

# **The Strategic Partnership between Brazil and the European Union: the cooperation in United Nations peacekeeping and stabilization operations**

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This paper aims at presenting the Strategic Partnership EU-Brazil with emphasis on its main objective, which is to cooperate to promote peace and comprehensive security through an effective multilateral system.

According to the Joint Action Plan the EU and Brazil will coordinate efforts in United Nations peacekeeping and stabilization operations in countries that are on the verge of or emerging from conflict or crisis situations.

The collaboration to promote international peace and security includes conflict prevention and crisis management at the mark of the United Nations, post-conflict assistance, mainly in Portuguese-speaking countries interested in triangular cooperation, coordination of efforts in United Nations peacekeeping and stabilization operations, the exchange of lessons learned in Haiti and the execution of viability studies for the establishment of a tripartite cooperation to make repeat in other States, such as Guinea-Bissau, the successes achieved in Haiti.

The first part will present the motivations and the evolution of the strategic partnership between Brazil and the European Union. The second part will present the motivations that have encouraged bilateral cooperation in terms of peace and international security. The last item will emphasise the commitment to cooperation in peacekeeping missions and UN stabilization and the Brazil's leadership role in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

## **THE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN BRAZIL AND EUROPEAN UNION**

### **A) The concept of strategic partnership**

The strategic partnerships of the European Union (EU) were born simultaneously with the formatting of the EU foreign policy and denote the deepening of the regional integration. Such a diplomatic mechanism aims at establishing special ties with global powers aiming at the joint promotion of multilateralism, the treatment of the main themes of the international agenda and the execution of interest of bilateral character.<sup>1</sup>

The adjectivation “strategic” has never been utilized in a strict or very recurring way by the European Institutions. Although the European Commission has never conceptualized in a precise way the term “strategic partnership”, the diplomat Eugênia Barthelmeß concludes that it deals with the “singularized bilateral political

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<sup>1</sup> PELANT, Mátyas. A parceria estratégica entre o Brasil e a União Europeia. In: SILVA, Karine de Souza. As relações entre a União Europeia e a América Latina: convergências e divergências da agenda birregional. Florianópolis: Ed UFSC/Boiteux, 2011. p. 127-140.

relationship, of privileged characteristic” that the European Union establishes with each one of the members of a given group of third countries, defined by virtue of the importance of the role that they play in the international scenario”.<sup>2</sup>

The main mentions to this type of partnership date from the year 2001, when some partners started to be qualified as strategic, emphasizing, also, the already existing relevant relations and which started to be understood as priorities for the foreign policy of the EU. Currently, the partners are ten: Brazil, Canada, China, United States, India, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa and South Korea.

Such nations share some characteristics that give them an outstanding position in the pyramid of interests of the EU: great territorial and/or demographic dimension; economic importance; denoted political influence on the regional and global arenas. One also observes that the maintenance of high-degree commercial relations is one of the main motivations that stimulates the EU to give such status to certain countries. One notes that the EU is the main commercial partner of almost all the States with which it has subscribed agreements of this nature, with the exception of Canada and Japan<sup>3</sup>.

Eugênia Barthelmess maintains that, “regardless of the specific objectives that establish the tone, for saying so, of each one of the strategic partnerships, for the European Union these serve for a more comprising aim, which is the one of expansion of its international political presence and of the establishment of a counterbalance to the North American influence”. On the other hand, with the exception of the United States, the various partners aim at promoting specific interests, improving visibility, guaranteeing a greater insertion in the world scenario and contributing to the effectuation of multipolarity in the international system.

The countries are privileged political interlocutors, with differentiated degrees of importance and they are extremely relevant for the execution of the interests of the international action of the EU. The partners, until then designated, have a high degree of relevance in the international scenario: a) Canada, United States, Japan and Russia are parts of the Group of the Eight (G-8), that is, the set of the most industrialized countries of the world; b) United States, China and Russia are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (CSNU), whereas Japan, India and Brazil are candidates to a permanent seat; c) Brazil, China, India and Russia form part of the BRIC (Building Better Global Economic Brics), which is the group of nations considered as the main emerging economies of the world.

It is convenient to highlight that the European institutions have not followed a set of rules or a unique plan for the definition of each one of these partnerships. That is, the operationalization of the partnerships is not uniform, depending on the case, but all have been built on a base of networks of institutionalized venues and thematic dialogs that comprise, this way, from technical works to meetings of heads of State and of government,<sup>4</sup> and governance instruments.

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<sup>2</sup> BARTHELMESS, Eugênia (2008). *Brasil e União Europeia: a construção de uma parceria estratégica*. Tese apresentada ao LIII Curso de Altos Estudos do Instituto Rio Branco – Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Brasília: mimeo, 2008. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The main commercial partner of Canada is the United States, and the EU is in the second place. The main commercial partners of Japan are the United States and China, and the EU occupies the third place in the list. BARTHELMESS, Eugênia (2008). *Brasil e União Europeia: a construção de uma parceria estratégica*. p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> BARTHELMESS, Eugênia (2008). *Brasil e União Europeia: a construção de uma parceria estratégica*. p. 37. “(...) With the United States and Canada, political contacts based on Summits and at ministerial level, as well as coordination channels in different areas have been established by the respective Transatlantic Declarations, both of 1990. In the case of the United States, additional understandings in 1995 (the New Transatlantic Agenda) and 1998 (the Transatlantic Economic Partnership) have come to complete the complex structure of the bilateral relationship; with Japan, a Joint Declaration in 1991 started Summits and ministerial meetings; it was only in

In relation to Brazil, many are the reasons that have collaborated for its elevation as a priority State in the pyramid of interests of the Foreign Policy of the European Union, as it will be verified as follows.

### **The common interests of the strategic partnership with Brazil**

The dialog between Brazil and the European Union has been, during several years, restricted to the relations with Mercosur. However, the freezing of the negotiations with the Mercosur party, the increasing performance of Brazil in the international scenario, the leadership in spheres like renewable energies and the Brazilian economic and geographic conditions have aroused the interest of the EU in elevating Brazil to the position of strategic partner.

It is necessary to underline that the Bilateral Cooperation is based on the Strategy Document for the country, the Country Strategic Paper Brazil (CSP). The second CSP has been in force since May 14th, 2007 and orients the cooperation in the period of 2007-2013.<sup>5</sup> The CSP exposed the factors that have conducted the European Union to the “Brazilian option”, listed as follows.

Brazil is a stable democracy gifted with a structured political and institutional system<sup>6</sup>. Its Foreign Policy orients itself by the principles of respect to sovereignty, equality between the States, non-intervention, pacific solution of controversies, peace defense, prevalence of human rights, among others, listed in article 4 of the Federal Constitution<sup>7</sup>. The obedience to the norms of International Law and, above all, the esteem for the compliance with the Treaties as a result of the principle of the *pacta sunt servanda* also compose the national diplomatic collection.

The geographic situation, the territorial dimensions and the increasing level of economic development make the country a leadership in South America, in Latin America and in MERCOSUR.

The Brazilian nation is rich in natural resources, has a recognized scientific and academic excellence, is the owner of a big and diversified industrial park and has a vast internal market<sup>8</sup>. It is an important world supplier of agricultural products and raw materials and is a global leader in the production of renewable and environmentally sustainable fuels. The problems that need to be solved, as the social

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2001, however, by the time of the tenth Summit, that an Action Plan established common goals and transformed the whole of contacts into an organized structure; With China, a high-level political channel was established in 1994, by Reversal Notes; the regular structure of the relationship, from the ministerial meetings to the sectorial dialogs, was only defined in 2002, again by Exchange of Notes; The Summits and the ministerial meetings with Russia, as well as the thematic technical channels, started in 1997, by means of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. This one was complemented by the creation, in 2003, of the so-called “common spaces”, which attributed additional depth to the relationship; In the case of India, the Summits have preceded the establishment of a strategic partnership, formalized only by the time of the fifth Summit. An Action Plan, adopted by the sixth Summit (2005), defined the central themes of the partnership and organized the institutional contacts”.

<sup>5</sup> Consult: EUROPEAN COMMISSION. BRAZIL. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2007-2013. Available at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07_13_en.pdf). Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. BRAZIL. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2007-2013. Available at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07_13_en.pdf). Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Art. 4º The Federative Republic of Brazil is governed in its international relations by the following principles: I – national independence; II – prevalence of human rights; III – auto-determination of the peoples; IV – non-intervention; V – equality between the States; VI – peace defense; VII – pacific solution of conflicts; VIII – repudiation to terrorism and racism; IX – cooperation between the peoples for the progress of mankind; X – concession of political asylum. Single paragraph. The Federative Republic of Brazil will seek the economic, political, social and cultural integration of the peoples of Latin America, aiming at the formation of a Latin American community of nations. BRAZIL. Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988. Available at: [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/constituicao/constitui%C3%A7ao.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constitui%C3%A7ao.htm). Access on December 1st, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> GUIMARÃES, Samuel Pinheiro. *Desafios brasileiros na Era dos Gigantes*. Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto, 2005. p. 431 e ss.

fractures<sup>9</sup>, the accentuated internal disparities, the brutal differences of income, are hurdles that hinder the placement of Brazil in the international scenario as a first-importance power, but, on the other hand, they are challenges that open a fertile field for cooperation and dialog with the European block. The EU, at CSP, recognizes the effective effort of Brasília in improving the social indicators, and emphasizes the success of programs like “Bolsa Família”, “Fome Zero” and the fight against AIDS and the reduction of social inequalities<sup>10</sup>.

The country acquitted, in the year 2005, the external debt it had with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and currently presents a reduced risk level. Brazil is one of the ten main powers of the world and has one of the highest GDP's (Gross Domestic Product) of the globe.

The external policy is guided by the universalistic vocation, which opens to it the doors to the densification of ties with any nation, regardless of geographic, political or economic conditionants, and by the autonomous stance, without subordinating itself to the orientations and interests of central countries. Lately, “in the diplomatic discourse of Itamaraty one finds, more and more, the Idea of ‘selective universalism’, also known as ‘strategic partnerships’, ‘preferential option for bilateralism’ and ‘regionalistic strategies’, where is the strategic partnership with the EU”<sup>11</sup>.

The State exercises a leading role in multilateral forums, acting as representative of emerging countries<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, it participates in the Group of the Four (G4), along with Germany, Japan and South Africa, countries which significantly do their best for the reform of United Nations Organization (UNO) and wish to get a seat as permanent members at the Security Council. Besides, the Brazilian State has articulated the foundation of the Group of the Twenty (G20) at the World Trade Organization (WTO) and, also, it has taken on the military chiefdom of the MINUSTAH, an operation for stabilization of peace in Haiti. Brazil has figured as a heavy player, positively acting in the defense of the interests of the developing countries inside the United Nations and the WTO and its accelerated economic growth has given it a position in the group of the BRIC. It also participates in other multilateral forums, like IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) and BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China).

Brasília actively relates with other continents and their regional powers, like, for example, India, China, Russia, South Africa, and various Arabian and African countries<sup>13</sup>. It also has robust connections with the United States.

Rodríguez Iglesias<sup>14</sup> observes that, “in political terms, the Latin American giant has reached an international prestige for which there is no parameter in history, mainly by virtue of the presidential diplomacy conducted by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who had been especially active in the Latin American region, through different

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<sup>9</sup> GUIMARÃES, Samuel Pinheiro. *Desafios brasileiros na Era dos Gigantes*. p. 344 e ss.

<sup>10</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. BRAZIL. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2007-2013. Available at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07_13_en.pdf). Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> “This selective universalism represents the pragmatism of the Brazilian diplomacy. The selection of the most important regions, countries and matters for the country responds to an intent of making coincide its global aspirations with its internal limitations”. RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, Ana Isabel. *La Asociación Estratégica UE – Brasil: Retórica y Pragmatismo en las Relaciones Euro-Brasileñas*. (vols. I e II). Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2010. p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. BRAZIL. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2007-2013. Available at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07_13_en.pdf). Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>13</sup> EUROPEAN COMMISSION. BRAZIL. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER 2007-2013. Available at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/brazil/csp/07_13_en.pdf). Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, Ana Isabel. *La Asociación Estratégica UE – Brasil: Retórica y Pragmatismo en las Relaciones Euro-Brasileñas*. (vols. I e II). Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2010. p. 08.

processes of integration and of conflict mediation”. Moreover, it has managed “to diversify relations and enter new zones of the world, like Middle East and Africa”.

In this sense, it is imperative to make considerations about the centrality of ex-President Lula da Silva in the densification of relations with the old continent. The foreign policy has figured as one of the most important columns of his government, which has chosen to follow an autonomistic path instead of the pragmatic institutionalistic option defended by his predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso<sup>15</sup>. The multilateral and autonomistic strategy of the Lula’s mandate “has become known as South-South relations, that is, Brazil has started to seek to intensify and narrow relations with countries of a similar economic-social development and with similar needs and perspectives of insertion in the International System”.<sup>16</sup>

Such an orientation has led to an effort to a significant involvement in fundamental themes of the international agenda and, consequently, towards an effective participation in forums of multilateral decisions as G-20, BRIC and, mainly, at the UNO, where it seeks, incisively, the titularity of a permanent seat at the Security Council. From this result the military leadership of MINUSTAH and the willingness to interfere with relevant conflicts<sup>17</sup> as a proof of its capacity of mediation and management of international crises.

Historically, the State has privileged relations with bordering countries and guides itself by the interest in forming a Latin American community of nations<sup>18</sup>, as foresees the Magna Carta. That is, South America occupies a proeminent place in the Brazilian agenda<sup>19</sup> as a result of a constitutional commandment, which implies the consolidation of a State Policy, but also reveals itself as a government Policy which has been strongly pursued by the ex-mandatarian of the Workers’ Party.

Itamaraty’s interest in promoting a friendly, non-hegemonic alliance in the region reveals itself in initiatives like: the creation of the Union of the South American Nations (UNASUL); invested for the institutional strengthening and the enlargement of MERCOSUR; the subscription of agreements with the Andean Community – aiming at the formation of a free-trade area; and the concretization of the South America Regional Infrastructure Integration Initiative (IIRSA).<sup>20</sup> Moreover, one has signed agreements with different contents with the economic blocks located in various parts of the Latin American territory. The South American option exercises influence for the consubstantiation of the strategic Association with the EU<sup>21</sup> as Brazil

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<sup>15</sup> SARAIVA, Miriam GOMES. “A diplomacia brasileira e as visões sobre a inserção externa do Brasil: institucionalismo pragmático x autonomistas”. ARI 46/2010. Available at: [http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano/contenido?WCM\\_GLOBAL\\_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano\\_e/zonas\\_es/america+latina/ari46-2010](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_e/zonas_es/america+latina/ari46-2010). Access on December 2nd, 2011.

<sup>16</sup> COSTA, Rogério Santos da. *A América do Sul do Brasil: a integração e suas instituições na estratégia brasileira no Governo Lula*. 2010. 251 f. Tese. (Doutorado em Ciência Política). Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, p. 129

<sup>17</sup> “A part of the Diplomacy acting during the Lula government is in putting the Foreign Policy of the country at disposal and in the Center of the main contemporary disputes. Examples of this are: the willingness to intermedate the Arab-Israeli conflict, the issues of the mass destruction weapons, the leadership in the disputes of the World Trade Organization, the environmental issues; and also, more recently, the fact of becoming an integral part of those countries that are discussing ways out of the financial crisis instituted from the USA in 2007”. COSTA, Rogério Santos da. *A América do Sul do Brasil: a integração e suas instituições na estratégia brasileira no Governo Lula*. 2010. 251 f. Dissertation. (Doctorate in Political Science). Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, p. 129.

<sup>18</sup> Consult article 4, sole paragraph of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

<sup>19</sup> GUIMARÃES, Samuel Pinheiro. O mundo multipolar e a integração sul-americana. *Revista Comunicação & política*, v.25, n°3, p.169-189, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> COSTA, Rogério Santos da. *A América do Sul do Brasil: a integração e suas instituições na estratégia brasileira no Governo Lula*. p. 08.

<sup>21</sup> “Europe and North America are for Brazil, as for any colony, the traditional areas of political, economic and cultural link. Nevertheless, however important they are, as, by the way, they are, the Brazilian current and

can reunite credentials for leading fruitful negotiations of the South American block with the EU<sup>22</sup>. Besides, the country and South America share with the EU the intention of forming a solid platform destined to contain the United States unilateralism and, above all, committed to the institution of a multilateral order in the international relations, where there may be a space for the active voice of the two regions.

The partnership with Brazil does not imply, in any way, an automatic and subservient alignment with the European partners. The proof of this are the historic discrepancies in the Rounds of the WTO and the disputes between the two sides, carried out at the Controversy Solution Body, resulting in the Brazilian victory in important contentious appeals, namely those related to the subsidies of products like chicken, sugar and banana. The parts also have different views on the problems related to the legacy of the colonization and they have other ideological and political divergences.

It is also necessary to underline that the difficulties in the conduction of the EU-Mercosur negotiations have figured, also, as an important element that has led to the launching of the strategic partnership. Besides, it is convenient to highlight that “MERCOSUR still does not occupy a relevant position in the international agenda of the EU, with the exception of Brazil for its increasing economic weight. The main reasons are: 1. The enlargement of the EU to 27 countries; none of the twelve new States has a special interest in the Latin American region in general; 2. The institutional crisis of the EU, caused precisely by this enlargement; 3. The “securitization” of the international agenda, oriented to the Balkans (Kosovo issue), Middle East, Russia and the Magreb; 4. The increasing attention and interest of the EU for the Asia-Pacific regions, for which one has a defined strategy; 5. The Objectives of the Millennium of the UNO; 6. The absence of a cohesive and effective Latin American but not Mercosur lobby, in Brussels and in the member countries of the EU, which makes each country defend its own interests in the negotiations; 7. Latin America is not in the agenda of the transatlantic dialog.”<sup>23</sup>

The EU refers to Brazil, in official documents, by means of expressions as “natural leader in South America”, “regional leader” and “world protagonist”<sup>24</sup>. Rodriguez Iglesias, in this sense, maintains that, “on praising the potential of Brazil and offering it a privileged space in its agenda, the EU is de-limiting the difference in

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potential links and interests with all these areas, and however better they may be with the States that integrate them to our relations, the foreign policy can not be effective if it is not based on the Brazilian policy in South America”. GUIMARÃES, Samuel Pinheiro. O mundo multipolar e a integração sul-americana. *Revista Comunicação&política*, v.25, nº3, 2007. p.170.

<sup>22</sup> “A positive momentum on the part of Brazil can make advance the negotiations with Mercosur. Until then, the EU continues to do its best for the consolidation of a solid political and economic relation with Mercosur in its whole and to develop its bilateral relations with the other countries of the region, namely with Argentina, another important interlocutor in South America”. COMISSÃO DAS COMUNIDADES EUROPEIAS. COMUNICAÇÃO DA COMISSÃO AO CONSELHO E AO PARLAMENTO EUROPEU. Para uma Parceria Estratégica UE-Brasil COM (2007) 281. Brussels, May 30th, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, Ana Isabel. *La Asociación Estratégica UE – Brasil: Retórica y Pragmatismo en las Relaciones Euro-Brasileñas*. (vol. I). Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2010. p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> “There has come the time to look at Brazil as a strategic partner, a first-plan economic player in Latin America and a regional leader.” “Being by itself almost a continent, the demographic weight and the economic development of Brazil make this country a natural leader in South America and an un-bypassable protagonist in Latin America. Brazil actively plays this role in the sphere of Mercosur and is the avant-garde of the movement destined to promote the Union of South American Nations’ (UNASUL). COMISSÃO DAS COMUNIDADES EUROPEIAS. COMUNICAÇÃO DA COMISSÃO AO CONSELHO E AO PARLAMENTO EUROPEU. Para uma Parceria Estratégica UE-Brasil COM (2007) 281. Brussels, May 30th, 2007.

relation to the status it confers to the rest of the countries of the region and, in special, to the other partners of MERCOSUR”<sup>25</sup>.

By the way, one observes that the Brazilian partnership with the European Union has not been very well received by the other party countries of Mercosur, which used to fear a weakening of the block and a deviance from the Brazilian attentions and interests to the old continent. Spain and Germany have also manifested a certain initial opposition, which has been bypassed later on by the European Institutions and by the active voice of Portugal in this endeavor. Madrid used to fear losing the outstanding position in the dialog with Latin America and that the protuberance of Brazil should reduce the already inexpressive Latin importance for the European Foreign Policy. That is, the Spaniards feared losing influence, in favor of Portugal, in the region formed by their ex-colonies. The Germans, on their turn, suggested that the EU concentrate, at that moment, on the serious internal problems and on the negotiations tending to the approval of the Treaty of Lisbon.

Brazil, immediately, reacted by informing Mercosur partners that the partnership would dynamize its dialog with Europe without prejudice to the relations with the South Cone<sup>26</sup>.

The Portuguese government and, in special, the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of 2007, has been the great sponsor of the partnership with Brazil. The Portuguese diplomacy has been able to overcome all the hurdles caused in the negotiation processes. Strategically, the Brazilian rising in the international scenario and in the pyramid of interests of Brussels is the same as the elevation of the position of Portugal and of the Portuguese language in Europe and in the world<sup>27</sup>.

In short, the set of previously listed factors has positioned Brazil at an outstanding place in relation to Brussels interests. Allied to all this, one observes that Europe and Latin America have a particular link, founded on a political dialog that privileges the execution of common objectives. The continents share history, culture and some values such as the State of Law, democracy, respect to human rights, stimulation to multilateralism, to the integration to promote the regional development and the combat of the environmental changes. The international protagonism of Brazil and the communion of such values have driven the narrowing of relations, aiming at the construction of an alliance that guarantees mutual conveniences.

Brazil and the European Union appreciate the sustainable development and defend the regional integration as a means of guaranteeing prosperity and peace. The pursuance of the economic growth with a high level of social justice makes Brazil a vital ally of the EU to cope with the challenges of the international society.

This, finally, is the photograph of the reasons that have urged the EU to establish a strategic partnership with Brazil.

The elevation of Brazil to the position of priority partner represents a recognition on the part of the EU of the protagonist role that the country has been exercising in the world and of its process of transformation into a first-order power.

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<sup>25</sup> RODRÍGUEZ IGLESIAS, Ana Isabel. *La Asociación Estratégica UE – Brasil: Retórica y Pragmatismo en las Relaciones Euro-Brasileñas*. (vol. II). Madrid: CEU Ediciones, 2010. p. 08.

<sup>26</sup> Circular telegráfica No. 64149/504, ostensiva, de 31/05/2007. (BARTHELMESS 2008:123)

<sup>27</sup> “Com relação ao interesse de Portugal na condução dessa estratégia, observou o Embaixador (português) Seixas da Costa que, além das considerações sobre o valor intrínseco do Brasil como interlocutor de relevo para a União Europeia, “naturalmente que também nos não foi indiferente, no quadro das opções que tomamos, a circunstância de Portugal ter sempre o Brasil na agenda prioritária do seu quadro de relações externas e de fazer a leitura política de que qualquer “upgrading” do Brasil no cenário internacional é um jogo de soma positiva para os nossos próprios interesses estratégicos nacionais, reforçando simultaneamente a proeminência do mundo que fala Português”. (BARTHELMESS 2008:123)

Next one will present, briefly, the main contours of the strategic partnership between Brazil and the EU.

### **b) The agenda of the Strategic Partnership with Brazil**

The strategic partnership between Brazil and the European Union has been officially established during the first Summit, held in Lisbon, in July of 2007, during the Portuguese presidency of the Council. From this moment, one installed a system of annual Summits of the highest level of interlocution conducted by the presidents of Brazil, of the European Union Council and of the European Commission.

The occasion marked the birth of the partnership and the strengthening of the political dialog of the highest level of interlocution which includes various themes in the domain of the political and commercial relations and of technical and financial cooperation which present a world, regional and bilateral convergence. The partnership has been structured around the following central axes: peace, multilateralism, climate changes, renewable energies, fight against poverty, regional integration, cooperation in the areas of science, technology and innovation, sustainable development and stability in Latin America.

The second Brazil-European Union Summit has been held in the city of Rio de Janeiro in December, 2008 and counted on the presence of European leaders who gathered under the governance of the French president Nicolas Sarkozy.

On that occasion, the authorities debated global and regional matters and the strengthening of the bilateral relations. One approved the Brazil-EU Joint Action Plan<sup>28</sup>, which orients the bilateral cooperation dialog, establishes priorities and lists precise goals for each one of the thematic areas. The bases of the action will support the common efforts destined to the: “promotion of peace and of comprising security by means of an effective multilateral system; promotion of the economic, social and environmental partnership for the sustainable development; promotion of the regional integration; promotion of science, technology and innovation; promotion of the exchange between the peoples”. Noteworthy is that the objectives of this partnership surpass the borders of the economic commercial cooperation and invade grounds still little explored by the partners, like those of maintenance of international peace and security, which includes conflict prevention and crisis management at the mark of the United Nations, post-conflict assistance, mainly in Portuguese-speaking countries interested in triangular cooperation, coordination of efforts in operations of peace maintenance and stabilization in the sphere of the UNO, the exchange of lessons learned in Haiti and the execution of viability studies for the establishment of a tri-party cooperation to make repeat in other States, like Guinea-Bissau, the successes achieved in the Haitian Republic.

The agenda of negotiations at the Rio de Janeiro meeting has privileged the cooperation in spheres in which there are reciprocal interests, like energy, transports, science, technology, information society, culture, education, macroeconomic matters and environment.

The third Summit occurred in October 2009, in the city of Stockholm, and counted on the presence of the Swede Fredrik Reinfeldt – who occupied the position of president of the European Council at the time -, of the president of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and of the president of the European Commission, Manuel

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<sup>28</sup> The document is available at: [http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil\\_municipios/plano\\_acao.pdf](http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil_municipios/plano_acao.pdf)



Durão Barroso. According to information from the European Council<sup>29</sup>, during the Summit the leaders have discussed global, regional and international themes and the strengthening of the bilateral relations and, in particular, the state of implementation of the Joint Action Plan adopted in the second summit held in Brazil<sup>30</sup>. One has reaffirmed the success of the strategic partnership and emphasized the possibilities of inclusion of new sectorial areas of common interests that may favor the countries of the EU, Brazil and the developing countries. At the center of the negotiation agenda were the current issues, namely, climate change and financial crisis<sup>31</sup>.

The IV Brazil-European Union Summit took place in the Brazilian capital, in July, 2010. Among the presents were President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and his Minister of Foreign Relations, Celso Amorim, the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, and the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso.

At the meeting, the leaders have demonstrated contentment with the significant progress of the implementation of the Joint Action Plan<sup>32</sup>, adopted during the II Summit, in 2008, and with the advancement obtained through the High-Level Political Bilateral Dialog.

At the agenda of debates appeared the global order themes of mutual interest<sup>33</sup> and highlighted aspects about the bilateral relations<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. Third European Union-Brazil Summit. Joint Statement. Stockholm, 6 October 2009. 14137/09 (Presse 285). Available at [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/er/110440.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/er/110440.pdf). Access on September 15th, 2010.

<sup>30</sup>The technical and financial bilateral cooperation are also governed by the CSP since this one is a fruit of a consultation process with the representatives of the state players and the civil society. The said Document presents two priorities: a) stimulate the densification of the bilateral relations, through the sectorial dialogs, the concession of fellowships, the implementation of the Instituto de Estudos Brasil-Europa (Brazil-Europe Studies Institute) the promotion of exchanges and transfers of know-how between the Union and Brazil. The objective of these exchanges is to carry out projects that aim at improving the levels of social inclusion, to mitigate the internal inequalities and to promote mutual knowledge in some common-interest themes; b) to support actions destined to the sustainable development. During this Summit the two parties also undertake to intensify the cooperation in the research area. For this, they take advantage of a scientific and technological cooperation agreement, subscribed in January 2004, which opened doors to the participation of Brazil in the research “frame programs” of the UE. COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER (CSP). Available at [http://ec.europa.eu/delegations/brazil/eu\\_brazil/index\\_pt.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/delegations/brazil/eu_brazil/index_pt.htm). Access on September 15th, 2010. The Instituto de Estudos Europeus (IEE) is made up of a consortium that congregates eight Brazilian Universities (USP, UNICAMP, UFSC, UFG, UFMG, UNESP, UFPI, UFPA) and seven European associated Universities (École Nationale d’Administration; Universidade do Porto; Université Libre de Bruxelles; Brunel University, Università degli Studi La Sapienza; Karlstads Universitet ; Freie Universität Berlin). <http://www.ibe.usp.br/site/>

<sup>31</sup> Still in the Swedish capital, the partners have re-evaluated the stage of the bilateral relations, reiterated the commitment to the provisions of the Joint Action Plan and reinforced multilateralism, environment defense, the commitment in matters of technological innovation, commercial exchange, research support and exchange of knowledge. At this Summit one has given the starting signal for the opening of sectorial dialogs in various spheres: macroeconomic and financial matters; financial services; education and culture; maritime transport. The pre-existing dialogs in terms of Regional Integration and Science and Technology have been reinforced.

<sup>32</sup> The leaders have taken note, in an emphatic way, of the following items: the advancements in the negotiations about industrial and regulatory policy, in the textile and clothing areas, forest products industry, steel, non-ferrous metals and minerals; of the progress of the negotiations in sanitary and phytosanitary matters; the signature, in 2009, of the Cooperation Agreement between Euratom and Brazil in the field of the fusion energy research; the subscription of the Brazil-EU Horizontal Agreement that establishes a legal basis for the Brazil-EU air relations and the signature of the Brazil-EU Security Agreement; the signature of the Understanding Memorandum about the cooperation in the area of competition policy; the conclusion of the Understanding Memorandum about the statistic cooperation between the statistics institutes of the European Union and Brazil. IV BRAZIL-EUROPEAN UNION SUMMIT. JOINT DECLARATION BRASÍLIA, JULY 14TH, 2010. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/declaracao-conjunta-brasil-uniao-europeia-mocambique-relativa-a-parceria-para-o-desenvolvimento-sustentavel-de-bioenergia>. Access on February 27th, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> In the first semester of 2011 the negotiators of Brazil and EU put their initials in a relevant agreement in terms of air transports. The agreement opens opportunities for European operators of air transport that fly in Brazil, once it

In the item of global challenges<sup>35</sup>, Brazil and the UE have reinforced the importance of an effective multilateral system supported by a strengthened and reformed United Nations Organization; they have praised the terms of the reformulations of the regulation of the international financial market, in response to the crisis; they have reaffirmed the commitment in terms of sustainable development, combat of climate changes, use of renewable energies and preservation of biodiversity; they have expressed a coinciding vision about the importance of the intercultural and inter-religious dialog for the promotion of tolerance, mutual respect and peace and highlighted the commitment with the objectives and principles of the Alliance of the Civilization of the United Nations.

And, finally, the partners have manifested the interest of giving continuity to the cooperation in the struggle against illicit drugs, the organized crime, corruption, the traffic of people and in favor of disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

One has highlighted the renewal of the common interest in the projects of triangular cooperation to the benefit of developing countries and the adoption of the Joint Work Program that establishes the bases on which Brazil and the EU cooperate in the promotion of the development of the countries with Portuguese as an official language in Africa (PALOP), East Timor and Haiti.

Along this line, relevance is given to the announcement of the cooperation in terms of sustainable development of bioenergy in interested African countries, as an

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opens to the European airlines the free exploration of non-stop flights to anywhere in Brazil, departing from any point in Europe, having in mind the abolition of all price, route and periodicity restrictions of the flights. Such an agreement materializes itself having as a background a future scenario of extreme importance which is the holding, in *terras brasílicas*, of the soccer World Cup, in 2014, and of the Olympic Games, in 2016. In April of the same year, the Commissary Androulla Vassiliou, responsible for the Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth, visited, in an official character, the Brazilian nation aiming at launching a EU-Brazil political dialog about upper teaching and culture. The scope of the dialog is, on one side, to stimulate the circulation of teachers and students and deepen the inter-university cooperation; on the other side, one intends to reinforce the cultural and economic links, to promote initiatives destined to preserve the cultural patrimony and the collaboration in the movie industry sector. UNIÃO EUROPEIA. IP/11/327. Bruxelas, 18 de Março de 2011. *Avanço importante nas negociações entre a UE e o Brasil para a conclusão de um acordo ambicioso no sector da aviação*. Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/transport/air/international\\_aviation/country\\_index/brazil\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/transport/air/international_aviation/country_index/brazil_en.htm). Access on June 25th, 2011. And: UNIÃO EUROPEIA. IP/11/392. Bruxelas, 1 de Abril de 2011. *UE e Brasil lançam diálogo político sobre ensino superior e cultura*. Available at: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/brazil/press\\_corner/all\\_news/news/2011/20110404\\_01\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/brazil/press_corner/all_news/news/2011/20110404_01_en.htm) Access on June 25th, 2011.

<sup>34</sup> The parties have proposed themselves to strengthen the bi-regional dialog externalized through the ALC-EU Summits and the Ministerial Dialog of the Group with the EU. Moreover, they have hailed the resumption of the negotiations of the MERCOSUR-EU Association Agreement, occurred in May, 2010. The same way, they have expressed their commitment of quickly reaching the conclusion of the Doha Round. Concerning the bilateral issues, several points have been raised. First, the two sides have externalized a special satisfaction with the conclusion of the negotiations of the Agreements about exemption of short-duration visas for holders of ordinary, diplomatic, service and official passports. IV BRAZIL-EUROPEAN UNION SUMMIT. JOINT DECLARATION BRASÍLIA, JULY 14TH, 2010. Available at: [http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/atos-assinados-por-ocasio-da-iv-cupula-brasil-uniao-europeia-brasilia-14-julho-de-2010](http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/declaracao-conjunta-brasil-uniao-europeia-mocambique-relativa-a-parceria-para-o-desenvolvimento-sustentavel-de-bioenergia). Access on February 27th, 2010. The partners have demonstrated contentment by virtue of the progresses of the dialogs in the area of transport and logistics policy, through the strengthening of cooperation in terms of civil aviation in the context of the dialog about air transports. AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL AND THE EUROPEAN UNION ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE AIR SERVICES 2. AGREEMENT ABOUT THE CIVIL AVIATION SECURITY BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL AND THE EUROPEAN UNION. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/atos-assinados-por-ocasio-da-iv-cupula-brasil-uniao-europeia-brasilia-14-julho-de-2010>. Access on February 27th, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> IV BRAZIL-EUROPEAN UNION SUMMIT. JOINT DECLARATION BRASÍLIA, JULY 14TH, 2010. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/declaracao-conjunta-brasil-uniao-europeia-mocambique-relativa-a-parceria-para-o-desenvolvimento-sustentavel-de-bioenergia>. Access on February 27th, 2010.

important part of the triangular cooperation between Brazil, the EU and developing countries; and the signature of the Partnership with Mozambique for the sustainable development of bioenergy<sup>36</sup>.

The discussions have been resumed by the time of the V Summit, which took place in the city of Brussels on October 4th, 2011.

The Federative Republic of Brazil has been represented by President Dilma Rousseff and the EU by the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, and by the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso.

At the V Summit, the partners have demonstrated contentment with the progresses obtained in the implementation of the 2009-2011 Brazil-EU Joint Action Plan and endorsed the new Joint Action Plan for the period 2012-2014<sup>37</sup>.

The two parties have reaffirmed the values and principles expressed in the Strategic Partnership, underlining the “commitment to the promotion of peace and international security, the strengthening of democracy and the primacy of right, the respect for human rights and fundamental liberties for all and the promotion of the sustainable development with social inclusion and environmental protection”<sup>38</sup>.

The partners have signaled for the deepening of the political dialog tending to promote a convergence of positions about the global challenges and international conferences and Summits. In this sense, they will prioritize, both bilaterally and multilaterally, the dialog about human rights and security, with an emphasis on transversal themes like corruption, money laundering and drug trafficking<sup>39</sup>.

The themes that have been highlighted the most in the negotiations were<sup>40</sup>: a) the international economic situation and the state of its respective economies; b) climate change, with an emphasis on the joint action in the sphere of the Climate Change United Nations Frame Convention and in the formal launching of a specific Brazil-EU Dialog about Climate Change; c) energy, which continues to be one of the columns of the partnership, concentrates on the possibilities of utilization of renewable energetic sources; d) the foreign politics, namely, the situation in the North of Africa and in the Middle East, especially Libya and Syria<sup>41</sup>; e) and concerning

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<sup>36</sup> BRAZIL – EUROPEAN UNION – MOZAMBIQUE JOINT DECLARATION RELATED TO THE PARTNERSHIP FOR THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF BIOENERGY. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/sala-de-imprensa/notas-a-imprensa/declaracao-conjunta-brasil-uniao-europeia-mocambique-relativa-a-parceria-para-o-desenvolvimento-sustentavel-de-bioenergia>. Access on February 27th, 2010.

<sup>37</sup> The negotiators have celebrated the signature of three Letters of Intention destined, consecutively: to facilitate the tourism flows between Brazil and the EU; to establish a structured dialog about space policy that will allow for various levels of cooperation about Global Satellite Navigation Systems; to strengthen the scientific cooperation in areas of prevention of natural disasters and crisis management, climate change and sustainable management of natural resources, energy, food security, biotechnologies, information technologies and communications and nanotechnology.

<sup>38</sup> V Brazil-European Union Summit. Joint Declaration. Brussels, October 4th, 2011. Available at: <http://braseuropa.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br/News.xml>. Access on November 30th, 2011.

<sup>39</sup> V Brazil-European Union Summit. Joint Declaration. Brussels, October 4th, 2011. Available at: <http://braseuropa.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br/News.xml>. Access on November 30th, 2011.

<sup>40</sup> V Brazil-European Union Summit. Joint Declaration. Brussels, October 4th, 2011. Available at: <http://braseuropa.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br/News>

<sup>41</sup> About this, the partners undertake to stimulate the Syrian authorities to cease violence and start a pacific transition for democracy. They have maintained the importance of the engagement of the Security Council and of the United Nations Human Rights Council about it. They have also decided to evaluate the possibilities of cooperation between Brazil and the EU in favor of the reconstruction and stabilization of Lybia, just like they will contribute, at the UNO mark, for the promotion of a nationally controlled harmonious transition process, oriented by the respect for human rights, democracy and justice. V Brazil-European Union Summit. Joint Declaration. Brussels, October 4th, 2011. Available at: <http://braseuropa.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-br/News.xml>. Access on November 30th, 2011.

Mercosur-EU relations, the leaders have confirmed the commitment with the conclusion of an Association Agreement.

The VI Brazil-European Union Summit took place in the Brasília, in January 2013.

The two sides stressed the progress of the Strategic Partnership and the advances in the implementation of the Joint Action Plan 2012-2014 and the consistent development of the bilateral Sectorial Dialogues, which involve actions in almost 30 areas.

With regard to international peace and security, the partners expressed serious concern about the current situation in Syria, Mali and Guinea Bissau. They reaffirmed their “determination and commitment to seeking a negotiated solution to the Iranian nuclear issue”. On the Middle East Peace Process, they emphasized that “bold and concrete steps towards peace must be taken”.

Finally they decided to “formally establish a high-level dialogue on matters pertaining to international peace and security, including peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Such dialogue will take the form of annual consultations between senior officials to be designated by each party and held at a mutually agreed time and venue”.

They also reiterated their commitment to engage in humanitarian aid, in particular through multilateral agencies. It is important to mention that both sides decided to sign the Charter of Brasilia, which establishes future actions within the project of trilateral cooperation to support electoral processes in African Portuguese Speaking Countries (PALOP) and East Timor.

### **Cooperation to promote peace and international security**

As explained previously, the goals of this partnership go beyond the frontiers of economic and trade cooperation and invade fields that haven't been extensively explored by partners, such as the promotion of human rights, international peace and security.

The Joint Action Plan proposes the strengthening of productive dialogue whose foundations are based on five common goals<sup>42</sup>: 1) “the promotion of peace and comprehensive security through an effective multilateral system, 2) the strengthening of economic, social and environmental partnership, to promote sustainable development, 3) the promotion of regional cooperation; 4) the promotion of science, technology and innovation; 5) promotion of exchange between peoples”.

As seen, the first goal of the partnership is to promote the protection of human rights and promote the building of peace and security. International organizations, particularly the UN, work as a channel to ensure the implementation of all the purposes of collaboration. The choice of multilateralism is a way to encourage plurality and ensure greater stability. In multilateral fora, convergence in some positions facilitates the implementation of strategies of Brazilian and European foreign policies, as it minimizes the unpredictability of the international system. By reinforcing the revitalization and reform of the UN, the Euro-Brazilian coalition will have chances to put themselves in a privileged place at the epicenter of global decisions. In addition, it operates in accordance with the commandment of the San

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<sup>42</sup> JOINT ACTION PLAN.

[http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil\\_municipios/plano\\_acao.pdf](http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil_municipios/plano_acao.pdf)

Francisco Charter that encourages cooperation and harmonization of actions to achieve common goals.

It is clear that only the multilateral effort is able to reduce conflict and foster a culture of peace.

In fact, the maintenance of peace and security will be substantiated by the conjunction of significant efforts in eight areas of action, set out below<sup>43</sup>:

**1) Promoting human rights and democracy and upholding international justice.**

In this regard, the parties show a willingness to act in the common cause of protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the realization of the right to development. In the same context, emphasizing the fundamental role of the International Criminal Court in the prevention of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide, combating impunity and achieving lasting peace and reconciliation.

Aiming to achieve this goal, the bilateral Human Rights Dialogue has been opened.

**2) Strengthening the multilateral system by encouraging the reform of the United Nations.**

Both sides recognize that the United Nations is the center of a multilateral system. Therefore, it is imperative to keep it strong in order to address and solve major global challenges. To this end, Brazil and the EU agree to work together to reform the main UN bodies and give it structural capacities for achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The efforts to reform the Security Council and the appreciation of their role in issues of threat to peace is a strategic attitude, since the agency has powers, including coercive power, to impose sanctions and take appropriate measures to ensure the maintenance or restoration of international peace.

**3) Support of the Disarmament, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and deepening the dialogue on security.**

Negotiators agreed regarding the unmistakable obligation to render obedience to international treaties designed to curb and control the proliferation of small and mass destruction arms. Likewise, they will cooperate to implement Resolution 1540 (2004) of the UN Security Council and they will have more talks on international security.

**4) Conflict prevention and crisis management.**

According to the Action Plan, the EU and Brazil will contribute to enhance the capabilities of multilateral conflict prevention and crisis management, being it within the United Nations and other regional organizations, or bilaterally. To this end, joint evaluations promote and monitor the scenarios of existing and potential crises in order to position themselves in a consensual way regarding international institutions. Moreover, they will mobilize forces to act in conjunction peacekeeping operations and UN stabilization.

**5) Peace building and post-conflict assistance.**

The partners share the understanding that building peace in countries torn by conflict is a task of the international community.

Concerning this issue, they will act to restore peace in the involved countries through: a) the sponsorship of actions to strengthen domestic policies and institutions that leverage the internal socio-economic development; b) the coordination of efforts by the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UNPBC); c) the organization of the activities of committed donors d) the feasibility of compliance with Resolution 1325 (2000) and 1612 (2006) that the UNSC have consecutively on women, peace and security, and on children in armed conflict; e) joint efforts, through triangular cooperation, to build peace and grant post-conflict assistance in Lusophone countries; f) the increase of national and international capabilities, in particular the UN ones, so that they can act with efficiency and consistency before a world marked by growing

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<sup>43</sup> JOINT ACTION PLAN.

[http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil\\_municipios/plano\\_acao.pdf](http://www.mp.gov.br/secretarias/upload/Arquivos/seges/brasil_municipios/plano_acao.pdf)

and differentiated crises; g) promoting exchange of experiences in the field of post-conflict reconstruction, particularly regarding the Brazilian performance in Haiti; h) the promotion of local dialogues in Haiti to foster the viability of a tripartite cooperation and of the effort to employ the lessons learned in Central America in other contexts, particularly in Guinea-Bissau.

Brazil demonstrates extremely commitment to peace in Guinea Bissau. Since 2007 Brazil coordinates as president<sup>44</sup>, the Specific Configuration for Guinea-Bissau on the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) UN initiative. The EU has developed a civilian mission in the African country between February 2008 and May 2009 and had as its main objective the assistance in the restructuring of the armed forces of the State.

The long history of the Brazilian participation and achievements in UN peacekeeping missions and the military leadership in Haiti were crucial to the formation of such a commitment to the European Union.

Standing out in the Brazilian curriculum we have: participation in over thirty missions in places such as Angola, Mozambique, East Timor, El Salvador, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Liberia, Rwanda, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Western Sahara, Chad and Haiti, etc.; ten elected seats in the Security Council of the UN (number equivalent only to that of Japan); the position of 13th largest troops contributor, counting today with a staff of 2,260 (two thousand, two hundred and sixty) people on the ground, spread between ten peacekeeping missions under UN auspices<sup>45</sup>. Besides the relative diplomatic experience about the functioning of the UNSC, its political weight gives Brazil credentials to interfere significantly in the conduction of peace processes by that UN body, and in the configuration of the mandates of the missions.

Brazil played a prominent role, with troops in the UN missions in Suez (UNEF I), Angola (UNAVEM III), Mozambique (ONUMOZ), East Timor (UNTAET / UNMISSET) and Haiti (MINUSTAH)<sup>46</sup>. The country was politically active in the creation of the Office of Support for Peace Building (UNOGBIS) in Guinea-Bissau.

Eduardo Uziel asserts that MINUSTAH is one of the most important political and material investments in the country in the field of maintaining world peace and security<sup>47</sup>. The significant number of troops on the ground and the influence in defining the mandate and efforts to insert new elements of human rights and

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<sup>44</sup> "In Guinea-Bissau there is no real peacekeeping operation, but a special political mission. Brazil was a decisive agent in the change and renewal of the mandate of UNOGBIS and in the elevation of the treatment of the theme to match other themes considered by the UNSC. In this case, Brazil took advantage of the specific characteristics of multilateral decision-making forums to modify position of relative U.S. neglect towards a subject and forward a treatment best suited to the realities on the ground. The matter was kept on the agenda of the UNSC, especially, at the insistence of Brazil, who also defended the V UNOGBIS Commission. Treatment of Guinea-Bissau by the UNSC would be changed from 2007, when the country was included in the agenda of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) under the coordination of Brazil ". Uziel, Eduardo. *O Conselho de Segurança, as Operações de Manutenção da Paz e a Inserção do Brasil no Mecanismo de Segurança Coletiva das Nações Unidas*. Brasília: FUNAG, 2010. p. 185 and following.

<sup>45</sup> In this regard, see: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml>. Access on 06 Aug 2011.

<sup>46</sup> Brazil has no tradition in working in multinational forces, and has opted therefore to collaborate with the peacekeeping operations, mainly because such forces are permitted to use up the resource of force in situations where there is no ceasefire and members of the forces do not have the logistical support of the Secretariat. The exception was the Brazilian participation in East Timor (INTERFET) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (FMEI). The country was assured of the consent of the parties involved in the conflict to participate in the force. Uziel, Eduardo. *O Conselho de Segurança, as Operações de Manutenção da Paz e a Inserção do Brasil no Mecanismo de Segurança Coletiva das Nações Unidas*, p. 97.

<sup>47</sup> UZIEL, Eduardo. *O Conselho de Segurança, as Operações de Manutenção da Paz e a Inserção do Brasil no Mecanismo de Segurança Coletiva das Nações Unidas*. Brasília: FUNAG, 2010.

development aid, represent the ability of the Foreign Ministry to interact together with P-5 (permanent seat holders countries in the Security Council). It marked “the Brazilian perception that there is a tripod security / political reconciliation / development that is essential in any multidimensional mission” such as the MINUSTAH. The country militates in UN bodies for the viability of Quick Impact Projects, “as a way to establish good relations with communities and as an initial gesture to foster development”<sup>48</sup>. The Foreign Ministry has advocated also by the inclusion of peacebuilding tasks in terms of operations. As a result, this Brazilian provision has attracted the sympathy of other important actors who are committed to the promotion of peace in the international arena, such as the EU.

Several factors have led Brasilia to act positively on the collective security mechanism of the United Nations<sup>49</sup>: 1) normative - in obedience to the provisions of the Article 4<sup>th</sup> of the Federal Constitution which enumerates the principles that will guide its foreign policy and highlights the vocation for the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for sovereign equality of States, 2) historical - as a result of Brazil's participation in the UN since its inception, and its effective action in defense of the strengthening of the international organization and improving their capacities to maintain order at the world scene, 3) realistic - due to Brazil's interest in optimizing power resources to achieve stable multilateral arrangements and thus conquer new spaces in the intricate game of the global power board.

Regarding the decision-making process of the UNSC, the establishment and conduction of MINUSTAH represent a particular situation in which Brazilian initiatives can be checked in two important aspects: a) inclusion of specific elements in the mission, b) building a capacity to influence in the course of the operation, in collaboration with other Latin American states.

During the negotiation process for approving the mandate of MIUSTAH, Brazil played a key role and acted on several fronts in order to dissociate the new mission of the above<sup>50</sup> and insert more holistic functions, as the actions for development, combating poverty and institutional strengthening in Haiti. Brazil proposed an increase in humanitarian functions and strengthening institutions at the same level of military tasks and ostensibly defended the inclusion of references to the peacebuilding mandate, despite U.S. resistance to assign these tasks to peacekeeping missions<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> UZIEL, Eduardo. *O Conselho de Segurança, as Operações de Manutenção da Paz e a Inserção do Brasil no Mecanismo de Segurança Coletiva das Nações Unidas*. P. 107-108.

<sup>49</sup> UZIEL, Eduardo. *O Conselho de Segurança, as Operações de Manutenção da Paz e a Inserção do Brasil no Mecanismo de Segurança Coletiva das Nações Unidas*. Brasília: FUNAG, 2010. According to the author's the motivations for the Brazilian participation in the missions are: 1) fully integrate the country into collective security mechanism of the United Nations, which again became active after the end of the Cold War, 2) increase the influence in Brazilian-making UN decision bodies; 3) comply with the principles governing international relations of Brazil in Article 4 of the Federal Constitution; 4) strengthen the very idea of multilateralism and insert Brazilian interests among those that guide decisions, including to minimize issues such as the double standards of the UNSC; 5) validate the Brazilian candidature for permanent membership of the Security Council; 6) seize opportunities of cooperation identified in the course of implementation of peace processes; 7) provide more international experience for the Armed Forces.

<sup>50</sup> The missions of the 1990s were associated with the U.S. and its terms have not been finalized properly.

<sup>51</sup> U.S., France and Canada militated in favor of militaristic approach and short-term actions with overt and rapid withdrawal of potentially complicated scenarios. In contrast, Brazil and Chile supported the introduction of the mandate of more complex elements such as the promotion of sustainable development and institutional strengthening. The U.S. wanted to adopt the text of the resolution the expression "acting under Chapter VII" of the UN Charter, while Brazil was in favor of an action in accordance with Chapter VI, due to the invitation received from the Haitian government and to ensure that it was not foreign occupation. In this regard, see: Uziel, Eduardo. 2010.

The Foreign Ministry sought to decisively prevent resistance within the region that would ultimately delegitimize the political role of the United Nations. To this end, Brazil held dialogues with CARICOM to demonstrate that the task was not an occupation of one of its members.

In this sense, Brasilia also negotiated with other members of the UNSC for a more relevant OAS action in the mission to strengthen the perception of a decisive presence of the American countries.

Brazil also engaged in promoting linkages with other potential troop contributors, with international financial institutions, with the donor community and especially with the Haitian government.

Brazil leads the military component of MINUSTAH and has approximately two thousand men deployed on the ground. France is the only EU country that participates in the mission's military component. However, Haiti is the largest recipient in Latin America and the Caribbean humanitarian aid by the Union which has invested about 260 million euros in the country since 1995<sup>52</sup>.

The EU, meanwhile, has played an increasingly relevant role in peacebuilding, and has been claimed as the security protagonist. The European community has endowed captaining interventions of NATO assets and capabilities or making use of their own resources. But all the military missions have evolved in the context of the United Nations and received authorization from the Security Council<sup>53</sup>.

In the last ten years, the EU acted in twenty-three operations outside its borders, reaching areas in Africa, Asia, Middle East, Caucasus and the Balkans, deploying about twenty thousand men in the field. However, the issue of peace in Africa has been treated as a priority due mainly to the "Geopolitics of Oil" that guides the interests of the major powers in ensuring sufficiency in energy resources.

It is noteworthy that the EU distinguishes the management of international crises in civilian<sup>54</sup> and military operations. Of the twenty-three operations carried out within the framework of the European Security and Defence, six are of military nature<sup>55</sup> a) "Concord" (FYROM / EUFOR), the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia b) "Artemis"<sup>56</sup> and EUFOR RD CONGO, both in the Republic of Congo; c) EUFOR CHAD / RCA in Chad and the Central African Republic, d) "Atlanta" in Somalia, e) "Althea" in Bosnia-Herzegovina f) it is observed that the AMIS, which served as support to the African Union mission in Darfur, counted with civilian and military means. The other seventeen are civil in nature and provide assistance to regions such as Palestine, Macedonia, Iraq, Darfur, Moldova, Congo, Afghanistan, Guinea Bissau, etc...<sup>57</sup>

The triangular cooperation proposed by EU-Brazil can gain fluidity due to the recognized national professional diplomatic service, the vast network of embassies in Africa (which facilitates interaction with the Secretariat of the UN and the UNSC and

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<sup>52</sup> ECHO Factsheet, Haiti, 2013.

<sup>53</sup> GARCIA PÉREZ, Rafael. La gestión civil de crisis de La Unión Europea. *Revista de Estudios Europeos*, nº 52, 2009, p. 49.

<sup>54</sup> There is the participation of soldiers in these missions, though.

<sup>55</sup> Atlanta operations and Althea are still ongoing. HERRERO DE LA FUENTE, Alberto. La participación de la Unión Europea en la gestión internacional de crisis. *Revista de Estudios Europeos*, nº 52, 2009, p. 43.

<sup>56</sup> The first operation conducted autonomously, without the help of NATO, and out of Europe. POZO SERRANO, Pilar; PEÑA RAMOS, José Antonio. La gestión militar de crisis por la Unión Europea: evolución de los objetivos y resultados alcanzados. *Revista de Estudios Europeos*, nº 52, 2009, p. 91.

<sup>57</sup> Some of these missions have been completed and other are underway GARCIA PÉREZ, Rafael. La gestión civil de crisis de La Unión Europea. *Revista de Estudios Europeos*, nº 52, 2009, p. 59.



the EU itself) and Brasilia close relationship with African countries that share history, values and cultures.

#### **6. Fight against terrorism**

The cooperation in preventing and combating terrorism will sustain the dictates of the International Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law, with particular emphasis on the compliance with the conventions and legal instruments adopted within the framework of the United Nations. To this end, the partners will endeavor in order to implement the "UN Global Strategy Against Terrorism", to strangle the sources of terrorist financing and to support the victims of crimes of this nature.

#### **7. Preventing and combating organized crime and corruption**

The parties are committed to the implementation of the rules of international law designed to combat transnational organized crime and corruption, in particular the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and Protocols on combating organized crime and the UN Convention against Corruption. In this regard, activities are planned for exchanging experiences between financial intelligence units, bilateral interagency exchange of information and bilateral judicial cooperation and police. Finally, they will act to prevent the use of their financial systems to launder the proceeds of criminal activities.

#### **8. Prevention and control of the global problem of drugs and related crime**

The last point of this discussion about the promotion of peace and security is the one that refers to the prevention and control of illicit drugs and related crimes. The collaboration, which will take place in the framework of the UN and intergovernmental bodies, will focus on the exchange of information, experience and best practices. Both sides seek to explore the possibilities of triangular cooperation with third countries and develop strategies for prevention and fight against drugs and organized crime. Particularly they will implement the Mechanism for Coordination and Cooperation on Drug Matters between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean as a key forum for dialogue between both regions in the field of drugs.

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize that although Brazil has large experience in international peace, its military resources are limited. The low level of expenditure in defence industry reflects the government preference for achieving peace through social programs and sustainable development. Consequently, it is possible to affirm that Brazil is a soft security actor, since the country has usually been engaged in the promotion of international peace rather than in war activities.

### **6. CONCLUSIONS**

The association represents a compromise in political terms of the EU and Brazil to participate and have a role in global and regional scenes.

The construction of the alliance reflects the existence of mutual convenience and facilitates the realization of countless advantages for both sides. It also reflects the existence of some political, commercial and economic differences. At the base of the pyramid of the interests of the Union we can see the bilateral relations with the countries whose international actions interference directly affects the EU. Therefore, there are partners with whom the EU has natural convergences, but there are also some who are chosen based on the need to promote artificial convergence, in a terrain where the perpetuation of differences undermine the interests of the Union. Thus, strategic alliances are approaching mechanisms, "demarcation of the territory" of the

EU in the world mechanisms, but this does not necessarily mean that these countries are the priority of the foreign policy of the EU. That is, this does not mean that they are strategic to the interests of Brussels.

On the Brazilian side, the association is just one of the platforms of the Itamaraty international action, ie not the only neither the most important. Brazil's foreign policy is characterized by the active search for peaceful and negotiated ways in international litigation.

Currently, Brazil is not only a major contributor of troops, but also has a significant role in the UNSC debates and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping (C-34) of the General Assembly. In this context Brazil has been positioned in favor of peace operations, as MINUSTAH, stimulating holistic solutions to the conflict. Similarly, the country has emphasized the proposition parallel political processes that ensure consensus on peace.

Negotiations have found difficult to solve some problems. In multilateral fora the limits of the joint action stand out. In the context of the United Nations differences in the voting of complex and important international issues such as Iran's nuclear policy and intervention in Libya and Syria are noticed. Brazil's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the subsequent diplomatic option to act in an impartial way, presenting the country as interlocutor on issues of international importance displeases European actors.

But, in the last Summit, the partners took measures to better coordinate action in the field of international peace and security. The formalization of a high level dialogue and the creation of bilateral consultation mechanism on peace and security represent a significant progress. The dialogues on Peacekeeping and peacebuilding, humanitarian assistance, conflict prevention, non-proliferation show the advances of the partnership.

It's clear that exists a degree of alignment in issues such as the UN reform, Arab Spring, and the situation in Middle East, Mali and Guinea-Bissau. The pronouncements of the last Summits show that there is space for close coordination.

The EU and Brazil share some values and converge in many ways on the international peacebuilding. Thus, the construction of the partnership reflects the existence of mutual convenience and facilitates the realization of countless advantages for both parties. But in any case, one of the key problems is that, despite the reduction of asymmetries between partners, especially after the global financial crisis, with the competent performance of Itamaraty, Brazil's ascension on the international scene, the country still does not occupy such a privileged position in the pyramid of interests in Brussels. It must be said, however, that although there are things to clear, there is important progress in over twenty existing sectorial dialogues.

However, it is safe to say that the narrowing of bilateral relations is useful for the implementation of the millennium development goals, to promote peace, human rights, multilateralism, global governance and the configuration of more fair and balanced world order.

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