



INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR EDUCATIONAL JUSTICE

*Marcela Browne and Micaela Herbón, SES
Foundation*

2030 AGENDA: STRIVING TO "LEAVE NO ONE BEHIND," ODA AND EDUCATION

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is an intergovernmental commitment undertaken by Heads of State and Government and High Representatives gathered at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, in September 2015. It is an action plan for the benefit of people, the planet and prosperity. This Agenda begins by recognizing that the eradication of poverty in all its forms and dimensions is the greatest challenge that the world faces, and that it is a necessary condition for sustainable development.

This universal Agenda encourages the consolidation of partnerships among multiple stakeholders to exchange knowledge, experiences, technology and financial resources. A fundamental principle is "to leave no one behind", reaching all those who are deprived and marginalized, wherever they may be, to address their problems and vulnerabilities. Another fundamental principle is based on the interconnected and indivisible nature of its 17 Goals, whereby all those responsible for their implementation have to address them comprehensively and as a whole.

Education is at the heart of the achievement of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Within the Agenda's broad scope of action education is cited as an objective in its own

right (SDG4). "Quality education" is broken into seven targets and three means of implementation as well as being recognized as integral to other objectives.¹

In May 2015, the 2015 World Education Forum was held in Korea. Attendees included United Nations agencies, 120 Ministers of education, over 1600 stakeholders from 160 countries, delegation heads and members, government officials, multilateral and bilateral organizations officials, civil society representatives, teachers, students and the private sector. At this forum the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030 was adopted, which recognizes the important role of education as a main driver in achieving the 2030 Agenda:

"(...) the importance of increasing public spending on education in accordance with country context, and urge[s] adherence to the international and regional benchmarks of allocating efficiently at least 4 – 6% of Gross Domestic Product and/or at least 15 – 20% of total public expenditure to education. We recognize that the fulfilment of all commitments related to official development assistance (ODA) is crucial, including the commitments by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) for ODA to developing countries. In accordance with their commitments, we urge those developed countries that have not yet done so to make additional concrete efforts towards the target of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA to developing countries." (Incheon Declaration, 2015)

Official Development Assistance (ODA) plays a unique role in the fight against poverty, including education.² It is the main external financial flow that explicitly focuses on

economic development and improved welfare. The commitments made to education by rich countries in Incheon (May 2015) are closely linked to ODA. Later in that year, at the Conference on Financing for Development in Addis Ababa (2015), they reaffirmed their commitment and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) included a suggestion to allocate 50% of ODA to the least developed countries (LDCs).

Unfortunately, these promises have not been kept. Instead, member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) are moving away from the planned target and their commitments of 0.7 per cent of their Gross National Income (GNI). In 2017 DAC ODA stood at 0.31% of GNI and only five countries achieved the 0.7% target.

In 2019, the global movement ONE produced a report ranking donor countries based on indicators linked to 1) aid volume; 2) aid targeting; and 3) aid quality.³ This ranking placed the UK, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands at the top five of the 21 main donors. Spain was ranked last among European countries, due to a drastic decrease in its aid contributions over the past decade.

Statistics on ODA in Latin America show fluctuations in the contributions to different countries. The World Bank's report on net ODA received expressed as a percentage of GNI states that aid recipient countries from Latin America were Cuba (3.0% in 2016), Honduras (3.0% in 2018), Nicaragua (2.8% in 2018), Bolivia (1.9% in 2018), El Salvador (1.0% in 2018), Colombia (0.6% in 2018), Guatemala (0.5% in 2018), Ecuador (0.4% in 2018), Paraguay (0.4% in 2018), Peru (0.2% in 2018), Panama (0.1% in 2018), and Uruguay (0.1% in 2017).⁴

The expectations for education generated by the 2030 Agenda commitments by the world's richest countries have not been realized. According to the most recent data, the proportion of aid allocated to basic education in low-income countries decreased considerably in 2015. In those countries – highly dependent on aid – only 23% of their aid was allocated for basic education, compared to 29% in 2014.

UNESCO's 2017 Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM) warned that levels of aid for education had decreased for the sixth consecutive year.⁵ It noted that total contributions to this sector stood at a rate 4% lower than in 2010, when estimates indicated that aid should be increased sixfold if the SDG4 goals were to be effectively met.

If we focus on the secondary school sector, the GEM report (2017) is even more discouraging:

"(...) In 2015, total aid for secondary education decreased by 9%, falling to levels similar to those of 2009-2010. ... Bilateral aid from DAC donors for secondary education was 14% lower in 2015 than in 2009."

The report did note one promising sign: "multilateral donor aid to secondary education, however, has increased by 25% since 2009, despite a 10% decrease between 2014 and 2015."

In terms of basic education, which have been at the core of donor commitments to education, the results were mixed:

"As a result [of decreases in aid for secondary education], multilateral donors accounted for 38% of total aid to basic

education in 2015, compared with 32% in 2009. Furthermore, while overall aid for basic education – primary education, basic life skills for young people and adults, and early childhood education – increased by 8% in one year, it is 6% below its level in 2010."

In the current context and the impact of the pandemic, education as a whole is in state of emergency. In practically all countries face to face teaching has been suspended. Aid for education in emergencies only received 2.7% of total humanitarian aid in 2016, well below the 4% target. In 2016, the education sector received only 48% of the humanitarian aid needed and requested, compared to an average of 57% for all sectors.

It is important to highlight the urgency of revising ODA allocation eligibility criteria, which are currently based on middle- and low-income GDP indicators. These do not respond to the reality of the Latin American region where wide inequalities prevail. GDP measures fails to take inequality into account. Thus, inequality and poverty are differentiated but associated concepts. The World Bank Report (2018) also emphasizes this point. It notes that despite the fact that global wealth grew by approximately 66% (from US\$690 trillion to US\$1,143 trillion in constant 2014 US dollars at market prices, inequalities remained between countries. In fact, in the high-income countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) wealth per capita was 52 times higher than that of low-income countries. This disparity is an important factor in Latin America and one that has been adversely affecting ODA allocations, including those for education.

HORIZONTAL COOPERATION. PEER EXCHANGES

Among the available forms of horizontal and solidarity cooperation inside international agendas, South-South Cooperation (SSC) and Triangular Cooperation is recognized as an important and necessary complement to traditional North-South development cooperation.

In Latin America, South-South Cooperation (SSC) dates back to the 1960s and 1970s, when the first inter-governmental initiatives were launched to support knowledge sharing. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, funds became available for bilateral cooperation and two cooperation agencies were born: the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) in 1987, and the Chilean International Cooperation Agency for the Development (AGCID) in 1990. By the 2000s momentum for this work had grown, largely through support through the new Development Agenda and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Five new agencies were created including the Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation (APCI) (2002) and the Ecuadorian Agency for International Cooperation (AECI) in 2007, which was replaced in 2009 by the Technical Secretariat for International Cooperation (SETECI). As a result of legal instruments promoted between 2010 and 2011 the Presidential Cooperation Agency of Colombia (APC), the Mexican Agency for International Development Cooperation (AMEXCID), and the Uruguayan Agency for International Cooperation (AUCI) were established. As well, in 2005 Cuba's regulations for medical services' exports and economic collaboration and the Petrocaribe Fund under the initiative of Venezuela were approved.⁶

SSC's Latin America journey has been long, intense, evolving and diverse. It has had significant ups and downs, cycles of boom, bust and stagnation caused by various factors: international political and economic circumstances, the agendas of DAC and OECD donor countries, as well as vulnerabilities

and shifts within Latin American cooperation policies.⁷

In 1978 the United Nations High Level Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries was held in Argentina where the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) was created to guide and support this work.

BAPA's founding document (1978)⁸ understands SSC to be an expression of peer solidarity and a partnership between developing countries. It states that the purpose of SSC is to contribute to the well-being of the peoples and countries of the South through mutual cooperation, by which developing countries agree to respect national sovereignty, anti-colonialism and independence, equality, non-conditionality; non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Two main factors were noted as influencing this process: 1) innovative cooperation modalities ranging from economic integration to the creation of regional and multilateral integration blocks and 2) the exchange of technical and technological knowledge, skills, resources and expertise.

The United Nations also provides a definition of South-South cooperation, describing it as the "interaction between two or more developing countries that pursue their individual or collective development goals through cooperative exchanges of knowledge, skills, resources and technical know-how."⁹

In 2019, within the framework of BAPA +40 (the follow up conference to the 1978 conference in Argentina), civil society organizations and movements called for:

"a people-centered South-South cooperation, where the people, their communities and their organizations lead the identification of development needs, setting of development objectives and targets, and designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating of development programs,

TABLE 1. SSC DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STRATEGIES

| Country | Development Plan | Core objectives of the plan | Relationship with OECD | SSDC Strategy | Strategy core objectives |
|-----------|---|---|---|--|---|
| Argentina | Objetivos de Gobierno de la Argentina 2015-2019 | Unity of Argentinians, fight against drug trafficking and fight against poverty | Application for admission submitted in March 2017 | Decisión Administrativa 1146/2016. Lineamientos para la cooperación Sur-Sur (2013-2015) (not in force) | "Proposal for the design of a Development Assistance policy by Argentina, through technical cooperation and financial assistance when linked to technical cooperation." (Administrative Decision 1146/2016) |
| Brazil | Estratégia Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social 2020-2031. Plano Plurianual 2020-2023 | Economic growth, business environment, infrastructure and competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion with a focus on equal opportunities | Application for admission submitted in May 2017 | Documento de estrategia da ABC, 2016. Diretrizes para o desenvolvimento da cooperacao técnica internacional multilateral e bilateral, ABC, 2016. Diretrizes Gerais para a Concepção, Coordenação e Supervisão de Iniciativas de Cooperação Técnica Trilateral, ABC, 2018 | Alignment to national priorities; national, regional or local impact; knowledge dissemination potential; sustainability of results; capacity development; etc. |
| Chile | Programa de Gobierno de Chile 2018-2022 | Growth, quality employment and opportunities for all; family at the center; Citizen security; Free, vigorous and diverse civil society | Member since 2010 and DAC observer | Política y Estrategia de Cooperación Internacional de Chile para el Desarrollo 2015-2030. Estrategia de Cooperación Internacional de Chile para el Desarrollo 2015-2018. | Move towards inclusive and sustainable development; partnerships strengthening for shared development; Consolidation of the National System of international cooperation for development |

TABLE 1. SSC DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STRATEGIES

| Country | Development Plan | Core objectives of the plan | Relationship with OECD | SSDC Strategy | Strategy core objectives |
|------------|--|--|---|---|---|
| Colombia | Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. Legalidad, emprendimiento y equidad para todos (2018-2022) | Pact for legality, pact for entrepreneurship and pact for equity | Invited to become a member in May 2018 (access dialog since 2013) | Hoja de Ruta de la Cooperación Internacional (CI) 2015-2018. | Peace-building; Sustainable Rural Development, and Environmental Conservation and Sustainability |
| Costa Rica | Plan Nacional de Desarrollo y de Inversión Pública del Bicentenario 2019- 2022 de Costa Rica | Citizen security; Environment and Territorial Planning; Risk management; Competitiveness and Innovation, and Social Welfare | Application acceptance and in the process of accession since April 2015 | Política de Cooperación Internacional 2014-2022 | Citizen security; Environment and Territorial Planning; Risk management; Competitiveness and Innovation, Social Welfare |
| Cuba | Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social 2030 de Cuba (2017-2030) | Tourism, food production, biotechnology and pharmaceutical industry, professional services abroad, and electricity and construction sector | No relationship | Principios de la colaboración económica. Resolución n° 43/2005. Normas para la contratación de profesionales y técnicos | Complementarity, economy integration and international solidarity |

Source: Malacalza, B. (2020): "Variaciones de las políticas de cooperación Sur-Sur en América Latina. Estudio de casos", Documentos de Trabajo n° 32 (2ª época), Madrid, Fundación Carolina.

policies and projects... we want a South-South cooperation that institutionalizes these through frameworks, official spaces, mechanisms and resources for people-to-people cooperation and civil society organizations' engagement."¹⁰

As indicated above, South-South Cooperation was born as an alternative to developed countries' cooperation in a context of transformation of the world order and self-assertion of developing countries' identity and independence.

The BAPA +40 document (2019) departs somewhat from the original vision established in the original BAPA outcome. While it emphasizes the need for inclusion and multi-stakeholder partnerships, it focuses primarily on attracting the private sector and international financial investments, with little or no mention of peoples' and civil society organizations' engagement. As such, it expands corporate uptake and reinforces the reduction of civic spaces in South-South Cooperation.

The working document "*Variaciones de las políticas de cooperación Sur-Sur en América*

*Latina*¹¹ (Variations in South-South Cooperation Policies in Latin America), sheds light on various aspects related to the management of cooperation.

These new approaches are highly worrying and raise the tension between two ways of understanding the internationalization of education, and more specifically the importance of national educational policies. On the one hand, internationalization can follow the logic of the market as determined by the agendas set by international financing organizations and companies. On the other hand, internationalization should be guided by national educational policies, debated within the framework of national strategic plans and educational policies at different levels and modalities. The hope and expectation is that the countries of the Global South, in a decolonized way, build upon the latter approach as a strategy of solidarity, related to regional and national strategic projects, guaranteeing human development in the region based on nationally determined education policies.

Moreover, regional integration agreements in education can have a positive impact on the construction of knowledge and on the prevention of migration to developed countries that occurs through the co-optation of students and young professionals.

Table 1 below provides an analysis of the relationship between national development plans, commitments made by most countries to the OECD, and the International Development Cooperation (IDC) national policy and strategy documents. It is important to note that with the exception of Chile and Argentina, where government programs have been developed, all the countries in the region have plans. Secondly, none of the countries in the region have prioritized the educational system in their core planning or cooperation strategies, thus contradicting the letter of their commitments

where education has been identified as a main driver for development.

In the same document, Malacalza gives an account of horizontal cooperation recipients in the region. He creates an “interpretative framework” that allows us to monitor the relationship between narratives and practices. He notes:

“In general terms, sectoral distribution of initiatives focuses on those public policies that each country considers relevant at the national level, while geographic distribution focuses on border areas and/or the region, although it tends to be diversified only in extreme cases of larger extra-regional scale (Brazil and Cuba) or smaller scale (Costa Rica and Uruguay).

“(...) [G]eographical and sectoral orientations of initiatives at the country level respond to different interpretative frameworks. In some cases, these frameworks have elements aligned with the guidelines expressed in national development and cooperation policy documents set out in Table 1, while others respond to narratives and general patterns established in presidential speeches, or alignment with temporary foreign policy interests.”

Malacalza’s research demonstrates that the educational field has been identified by only Cuba, Venezuela, Peru and Ecuador.

Emancipatory development has been a critical goal originating from the South. How much that has been achieved through SSC can be debated. However, this cooperation has allowed, even with the aforementioned fluctuations, a greater knowledge of the Global South. It has made way for academic cooperation, knowledge-sharing, and even an important growth of think tanks created and developed by the South as defined by target 17.6 of the 2030 Agenda. There has been cooperation in agriculture and

technology applied to raw materials, something that would benefit from more study. However there continues to be a huge gap in topics linked to education, human, social, political and sustainable development rights. These need to be prioritized, particularly at this time of regional vulnerability, deep inequalities and poverty.

In addition to the many issues related to South-South Cooperation, there are also major concerns about foreign debt. This will be discussed further in the next section. But it is important to point out here that high foreign debt further compromises the potential for development cooperation based on the transformative principles of solidarity, horizontality, national sovereignty, self-sufficiency. It reduces the possibility and a true transformation of the power relationship currently at work in the global order. Much remains to be done in terms of coordination between States, civil society and trade union and social organizations to achieve an emancipatory vision of the Global South.

While recognizing the difficulties posed by these issues, it is good to be able to identify two initiatives that set examples for the possibility of creating a more humane world, based on cooperation between nations. In March 2020 the President of Argentina, Alberto Fernández, called on the leaders of the twenty main economies of the world to subscribe to "a great Global Solidarity Pact" because "no one

is saved alone"; and to create "a Global Fund for Humanitarian Emergency" to fight against the coronavirus pandemic. Also hopeful is Pope Francis's call for a new education pact for the care of creation.¹² In May 2020 he launched a world event, with the theme 'Reconstructing the Global Compact on Education', to shape the future of humanity by "forming mature individuals who can overcome division and take care of our common home."¹³

Reconstructing the Global Educational Pact" has among its objectives "to rekindle the commitment by and with the young generations, renewing the passion for a more open and inclusive education, capable of patient listening, constructive dialogue and mutual understanding."

The Pact indicates three important steps that must be taken on the common path of an "education village": 1) "Courage to place the person in the center." For this, it is necessary to sign a pact that encourages formal and informal educational processes. These processes cannot ignore the reality that everything in the world is intimately connected, and that it is necessary to find - as a healthy anthropology - other ways of understanding the economy, politics, growth and progress; 2) The courage to invest the best energies with creativity and responsibility; and 3) Have the "courage to train available people to put themselves at the service of the community."¹⁴

EXTERNAL DEBT, THE ENEMY OF EDUCATION FINANCING

This chapter calls for an increased investment in education as a necessary measure to help reduce world poverty and achieve the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Developing countries, however, are trapped in a vicious cycle, which undermines their capacities to realize this vital objective. In particular external debt and tax fraud pose serious risk to education financing.

The year 2015 should have been a wonderful moment – 193 countries signed Agenda 2030, the great global pact to "leave no one behind". But this was also the year of dreadful contradiction as global debt reached its highest level in recent times. And this trend, of rising global debt levels, is only worsening.

Low-income countries are facing the most difficult challenges in terms of untenable debt

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE OF GDP THAT REPRESENTS DEBT, DEBT SERVICE PAYMENTS AND EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT *

| Region or group of countries* | External debt total (as % of GDP) | | Total payments for "Debt Services" (as % of Exports) | | Total educational investment (% of GDP) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|--|-------|---|
| | 2009 | 2017 | 2009 | 2017 | 2016 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 27.8% | 33.5% | 5.6% | 11% | 4.55% |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 21.9% | 35% | 18.1% | 23.5% | 4.51% |
| East Asia and the Pacific | 13.1% | 17.1% | 4.9% | 8.9% | 3.59% |

*In the regions, high-income countries are excluded, and only low-income and highly indebted countries are taken into account
Source: Prepared by the author with World Bank data Statistics 2010-17.

loads, both because of the levels of debt owed and their capacities to pay. The imposition of adjustment policies is reducing low-income countries' national sovereignty and capacities to make their own decisions, particularly in face of the demands of the pandemic. Central to these concerns are decreasing investments in public policies and responsibilities, such as education.

Table 2 below gives an overview on the increase in total debt and debt services in relation to GDP and exports in countries in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and Asia/Pacific. It also provides data on educational investment as a percentage of GDP, showing the present gap between the budget required and what is available, numbers which clearly demonstrate that the future of social development in many countries is at risk.

Estimates suggest that there is a general annual requirement for additional public financing equivalent to approximately 27% of GDP in low-income countries and 7% in middle-income countries. Education accounts for about a fifth of that requirement in low-income countries and a third in middle-income countries. The additional financial requirement is estimated at US\$1.4 trillion annually. Optimistic assessments of potential national revenue mobilization to contribute to bridge this gap still leaves US\$150 billion or more missing each year, towards which ODA could be a critical additional resource.

In addition to the risks posed by global debt increases, corruption by large global corporations operating in the Latin American region is also critical. This corruption, which is often associated with sectors of political power (what we call "State capture") results in "tax fraud" (tax evasion, avoidance and privileges), thus reducing the GDP and tax revenue for needed public services, such as education.

The global political, economic and social crisis that began in 2008 is not over yet for many people. In the past two years there have been a series of geopolitical changes that include fractures and changes in global governance, especially in the field of international taxation. The latter has been identified as one of the main global challenges. The need to address these issues becomes more evident every year, as demonstrated with scandals exposed by the mega-leaks of financial information such as Luxleaks (2014), SwissLeaks (2015), Panama Papers (2016), Bahamas Leaks (2016) and Paradise Papers (2017). Successive scandals indicate the existence of a global network of fiscal and financial hideouts that, through various mechanisms of flight, evasion, and concealment, greatly reduce States' much needed tax revenue for education and other urgent needs such as social security in response to the pandemic.¹⁵

The impact of aggressive corporate tax planning in Latin America is alarming. The

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has estimated that illicit financial flows associated with international trade prices manipulation amounted to US\$765 billion between 2004 and 2013. Other reports have estimated that general tax evasion in the Latin American/Caribbean region reaches US\$340 billion annually.¹⁶

We are at a time of instability in the global regulation system, one that is increasingly favouring corporate and elite interests. This is having political, economic, social and environmental impacts. While these trends can be seen in various continents, they are

particularly evident in Latin America, where the fight between the dominant neoliberal model and alternative policies has been waging for the last four decades and with greater vigor in the last decade and a half.¹⁷

A well-monitored tax system is a necessary foundation for ethical and sustainable development practices. It is vital if there is to be an equitable distribution of wealth and to guarantee compliance with the Goals set forth in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Central to this Agenda is the achievement of SDG 4, the right to education.

ENDNOTES

1. The seven Targets of SDG4 are:

Target 4.1: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.

Target 4.2: By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education

Target 4.3: By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university

Target 4.4: By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship

Target 4.5: By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations

Target 4.6: By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy

Target 4.7: By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development

The three means of implementation of SDG 4 are:

4.A: Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all

4.B: By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries. When developed countries award scholarships to students from developing countries, they should be geared towards developing skills in their countries of origin. Furthermore, scholarships should be allocated transparently and preferably to young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

4.C: By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States. The equity gap in education is exacerbated by the uneven distribution of professionally trained teachers, particularly in the most disadvantaged areas. Given that teachers are a primary requirement to ensure equity in education, they should be hired and paid under adequate conditions and should be motivated and professionally qualified.

2. Performance for ODA volumes is calculated as a percentage of national income, taking as a parameter the objective of contributing 0.7% of national income to ODA.
3. <https://www.one.org/international/about/>
4. <https://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/DT.ODA.ODAT.GN.ZS>
5. <https://educacionmundialblog.wordpress.com/2017/06/06/>
6. Malacalza, B. (2020): "Variaciones de las políticas de cooperación Sur-Sur en América Latina. Estudio de casos", Documentos de Trabajo n° 32 (2ª época), Madrid, Fundación Carolina.
7. Malacalza, B. (2020) op. Cit.
8. PNUD. Buenos Aires Plan of Action. 1978
9. Executive Board of the United Nations Development Program and the United Nations Population Fund, Report on the implementation of SSC [DP / 2004/26]
10. Available at <https://csopartnership.org/2019/03/civil-society-calls-for-peoples-inclusion-in-south-south-cooperation-processes/>
11. Malacalza, B. (2020): "Variaciones de las políticas de cooperación Sur-Sur en América Latina. Estudio de casos", Documentos de Trabajo n° 32 (2ª época), Madrid, Fundación Carolina.
12. <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/noticias/el-presidente-alberto-fernandez-convoco-crear-un-fondo-de-emergencia-humanitaria>
13. <https://www.vaticannews.va/es/papa/news/2019-09/papa-francisco-pacto-educativo-mensaje-creacion.html>
14. bid.
15. In the regions, high-income countries are excluded, and only low-income and highly indebted countries are taken into account
16. Browne, M; Falco, A. (2016). "Los riesgos de la deuda externa y el fraude fiscal para el financiamiento educativo". Available at: <https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/Documento-Riesgos-para-el-Financiamiento-educativo-marzo16.pdf>
17. Browne, M; Falco, A. (2016), op. Cit.
18. Browne, M; Falco, A. (2016), op. cit.