial letters of the five associated states Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.
- <sup>23</sup> The IBSA Dialogue Forum is a coordination mechanism of the three emerging economies India, Brazil and South Africa, in which the states discuss possibilities for cooperation in the areas of agriculture, trade, culture and defence, among others.
- <sup>24</sup> Ribeiro, Renata; Milani, Carlos 2019. L'élection de Bolsonaro, la politique étrangère brésilienne en 2019 et l'avenir de la coopération Sud-Sud, at: <https://journals.openedition.org/ideas/5578>.
- <sup>25</sup> Basic Technical Cooperation Agreement between Brazil and Germany, at: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/decreto/D2579.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/D2579.htm).
- <sup>26</sup> Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2021, at: <https://www.bmz.de/de/laender/brasilien>.
- <sup>27</sup> Ministério das relações exteriores/agência brasileira de cooperação 2019: *Manual operacional da cooperação trilateral Brasil-Alemanha (CTBA)*, at: <https://www.ctba.net.br/biblioteca/arquivos/46-manual-operacional-da-cooperacao-trilateral-brasil-alemanha-ctba>
- <sup>28</sup> Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2021: *Zukunft gemeinsam gestalten – strategische Zusammenarbeit mit Globalen Partnern*, at: [https://www.bmz.de/resource/blob/86794/21419db54e37cbf4c8a54c842c306bc1/BMZ\\_Positionspapier\\_Globale\\_Partner](https://www.bmz.de/resource/blob/86794/21419db54e37cbf4c8a54c842c306bc1/BMZ_Positionspapier_Globale_Partner).
- <sup>29</sup> ODA refers to financial contributions to countries and territories on the DAC list of ODA recipients and to multilateral development institutions that are (i) provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive bodies; and (ii) administered on concessional terms (i.e. grants and through soft loans) and with the primary objective of promoting the economic development and welfare of developing countries. Further information at: <https://www.bmz.de/de/ministerium/zahlen-fakten/oda-zahlen/hintergrund/leitfaden-oda-19206>.
- <sup>30</sup> OECD 2021; *Development Co-operation Profiles*. OECD Publishing, Paris, at: <https://doi.org/10.1787/18b00a44-en>.

- <sup>31</sup> Ministério das relações exteriores/agência brasileira de cooperação (2019): Manual operacional da cooperação trilateral Brasil-Alemanha (CTBA), in:  
<https://www.ctba.net.br/biblioteca/arquivos/46-manual-operacional-da-cooperacao-trilateral-brasil-alemanha-ctba>.
- <sup>32</sup> GIZ 2019: 10 Anos da Cooperação Trilateral Brasil-Alemanha. Programa de Cooperação Trilateral Brasil-Alemanha.
- <sup>33</sup> IPEA 2018: Cooperação Brasileira para o Desenvolvimento Internacional (COBRADI): Levantamento 2014-2016. Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, p. 275.

## Imprint

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