

# BI-REGIONAL SUMMITS AS A PLATFORM FOR STRENGTHENING STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE EU AND LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY

Las cumbres birregionales como plataforma para fortalecer la asociación estratégica entre la UE y América Latina y el Caribe en el siglo XXI

Grygorii Khomenko

Universidad Estatal de Ucrania Dragomanov (Ucrania)

The article examines the political dialogue at the highest level between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The author argues that the global transformation of international relations generated a more solid basis for reinforcing the EU-LAC cooperation in the political, economic, social, legal, cultural, scientific, and technological spheres, thus stimulating the growing coherence and interdependence of the two regions. The objective of this research is to analyze the evolution of the relationship of the LAC states with the European Union through the mechanism of bi-regional summits as the main forum for the advancement of cooperation programs in such areas as peace and security, democracy and human rights, trade and investment, innovation and education, climate change and "green economy". For the LAC countries, the EU represents today the center of gravity, a global power holding leading positions in protecting human rights, eradicating poverty and inequality, preserving the environment, and also a reliable partner associated with significant technological and investment capacity. It can be concluded that the bi-regional political dialogue, which is considered by the parties as a platform for reaching compromises and developing mutually beneficial arrangements, will continue to progress in the future.

## Keywords

Political dialogue, bi-regional summit, strategic partnership, European Union, Latin America, the Caribbean, EU-LAC relationship

El artículo examina el diálogo político al más alto nivel entre la UE y América Latina y el Caribe (ALC) en el siglo XXI. El autor sostiene que la transformación global de las relaciones internacionales generó una base más sólida para reforzar la cooperación UE-ALC en los ámbitos político, económico, social, jurídico, cultural, científico y tecnológico, estimulando así la creciente cohesión e interdependencia de las dos regiones. El objetivo de la investigación es analizar la evolución de la relación de UE-ALC a través de las cumbres birregionales como principal foro para el avance de programas de cooperación en áreas como la paz y la seguridad, la democracia y los derechos humanos, comercio e inversión, innovación y educación, cambio climático y «economía verde». Para los países de ALC la UE representa hoy el centro de gravedad, una potencia global que ocupa posiciones de liderazgo en la protección de los derechos humanos, la erradicación de la pobreza y la desigualdad, la preservación del medio ambiente y un socio confiable con su importante capacidad tecnológica y de inversión. Se puede concluir que el diálogo político birregional, que las partes consideran una plataforma para establecer compromisos y desarrollar acuerdos mutuamente beneficiosos, seguirá avanzando en el futuro.

## Palabras clave

Diálogo político, cumbre, asociación estratégica, Unión Europea, América Latina, el Caribe, relación UE-ALC

**Cómo citar este artículo:** Khomenko, G. (2025). Bi-Regional Summits as a Platform for Strengthening Strategic Partnership between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. *TSN. Transatlantic Studies Network*, (18), 177-188. <https://doi.org/10.24310/tsn.18.2025.18941>. **Financiación:** este artículo no cuenta con financiación externa.



Esta obra está bajo licencia internacional Creative Commons Reconocimiento-NoComercial-CompartirIgual 4.0.

## Introduction

The interregional cooperation between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean in the 21st century acquired a qualitatively new configuration of complex systemic interaction. The global transformation of international relations opened up ample opportunities for entering into closer collaboration between the EU and the LAC states and generated a more solid basis for reinforcing the relationship in the political, economic, social, legal, cultural, scientific and technological spheres, thus stimulating the growing coherence and interdependence of the two regions. Regular political dialogue with the European Union has become one of the priority directions of the foreign policy of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, effecting not just outcomes, but the basis for how interactions take place. The extensive political, economic and humanitarian ties that have existed for many decades between Latin America and the Caribbean, on one side, and the leading European countries, that are currently members of the EU, on the other side, have created favorable conditions for the launching of regular dialogue at the highest political level as well as for the intensification of negotiation process aimed at expanding the contractual and legal framework of this cooperation.

## Reasons for expanding the EU-LAC cooperation in the 21st century

Having first appeared at the end of the 20th century, the regular EU-LAC bi-regional meetings of heads of state and government in the 21st century turned into the main and politically most significant tool of interregional cooperation. It should be noted that the growing interest of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean in promoting cooperation with the European Union has been driven by a number of internal problems and international factors. In our view, the most important were the following: dissatisfaction among political elites and population with the consequences of the neo-liberal development model dominant in the vast majority of countries on the continent; disappointment over the lack of visible results of interaction with the United States of America, cooperation with which was considered one of the key tools for accelerating economic development and solving social problems; attractiveness and successful image of the European socially-oriented model of development, which convincingly demonstrated its viability after the collapse of the bipolar system of the world order, ensuring the rapid expansion of the

EU through the integration of Central and Eastern European countries; need to study the experience of the European integration for its practical application in the region to increase the efficiency of the LAC integration associations, such as Andean Community of Nations (CAN), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Central American Integration System (SICA), Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), Common Southern Market (MERCOSUR), Pacific Alliance, United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA); expectations for economic assistance from the European Union to overcome economic and social problems existing in the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

It is also worth remembering that one more important element of the expansion of interregional cooperation is the common historical heritage of Latin America and Europe, namely language, culture and spiritual values, which are based on the Christian faith. In this sense, the author fully shares the opinion regarding the influence of European history on the development of the Latin American continent: "Since the beginning of the process of independence of Latin American countries, none of the main European political currents and none of the episodes and convulsions of political history have remained unnoticed in the region" (Klaveren van, 2004, p. 55). For the LAC countries, the EU represents today the center of gravity, a global power holding leading positions in protecting human rights, eradicating poverty and inequality, preserving the environment, and a reliable partner associated with the significant technological and investment capacity. Clearly, the EU-LAC summit process is crucial for implementing the strategic partnership between the two regions as "it facilitates dialogue at the highest level, underscores the special nature of the relationship and fuels the bi-regional agenda"<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, in the framework of this relationship effective agreements "depend on the way in which each protagonist values the economic importance and geostrategic value of the other, and on what values and pillars in their estimates the possible strategic alliance must promote" (Malamud *et al.*, 2023, p. 123).

Therefore, the relevance of the study of bi-regional summits is determined by the growing importance of relations with the European Union for the LAC countries in solving their internal problems of social development and economic growth, as well as the imperative to coordinate efforts of the two

<sup>1</sup>EU (2009): *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council "The European Union and Latin America: Global Players in Partnership"*, 30 September 2009. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52009DC0495>

regions in the international arena. Some authors similarly believe that now “bi-regional summits... between CELAC and the EU can contribute to improved mutual understanding and, where appropriate, to a convergence of positions on key international issues” (Nolte, 2023, p. 10). The objective of this research is an in-depth analysis of the evolution of relations of the Latin American and Caribbean states with the European Union in the 21st century through the mechanism of bi-regional summits. To achieve this goal, the following tasks must be completed: to review the summits’ agenda, to examine the content of the top-level political dialogue reflected in official statements and documents, and to sum up the results of the summits and their impact on the development of interregional cooperation. Descriptive and content analysis has been used in this research, which allowed to establish the main features of interaction at the highest political level between the LAC countries and the EU, to study a significant array of official documents related to each of the nine summits, to present the political dialogue comprehensively and to interpret this strategic partnership as a new paradigm in the current geopolitical context.

### **Strengthening the EU-LAC strategic partnership through the mechanism of bi-regional summits**

In the complex scenario of bi-regional long-lasting interactions, the change of the EU emphasis on closer relationship with the LAC region became obvious with the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Community in 1986, which opened a new page in the history of cooperation between the two regions and launched a political dialogue at the highest level. The initiative to hold a summit between Europe and Latin American and the Caribbean belongs to the former president of the Spanish government José María Aznar, who in 1996, during the VI Ibero-American Summit, proposed to create a permanent dialogue between the two regions, which would also include the Caribbean (Rodríguez & Aybar, 2013, p. 11). This idea was supported by the political leadership of both European and Latin American countries, in particular, the European Parliament, the ministers of foreign affairs of the EU member states and reflected in the official documents of the eighth ministerial meeting of the Rio Group countries with the European Union held in April 1997 in the Netherlands<sup>2</sup>. After reaching an

agreement on organizing the summit, the European and Latin American leaders decided to have meetings at the highest political level in turn on each of the two continents. The next step was the approval by the European Council in June 1997 in Amsterdam of the issue of organizing a summit of heads of state and government<sup>3</sup>. The Spanish initiative of launching the EU-LAC summit was later supported by France and Brazil (Pozo, 2014, p. 119), which allowed starting the preparation of the first top-level meeting in Rio de Janeiro.

It must be agreed that “it is from this moment that Latin America gains more importance in the trade and foreign policy of the European Union, while, without a doubt, Spain has become the main promoter of this new orientation” (Blanc Altemir, 2008, p. 217). In the 21st century, the role of Spain in the development of interaction with Latin America continues to remain decisive in the development of the EU-LAC strategic partnership. Being the only member of the European Union that pursues an institutionalized foreign policy concerning the entire LAC region, Spain also seeks to give a new impetus to the development of tripartite cooperation in the triangle Spain-EU-LAC, which is particularly evident in the organization and holding of interregional summits. It was during Spain’s six-month presidency of the Council of the European Union in the 21st century that three interregional summits of political leaders of the EU and LAC countries took place (in 2002 and 2010 in Madrid and 2023 in Brussels). No less important for the continuity and consolidation of these interregional relations in the 21st century was the previous country’s experience obtained in the course of its EU presidencies in 1989 and 1995.

Analyzing the formation of interregional partnership in its present form, it must be taken into account that it was Europe that initiated the expansion of cooperation with the LAC region and developed the conceptual foundation taking concrete practical steps for its implementation. Speaking about the lack of initiatives among the LAC countries in promoting integration with the EU, a Latin American researcher Roberto Guerrero (2020, p. 45) directly pointed out that “none of them has applied a specific strategy to strengthen and/or deepen ties with the EU”.

The first interregional summit in June 1999 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) initiated a regular political dialogue between the heads of state and government of the two regions and ended with the adoption of the Joint Declaration and the accom-

<sup>2</sup>UN (1997): *Noordwijk Declaration – 7-8 April 1997*. Available at: [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/233587/files/A\\_S-19\\_12-EN.pdf?ln=ar](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/233587/files/A_S-19_12-EN.pdf?ln=ar)

<sup>3</sup>European Parliament (1997). *Amsterdam European Council. Presidency Conclusions – 16-17 June 1997*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ams1\\_en.htm](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/ams1_en.htm)

panying document entitled "Priorities of Action". The objective of the summit was "to strengthen the links of political, economic and cultural understanding between the two regions in order to develop a strategic partnership"<sup>4</sup>. I consider the formula of "strategic partnership" coined at the first summit an ambitious goal to be achieved and sustained in the framework of this interregional relationship, which, despite all its ups and downs, remains valid to this day.

The final declaration of the summit included provisions for the creation of an interregional group at the level of Senior Officials to strengthen the strategic partnership. The text of the declaration covered three main areas of partnership: political (institutional dialogue between both regions, direct communication on matters of regional integration, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, gender equality, overcoming poverty, marginalization and social exclusion, international peace and security, elimination of weapons of mass destruction, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, strengthening international multilateral institutions); economic (trade liberalization and diversification, promotion of investment, support for smaller countries, cooperation in science and technology, development of stable market economy, information society and efficient infrastructure), as well as cultural, educational, scientific, technological, social and humanitarian (preservation of cultural heritage, access to education and professional training, interregional educational and cultural exchanges)<sup>5</sup>. It is important to bear in mind the historic role of the first EU-LAC summit as it laid the groundwork for a comprehensive cooperation between the two regions, launched the strategic partnership between the EU and the LAC countries and opened EU-MERCOSUR negotiations. I fully share the assessment of this summit, with the appearance of which "the interregional relationship was formalized and given meaning and structure" (Guerrero, 2020, p. 48).

The decisions adopted at the first summit in Rio de Janeiro was not purely declarative, but became the subject of discussion, coordination and monitoring during their practical implementation. The Senior Officials representing both regions at their meetings in November 1999 in Tuusula (Finland) and later in February 2000 in Vilamoura (Portugal) defined 11 priority areas for action. The main actions undertaken within these priorities and directed at strengthening political dialogue in interna-

---

**The present-day EU-LAC relationship is future-oriented for the EU primarily takes into account the rapidly growing political and economic potential of the LAC region in the world rather than short-term benefits**

---

tional fora, promotion of human rights, protection of the environment, combatting drugs, promotion of trade, cooperation in education and university studies, science and technology, regional integration and social security were registered and subsequently reported to the participants of the second EU-LAC summit in May 2002 in Madrid (Spain). At this summit the political leaders agreed that the priority issues of cooperation should be to strengthen democratic institutions and promote the processes of modernization in societies "taking into account the importance of sustainable development, poverty eradication, cultural diversity, justice and social equity"<sup>6</sup>. Achieving the set goals was seen through the promotion of integration processes, the expansion of interregional trade and the increase of investment. In addition, the participants of the summit agreed to fight against drug trafficking, organized crime and corruption. A separate block of questions was devoted to solving the problems of gender equality and increasing the participation of women in decision-making as a means to overcome poverty. At the same time, it emphasized the need to increase the efficiency of state institutions, build infrastructure and create conditions for the activity of small and medium-sized businesses, which would contribute to the development of the LAC region.

During the summit, issues of expanding cooperation between the two regions within the framework of multilateral formats, including the Global Summit on Sustainable Development, the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization, and the International Criminal Court were also discussed. The final document of the summit contained a political declaration on the common values of the two

<sup>4</sup>EU-LAC Foundation (1997). *Declaration of Rio de Janeiro – 29 June 1999*. Available at: [https://intranet.eulacfoundation.org/en/system/files/1999\\_EN\\_Rio\\_Decl.pdf](https://intranet.eulacfoundation.org/en/system/files/1999_EN_Rio_Decl.pdf)

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>European Parliament (2002). *Political Declaration "Madrid Commitment" – 4 May 2002*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124270/ii\\_17\\_5\\_2002\\_madrid\\_en-2.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124270/ii_17_5_2002_madrid_en-2.pdf)

continents and political agreements on the start of bilateral negotiations with the Central American Integration System and the Andean Community of Nations regarding the signing of the Association Agreements (by analogy with the EU-MERCOSUR negotiations). The Political Declaration contained provisions on combatting terrorism “in all its forms and manifestations – which threatens our democratic systems, liberties and development, as well as international peace and security”<sup>7</sup> and condemnation of terrorist attacks and kidnappings in Colombia and expressed concern about the political crisis in Haiti. At the same time, support was expressed for Guatemala and Belize, which tried to peacefully resolve the territorial conflict through dialogue and under the auspices of the Organization of American States. The second EU-LAC summit in Madrid consolidated the process of political interaction at the highest level, which began in Rio de Janeiro, and displayed the commitment of its participants to jointly work on the advancement of this strategic partnership. Besides, the EU-Chile Association Agreement was announced at this summit and two joint programs in the area of higher education were launched: the ALBAN program (high-level scholarships to Latin America) and the EULAC Common Higher Education and Knowledge Area concept.

The 3rd Summit in Guadalajara (Mexico) in May 2004 was attended by 25 heads of state and government of the European Union, including representatives of 10 new EU members, and 33 from Latin America and the Caribbean. After the previous summit, substantial progress was made towards fulfilling the Madrid commitments, including the signature of the EU-Chile Association agreement in November 2002 and the conclusion of negotiations concerning the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreements with Central America and the Andean Community signed in Rome in December 2003<sup>8</sup>. It was stressed on the eve of the summit that the EU in its relations with LAC is interested in intensifying the dialogue on key issues and deepening the political partnership, which promotes global governance and strengthens the principle of multilateral relations. The summit participants expressed their “solidarity with the victims of terrorism and their families, including those who suffered in the terrorist attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004”<sup>9</sup>.

The summit agenda was focused on the issues of multilateralism, social cohesion and the bi-regional

relationship. The topic of social cohesion was the most prominent at the summit as it was connected with the effort to follow the UN Millennium Goals, namely the issue of overcoming inequality, poverty and alienation, since these phenomena weaken democracy and threaten peace and stability throughout the world. To attain these goals, reforms intended for the formulation and implementation of social cohesion policies were to be carried out in three areas. The first was democratic governance, given that the majority of Latin American people do not trust the political system. Therefore, it was necessary to improve electoral systems, guarantee the independence of the judiciary, and improve the functioning of political parties and ensure a more representative composition of them. The second area concerned social policy allowing a better redistribution of wealth, which was supposed to expand access to education, health care, housing and work. The third one was dealing with public finances and tax policy, first of all, the implementation of fiscal reform, which was supposed to promote justice and ensure an adequate level of social spending. The EUROsocial program was agreed upon and launched at this summit to support social cohesion and to assist Latin American countries to develop and implement social policies that will contribute to reducing the gap between the rich and the poor in the region with a focus on health, education, administration of justice, employment and taxation policies. The parties also agreed to extend the 2002-2004 Action Plan for building an EU-LAC Common Area of Higher Education until 2008 to contribute to the improvement of the quality of higher education.

Other key issues of the summit were regional integration in Latin America and cooperation between the two regions within the framework of various international organizations since the multilateral approach to security provides the best means to maintain international order. The leaders called on all states to sign and ratify the UN Convention against Corruption to “reinforce international cooperation in this area, promoting a culture of democracy through effective administrative reform and governmental transparency at all levels”<sup>10</sup>. The parties recognized the importance of Economic Partnership Agreement between the Caribbean countries and the EU and welcomed the progress made in the negotiation of an Interregional Association Agreement between MERCOSUR and the European Union.

As a contribution to constructive preparations for the next EU-LAC Summit, the Commission of

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>European Parliament (2004). *Declaration of Guadalajara – 2 May 2004*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124266/iii\\_2\\_5\\_2004\\_guadalajara\\_en.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124266/iii_2_5_2004_guadalajara_en.pdf)

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



the European Union issued in December 2005 a strategy paper, which clearly defined its main objectives and strategic policy priorities to promote regional integration and negotiations, to establish Association Agreements with various sub-regions in Latin America, to steer development cooperation towards the reduction of poverty and social inequality and to improve educational levels<sup>11</sup>. Afterward, on the eve of the summit the European Commission proposed a new strategy, in which it analyzed the current challenges and made practical recommendations for revitalizing the EU-LAC bi-regional strategic association. Its proposals included “stepping up a political dialogue between the two regions, stimulating economic and commercial exchanges, encouraging regional integration, tackling inequality and tailoring its development and aid policy more closely to real conditions in Latin America”<sup>12</sup>.

Therefore, during the fourth summit in May 2006 in Vienna (Austria), the expansion of cooperation topics was especially noticeable, where health care, education, governance, employment, the fight against marginalization, poverty and social inequality became central in the framework of bilateral dialogue. It is noteworthy to mention that for the first time representatives of Latin American regional organizations took part in the summit, which underlines the growing role of these entities for the EU as until 2006 the LAC region was represented at these forums only by the presidents of the Latin American and Caribbean states. The summit took place at a challenging time when both regions faced internal problems: the EU was seeking a solution to the failure of the Constitutional Treaty and the LAC countries had problems in the sub-regional integration organizations due to internal centrifugal processes.

The main sections of the Vienna Declaration contained the commitment to further promote bi-regional strategic partnership, to work closely for protecting democracy and human rights, strengthening peace, stability and international law, to fight against terrorism, drugs and organized crime, to protect the environment and to closely cooperate in the energy sector<sup>13</sup>. The EU-LAC leaders also supported a multilateral approach to address

disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control challenges, in particular regarding nuclear, chemical and biological weapons<sup>14</sup>. The summit in Vienna was quite successful for the development of EU-LAC interregional cooperation as there were several decisions made on launching negotiations for Association Agreements between the EU and regional blocks such as Central America (SIECA), Andean Community and the countries of the Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM). In fulfillment of the summit agreements, the European Commission published new messages for the Council of the EU regarding the interregional dialogue with LAC, replacing ten-year-old documents. It was proposed to create a European-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly and a European-Latin American fund. In the context of the EU financial assistance to LAC until 2013, the European Union managed to formulate specific commitments to support the policy of social cohesion, which was discussed in detail after the EU-LAC summit in Guadalajara. In this context, significant efforts were made by both parties to promote social cohesion in the region. Following the Vienna Summit, the first EU-LAC Forum on Social Cohesion was launched in 2007, while the funding available for the EU-LAC cooperation was allocated for social cohesion. Dialogue and cooperation between government authorities, international institutions and civil society were also intensified under the EURO-social program.

The fifth EU-LAC summit in May 2008 in Lima (Peru) focused on two main issues: 1) eradication of poverty, inequality and exclusion; and 2) sustainable development, in particular environment, climate change and energy. About the first issue, the leaders expressed their commitment to “foster a coherent use of both public and private resources, together with bi-regional cooperation and other international financing mechanisms, to generate, through good and accountable governance, and adequate fiscal policies”<sup>15</sup>. The two sides underlined the importance of enhancing market access for environmental goods, services and technology, taking into account the impact of trade on the sustainable use of natural resources. They also supported the participation of appropriate actors “in bi-regional, regional and sub-regional networks for the management and transfer of knowledge and the exchange of experiences in the implementation of environmental policies, sustainable development and best practices”<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Commission of the European Communities (2005). *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament “A Stronger Partnership between the European Union and Latin America”* – 8 December 2005. Available at: [https://aei.pitt.edu/38098/1/SEC\\_\(2005\)\\_1590.pdf](https://aei.pitt.edu/38098/1/SEC_(2005)_1590.pdf).

<sup>12</sup> European Commission (2006). *EU-Latin America Relations on the Eve of the Vienna Summit – 10 May 2006*. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO\\_06\\_191](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_06_191)

<sup>13</sup> European Parliament (2006). *Declaration of Vienna – 12 May 2006*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/266733/Vienna%20Declaration\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/266733/Vienna%20Declaration_EN.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> European Parliament (2008). *Lima Declaration – 16 May 2008*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124268/v\\_16\\_5\\_2008\\_lima\\_en.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124268/v_16_5_2008_lima_en.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

The summit provided an opportunity for regionally focused dialogues between the EU and the integration blocks of Central America, the Andean region, Caribbean countries and MERCOSUR as well as with Mexico and Chile. The participants expressed their satisfaction with the conclusion of the negotiations related to the Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Union and the Caribbean Forum (CARIFORUM) and the successful implementation of the Association Agreements between the EU and Mexico and Chile. The start of the negotiations in 2007 between the EU and Central America and the Andean Community was positively evaluated as well.

In many aspects, the Lima Declaration of 2008 essentially repeated the declaration of the previous summit, except that for the first time the energy issue was discussed in detail at the highest political level. In this important field, the EU and the LAC countries agreed to diversify energy sources, improve access to the production and use of clean and low-carbon energies, and cooperate in promoting the development of new technologies in the area of non-renewable energy sources. In addition to the aforementioned progress in negotiations on association agreements, there was also the noteworthy launch of the EUroCLIMA program for cooperation on climate change mitigation and the decision to create the EU-LAC Foundation. The task of this Foundation was to serve as a link between the two regions for strengthening strategic partnership and enhancing its visibility. Based on the principle of shared responsibility, the EU and Latin America devoted special attention to migration and migration policy. Accordingly, a decision was made to start a dialogue on migration to “develop a comprehensive approach to international migration, including the orderly management of migratory flows, focusing on the mutual benefits for countries of origin and destination”<sup>17</sup>.

In the course of preparation for the next summit, the European Commission issued in 2009 its Communication to the European Parliament and the Council, in which it assessed the strategic partnership with Latin America and the Caribbean from 1999 to 2009. The document outlined the complex international context, in which the partnership operated, new global challenges that must be addressed and objectives, which should guide the EU strategy on the region in the coming years. The Communication also stated that the EU had financed more than 450 projects and programs accounting for more than €3 billion over the past

---

## Interaction at the highest level between the EU and the LAC nowadays takes place in the form of a political dialogue of equal partners

---

ten years<sup>18</sup>. The financial crisis of 2008-2009 affected most countries and required a corresponding reduction in spending. For this reason, some difficulties arose during the preparation of the sixth summit, which was held in May 2010 in Madrid. Another challenging issue was a coup in Honduras at the end of 2009, after which the Latin American states did not recognize the new leadership and expressed their reluctance to participate in the summit if Honduran representatives were present. It is worth noting that the EU meeting with the Honduran representative took place, but after the main summit, owing to the skillful diplomacy of Spain. In addition, the conflict between Argentina and Great Britain regarding the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands intensified again. It was on the eve of the summit that there were discussions in the world press about the support of the states of both regions of this or that country in the conflict.

The Madrid Declaration contained provisions on the challenges associated with the consequences of the economic crisis and ways to respond to these challenges. The participants of the summit confirmed their resolve to build a new financial architecture of the world, including the reform of international financial organizations, promises not to apply protectionism in any form. The declaration welcomed the conclusion of the negotiations between the EU and Central America regarding the Association Agreement, the renewal of the political dialogue between the European Union and CARIFORUM and the decision to establish the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)<sup>19</sup>.

In addition to the Declaration, the participants of the EU-LAC summit adopted the Madrid Action Plan for 2010-2012. The Action Plan included

<sup>18</sup>EU (2009). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council “The European Union and Latin America: Global Players in Partnership”* – 30 September 2009. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52009DC0495>

<sup>19</sup>European Council (2010). *Madrid Declaration* – 18 May 2010. Available at: [https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/114535.pdf](https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/114535.pdf)

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

several initiatives for promoting by-regional cooperation in six areas consistent with the priorities established at the VI EU-LAC Summit as reflected in its Final Declaration: 1) science, research, innovation and technology; 2) sustainable development, environment, climate change, biodiversity, energy; 3) regional integration and interconnectivity to promote social inclusion and cohesion; 4) migration; 5) education and employment to promote social inclusion and cohesion; 6) the world drug problem<sup>20</sup>. A new mechanism for cooperation between Latin America and the European Union – the Latin America Investment Facility (LAIF) was created at the summit. Its purpose was to help Latin American countries finance projects in key sectors that are essential for the achievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, in particular sustainable energy, environment, water, transport, inclusive social services, and support to small and medium-sized enterprises.

The seventh summit of heads of state and government of the EU and LAC took place in January 2013 in Santiago (Chile). With the emergence of a new regional association CELAC in December 2011 in the region, the EU began to use this organization for interregional dialogue with the Latin American and Caribbean states. It should be mentioned that it was the 2013 summit that marked the transition of cooperation to the “region-region” model because all 33 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean were represented by this regional organization. That is why the meeting in Santiago received the second name – the first EU-CELAC summit. The participants confirmed their willingness to act together to deepen their strategic partnership under the topic “Alliance for Sustainable Development: Promoting Investments of Social and Environmental Quality”. The summit agenda included four items relating to strengthening bi-regional dialogue, reinforcing joint positions in the international and multilateral arena, progress achieved in the framework of the strategic partnership process and promotion of investments in social and environmental quality. The two regions expressed their commitment to achieve sustainable development in three dimensions: economic, social and environmental through “the strengthening of cooperation, the transfer of knowledge and the preservation and conservation of natural and cultural heritage as well as the protection of biodiversity”<sup>21</sup>. The Declaration contain-

ed positive assessments of cooperation between the EU and individual Latin American countries and sub-regional organizations since the Madrid summit, namely: the signing of the Free Trade Agreements with Colombia and Peru, similar agreement with Central America, continued negotiations with MERCOSUR, agreement to update the Economic Partnership, Political Coordination and Cooperation Agreement with Mexico, bi-lateral dialogue on the deepening of the strategic partnership with Brazil, adoption of the Joint Caribbean-EU Partnership Strategy and the establishment of the Caribbean Investment Facility, ratification process of the Political Dialogue and Cooperation CAN-EU Agreement<sup>22</sup>. In addition, the participants of the summit emphasized the need for cooperation in the international arena to ensure respect for human rights and democracy, fight against terrorism, work towards the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, mitigate the consequences of climate change and fight corruption and illegal drug trafficking.

Similarly, as during the previous summit, the EU-CELAC Action Plan for 2013-2015 was adopted with several priority areas of cooperation: science, research, innovation and technology; sustainable development; environment; climate change; biodiversity; energy; regional integration; migration; education and employment to promote social inclusion and cohesion; the world drug problem; gender; investments and entrepreneurship for sustainable development<sup>23</sup>. The summit also set the goal of working on increasing the level of women’s participation in political life and decisions, eradicating violence against women and girls.

The second EU-CELAC summit took place in June 2015 in Brussels (Belgium) and was accompanied by numerous parallel events, organized by civil society, academics, businesspeople, trade unions, youth and parliamentarians. There were two declarations adopted: a concise political declaration “A partnership for the next generation” and a more extensive document – the Brussels declaration “Shaping our common future: working together for prosperous, cohesive and sustainable societies for our citizens”. A comprehensive EU-CELAC Action Plan consistent with the summit priorities and linked with its central theme was developed and approved at the summit as well. The political leaders decided to intensify cooperation on three main global problems: climate change, the de-

<sup>20</sup> Latin America, Caribbean and European Union Network on Research and Innovation (2010). *Madrid Action Plan 2010-2012 – 18 May 2010*. Available at: <https://alcuenet.eu/assets/15.%20Madrid%20Action%20Plan%202010-2012.%202010.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> European Parliament (2013). *Santiago Declaration – 27 January 2013*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124264/ST\\_5747\\_2013\\_INIT\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124264/ST_5747_2013_INIT_EN.pdf)

[ta/124264/ST\\_5747\\_2013\\_INIT\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124264/ST_5747_2013_INIT_EN.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> European Parliament (2013). *EU-CELAC Action Plan 2013-2015 – 27 January 2013*. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124263/2013\\_santiago\\_summit\\_eu-celac\\_action\\_plan\\_en.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/124263/2013_santiago_summit_eu-celac_action_plan_en.pdf)



velopment program after 2015 and the fight against drugs. The summit was also a good opportunity to deepen policy dialogue on citizen-driven initiatives for sustainable growth, education and security. The participants highlighted the progress achieved in deepening relations between the EU and CELAC countries and sub-regional organizations, in particular: the conclusion of negotiations on the agreement for the establishment of the EULAC Foundation as an international organization; Trade Agreement with Colombia and Peru; process of joining this agreement by another Andean country – Ecuador; similar agreement with Central America; adoption by the EU its Citizen Security Strategy for Central America and the Caribbean; negotiations on modernization of the EU Agreements with Mexico and Chile; commitment of the EU and MERCOSUR to complete Association Agreement; the negotiations on Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement with Cuba, which began in early 2014<sup>24</sup>. The summit also called for more regular political dialogue at the level of foreign ministers to make “assessment of the programs and actions adopted by the summits and on the best way to ensure these common objectives”<sup>25</sup>.

The EU-CELAC Action Plan 2015-2017 was based on the previous similar document adopted in Santiago, but it was expanded by adding sections on higher education and citizen security. The goal of cooperation in the field of higher education and support for inclusive development of higher education was equality of access to education and high quality of education by promoting knowledge exchange and technology transfer through institutional capacity building, mobility of students, researchers, experts, academic and administrative staff. Special attention was paid to the needs of the young population and persons with disabilities<sup>26</sup>. Both regions agreed to work on strengthening the security of citizens by including preventive measures, promoting a culture of peace and non-violence and fulfillment of human rights. The leaders demonstrated their determination to foster cooperation for peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes, the promotion of disarmament and non-proliferation at the international level and to keep Latin America and the Caribbean free of nuclear weapons. In this connection, we have to admit that “both regions look to work together as

global actors to create a ‘new multilateralism’ that would be capable of fostering democratic institutions at an international level, thus improving their legitimacy, representativeness and effectiveness” (Sanahuja, 2015, p. 38).

Unfortunately, the third EU-CELAC summit, which was scheduled for October 2017 in San Salvador, was ultimately canceled at the request of CELAC due to several reasons, including the political crisis in Venezuela. However, this summit was held eight years later in July 2023 in Brussels (Belgium) at the beginning of Spain’s six-month Presidency of the EU Council. In the course of preparations for the summit, the EU-CELAC meeting of foreign affairs ministers took place in October 2022 in Buenos Aires (Argentina), where a decision was adopted to reactivate the political dialogue at the highest level and to develop a bi-regional roadmap as a sign of positive agenda. On the very eve of the summit in June 2023, the European Commission adopted a joint communication setting out a new agenda for relations between the EU and the LAC countries that aims to strengthen the strategic partnership through reinforced political engagement, boosted trade, and more sustainable investment through the EU-LAC Global Gateway connectivity strategy<sup>27</sup>.

As a result, the EU investment strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean was a central component of the summit agenda to address the common priorities of the two regions, mobilizing both private capital and public funding for the sustainable development of the LAC countries. President of the Government of Spain Pedro Sánchez in his address at the opening session of the EU-CELAC Summit pointed out the importance of this issue: “The EU is today the leading investor in Latin America and that it is essential to continue to improve its impact and sustainability by promoting bi-regional dialogue”<sup>28</sup>. The EU presented at the summit its Global Gateway Investment Agenda for the LAC region and pledged to invest €45 billion until 2027 around four pillars: green transition, digital transformation, human development, and health resilience and vaccines.

Unfortunately, a very complicated problem of the Association Agreement between the EU and MERCOSUR was not reached either at the sum-

<sup>24</sup>European Council (2015). *Brussels Declaration – 10-11 June 2015*. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23753/eu-celac-brussels-declaration.pdf>

<sup>25</sup>European Council (2015). *Political Declaration – 10-11 June 2015*. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23749/eu-celac-political-declaration.pdf>

<sup>26</sup>European Council (2015). *EU-CELAC Action Plan – 10-11 June 2015*. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/23757/eu-celac-action-plan.pdf>

<sup>27</sup>EU (2023). *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council “A New Agenda for Relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean” – 7 June 2023*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52023JC0017>

<sup>28</sup>La Moncloa-President of the Government of Spain and the Council of Ministers (2023): *The President of the Government of Spain Gives an Address at the Opening Session of the EU-CELAC Summit – 17 July 2023*. Available at: [https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/paginas/2023/20230717\\_eu-celac-summit.aspx](https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/paginas/2023/20230717_eu-celac-summit.aspx)

mit or later in 2023. In the EU-MERCOSUR Joint Press Statement, the two sides declared that they are engaged in constructive discussions to finalize the pending issues underlining that “negotiations continue with the ambition to conclude the process and reach an Agreement that is mutually beneficial for both regions and which responds to the demands and aspirations of their respective societies”<sup>29</sup>. As regards to the relationship with Cuba, the European Union, referring to the United Nations General Assembly resolution of November 2022 and taking into account numerous calls of its Latin American and Caribbean partners, expressed its intention to end economic, trade and financial blockade of this Caribbean country.

At the same time, it is relevant to note that several important decisions were made at the summit, which required certain concessions from both sides to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement. One of the most controversial and divisive issues was an attempt to find common ground regarding the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. The Russian-Ukrainian war became the subject of discussion at the beginning of the summit through the principled disagreement of some Latin American states to allow president of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky to address the summit participants. Criticism of the actions of the Ukrainian leadership was observed not only from the Russian allies in Latin America, but also from states that officially abided by a neutral position on the issue of the unprovoked Russian invasion of Ukraine. President of Brazil Lula da Silva, who several months earlier proposed to recognize the Ukrainian territory of the Crimean Peninsula as a part of the Russian Federation in exchange for a cessation of hostilities (Stuenkel, 2023), criticized president of Chile Gabriel Borich. The latter called on Latin American leaders at the summit to openly condemn the Russian invader because “what is happening in Ukraine is a war of imperial aggression which violates international law”<sup>30</sup>.

Nevertheless, the participants of the EU-CELAC summit agreed on the final declaration without condemning Russia’s full-scale war against Ukraine because of Nicaragua’s position. Initially, tough wording on Russia’s invasion of Ukraine was bloc-

---

**The EU-LAC interregional  
summits proved the significant  
potential for bilateral  
cooperation in political,  
trade-economic, social, and  
cultural areas and the parties’  
great interest in establishing  
a truly strategic partnership**

---

ked by Nicaragua, Venezuela and Cuba. However, at a later stage, only Nicaragua did not repudiate its position. Despite all these divergences the leaders of the EU-CELAC summit expressed in the final declaration “deep concern on the ongoing war against Ukraine, which continues to cause immense human suffering and is exacerbating existing fragilities in the global economy”<sup>31</sup>. Also, they jointly supported “the need for a just and sustainable peace and to respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all nations”<sup>32</sup>. This means that Latin American countries, despite some differences, have a common position that partially coincides with the European one in terms of condemnation of unprovoked aggression and violation of international law, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The main differences in the position of the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war were expressed by a key regional actor - Brazil, representing today the Global South. The Brazilian position relates to non-provision of military aid to Ukraine due to the fear of escalation, as well as non-participation in sanctions pressure on the Russian Federation (Schutte, 2023). Against this backdrop, we must agree with some assessments of this summit underlining that “the two regions are far from having a common strategic vision in international politics, that there are deficiencies in the Latin American consultation process and deep disagreements in the respective worldviews” (Nolte & Alvares, 2023). However, estimates of Latin American leaders of the outcome of the third EU-CELAC summit have more positive implication. Speaking about the summit President

<sup>29</sup> European Commission (2023). *EU-MERCOSUR Press Statement – 7 December 2023*. Available at: [https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/news/eu-mercotur-joint-press-statement-2023-12-07\\_en](https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/news/eu-mercotur-joint-press-statement-2023-12-07_en)

<sup>30</sup> Government of Chile (2023). *President Boric at EU-CELAC Summit “What is Happening in Ukraine is an Unacceptable War of Imperial Aggression” – 18 July 2023*. Available at: <https://www.gob.cl/en/news/president-boric-at-eu-celac-summit-2023-what-is-happening-in-ukraine-is-an-unacceptable-war-of-imperial-aggression/>

<sup>31</sup> European Commission (2023). *Declaration of the EU-CELAC Summit – 18 July 2023*. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/statement\\_23\\_3924](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/statement_23_3924)

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

of Brazil Lula da Silva has called it “the most successful of all” especially underlining that he has “rarely seen so much political and economic interest from the EU countries towards Latin America” (Gómez, 2023).

Given the long-term objectives of both regions and their continued collaborative efforts, the EU-LAC political dialogue has a lot of potential to achieve its goals. Launched in Rio de Janeiro in 1999, the strategic partnership between the two regions has been consolidated and further developed in the 21st century at subsequent summits. From all perspectives, the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean are “natural partners”. Being “united by unique historical and cultural links, deep economic and social ties and a joint commitment to peace and multilateralism, the EU and LAC have created a strong relationship underpinned by a large network of agreements”<sup>33</sup>. This strategic partnership now encompasses a broad range of important issues such as political dialogue on bi-regional and international problems, economic, financial and trade relations, cooperation in the areas of human rights, democracy and the rule of law, social cohesion, healthcare, education, science and technology, regional integration, promotion of multilateral approach, combating drugs and organized crime, protection of environment and sustainable development.

## Conclusions

In the 21st century, the EU-LAC summits have become the main forum for taking forward the political dialogue between the two regions as well as for the advancement of large-scale cooperation programs in such areas as peace and security, democracy and human rights, trade and investment, innovation and education, climate change and “green economy”, social cohesion and eradication of poverty, health protection and gender equality.

Having analyzed this interregional cooperation, which has evolved considerably over the past 25 years, it seems appropriate to affirm that the present-day EU-LAC relationship is more comprehensive (unlike with the United States and China) and, to a large extent, future-oriented since the EU primarily takes into account the rapidly growing political and economic potential of the LAC region in the world rather than short-term benefits.

In this sense, the specific nature of the EU-LAC cooperation, when looked at in the geopolitical dimension, has two comparative advantages: the convergence of ideas and values regarding the formation of the new world order and similar positions regarding the need for multilateral global governance consolidated in the framework of international organizations.

Therefore, we are currently witnessing the continued strengthening of this partnership to protect the common interests of both regions in the face of radical changes in a polarized world and the growing risk of establishing a rigid anti-liberal international order.

At the same time, it is worth having a full comprehension of these interregional relations, which remain rather complex. First and foremost, it has been recorded the increasing trend towards a more independent stance of the LAC countries in protecting their national interests. For this reason, we have to accept that “Europe cannot expect preferential treatment from Latin America, where most governments want to differentiate and equilibrate their foreign relations as far as possible” (Nolte, 2023, p. 10).

After the CELAC establishment in 2011, the European Union preferred to maintain political dialogue at the highest level with this regional organization. However, while the EU has a common position on all issues of the summits’ agenda, the approaches of CELAC members to solving many problems of bi-regional relations and international life can differ significantly. These internal contradictions create obstacles to finding mutually acceptable solutions through negotiations and dialogue between the LAC countries and the EU. The lack of unity inside CELAC became especially obvious during the deliberations at the summit in July 2023 on the issue of Russian aggression against Ukraine.

Contrary to the still existing certain asymmetry of interregional relations, the main reasons for which are the differences in the levels of political, economic, and social development of the two regions, interaction at the highest level between the EU and the LAC nowadays takes place in the form of a political dialogue of equal partners.

In addition, the EU-LAC interregional summits proved the significant potential for bilateral cooperation in political, trade-economic, social, and cultural areas and the great interest of the parties in establishing a truly strategic partnership.

It is important to note that cooperation in the economic sphere is a part of this political dialogue. The EU today is a leading trading partner of Latin America and the Caribbean and enjoys its position as one of the key investors in the region, which has been systematically providing financial support for

<sup>33</sup> EU (2023). *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council “A New Agenda for Relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean”* – 7 June 2023. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52023JC0017>

the “green economy”, digitalization, and the creation of new jobs, thus making a substantial contribution to the development of the LAC countries.

Therefore, it leads us to the conclusion that the EU-LAC political dialogue at the highest level, which is recognized by the parties as a platform for reaching compromises and developing mutually beneficial arrangements, will continue to progress in the future.

## Sources and bibliography

### Bibliography

- Blanc Altemir, A. (2008). La V Cumbre Unión Europea-América Latina y Caribe (Lima, 16-17 mayo de 2008). ¿Hacia un cambio de método en las relaciones birregionales?. *Anuario Español de Derecho Internacional*, 24, 217-240. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15581/010.24.28344>
- Gómez, M. F. (2023, 20 July). The Brazilian President believes that the EU-CELAC Summit Held in Brussels was “Extremely Successful”. *El País*. Retrieved from <https://english.elpais.com/international/2023-07-20/lula-da-silva-i-have-rarely-seen-so-much-political-and-economic-interest-from-the-eu-countries-towards-latin-america.html>
- Guerrero, R. P. (2020). Between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean. *Stosunki Międzynarodowe-International Relations*, 1 (56), 39-64. DOI: 10.7366/020909611202003.
- Klaveren van, A. (2004). Las relaciones políticas europeo-latinoamericanas. La necesidad de una sintonía más fina. *Nueva Sociedad*, 189, 54-68. Retrieved from [https://static.nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3170\\_1.pdf](https://static.nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3170_1.pdf)
- Malamud, C.; Ruiz, J. J.; and Talvi, E. (eds.), 2023. ¿Por qué importa América Latina? *Informe Elcano*, 32, 1-172. Retrieved from <https://media.realinstitutoelcano.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/informe-elcano-32-por-que-importa-america-latina.pdf>
- Nolte, D. (2023). The European Union and Latin America: Renewing the Partnership after Drifting Apart. *GIGA Focus/Latin America*, 2, 1-12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57671/gfla-23022>
- Nolte, D. & Alvares, M. V. (2023, 26 July): La Cumbre CE-LAC-UE entre luces y sombras. *Latinoamerica21*. Re-

trieved from <https://latinoamerica21.com/es/la-cumbre-celac-ue-entre-luces-y-sombras/>

- Pozo, A. A. (2014). The Recent History of Spain-Latin America Relations. In David García Cantalapiedra & Ramón Pacheco Pardo (eds.). *Contemporary Spanish Foreign Policy* (1st. ed., pp. 106-129). London, New York: Routledge. Retrieved from <https://charlespowell.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-recent-history-of-Spain-Latin-America-relations-Ana-Ayuso-Pozo.pdf>
- Rodríguez, S.; & Aybar, T. (2013). *Análisis de las Cumbres Unión Europea-América Latina y Caribe*. Santo Domingo: Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/4042495/An%C3%A1lisis\\_de\\_las\\_Cumbres\\_Uni%C3%B3n\\_Europea\\_Am%C3%A9rica\\_Latina\\_y\\_Caribe](https://www.academia.edu/4042495/An%C3%A1lisis_de_las_Cumbres_Uni%C3%B3n_Europea_Am%C3%A9rica_Latina_y_Caribe)
- Sanahuja, J. A. (2015). *The EU and CELAC: Reinventing a Strategic Partnership*. Hamburg: EU-LAC Foundation. Retrieved from [https://eulacfoundation.org/en/system/files/Published\\_versionEN.pdf](https://eulacfoundation.org/en/system/files/Published_versionEN.pdf)
- Schutte, G. R. (2023, 18 April): Why Brazil does not deliver weapons to Ukraine. *International Politics and Society*. Retrieved from <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/foreign-and-security-policy/why-brazil-does-not-deliver-weapons-to-ukraine-6643/>
- Stuenkel, O. (2023, 18 May). How to Understand Brazil's Ukraine Policy. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/18/russia-ukraine-war-brazil-lula-nonalignment-global-south/>

### Web pages

- Archive of European Integration, <https://aei.pitt.edu/>
- European Commission, [https://commission.europa.eu/index\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/index_en); [https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/index\\_en](https://policy.trade.ec.europa.eu/index_en)
- European Council, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/>
- EU-LAC Foundation, <https://intranet.eulacfoundation.org/en>
- European Parliament, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/en>
- European Union (EU), <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html>
- Government of Chile, <https://www.gob.cl/en/>
- Latin America, Caribbean and European Union Network on Research and Innovation, <https://alcuenet.eu/>
- President of the Government of Spain and the Council of Ministers, <https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/>
- United Nations (UN) Digital Library, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/>