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## Brazilian Health and Agricultural Cooperation in Mozambique: An Overview



BRICS Policy Center Centro de Estudos e Pesquisas - BRICS



SSC  
South-South Cooperation



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# Acronyms

ABC Agência Brasileira de Cooperação; Brazilian Cooperation Agency

ANVISA Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária; Brazil's National Sanitary Surveillance Agency

Capes Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior; Brazil's Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel

CEAH WFP's Centre of Excellence Against Hunger

CNPq Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico; Brazil's National Council of Science and Technology Development

CPLP Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa; Community of Portuguese Language Countries

DAC OECD Development Assistance Committee

DfID United Kingdom's Department for International Development

EMATER Empresa de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural; Brazil's Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Enterprise

Embrapa Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária; Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation

ENSP Escola Nacional de Saúde Pública; Brazil's National School of Public Health

FASE Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e Educacional; Federation of Organizations for Social and Educational Assistance

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

Fiocruz Fundação Oswaldo Cruz

FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique; Mozambique Liberation Front

G19 Mozambique's General Budget Support Group

G77 The Group of 77

GBS General Budget Support

GV Agro Centro de Agronegócio da Fundação Getúlio Vargas; Agribusiness Studies Center at Getúlio Vargas Foundation

HPG Mozambique's Health Partner's Group

IANPHI International Association of National Public Health Institutes

IHMT Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical; Portugal's National Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

IIAM Instituto de Investigação Agrária de Moçambique; Mozambique's Institute of Agricultural Research

INCA Insituto Nacional do Câncer; Brazil's National Cancer Institute

IPEA Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada; Brazil's Institute of Applied Economic Research

JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency

MCP Movimento Camponês Popular; Brazil's Popular Peasant Movement

MDS Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome; Brazil's Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger

MINAG Ministério da Agricultura; Mozambique's Ministry of Agriculture

MISAU Ministério da Saúde; Mozambique's Ministry of Health

MMC Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas; Brazil's Movement of Peasant Women

MNIH Mozambique's National Institute of Health

MRE Ministério das Relações Exteriores; Brazil's Ministry of External Relations

NAIMA+ Network of International NGOs Working on Health and HIV/Aids in Mozambique

ODA Official Development Assistance

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PAA Purchase from Africans for Africa

PALOP Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa; Portuguese-speaking African Countries

PAP Mozambique's Programme Aid Partnership

PAPA Plano de Acção para a Produção de Alimentos; Mozambique's Food Production Action Plan

PARP Plano de Acção Para Redução da Pobreza; Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan

PARTI Platform for Agricultural Research and Technology Innovation in Mozambique

PEDSA Plano Estratégico para o Desenvolvimento do Sector Agrário; Mozambique's Strategic Plan for Agricultural Development

PESS Plano Estratégico do Setor da Saúde; Mozambique's Strategic Plan for the Health Sector

SENAR Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Rural; Brazil's National Service for Rural Apprenticeship

SSC South-South Cooperation

UFRJ Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

UNAC União Nacional de Camponeses; Mozambique's National Union of Peasants

UnB Universidade Nacional de Brasília

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WFP World Food Programme

WHO World Health Organization



## Summary

Introduction .....	10
Brazil and South-South Cooperation .....	11
Cooperation for Development in Mozambique .....	15
The agriculture sector .....	18
The Public Health Sector .....	22
Final Remarks .....	25
Bibliography .....	26

# Brazilian Health and Agricultural Cooperation in Mozambique: An Overview

Adriana Erthal Abdenur, João Moura Estevão Marquês da Fonseca  
Geovana Zoccal Gomes and Paulo Luiz Moreaux Lavigne Esteves

## Introduction

The Brazil-SSC project aims to analyse Brazilian development cooperation practices in Africa within the broader context of the BRICS' growing presence on the continent. The project investigates the impacts of Brazil's role in the fields of agriculture and public health, both for Brazilian cooperation agents and for a variety of local stakeholders. Geographically, the project focuses on two countries where Brazil has been rapidly expanding its cooperation programmes: Angola and Mozambique.

To that end, a two-phased scoping mission was carried out in Mozambique during the months of October and November of 2013. The first visit occurred from the 13th to 17th of October, with the objective of establishing connections with principal stakeholders, as well as mapping out the main sources of information and existing projects. The second visit<sup>1</sup> occurred from the 14th to 19th of November, with the aim of expanding and consolidating a network of informants and conducting semi-structured interviews with a variety of local stakeholders. All four members of the BPC team participated in the second field research visit.

In total, 35 people were interviewed, including representatives from multilateral and bilateral donor agencies, research institutes, think-tanks, the academy, local and international NGOs, and the national government, in addition to representatives of the Brazilian government. These were complemented by interviews carried out at the implementing and coordinating institutions in Brazil. Information gathered in these interviews is currently being analysed for future publications. The objective of this research report is, however, to provide basic information on projects being executed by Brazil within the sectors of agriculture and public health in Mozambique, and to suggest analytical pathways for reaching the overarching goals of Brazil-SSC.

There was no single informant capable of providing up to date information on all Brazilian projects under implementation in Mozambique, so a triangulation of information was necessary in order to create the most comprehensive mapping possible of current partnerships. Other relevant sources included official documents from the Mozambican and Brazilian governments, government and other institutional websites,

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<sup>1</sup> Initially, plans also included visits to the Nacala corridor, where Brazil's most significant agricultural development cooperation takes place. Such visits were not possible due to security concerns related to rising tensions between Frelimo and RENAMO before the November 2013 elections.

news articles, and academic publications. Whenever possible, such information was crosschecked with firsthand informants, frequently leading to important corrections and elaborations. Future analyses will also draw on a variety of secondary literature, as well as discussion papers commissioned to consultants from India, South Africa and China.

This undertaking partially overlaps with publications produced by other research projects. For example, the University of Leuven's Institute for Work and Society has recently conducted a scoping mission regarding the activities of Brazil, India, China and South Africa within the public health sector of Mozambique. The draft report dated October of 2013 was made available to BPC by its author, and served as a relevant source of information for our own research. In addition to verifying and updating the data collected by those previous efforts, a significant amount of new data was gathered, reaffirming the relevance of our mapping exercise. Due to the sensitive content of the interviews, it was agreed that no interviewee or institution would be directly identified.

This report is structured as follows: section 1 provides a general analysis of Brazilian involvement in South-South Cooperation; section 2 contextualizes Mozambique's development in light of international cooperation following the country's independence; sections 3 and 4 describe the Brazilian agricultural and health trajectory and engagement with Mozambican sectorial development based on field research findings, thereby identifying the main characteristics of each project; and the final section presents some final remarks on Brazil's development cooperation, outlining its challenges and offering analytical pathways toward better understanding Brazilian South-South Cooperation (SSC).

## 1. Brazil and South-South Cooperation

South-South relations have emerged within the last number of decades. The intensification of relations between developing countries across various fields of international relations have entailed the intensification of South-South cooperation, whose official discourses typically claim that such practices differ fundamentally from those of Northern assistance. During the 1950s, the Bandung Conference<sup>2</sup> and the Non-Aligned Movement<sup>3</sup> stimulated autonomy and solidarity among developing countries, establishing cooperation between African and Asian countries in the context of large-scale Chinese support to the African and Asian independence movements.

During the 1960s, the Non-Aligned Movement encouraged South-South trade and cooperation, also supporting the initiatives of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). In contrast to USA and USSR dominance, underdeveloped and developing countries were pursuing a more egalitarian inclusion. By the mid-1970s, with the emergence of institutions such as G77, UNCTAD and UNDP, developing countries acquired new interests in cooperating with other developing countries on development issues.

Although Brazil has taken part in South-South development cooperation since this period, it was not until the late 1980s that the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) was created. South-South technical cooperation has been playing an increasingly prominent role within Brazil's international relations agenda. Brazil's technical cooperation is carried out by various implementing agencies all over the world – especially in Latin America and Africa – ranging from sectors such as agriculture, education and public health to transport, energy, and mining.

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<sup>2</sup> Also known as the Asia-Africa Conference, it took place in Indonesia, from April 18th to 24th, 1955. With 29 Asian and African countries, the conference was an attempt to break with the hegemonic discourse on development.

<sup>3</sup> The Non-Aligned Movement was created officially in 1961, during the I Belgrade Conference.

The most recent official report on Brazil's development cooperation, produced by the ABC and IPEA (Institute for Applied Economic Research), breaks down the country's engagement into seven cooperation modalities: educational cooperation; scientific and technological cooperation; humanitarian cooperation; refugee support and protection; peacekeeping operations; financial assistance to international organisations; and technical cooperation<sup>4</sup>, which will be the focus of this report. Table 1 shows the federal government's spending across these modalities for the year of 2010.

Table 1: Federal government spending in international cooperation, per modality (2010)

Modality	Total (USD)*	Ratio (%)
Peacekeeping operations	332,422,426	36
Spending on international organisations	311,569,290	33.7
Humanitarian cooperation	161,469,749	17.5
Technical cooperation	57,770,554	6.3
Educational cooperation	35,544,099	3.8
Scientific and technological cooperation	24,009,084	2.6
Support and protection to refugees	590,469	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>923,375,671</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Ptax rate, indicated by the Brazilian Central Bank (BCB).

Source: IPEA 2013

The government's spending on international cooperation accounts for the provision of personnel, infrastructure and financial resources, as well as the organisation of and participation in missions, the management of scientific and technological projects with other countries and research institutes, and contributions and financial assistance related to participation in international organisations. Brazil's expenses for 2010 represent a 91.2% nominal growth in relation to the previous year, although this increase may also be partly explained by better data collection. Neighbouring countries received more than half of the amount, as table 2 reveals:

Table 2: Brazil's development cooperation, per region (2010)

Region	Ratio (%)
Latin America and the Caribbean	68.1%
Africa	22.6%
Asia and the Middle East	4.3%
Europe	4%
North America	1.1%
Oceania	0%

Source: IPEA 2013

Based on the transfer of knowledge and technologies adapted to particular national contexts, Brazil's technical cooperation officially aims to empower individuals and strengthen organisations and institutions in developing countries. More than 170 federal government agencies participate in technical cooperation,

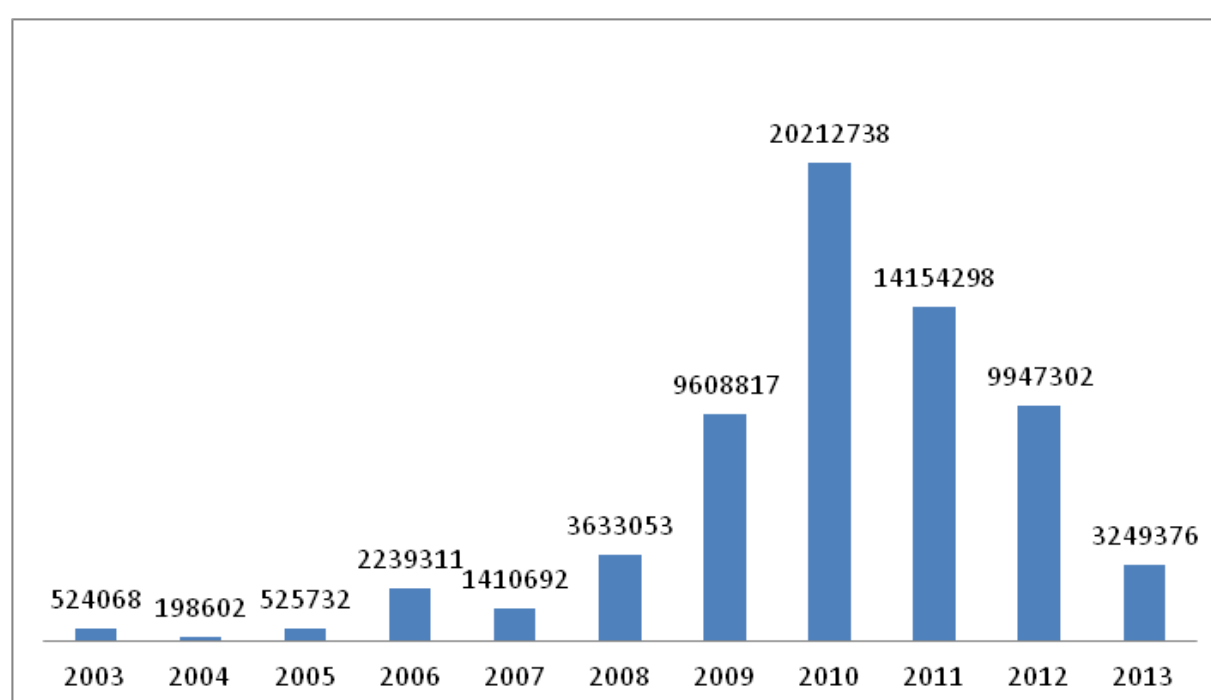
<sup>4</sup> The ABC describes technical cooperation as "the transfer and sharing of national knowledge and technology with potential adaptability and absorbency, generating a positive impact on the autonomous development of other countries. Based on the experience accumulated by governmental institutions in the formulation, planning, implementation and monitoring of sectoral and intersectoral domestic policies, recognised internationally as innovative." (IPEA 2013)

including ministries, government agencies, foundations and public companies in areas as diverse as agriculture, education, vocational training, health, environment, management public, transport, energy, sanitation, housing construction, culture and justice.

Human Rights, Health, Agriculture and Education are considered to be the primary cooperation sectors by the Brazilian government. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the ABC were responsible for almost 80% of the total cooperation spending in 2010, while the other 20% of the budget was split among other ministries, institutions and departments. The largest shares of this 20% were directed to the Ministry of Health (16%) and to the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Supply (almost 10%).

Within the scope of technical cooperation, 53.3% of the resources were directed to Latin America and the Caribbean. The African continent received 39.5% of the total amount. In the last 10 years, the Brazilian government's spending on cooperation in Africa has grown significantly, from USD 500,000 to more than USD 20 million in 2010, as graphic 1 shows below. The ABC plan for the 2012-2015 period designated USD 36 million of the total budget for projects to be executed in Africa (Abreu 2013)<sup>5</sup>.

Graphic 1: ABC's annual budget execution (USD) - Africa<sup>6</sup>



Source: Abreu 2013

<sup>5</sup> The data presented by COBRADI report and the ones presented by Fernando de Abreu (2013), the ABC's director, are slightly different. We assume that this difference is because the COBRADI report represents the amount spent in international cooperation by other ministries and government institutions other than ABC.

<sup>6</sup> Data was presented in June of 2013. Therefore, the value presented for that year does not represent the full amount disbursed in 2013, but the expenses incurred up to that time.

Brazil has already implemented projects in 42 African countries. In 2010, São Tomé e Príncipe and Mozambique both received slightly more than 18% of the total amount of the Brazilian government's budget for technical cooperation in Africa, as is shown in table 3.

Table 3: Top 10 partners in 2010 - Spending by the Brazilian federal government in Africa, on international technical cooperation, by country<sup>7</sup>

Country	Ratio (%)
São Tome e Principe	18.33
Mozambique	18.09
Cape Verde	10.57
Guinea-Bissau	9.81
Senegal	4.47
Angola	4.39
Liberia	4.30
Mali	3.5
Burkina Faso	2.81
Algeria	2.34

Source: The authors, based on IPEA 2013

The table also reveals the predominance of Portuguese-speaking countries in Brazil's Africa portfolio. This is consistent with the country's engagement within the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), which includes all of the Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) and East-Timor, alongside Brazil and Portugal.

Although there is no specific regulatory framework to guide Brazilian South-South cooperation, official discourse claims that it is always to be demand-driven. According to the ABC, the demand from partners countries is a prerequisite for Brazilian involvement in cooperative programmes with other developing countries (Renzio, Gomes, Fonseca and Niv 2013). However, the demand may come in many ways, formal or informal, from several channels: a Mozambican ministry or public agency through the Mozambican Embassy in Brazil; a Mozambican ministry or high-level government representative during a mission in Brazil or involvement with other ongoing cooperation project; or even from the Brazilian side in contact with Mozambican government entities.

Another key aspect of South-South cooperation that marks Brazilian official discourse is the absence of conditionalities imposed on partner countries. Additionally, according to the interviews conducted, it is not possible to completely disconnect technical cooperation projects from Brazilian private investments in Mozambique.

It is undeniable that there are asymmetries among developing economies. However, even in recognising such differences between the cooperation partners, the Brazilian government argues that South-South cooperation is horizontal. The establishment of a horizontal relationship does not mean that there is no asymmetry between the parties, but rather that both parties benefit from the arrangement.

<sup>7</sup> The IDS paper (Cabral and Shankland, 2013) asserts that, according to the ABC website in 2011, Mozambique would be single largest beneficiary of technical cooperation. This work chose to use the COBRADI 2010 report data (IPEA, 2013), as it comprises a wider number of Brazilian agencies related to technical cooperation.

The ABC presents these dimensions systematically by way of the following principles governing Brazilian engagement in South-South cooperation<sup>8</sup>:

- 1) Solidarity
- 2) Response to the demands of developing countries
- 3) Adaptation of the Brazilian experience to the local context
- 4) No conditionalities
- 5) No association with commercial interests
- 6) No interference in the domestic affairs of partner countries

Differences between North-South and South-South cooperation pointed out by the IPEA and ABC report mirror SSC rhetoric. As discussed in the COBRADI 2005-2009 report, the main point of distinction between Brazil's South-South cooperation and traditional North-South cooperation resides in the former's claims to the absence of conditionalities. The same report also highlights the multilateral dimension of Brazil's SSC, and contrasts Brazilian and OECD/DAC's methodology for the accounting of funds. According to the report, while Brazil typically funds and records sums directed to organisations from the Global South, OECD/DAC countries are said to process funds given to the Global North exclusively through international organisations (IPEA 2010, 17).

The ABC is Brazil's main entity mandated to coordinate the country's development cooperation. However, multiple other state agencies and institutions engage in international cooperation initiatives that fall outside the agency's scope of management or capacity to influence the project's directions. Mozambique has partnerships with Brazilian institutions such as the Ministry of Labor and Employment, the Ministry of Social Security and the National Fund for Educational Development. Within the agricultural and health sectors of Mozambique, the main implementing agencies on the ground are the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa) and the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz).

## 2. Cooperation for Development in Mozambique

Having attained independence in 1975 after five centuries as a Portuguese colony, Mozambique has been a formally sovereign country for almost 40 years. In part due to a protracted civil war, the country still faces significant challenges to the consolidation of its democratic process. Mozambique underwent a socialist experiment during its first decade following independence, receiving most of its support from the socialist bloc, particularly from Eastern European countries. With the end of the Cold War, the Bretton Woods Institutions and traditional donors pushed for a quick transition toward a market economy.

In the 1980s, the prevailing policy for assistance to Mozambique's development came from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. With the Economic Rehabilitation Programme, Mozambique's GDP, which had been decreasing since 1983, began to grow at around 4%. However, the increasing concentration of wealth and urban poverty led to a drop in GDP per capita to below 1%. About 10 million people, almost 70% of the rural population, produced only one-third of their daily calorie needs.

By the mid-1990s, the Mozambican government's agenda reflected the Washington Consensus-based inclinations of many international institutions' and traditional donors (Renzio and Hanlon 2007). Despite the relative political stability acquired, extreme levels of poverty and significant administration challenges persisted. The Mozambican GDP was no more than USD 2.2 billion (World Bank 2013).

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<sup>8</sup> Source: Fernando de Abreu (2013)

Mozambique has been one of the main recipients of international assistance for development, primarily from Northern states, with Portugal playing a strategic role (Bellucci 2007). Following independence, numerous Portuguese public servants continued to serve the new state for a few more years. Besides Portugal, according to the OECD, by the 1990s Italy, Norway, Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, Austria and Germany also had significant cooperation with Mozambique. In those cases, cooperation was guided by bilateral agreements with so-called friendly countries for specific programmes. The areas of education, health and agriculture received the largest portion of assistance (Bellucci 2007).

Economic growth and state-building were the main objectives of the Frelimo government<sup>9</sup>, as these were considered to be the drivers of social development. Due to the lack of human resources needed to push forward reforms, the solution presented by the government was to attract foreign human capital, from countries that were already assisting Mozambique's development. Bilateral programmes with capitalist and socialist countries established technical cooperation agreements, which were primarily directed at the agricultural sector. In 2005, the Mozambican GDP reached USD 6.5 billion (World Bank 2013).

Mozambican cooperation with Brazil began in the early 1980s, with the General Agreement on Technical Cooperation between the Federal Republic of Brazil and the Republic of Mozambique, signed in 1981, and promulgated in 1984. That said, only in the last decade have there been a significant number of programmes set up between the two countries. Since 2009 the cooperation between them intensified and Mozambique is currently the African country with the highest number of official SSC projects in partnership with Brazil, as table 4 shows below.

Table 4: Top 5 African partners – Number of projects conducted by the Brazilian federal government in 2013, by country

Country	Number of Projects	Ad hoc activities
Mozambique	14	1
Sao Tome e Principe	12	1
Cape Verde	11	1
Algeria	6	0
Angola	4	1
<b>Total (Africa, 2013)</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>15</b>

Source: The authors, based on Abreu 2013

By the early 2000s, traditional donors' eagerness to provide support to Mozambique reflected its status as a "donor-darling" (Hanlon and Keynes 2010). In this context, a group of 18 countries created the Programme Aid Partnership (PAP)<sup>10</sup>, currently known as the G19, to debate issues related to the provision of general budget support (GBS)<sup>11</sup>. The amount of money donated, together with the number of donors that contribute, make Mozambique one of the biggest budget support programmes on the African continent<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> In 1964 the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) launched an armed conflict – the War of Independence against the colonial regime. The war ended in 1975 with the independence of the Republic of Mozambique. FRELIMO became the Frelimo Party and took power of the Mozambican government. Samora Michel, the leader of Frelimo by that time, became the president of the country.

<sup>10</sup> The partners are the African Development Bank (ADB), Belgium, Canada, Denmark, European Commission, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, World Bank and Austria. United States of America and United Nations recently joined as Associate Members in 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Budget support is the provision of aid directly to the State budget.

<sup>12</sup> See [www.pap.org.mz](http://www.pap.org.mz)

The ODAMoz database<sup>13</sup> shows that since 2001 traditional donors disbursed USD 2,175,320,242 as general budget support to Mozambique. As table 5 shows, the external resources represented 39.46% of the total state budget resources in 2012.

Table 5: Evolution of the Mozambican state total budget resources (2012-2014)

	State Budget	Forecast	
	2012	2013	2014
	<i>Millions of Meticais</i>		
Total resources	163,035.50	174,955.00	204,905.80
Internal resources	98,688.10	117,535.20	138,018.08
State revenue	95,538.00	113,962.00	135,546.06
Domestic credit	3,150.10	3,573.30	2,472.00
External resources	64,347.40	57,419.70	69,359.70
Donations	34,718.60	19,810.70	39,666.20
Credits	29,628.80	37,609.10	29,693.50
	<i>Percentage of the GDP</i>		
Total resources	39.3%	36.2%	36.4%
Internal resources	23.8%	24.3%	24.5%
State revenue	23.1%	23.6%	24.1%
Domestic credit	0.8%	0.7%	0.4%
External resources	15.5%	11.9%	12.3%
Donations	8.4%	4.1%	7.1%
<i>For projects</i>	3.7%	3.6%	3.3%
<i>Non-consigned values</i>	2.3%	2.2%	2.0%
Credits	7.2%	7.8%	5.3%

Source: The authors, based on the Government of Mozambique 2013 State Budget Law

Over the past few years, aid from traditional donors has shifted from project support toward general budget programmes<sup>14</sup>. The GBS has become an important source of financial aid for Mozambique (Manning and Malbrough 2012). In 2000, GBS represented about 2.7% of net official development assistance (ODA); by 2003 this amount increased to about 14.1% and by 2004 to 18.6% (Batley, Bjørnstad and Cumbi 2006).

Although GBS aims to encourage the Mozambican government to define and implement its own priorities, it does so in accordance with the donor's policy conditionalities (related to transparency, accountability and management practices), as well as with what donors consider to be appropriate spending. While the ODA to public policies is still very much needed in Mozambique, it highlights, on the other hand, the economic vulnerability of the country, by way of the interference of foreign agents in the Mozambican decision-making process (Conceição 2011). Analysts argue that as a result of the inefficiency of local government and institutions, the Mozambican government sometimes submits itself to the decisions of the donors providing the resources, losing authority and leadership in the process (Renzi and Hanlon 2007; Manning and Malbrough 2012).

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.odamoz.org.mz>

<sup>14</sup> This trend may see its reversion in the next few years as fatigue spreads across donors due to unmet expectations, generalised frustration with governmental corruption and lack of results traceable to donors' general budget support.

### 3. The agriculture sector

Mozambique has a territory of almost 800 thousand square kilometres, of which more than 36 million hectares are arable land, of which only 10% is in use, given that 90% of it is used by family farming. About 3.3 million hectares can be irrigated, which corresponds to twice the irrigable area in South Africa. Accordingly, 75% of its population, estimated at 23 million inhabitants, lives in rural areas, with a growth rate of approximately 4% per year. At this growth rate, it is estimated that the urban population will reach 45% by 2019, which is expected to bring a considerable increase in the demand for food over the next 10 years.

That said, only 29% of farmers produce a surplus. According to the interviewees, what is called family farming in Mozambique is actually a very low-yield production, with minimal precautionary measures for scenarios such as heavy rain or drought. Within the context of increasing African urbanisation in recent years, the pressure for food has risen significantly. In 2012, Mozambique’s urban population reached 31.4%, with an average annual growth rate forecasted at 3.1% for the years of 2010-2015 (UN 2013).

The Mozambican production base of rice, potatoes, manioc, corn, wheat and oilseeds like groundnut, sunflower and soybean, has been unable to supply the pockets of hunger that have formed across the country. Mozambique lacks the creation and diffusion of technologies that allow so-called family farms to organise themselves to access credit, insurance, and supplies. Moreover, the market, with an inefficient system of information and movement of goods, is not able to leverage the creation of the production chain. In its cooperation with the Brazilian government, the Mozambican government seeks the possibility of increasing production, generating surpluses, and promoting food self-sufficiency (Leite 2013).

**Box 1: Agriculture and Mozambique’s Action Plan to reduce poverty**

The main goal of the government’s strategic poverty reduction plan is to reduce the incidence of food poverty to 42% in 2014. In terms of consumption, the level of food poverty currently stands just under 55% of the population and the incidence of severe stunting is at 23% (with rural areas experiencing the highest incidences of malnutrition, reaching 50%, in contrast with 36% in urban areas).

Agricultural and fisheries production, in particular household farming, is critical for food security, nutrition and the well being of the population. The government sees great productive potential within the agricultural and fishing sectors, however current productivity, specifically from the small and medium producers, is very low. Hence, in order to achieve the poverty reduction goal set for 2014, the first target discussed by the Action Plan concerns the increasing of agricultural and fisheries production. With a direct impact on food supply, this sector is the key issue to reduce the incidence of poverty and plays an important role as an income source for about 80% of the Mozambican population.

Many challenges are raised by the action plan. The poor marketing of agricultural and fish products is the main discouragement to the intensification of production. Labour is also a problem, as almost 80% of the workforce has not completed the first grade of primary school and the level of professional and academic training remains low.

The agriculture and fishery sectors are pillars of the country’s economy, contributing over the past five years to over 25% of the GDP and between 7-11% of the economic growth rate.

The role of the family farming sector for food security and nutrition is crucial, particularly in rural areas, as the production of basic food crops (mainly maize, manioc, rice, beans) constitutes almost 90% of total production, while the artisanal fishery is responsible for 85% of fish production for domestic consumption. One of the main characteristics of the smallholder sector is the use of rudimentary techniques that generate very low incomes.

The framework of Brazilian agricultural cooperation carried out with Mozambique is based on the development programmes of the Mozambican government. Mozambique's Food Production Action Plan 2008-2012 (PAPA) and Strategic Plan for Agricultural Development 2011-2020 (PEDSA) are two important tools that outline the government's agricultural development strategies.

**Box 2: Mozambique's Strategic Plan for Agricultural Development**

The PEDSA is a plan suited to the instruments established by the National Planning System, based on national guidelines drawn for agricultural development. The PEDSA formulation began in 2006 with the drafting of the terms of reference and the creation of a working group led by the Ministry of Agriculture (MINAG), in addition to the technical assistance of several cooperation partners, including FAO.

The operationalisation of the plan takes into account all of the activities related to the value chain. To this end, five specific objectives are addressed: (a) increase production, agricultural productivity and its competitiveness; (b) improve infrastructure and services for marketing; (c) use land resources, water, forests and wildlife sustainably; (d) develop a legal and policy framework conducive to agricultural investment; (e) strengthen agrarian institutions.

One of the causes of low productivity is the limited coverage and poor quality of agricultural extension services. Also, Mozambican farmers have weak knowledge of production techniques and advanced trading practices. Hence, agriculture in the country is still mainly for subsistence. The household sector has a very small market share, as less than 10% of households sell their maize, manioc and cotton surplus. From 8 groups of basic food crops, less than 20% of rural households connected to each group sell their products.

Another major limitation is the weak development of the Mozambican agroindustry. The lack of a processing industry for agricultural products generates no value accretion to primary products. In this current context, the country relies heavily on foreigners to supply food to major urban centers, for instance importing from neighbouring countries more than 40% of total beef consumption.

The Maputo Declaration on agricultural financing indicates that at least 10% of the state budget should go to the agriculture sector, enabling a 6% growth rate per year. The budget allocation to agriculture has, in less than 3 years, increased from 5% to the current 8%. It is thus projected that by 2015, the sector expenditure will be equal to, or even more than 10% of the overall expenditure of the state budget. The government's strategic plan points out that for the successful implementation of the development of the agricultural sector and food security programmes, it is necessary to strengthen the relevant institutions in the public, private and civil society sectors and improve institutional coordination.

Besides Embrapa, which is mostly the face of Brazil in agricultural cooperation, there are a variety of other government organisations, enterprises, universities, non-governmental organisations and cooperatives involved in cooperation for agricultural development. The Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Enterprise (EMATER) and the National Service for Rural Apprenticeship (SENAR) also have activities in the country, but mostly working in association with Embrapa.

The most widely known agricultural cooperation initiative between Brazil and Mozambique is the current program conducted by Embrapa in a partnership with Mozambique's Institute of Agricultural Research (IIAM). Comprised of 3 projects – Plataforma Project, Food and Nutrition Security Project and the ProSavana – the institutional framework for this technical cooperation programme is the result of negotiations between the ABC and the Mozambican Ministry of Agriculture (MINAG), as well as partner countries, the USA and Japan, represented respectively by USAID (United States Agency for International Development) and JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency). Technical management is carried out by Embrapa, IIAM and other partner institutions indicated by USAID and JICA, which vary from project to

project. Currently there are 14 units of Embrapa involved in the cooperation program between Brazil and Mozambique, entailing the direct participation of more than 70 researchers (Leite 2013).

The Plataforma Project aims to create a platform for agricultural research in Mozambique. The trilateral cooperation between the USA (USAID Mozambique), Brazil (ABC and Embrapa) and Mozambique (MINAG and IIAM) seeks to strengthen the national system of agricultural research, trying to develop more efficient planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation of research activities. In this area, a Platform for Agricultural Research and Technology Innovation in Mozambique (PARTI) was created with the participation of several institutions: IIAM, Embrapa, and other 11 international research centers<sup>15</sup>.

The Food and Nutrition Security Project, also with the involvement of the United States government via USAID Brazil, aims to strengthen the strategic capabilities of vegetable production and distribution in the Maputo greenbelt, in support of food security programmes and nutrition. The project is conducted by researchers from Embrapa and IIAM, with participation of the University of Florida and Michigan State University, both selected by USAID through a public bid.

The third cooperation project between Embrapa and IIAM is the ProSavana. It is considered by the ABC as the most ambitious action of triangular cooperation involving Brazil and Japan. As the largest agricultural partnership project between Brazil and Mozambique, it has a broader perspective for the development of agriculture in the Nacala corridor, with an estimated budget of USD 500 million for the next 20 years (Abreu 2013). It is composed of three major components:

1. ProSavana PI, currently under the management responsibility of Embrapa, aims to improve the IIAM capacity of research, technology progress and training.
2. ProSavana PEM, that will be implemented by two other government institutions already mentioned, EMATER-DF and SENAR, is an extension project and a development model.
3. ProSavana PD is the conception of a Blue Print and Master Plan for the development of Nacala corridor, conducted by the Agribusiness Studies Center at Getúlio Vargas Foundation (GV Agro), along with Japanese consultancy.

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<sup>15</sup> Are part of the PARTI: International Livestock Research Institute, from Kenya; International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, from Nigeria; International Rice Research Institute, from Philippines; International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, from India; International Fertilizer Development Center, from USA; International Center for the Improvement of Maize and Wheat, from Mexico; International Food Policy Research Institute, from USA; International Water Management Institute, from Sri Lanka; International Potato Center, from Peru; Michigan State University, from USA; and University of Florida, from USA.

### Box 3: ProSavana and a Trilateral Resistance

The ProSavana project is considered to be the largest Brazilian cooperation initiative in the agricultural sector. Different groups have contested the project. In October of 2012, Mozambique's National Union of Peasants (UNAC) published an official statement on ProSavana, outlining the concerns of local Mozambican farmers regarding the future consequences that the project could bring about.

A widespread criticism is that ProSavana is a reproduction of the Brazilian Cerrado development experience. This would also export to the African country a large-scale agricultural system and agribusiness. In their statement, UNAC warns that this model can lead to environmental degradation and significant displacement of local communities of the Nacala corridor.

Fátima Mello, from FASE (Federation of Organizations for Social and Educational Assistance), published an article entitled "What Brazil wants with ProSavana?" (O que quer o Brasil com o ProSavana?) after visiting Mozambique in early 2013. Her argument is that there are some issues that do not appear in the Brazilian, Mozambican or Japanese governments' official statements. Her fieldwork in Mozambique showed that for civil society there is a gray area between investments and technical cooperation, which contributes to a negative evaluation of the project.

Even with the struggles brought about by language differences, Japanese civil society is also taking part in questioning the trilateral cooperation. A Japanese civil society statement on ProSAVANA published in September of 2013 calls for immediate suspension and fundamental review of the project. This statement was signed by five Japanese organisations and endorsed by other 31 others, such as ATTAC Japan, No! to Land Grab and the Advocacy and Monitoring Network on Sustainable Development\*.

This process brings attention to a trilateral resistance movement brought by the trilateral cooperation. One indicator that supports this claim is that the UNAC statement mentioned earlier was published in Brazilian Portuguese.

*\*The complete list of organisations can be found at: <http://cadtm.org/Japanese-civil-society-statement>*

Beyond the scope of Embrapa's administration, other projects closely related to the agricultural sector include Mais Alimentos África Programme, PAA Africa and the WFP's Centre of Excellence against Hunger Programmes. Conducted by Brazil's Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), the Mais Alimentos África Programme (More Food Africa), supported by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), seeks to strengthen food security among the Mozambican population through investments in family farming. In order to increase the productivity of family farms, the attention is drawn to the production of grains, legumes and vegetables. With an additional focus on technical capacitation, the programme provides training for small farmers on the management and maintenance of machinery and equipment.

The Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), together with the FAO, World Food Programme (WFP)<sup>16</sup> and the UK Department for International Development (DfID), are leading the initiative Purchase from Africans for Africa (PAA Africa). The programme is an initiative to promote food and nutritional security, based on the PAA Brazilian experience "Food Purchase Program", which aims to support global efforts to eradicate hunger and malnutrition. In Mozambique the pilot project is located in the Angonia, Cahora Bassa and Changara districts, all part of Tete province. PAA Africa's goal in the country is to improve food and nutritional security, promoting the efficiency of small farmers' production, encouraging the local production of nutritious food for the ongoing WFP projects. Around 600 farming households are receiving agricultural inputs and training on production systems and post-harvest handling. In 2013, more than 70,000 students of 175 schools received daily meals provided by the direct

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<sup>16</sup> It is important to notice that the WFP in partnership with the Brazilian government (through ABC) established in March/2011 the Centre of Excellence Against Hunger. The Centre aims to be a forum of dialogue for south-south cooperation programmes on school feeding, food and nutrition security. The CEAH supports governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America based on the Brazilian experience over the past decade on food security and reducing poverty.

procurement of maize.

The Brazilian and Mozambican local social movements are also involved in a project to establish the Community Seed Banks and for the capacity-building in regards to the rescue, multiplication, storage and use of traditional/creole seeds in areas of family farming. The Mozambique's National Union of Peasants (UNAC), together with the Brazilian Popular Peasant Movement (MCP) and the Movement of Peasant Women (MMC), works to ensure the continuity of production and the harmonious coexistence with nature, without the use of pesticides, transgenic seeds, industrial chemical fertilizers, soil exhaustion, biodiversity loss and the spread of disease by ecological imbalance. The main goal of the project is to contribute to the organisational and economic strengthening of family farming through training and knowledge exchange between family farmers, technicians and leaders.

## 4. The Public Health Sector

Reports on the evolution of the Mozambican health system generally highlight several improvements. Mozambique's Infant Mortality Rate, Under Five Mortality Rate and Maternal Mortality Rate have all significantly reduced since the year 2000. From 2001-2005, vaccine administration increased by 10%, service units in the health system by 22% and institutional births by 28%. However, inequities between provinces are still large, and Mozambican general health status remains lower than international standards and the African average. Furthermore, the prevalence of HIV/Aids is not only high but growing (Visser-Valfrey and Umarji 2010).

Mozambique's first Strategic Plan for the Health Sector (Plano Estratégico do Setor da Saúde – PESS) was developed in the year 2000, and implemented within the context of the decentralisation reforms that began in 2002. The second plan, initially intended to cover the period of 2007-2012, was extended for another year while PESS III was being finalised. The third Strategic Plan will cover the period from 2014-2019, and has two pillars: (1) improving access and quality of existing services, and (2) strengthening efficiency and effectiveness of service provision at the local, district, provincial and national levels.

Plans are important for coordinating development efforts, but they are also necessary for maintaining good relations with donors and international organisations. However, securing alignment between plans is always a challenge. Other more general plans relevant for the health sector include the Quinquennial Government Programme (Programa Quinquenal do Governo), currently valid until the end of 2014, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (Plano de Acção Para Redução da Pobreza; see box below), and the Fiscal and Medium-term Expenditures Scenario (Cenário Fiscal e de Despesas de Médio Prazo). There are other plans related to specific systems and programmes within the health sector, including the National Integrated Plan for MDGs 4 and 5 (Plano Nacional Integrado para o Alcance dos ODMs 4 e 5), the National Strategic Plan for Control of Tuberculosis (Plano Estratégico Nacional de Controlo da Tuberculose), the National Strategic HIV/Aids Response Plan (Plano Estratégico Nacional de Resposta ao HIV e SIDA), the Plan for Development of Human Resources in Health 2008-2015 (Plano de Desenvolvimento de Recursos Humanos da Saúde 2008-2015), and the Strategic Plan for Health Information Systems (Plano Estratégico do Sistema de Informação para a Saúde).

#### Box 4 - Health and Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan

Mozambique's 2011-2014 Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan (PARP 2011-2014) articulates three strategic objectives directly related to the overarching goals of poverty reduction and inclusive growth: 1) increased fish and agricultural production and productivity; 2) employment promotion; and 3) human and social development.

Although health appears as an issue that traverses the three strategic objectives – for example, PARP 2011-2014 links HIV, tuberculosis and malaria with low productivity of labor and investment constraints – the sector falls principally within human and social development. The promotion of equity in access to health care, with emphasis on the health and nutrition of women, children and other vulnerable groups, as well as water and sanitation and energy services for health, are among the issues underscored in the plan.

The PARP notes that Mozambique's economy has been growing without the parallel improvement of social indicators. Among the main criticisms of the plan is the fact that it does not link the stagnation of social and health indicators to issues of economic growth strategies and macroeconomic management, focusing instead on fiscal effectiveness and the need for better information (O'Laughlin 2012).

Health support from Northern donors and international organisations in Mozambique is primarily organised through the Health Partner's Group (HPG), a coordinating structure whose members meet monthly. Among the 28 members of the HPG, 13 provide pooled-funding, with the Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark and Canada being the most important in regards to financial volume. World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nation's Children's Fund are said to be the most influential, though global financing institutions such as the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation (GAVI) has been playing an increasingly prominent role. The United States, both via USAID and the Center for Disease Control, are the largest among Mozambique's health donors. Also, non-governmental organisations such as the Clinton Foundation and the NAIMA+ (the Network of International NGOs Working on Health and HIV/Aids in Mozambique) occasionally participate.

HPG's actions should in principle be aligned with the strategic plans formulated by Mozambique. Although Brazilian professionals do not commonly participate in HPG<sup>17</sup> meetings, this backdrop is significant for Brazilian development cooperation, as plans are deemed to communicate Mozambique's autonomously chosen development path<sup>18</sup>. These plans should thus provide guidance for projects agreed upon under the principle of demand-driven cooperation. The following paragraphs point to all of the programmes and projects found by our research team to be currently under implementation<sup>19</sup>.

The main Brazilian cooperation counterpart to Mozambique's Ministry of Health (MISAU) is Fiocruz<sup>20</sup>,

17 Some informants pointed to Brazil's frictions with DAC as the main explanation for Brazil's lack of participation in such coordinating structures, even if a country representative sporadically attended the meetings as in the case of Mozambique's agricultural sector group. Other informants declared to personally dislike the attitudes of donors during those meetings. No explanation is complete, as the absence of adequate human resources, time, and other aspects should also be factored, but both contribute to the general non-participation of Brazilian professionals in those structures.

18 In practice this may not always be the case. Interviewees frequently commented on the pressure exerted by Northern donors and how they shape the focuses and perspectives highlighted in such documents.

19 As emphasised by an informant, careful research must be conducted in order to distinguish Brazilian projects that exist only on paper and projects that are being implemented.

20 Fiocruz-Africa office carries the day-to-day coordinating functions needed for the implementation of the Foundation's portfolio of projects in Mozambique. The office, which occupies mainly one room of the Brazil-Mozambique Cultural Center, was set up in Maputo in 2008. Crafted to be a regional coordinating body for Fiocruz's African engagement, it currently can only partially fulfill this role due to its fragile institutionality and limited human and financial resources. Such challenges stem mainly from the lack of an adequate regulatory framework in Brazil for international development cooperation. One informant also suggested that bureaucratic disputes between Brazil's Ministry of Health and MRE had also limited the office's development. Despite the administrative challenges, Fiocruz-Africa's current coordinator seem to be successful at maintaining the projects' continuity, and was generally very well regarded by informants on the Mozambican side.

described by one MISAU informant as a ministry in and of itself. Fiocruz and Mozambique's National Institute of Health (MNIH) defined in October of 2012 a cooperation plan for the next five years. The plan elaborates areas of cooperation such as research, teaching, health surveillance, information, communication, health history, and health systems, as well as activities in the realm of the National Network of Public Health Laboratories and management of MNIH.

Cooperation activities within the referred sectors already take place. Fiocruz is currently involved in supporting MNIH in the preservation of its institutional history and archival collections. This project involves a review of Mozambican public health history post-independence, and the development of a web portal and journal ready to be indexed internationally. During the research team's second visit to Maputo, a professional from MNIH was said to be in Brazil receiving training on health information collection and analysis.

Fiocruz is also spearheading the creation of a milk bank at the Maputo's Central Hospital (Hospital Central de Maputo). According to informants, the equipment is already in Maputo and the architectonic project was recently sent to the ABC. Construction is to begin soon after official approval, encompassing three different spaces - the milk bank room, a computer room to be used as a virtual library, and a video-conference room. Ideally, the third room would be used for capacity-building development workshops, meetings, and knowledge exchanges. Considered by many informants as the most successful type of project promoted by Brazil within its international development cooperation, milk banks draw on the extensive experiences accumulated by Brazil, with its first milk bank being set-up in 1943 (Anvisa 2008).

Moreover, Oswaldo Cruz Institute, Fiocruz and MNIH have partnered to create a programme for a Master's in Health Sciences for Mozambicans. Students are to have a Brazilian and a Mozambican advisor, and spend three months studying in Brazil. In order to minimize costs, final defense exams are concentrated into one or two weeks, so that Brazilian professors come only once a year for such activities. Additionally, a Master's in Health Systems has been designed through a partnership between MNIH, Canada's International Development Research Centre, Brazil's National School of Public Health (Escola Nacional de Saúde Pública - ENSP) and Centro de Pesquisas Aggeu Magalhães<sup>21</sup>, a Brazilian health research centre. Faculty from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane has also been incorporated into the programme's teaching body. According to local informants, the first selection of candidates should be carried out in February of 2014.

Fiocruz's most famous project in Mozambique is the ARV factory. Announced in 2003 by Brazil's President Lula da Silva, the project has been under implementation for a decade<sup>22</sup>. The initiative is related to Brazil's positions, both domestically and abroad, regarding the right to produce generic medications within contexts of epidemics. Mozambique has contributed with a space in Matola, a city thirty minutes away from Maputo, where a serum-producing factory<sup>23</sup> used to be located.

Brazil's National Sanitary Surveillance Agency (ANVISA) and Ministry of Health partnered to support the creation of a Mozambican Drug Regulatory Authority, which would control the quality and pricing of drugs in agreement with WHO guidelines. However, the project was said to have been shelved after losing its political support with recent changes in MISAU.

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<sup>21</sup> The Centro de Pesquisas Aggeu Magalhães was created in 1950 to enable local investigators to do research on endemic diseases that affected much of the Brazil's northeastern population. It was integrated to Fiocruz in the 1970s, and today is popularly known as Fiocruz Pernambuco.

<sup>22</sup> As such, it has already seen four presidents, two in Brazil and two in Mozambique. Directly involved informants were keen on emphasizing that delays were expected due to the project's originality and intricacy.

<sup>23</sup> According to one informant, the factory went bankrupt due to mismanagement.

Informants frequently highlighted the role of CPLP's plans within the health sector, emphasizing that they tend to work as a primary framework for cooperation between member countries. Interviewees also pointed out Brazil's leading role in defining such plans. The idea is that African institutes, as well as East-Timorese ones, would promote knowledge exchange, while Fiocruz and Portugal's National Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (IHMT) would assume more of a mediating role. The development of the networks was said to be in different stages of development, with the network of national health institutes being the most advanced with funding from the World Bank through the International Association of National Public Health Institutes (IANPHI). The network of technical health schools also recently received funding from the European Union for capacity-building development of teachers under the coordination of Brazil's Polytechnic School of Health.

Brazil's Ministry of Health was also said to be undertaking a project for profiling the population's oral and dental health in Maputo, with the objective of creating conditions for better planning and evaluation of public stomatological actions and services. Informants confirmed that this project was being implemented, but with a more limited scope than initially intended. The Ministry was also said to have partnered with the Brazilian National Cancer Institute (INCA) in order to develop Mozambique's information system on cancer, and to support prevention programmes for cervical and breast cancer. The project also involves capacity-building development at INCA in the areas of pathological anatomy, radiotherapy, radiology, oncologic surgery, nuclear medicine, and medical imaging.

Furthermore, Bruyn (2013, forthcoming) briefly mentions a community care project, for which Brazil committed USD 425,000. The research team found that the project was completed. The project's implementing partner was Universidade de Brasília (UnB – Brasília's University), and involved the capacity-building development of community leaders, as well as a component related to home care.

An informant emphasised that there were cooperation activities undertaken in partnership with Universidade Federal do Ceará and Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ - Rio de Janeiro's Federal University), including an exchange programme with UFRJ's nursing school. The same informant also highlighted the importance of Brazilian scholarships granted to Mozambican students in the area of health. Mozambique's Ministry of Science and Technology is generally responsible for coordinating such programmes, while grants are issued by Brazil's National Council of Science and Technology Development (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico - CNPq) and Coordination Committee for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Capes) with participation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Division of Educational Issues.

## 5. Final Remarks

Brazil's development cooperation has often been referred to as highly fragmented (Leite and Hamman, 2012; Russo, Cabral and Ferrinho 2013). Despite efforts to centralise the negotiation and coordination of the country's programmes and projects and standardise procedures, the ABC has not functioned as a comprehensive coordinating body. Limited human resources and institutional capacity, coupled with the absence of an adequate regulatory framework and development cooperation policy are among the frequently cited reasons (Renzio, et al. 2013). There are ongoing discussions about the possibility of restructuring the ABC, including re-locating it away from the Ministry of External Relations. Following Rousseff's speech in Addis Ababa during the celebration of the African Union's 50th anniversary, rumours about the emergence of a new development cooperation agency, which would be relatively or completely autonomous from the Brazil's Ministry of External Relations (MRE) and more directly involved

in prospecting foreign investment and trade opportunities, have circulated through the media (e.g. Rossi 2013). However, no official communication on the subject has been issued. The nature of connections between Brazil's development cooperation and foreign investment and trade are still unclear, and more in-depth research is needed.

Multiple other state agencies and institutions besides the ABC have historically been engaged with international cooperation initiatives. The identification and understanding of Brazilian innovations in development cooperation require a focus on how Brazilian public policies are internationalised and adapted to development cooperation initiatives, as well as the peculiar decision-making processes that have shaped these arrangements. Most of Brazil's development cooperation projects are designed in light of past Brazilian experiences rather than projects implemented in third party countries.

Brazil's implementing agencies have faced substantial challenges in delivering cooperation projects, and have been undergoing a process of intensive learning. The process of "learning by doing", together with critical reflection on the experiences of Northern aid recipients, has prompted the emergence of the main concepts guiding Brazilian experiences in this field. The preliminary findings of our field research show an explicit link between the institutional trajectories and roles of Fiocruz and Embrapa within the evolution of domestic public policies in Brazil, and the objectives of their development cooperation projects in Mozambique. Fiocruz and Embrapa's projects in the country reflect similar views on what constitute results for successful cooperation in Mozambique. However, the social embeddedness of Brazil's health and agricultural development, as well as that of Fiocruz and Embrapa, is hardly replicable in the African country. This arguably represents the main challenge that implementing agencies and agents currently face: when domestic aspirations are taken abroad in the form of development cooperation projects, they are divorced from the broader political and institutional context that enabled their fruition.

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# Notes

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

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