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## Brazilian Foreign Policy, South-South Cooperation And Brazilian Higher Education\*

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### ABSTRACT

This article aims to verify to what extent the Students-Graduate Agreement Program can be considered as a program that meets the principles of South-South Cooperation. To this end, we sought to further investigate the positioning of Brazilian foreign policy at the time the program was conceived, then we sought to understand the real reasons that led to the creation of the PEC-PG and, finally, we sought to investigate the conception South-South Cooperation Program and observe the extent to which it distances itself from the common cooperation model and find out if the Graduation Agreement Students Program - PEC-PG could be considered a cooperation program that meets the principles that guide South-South cooperation. The development of the work took place through documentary searches, periodicals, theses and books, the paradigm adopted was the interpretative one, since the subject sees the social world in the form of a social process created by the individuals involved. As final considerations, it was possible to observe that the PEC-PG was created with the intention of helping the national economic development of the time and that, although it is a cooperation program between the countries of the South, it cannot be characterized as a program that meets the principles of cooperation South-South, as some of the program's prerogatives differ from the one proposed by the CSS.

### KEYWORDS

Higher education. South-south cooperation. Brazilian foreign policy

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## Política Externa Brasileira, Cooperação Sul-Sul e Ensino Superior Brasileiro

### RESUMO

Este artigo tem o objetivo de verificar em que medida o Programa Estudantes Convênio de Pós-Graduação (PEC-PG) pode ser considerado como um programa que atende aos princípios da Cooperação Sul-Sul (CSS). Para tanto, buscou-se investigar mais a fundo qual o posicionamento da política externa brasileira no momento de concepção do programa, depois buscou-se compreender os motivos reais que proporcionaram a criação do PEC-PG e por fim, buscou-se investigar a concepção de Cooperação Sul-Sul e observar em que medida ela se distancia do modelo comum de cooperação e descobrir se o Programa Estudantes Convênio de Pós-Graduação (PEC-PG) poderia ser considerado um programa de cooperação que atende aos princípios que balizam a Cooperação Sul-Sul. O desenvolvimento do trabalho se deu através de buscas documentais, periódicos, teses e livros, o paradigma adotado foi o interpretativista, uma vez que o sujeito vê o mundo social na forma de um processo social criado pelos indivíduos envolvidos. Como considerações finais, foi possível observar que o PEC-PG foi criado ensejando auxiliar o desenvolvimento econômico nacional da época e que, embora seja um programa de cooperação entre os países do Sul, não pode ser caracterizado como um programa que atende aos princípios da Cooperação Sul-Sul, pois algumas prerrogativas do programa se distanciam do proposto pela CSS.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Educação superior. Cooperação sul-sul. Política externa brasileira.

## Política Exterior Brasileña, Cooperación Sur-Sur y Educación Superior Brasileño

### RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo verificar en qué medida el Programa de Acuerdo de Estudiantes y Graduados puede considerarse como un programa que cumple con los principios de Cooperación Sur-Sur. Con este fin, buscamos investigar más a fondo el posicionamiento de la política exterior brasileña en el momento en que se concibió el programa, luego buscamos comprender las razones reales que llevaron a la creación del PEC-PG y, finalmente, buscamos investigar la concepción Programa de Cooperación Sur-Sur y observe hasta qué punto se distancia del modelo de cooperación común y descubra si el Programa de Estudiantes del Acuerdo de Graduación - PEC-PG podría considerarse un programa de cooperación que cumple con los principios que guían la cooperación Sur-Sur. El desarrollo del trabajo se llevó a cabo a través de búsquedas documentales, publicaciones periódicas, tesis y libros, el paradigma adoptado fue el interpretativo, ya que el sujeto ve el mundo social en la forma de un proceso social creado por los individuos involucrados. Como consideraciones finales, fue posible observar que el PEC-PG fue creado con la intención de ayudar al desarrollo económico nacional de la época y que, aunque es un programa de cooperación entre los países del Sur, no puede caracterizarse como un programa que cumpla con los principios de cooperación Sur-Sur, ya que algunas de las prerrogativas del programa difieren de la propuesta por el CSS.

### PALABRAS CLAVE

Educación superior. Cooperación sur-sur. Política exterior brasileña.

## Introduction

Historically, Brazilian foreign policy was built around a majority undertaking: the country's development through autonomy and a significant role in the international system (LEAL; MORAES, 2018). This developmentalist discourse was intended to unify, within possibilities, Brazilian political and socioeconomic forces in favor of overcoming national underdevelopment, modernity, and a more assertive international projection of the country (MANZUR, 2014).

Especially after the 1970s, Brazil began to orient its foreign relations toward the improvement of ties with several countries, even against a perspective of remoteness and isolation in relation to Latin America (BESHARA; PINHEIRO, 2008). Brazilian governments aimed to make foreign policy a global program of action by maintaining relations with all countries, without distinction of their systems (CERVO, 2002). The foreign policy was intended to bring inputs from abroad to support domestic efforts, namely capital, science and technology and foreign markets, aiming to move from import substitution to export substitution.

From this objective, the strengthening of the South region as an alternative axis of power in an increasingly multipolar world was sought (MILANI; MUÑOZ; KLEIN, 2015). Brazil's integration with surrounding countries represented a way to "legitimize its leadership position in South America, as well as consolidate a space for international action independent of the United States' guidelines" (ONUKEI, 2006, p. 307). This position as a driving element of a development agenda has raised the country to more important levels of power and influence in the international and South-South Cooperation (SSC) scenario (CANDEAS, 2012).

In contrast to North-South cooperation actions, South-South cooperation emerges with the aim of promoting political dialogue and coordination among developing countries (SOUZA, 2014; CERVO; BUENO, 2015). However, it should be noted that this articulation is not restricted only to understandings in the commercial and economic spheres, but is also expressed through agreements focused on cultural and educational issues (PINHEIRO; BESHARA, 2012).

However, it is worth explaining that, although relationships occur between underdeveloped countries, there is a dependency relationship evident in contemporary global higher education. And, for this reason, Brazil should seek not to reproduce practices with imperialist or neocolonized ties, of continuous economic, political, cultural or educational dependence with the countries with which it maintains cooperation agreements (LEAL; MORAES, 2018).

Thus, it becomes essential to know the reality, measure its results and rethink its impacts also from the perspective of the other who is the beneficiary of the cooperation provided (LEAL; MORAES, 2018; MILANI, 2012). In the sense of seeking not to reproduce relationships that are characterized by collective production and the exchange of knowledge for the economic-social development of both parties (MOROSINI, 2011).

From this context, the objective of this article is to verify to what extent the PEC-PG Undergraduate Exchange Student Program can be considered a program that meets the principles of South-South cooperation.

## Development

The development of this article is justified both from a theoretical and empirical point of view. Regarding the theme, a literature review allowed visiting the state of knowledge about South-South horizontal cooperation in higher education and its relationship with academic internationalization, as well as the creation documents about the PEC-PG Graduate Student-Convention Program.

The epistemology used for understanding the phenomenon studied in this article was phenomenological, since according to Schutz (1979), phenomenology argues that a better understanding of phenomena is necessary, since when we encounter something we already carry an understanding about it, which affects our understanding. The author also argues that phenomenology gives a "special importance to what has already been lived as opposed to what is being experienced, since what happened in the past is already finished and delimited", thus making possible its understanding (SCHUTZ, 1979, p.63).

The above is reinforced by considering the lived experience of the researchers with groups of PEC-PG actors, to understand their concerns and considerations about the program.

Regarding the paradigm, the one that best suited this work was the interpretivist, since it is interested in understanding the world as it is without failing to understand the fundamental nature of the social world. It is through this paradigm that the subject sees the social world as a social process that emerges from what was created by the individuals involved (BURRELL; MORGAN, 1979). It should also be made explicit that interpretivism holds within it a set of methods and practices typical of qualitative research, citing, among others, ethnography and participant observation and interviewing (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2008; DENZIN; LINCOLN, 2006).

Regarding the interpretivist paradigm, this article was thus characterized because the phenomenon was observed from a less romantic and idealized perspective, seeking to understand the real reasons that led to the creation of this Cooperation Program and to understand to what extent this program provides the real strengthening and development of higher education in surrounding countries, as advocated by the theories of South-South Cooperation.

## Theoretical Foundation

This chapter will present the theoretical bases of Brazilian foreign policy, in order to contextualize the time and space in which the Program to be analyzed is inserted. The topics of educational cooperation and South-South Cooperation will also be addressed, as these topics will provide subsidies for a better understanding of the article in view of its main objective.

### *Brazilian Foreign Politics*

For a long time, the Americanist paradigm, based on the search for an alignment with the United States as a way to raise the power resources in the international system, was the basis of Brazilian foreign policy (PINHEIRO, 2004). From the beginning of the Cold War, the ideological polarization between communism and capitalism extended throughout the world and to the East-West conflict was added the North-South conflict that was characterized as a conflict no longer ideological, but that represented the variable of economic underdevelopment and its consequences of poverty and technological and industrial backwardness (SOUZA, 2014; PINHEIRO, 2004).

As an alternative to Americanism, Globalism or Multilateralism was born, whose proposition was based on a realistic view of international relations, mainly supported by the Latin American movement. This phenomenon was represented by four components: a) introducing economic diplomacy into foreign negotiations; b) promoting industry in order to satisfy society's demands; c) moving from subservience to autonomy for reciprocal gains in international relations; d) implementing a national development project in order to overcome inequalities among nations (CERVO, 2003; PINHEIRO, 2004).

This stance was developed in Brazil with a view to articulating the economic and geopolitical interests of multilateral organizations, the development of communications and transportation with the South American continent, and aiming at future integration. The period of these changes was marked by the end of the bipolar confrontation, the rise of neoliberalism and the 'rise of the rest', where new actors are emerging that jointly manage to oppose the United States and bargain their interests in the international arena (ZAKARIA, 2008).

Brazilian policy toward Latin America between 1967 and 1979 was led by initiatives of multilateral integration and the staggering of Latin America in the strategy of global insertion (CERVO; BUENO, 2015). Still according to the authors Cervo and Bueno (2015, p.449), "Brazilian diplomacy strove to destroy stereotypes in vogue on the continent, which identified Brazil either as a new hegemonic power, or as the executor of a sub-imperial mission at the service of the United States". From 1979, under the Figueiredo government, some relations between Brazil and other third world countries were consolidated, which, to some extent, helped promote the South American integration consolidated in later governments (CERVO; BUENO, 2002; LAFER, 2018).

It is worth adding that, in this same period, Brazil's approximation with some African states that had become independent occurred, such trend was accentuated due to the growing interest in the continent as a potential economic, commercial, political, cultural and historical partner. This establishment of commercial and diplomatic relations was based on the universal principle that all countries were potential partners. It referenced, far from it, one of the reasons for adopting as a label for Brazilian foreign policy the qualification of universalist (PINHEIRO, 2004; MANZUR, 2014).

From the 1980s on, some objectives guided Brazilian foreign policy, such as: "a) repositioning Brazil in the framework of priority relations with the West; b) expanding the market for Brazil's export products." (CERVO, 2004, p.5). Since the creation of Mercosul through the signing of the Treaty of Asunción in 1991, it has favored the ascension process of Brazilian diplomacy with countries like Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay that comprised Mercosul, and has also helped promote Brazilian leadership in these regions (BESHARA; PINHEIRO, 2008).

The intimacy with the Third World created conditions for regional initiatives, influenced certain multilateral decisions, and placed the universalism of Brazilian diplomacy in solidarity (CERVO; BUENO, 2015). In this way, Brazil sought to legitimize its leadership position in South America, besides consolidating a space for international action independent of the United States' guidelines (ONUKEI, 2006).

Similarly, educational initiatives of international proportion reveal themselves as foreign policy instruments and strategies, ultimately evidencing the multiple dimensions of exercise, and therefore analysis, of Brazilian foreign policy (PINHEIRO, 2006). The construction of a common identity for educational initiatives, as Pinheiro *et al.* (2007) point out, expresses a deliberate effort to smooth out differences and to create shared values, as a way to foster the identification of countries with each other and to soften rivalries, which could significantly contribute to the deepening of integration.

## Brazilian Educational Cooperation

The mechanisms for political action can make use of a variety of instruments. In the case of foreign policy, for example, the articulations are not restricted to understandings in the commercial, economic or military spheres, but are also expressed through agreements focused on cultural and educational issues (BESHARA; PINHEIRO, 2008). In this aspect, educational cooperation figures as a catalyst of various policies that Brazil can develop for the bloc; it is an effort to reduce intra-member rivalries through the formation of common values, in order to make them more receptive to Brazilian attacks, thus deepening integration (BESHARA, 2007).

According to Itamaraty's Educational Issues Division, the main objectives of Brazilian educational cooperation are: a) to promote higher standards of education for citizens from other developing regions; b) to promote dialogue in the field of education between young Brazilians and foreigners; and c) to spread Brazilian culture and language (BRASIL, 2020d). Based on these objectives, in order to conceive educational cooperation actions, the Brazilian foreign policy acts in at least three aspects, according to Brazil (2020d): economically, education, as it is directly related to the qualification of a country's workforce, interferes in the economic development; politically, educational cooperation represents part of a positive agenda of the foreign policy, i.e., the vision of Brazil is as a country that acts based on principles of solidarity; and the last aspect is the cultural one, because the coexistence, the language learning, and the exchange of experiences contribute to the strengthening of ties between societies.

In this sense, the Brazilian Ministry of Education tends to give priority to exchange programs with countries that have deficiencies in their higher education systems, and to countries considered priorities in the Brazilian foreign policy agendas. Since 2004, the international cooperation strategies of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Level Personnel (CAPES) have emphasized Latin America and Africa, in particular the Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP), called Lusophone countries (MILANI, 2016).

As a result, it is necessary that foreign policy analysis incorporates the debate on this issue. And more than that, it is plausible to conceive that, also in their foreign actions, countries make use of educational measures to support their strategies and ensure their goals (PINHEIRO, 2006; PINHEIRO; BESHARA, 2012).

Still with regard to education, it can be represented as one of the areas in which national public policies can project themselves worldwide, bringing Brazilian solutions to problems faced by several countries, especially the poorest. It should be noted, however, that such solutions respond more to commercial interests, or political-strategic influences than to the real development needs of recipient countries, and that often these alternatives are imposed by the interests and institutional mechanisms of donor countries, without paying attention to the real development needs of recipient countries (CANDEAS, 2012).

In this context, education reveals itself as a possible instrument to promote Brazilian leadership in relation to countries with lower relative development, but we must be aware of the risks of reproducing a type of experience - top-down, colonizing, non-participatory cooperation - among the countries with which Brazil has bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements (MILANI, 2012; CERVO; BUENO, 2015).

## South-South Cooperation

Development cooperation, as it is known, takes place essentially between the countries of the North with the countries of the South (NSC), emerged with the Cold War, became institutionalized and legitimized the multilateralism of development cooperation between developed and underdeveloped countries in a horizontalized manner (MILANI, 2012).

In recent times, it has been possible to witness a rise of the so-called "Global South" or "South" on the international scene, strengthening South-South relations, among which development cooperation in a still highly unequal world stands out (MUÑOZ, 2016). The term Global South is the symbolic designation to denote a wide range of developing nations, diverse in their histories, origins and traditions, with multiple approaches regarding power, culture or identity (SOUZA, 2014).

The concept of horizontal cooperation or South-South cooperation (SSC) has acquired importance for developing countries in a context of discontent with the inequalities between countries in the global economic system, in search of political dialogue and articulation among developing countries, that is, the countries of the South (MILANI, 2012).

Its historical antecedents are the Bandung conference, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Group of 77 (G-77), first regional and sub-regional integration arrangements of the 1960s, the New International Economic Order (NOEI) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (OGWU, 1982). The central issue discussed in Bandung aimed to grant the first steps of political cooperation among countries inserted in the periphery of the international system in order to put aside their differences in favor of a common movement to denounce the calamities of colonialism (MILANI, 2012).

Despite the construction of the concept of South-South Cooperation, reciprocity, complementarity, horizontality and solidarity are inherent premises that, in this perspective, are projected as a relationship of mutual benefits between partner countries, guided, above all, by the absence of conditionalities, far from a welfare bond and would be guided by the partner countries' own demands (LEAL; MORAES, 2018; SOUZA, 2014). The premises of this type of cooperation are intended to offer countries greater opportunities for learning and taking advantage of lessons learned, since the living conditions of their populations are closer compared to those of Northern countries.

However, although these countries have similar economic conditions, many differ in terms of their social context, which is heterogeneous not only among countries, but also within them and the share of power they enjoy in the global context. Thus, as Santos and Cerqueira (2015) state, the solidarity present in this type of cooperation does not imply a complete absence of differences, interests, and conflicts among movement members.

Therefore, material interests and the asymmetry of power between countries are not yet excluded from South-South relations, so it is not possible to say that South-South cooperation does not have features of North-South cooperation. And, according to some



features of North-South cooperation, some countries of the South establish economic counterparts in the cooperation provided to other countries with a relatively lower degree of development (MILANI, 2012).

These counterparts made by some countries can happen through culture and education, as they are considered important sources of Brazil's soft power internationally, since they contribute to the strengthening of political and economic ties between Brazil and partner countries. This is a tool traditionally employed by the central powers, as much as by countries like China, India, Mexico and South Africa (PINHEIRO; BESHARA, 2012).

Based on the idea that political projects of a state are strongly manifested in the constitution of national educational systems, it is possible to conceive that, also in their foreign actions, countries make use of educational measures to support their strategies and ensure their goals (PINHEIRO; BESHARA, 2012).

It is worth explaining that, even in the relations between countries of the South, there is a dependency relationship evidenced in contemporary global higher education, and for this reason, Brazil should pay attention to the fact of seeking not to reproduce practices with imperialist or neocolonized ties, of continuous economic, political, cultural or educational dependence (LEAL, MORAES, 2017).

### Student Program - Pec-Pg Graduate Agreement

The regulation of the PEC-PG occurred in an economic political context in which Brazil sought to maintain high economic growth even after the economic miracle of 1973, to maintain this development, some measures were established, among them, the greater Brazilian participation in foreign markets, the development of technologies in specific areas in which Brazil was interested in developing and consolidating itself worldwide.

Based on this objective, a set of sectors was considered a priority for export promotion. And, according to Doellinger (1971), agro-technical and zoo technical research began to be considered an alternative, so that an industrialized culture could be developed. For the national companies, the alternative would be to specialize in some sectors and invest in these on a large scale, trying with this procedure to avoid the crushing to which most of the industrial sectors would be submitted. The following specializations stood out

- Antibiotics, especially those based on cultures of microorganisms that grow here under better natural conditions (tetracyclines);
- Agricultural equipment; equipment for forestry industries (wood, paper and cellulose, etc.), which would benefit not only the exports themselves but also the competitiveness of our forest industry, another potential exporter;
- Equipment for the food industry, especially in the processing of tropical foods;
- Machines and tools;

- Vehicle parts and accessories.

Other industrial branches could still be included, provided there was evidence of cost advantages (DOELLINGER, 1971, p.54).

In accordance with Postal Circular 7441 of 1982 the first guidelines were established for the creation of the PEC-PG:

Students must have adequate knowledge of Portuguese. Preference should be given to candidates who have taken or are taking Portuguese courses at the CEBs; The interest of the local government in training professionals in areas where there is a greater lack of human resources for the execution of the country's development plans; The candidate may not submit alternative applications. Any change of course or transfer of institution will depend exclusively on the educational establishments (BRASIL, 1982).

From the analysis of the PEC-PG consolidation documents, according to Postal Circular 8276 of 1986, it should be noted that:

[...] only those candidates who prove they can afford to stay in Brazil, with their own or institutional resources will be approved [...] as of 1986, vacancies will be offered in graduate courses in Physics and Mathematics, besides the traditional vacancies in Medicine, Engineering, Economics and Agricultural Sciences (BRASIL, 1986).

The PEC-PG Graduate Student-Convention Program was officially created in 1981, although the first vacancies were offered in 1983. The PEC-PG offers scholarships to students from developing countries with which Brazil has an agreement for cultural, educational or scientific-technological cooperation for training in *Stricto Sensu* graduate courses (master's and doctoral) in Brazilian Higher Education Institutions (IES) (BRASIL, 2020a).

The program aims to contribute to the training of human resources by granting scholarships for master's and doctoral studies in Brazilian HEIs in order to improve the qualification of university professors, researchers, professionals and graduates of higher education, aiming at contributing to the development of the countries. Therefore, the PEC-PG is characterized as a program of educational cooperation among developing countries (BRASIL, 2020a).

Over the last decade the PEC-PG has selected more than 3,000 graduate students. About 68% of applications come from countries in the Americas, with Colombia and Peru standing out. African countries account for about 30% of the applications, with Mozambique and Cape Verde standing out. Among the Asian countries, responsible for about 2% of the applications, East Timor has the largest number of selected applicants. Currently, 60 countries participate in the PEC-PG, 26 of them in Africa, 25 in the Americas and 9 in Asia (BRASIL, 2020b).

Despite being a cooperation program between developing countries, as advocated by the theories of South-South Cooperation, both the document creating the PEC-PG (1982) and the protocol published in 2006 show few characteristics of horizontal cooperation with developing countries. The decree restricts itself to establishing fairly rigid obligations, conditionalities and commitments that students must meet, namely:

1) be a citizen of developing countries with which Brazil maintains an Agreement - for Educational, Cultural or Science and Technology Cooperation; 2) do not hold a permanent visa for Brazil; 3) the participation of Brazilian citizens is prohibited, even if binational, as well as candidates whose parent is Brazilian; 4) hold a Certificate of Proficiency in Portuguese for Foreigners (CELPE-Bras), if coming from a non-Lusophone country, or a letter from the Brazilian advisor stating that he/she is responsible for the proficiency in Portuguese of the candidate [. ...] 7) present two letters of recommendation from professors, researchers, or people of recognized competence in the area; 8) present a résumé in Portuguese; 9) present a work plan in Portuguese; 10) present a birth certificate or identity document from their parents (BRASIL, 2020c).

Some of the conditions that students must fulfill are:

1) priority will be given to candidates who can prove employment in the country of origin. In the case of ties with a Higher Education Institution, these candidates must present the proper proof; 2) the related documentation must be presented to the Brazilian Diplomatic Mission in the candidate's country of origin or country of fixed residence, regardless of where the candidate is, including via regular mail; 3) all attached forms [. ...] must be filled out in Portuguese; 4) the candidate who has concluded the higher education course in Brazil under the Undergraduate Exchange Program (PEC-G) will only be able to participate in the PEC-PG if he/she proves to have remained in the country of origin for at least two years after obtaining the Brazilian diploma. Exceptional cases may be accepted at the discretion of the Supervision Group [...] (BRASIL, 2020c).

Some of the commitments that students must fulfill:

Execute the activity plan approved under the Program; Sign the term of commitment undertaking to meet the goals agreed by the HEI in the project and return to the funding agency any benefits unduly received; Formally present the partial and final results of their work, through annual activity reports, in addition to the advisor's opinions and academic records, at the discretion of the funding agency; Submit to the PEC-PG Program requirements, including those included in this handbook, to the regulations of the HEI where you are enrolled and to the rules of the funding agency granting your scholarship; Keep your temporary visa updated with the competent authorities, under penalty of temporary suspension of your scholarship, with the possibility of termination of the program; Make reference to the support received from the respective funding agency in the papers published as a result of the activities developed under PEC-PG, with the following expressions [. ...] If published individually: "The present work was carried out with the support of the PEC-PG Program, of CAPES/CNPq - Brazil". If published as a co-author: "Fellow of the Graduate Student-Pattern Agreement Program - PEC-PG, of CAPES/CNPq - Brazil" (BRASIL, 2020c).

The rest of the documents about the PEC-PG do not mention any indications of cooperation or counterparts that the countries that are responsible for sending the students must fulfill or develop in Brazil. The decrees only establish conditions, obligations and prerogatives that all students from abroad must fulfill in Brazil, and if some of the prerogatives are not enforced, the students are subject to sanctions with the Federal Police.

## Final Considerations

The article aimed to verify to what extent the Undergraduate Exchange Student Program (PEC-PG) can be considered a program that meets the principles of South-South cooperation. It is noteworthy that over its more than 30 years the PEC-PG was consolidated as a government policy whose main purpose was to develop human resources and assist in the development of regions with which Brazil has agreements through the maintenance of research in Brazilian institutions.

By checking the moment of conception of the PEC-PG, it is possible to observe that Brazil was going through a moment after the so-called "economic miracle", and both the economy and the companies needed to keep up the pace of growth, since the presence of the foreign market threatened the national economic development. In this sense, the documents that created the program, analyzed in the light of the historical moment of the foreign policy of the time, corroborate this understanding, that the PEC-PG was created primarily to meet economic demands and promote the Brazilian development of the time, and not to help the countries around it.

Besides this point, it is possible to highlight that the PEC-PG establishes several restrictive criteria, such as: mandatory approval in a Portuguese language exam, not being the holder of a permanent visa in Brazil, restriction on the length of stay in Brazil after graduation and the priority given to students who prove to have an employment relationship in the country of origin, making the PEC-PG a very restrictive and selective program, due to the excess of conditions imposed in the program regulation. Such characteristics seem to move it away from the model of a mutual cooperation model, because despite giving students from several countries the opportunity to perform their graduate studies in Brazil, there is no consultation with the beneficiary countries about the deficient educational areas that are in need of development.

It becomes possible to state that the PEC-PG departs from the Brazilian narrative of South-South Cooperation (SSC), which provides that the collaboration model should contribute to the construction of an internationalization with a bias based on cooperation, since SSC is launched as a relationship of mutual benefits, based on horizontality, the absence of conditionalities and away from a welfare bond (MUÑOZ, 2016).

Based on what has been said in this paper, the need to develop more horizontal cooperation programs can be seen, recognizing the need for discussion and improvement of practices from the standpoint of a more supportive institutional policy aimed at the needs of both beneficiary countries and the "donor" countries of such policies.

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