

UDK 327(41:8)

Biblid 0543-3657, 73 (2022)

Год. LXXIII, бр. 1186, стр. 123–151

Original scientific paper

Received: 10/09/2022

Accepted: 15/11/2022

doi: https://doi.org/10.18485/iipe_mp.2022.73.1186.6

CC BY-SA 4.0

*Ivan DUJIĆ*¹

The British Isles and Latin American Countries

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the relations between the key countries that geographically belong to the British Isles and Latin American countries. By using comparative and historiographical methods, the paper intends to offer an answer to the research question: Does the Republic of Ireland, due to more historical similarities with Latin American countries than the other countries of the British Isles, has to have better economic and political relations with Latin America? The paper is based on the hypothesis that the Republic of Ireland, through cooperation with the countries of Latin America (despite specific differences compared to other countries of the British Isles), strives to exert an identical influence in terms of the affirmation of Western Christian values in the countries of Latin America. Finally, it aligns with the EU's policy of deeper cooperation with Latin America. After the Introduction, the central section of this paper is divided into four sub-sections that follow historical events in Ireland and the United Kingdom as well as their influences on relationships with Latin American countries, particularly during the Cold War and Post-Cold War periods. After passing the long territorialization process and during the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the Republic of Ireland, which geographically belongs to the British Isles but remained part of the EU even after the withdrawal of Great Britain, became a country, formally

¹ Research fellow at the Institute of International Politics and Economics (IPE), Belgrade, Serbia. E-mail: ivan@diplomacy.bg.ac.rs.

The paper presents the findings of a study developed as a part of the research project "Serbia and Challenges in International Relations in 2022", financed by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia and conducted by the IPE.

and essentially capable of maintaining its economic, political, and cultural relationships with Latin American countries. This is the point emphasised in the conclusion.

Key words: the British Isles, (Republic of) Ireland, UK, EU, Latin America, World War I, World War II, Post-Cold War period, Western Christian values.

Introduction

While the world is facing an unequal battle in favour of a long-term solution to global migration, the health crisis, and climate change, relations between countries in the Fourth Industrial Revolution are not developing towards establishing lasting peace. Instead, the Fourth Industrial Revolution moves towards occasional inter-state frictions and conflicts, forestalling the establishment of lasting peace, with states striving to steer clear of conflicts to ensure maximum Revolution results. Observed solely at a global level, there are still crisis hotspots within countries with a tendency to escalate into inter-state conflicts, as in the case of classical conflicts, which, in unstable states, continue into the 21st century.

Since Kant's time, the issue of establishing lasting peace has not lost its significance, especially considering that interstate conflicts have been reduced to conflicts at the local level since 1945. Kant noted that lasting peace, understood as a condition, can be achieved through implementing the laws. Time has shown that peace, established through a law binding two or more states, also depends on the implementation of convergent interstate policies.²

As opposed to this, a question arises as to what happens when countries conduct divergent policies. Vast experience in relations among states indicates that, in this case, the peace some scholars refer to as "fragile peace" can be called into question, as one can see in the case of Central European countries in the interwar period.³ Instead of making peace indubitable in the sense of the absence of all inter-state conflicts, the existence of fragile peace is questioned, considering the crises during the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Unlike global peace, certain world regions have become known for their countries' ability to establish lasting regional peace thanks to convergent policies in place. European and Latin American countries (making up the greater part of the New World) have striven to maintain

² Immanuel Kant, *Kant's Principles of Politics, Including His Essay on Perpetual Peace. A Contribution to Political Science*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, [1795] 1891, 88.

³ Neal Pease, "The Conduct of Political Relations, 1927-1932", *Poland, the United States, and the Stabilization of Europe, 1919-1933*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986, 147.

regional peace by avoiding the interference of great (non-) European powers in the internal affairs of their weaker countries. The selected literature reveals that the countries on both sides of the Atlantic work to keep a fragile peace.

The paper focuses on the overall relations between the countries of the British Isles (the Republic of Ireland and the UK) and Latin American countries. Drawing on the fact that “nothing happens overnight”, the relations between these countries have been built upon the complex development of the state as a territorial entity, which dates back to the establishment of the first states both in the New and the Old World. In the first part, the paper provides a brief overview of the complex development of the island of Ireland before 1921, as well as the development of Great Britain and Ireland’s relations with Latin American countries before the greater part of Ireland gained its independence.

The second part of the paper analyses the Republic of Ireland’s gaining independence from the United Kingdom (UK) in the post-World War I period. The third part of the paper examines the period since the end of World War II, especially since the Cold War when the Republic of Ireland and the UK became member states of the European Communities, the predecessors of the European Community (EC) and the European Union (EU), as well as the relations of these countries with Latin American countries. The fourth part considers the post-Cold War period, including the period following the UK’s withdrawal from the EU in 2020. Finally, the conclusion summarises the results obtained in this research and the most important issues raised throughout the paper. For example, can the Republic of Ireland, independently of the United Kingdom, maintain a positive influence on Latin American countries by promoting Western Christian values? It is about values based on “[...] dignity, nationhood, law, democracy, humanism, atheism, science, secularism, ethics, rights, welfare, capitalism [...]”.⁴ The hypothesis underpinning the paper is that the Republic of Ireland, on behalf of the EU, following World War II and the Cold War, strives to continue promoting Western Christian values in Latin American countries and nurture relations with them.

The British Isles and Latin American Countries: Key Factors in International Relations

The western part of Europe is connected to the Atlantic through the narrow marine passages separating the British Isles from the rest of Europe. In addition, the English Channel and the Strait of Calais (Dover) represent

⁴ Nick Spencer, *The Evolution of the West: How Christianity Has Shaped Our Values*, SPCK Publishing, London, 2016, 12.

a vital maritime route between the British Isles and the rest of Europe. On the other hand, because of the constant need for the maintenance and further development of international maritime trade, the Atlantic and all maritime routes dating back to the time of the Age of Discovery in the 15th century gained additional significance when the British Isles connected with the New World countries, especially Latin America.⁵

The British Isles are a group of islands, the two most prominent being Great Britain and Ireland (the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English – LDOCE). Numerous smaller islands surround both islands, the most important being the Isle of Man for its location on the marine passage separating Ireland from Great Britain.

Regardless of the given example, the Republic of Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries are viewed as integrated political entities, endeavouring to be equal in the Fourth Industrial Revolution and public international law. To remain equally treated actors in international relations and to fully participate in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries had to develop as independent entities striving to continue working on the development of international public law with the support of digital technologies. Thanks to the cultural, economic, and political relations as well as the wars fought, Ireland, the UK, and the Latin American countries, ended the process of territorialization. With a long history of all these forms of interdependence, these are now complex territorial entities whose goal is to develop and deepen cultural, economic, and political ties.

*A brief overview of the complex development relations
between Latin America and the British Isles up to 1921*

Unlike the development of England, Scotland, and Wales, which make up Great Britain, the development of Ireland, which is not so well known in Serbia's social science as the development of the great powers, shows that Ireland had waged wars, conquered, and made demographic changes from the very outset of feudalism, before the establishment and spread of England's multiple influences. However, in his research, Céitinn (Keating) indicates that during the Roman Empire and since its division into East and West, but also after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Ireland was spared not only from the Roman conquests but also the conquests during the Great Migration.⁶

⁵ David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and its American Empire", *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (ed. Leslie Bethell), Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1985, 390.

⁶ Seathrún Céitinn [Geoffrey Keating], *Foras Feasa ar Éireann [The History of Ireland]*, Ex-classics Project, 2009, available at: <http://www.exclassics.com>, 5. 8. 2022,37.

Ever since the early mediaeval period, which lasted from the 9th to the 12th century, Ireland has been the target of occasional conquests and a place for the settlement of the first peoples of Western Europe. In this sense, White pointed to Denmark's conquests, presence, and influence in Ireland and the British Isles as a whole.⁷ The period of Danish influence gradually led to the creation of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, which survived as independent countries, as was also suggested by Smith.⁸

How did Danish influence initially contribute to creating countries in the British Isles in the early mediaeval period? The Danish influence brought about numerous assimilations that gradually laid the foundation for the constitution of the Irish people. Their task in the following centuries was to accept the influence of England and, at the same time, fight for the development of their own identity. For example, Irish folklore has been preserved.⁹

Aside from the Danish influence, the Norwegian influence was felt at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries due to changes in the Danish dynasty family tree.¹⁰ The Danish-Norwegian influence prevailed until England's involvement in the events of continental Europe in 1066. The conquest of England also had long-term consequences for Ireland, which, during the reign of William the Conqueror, traded not only with England but also with other parts of the British Isles.¹¹

Even though the second half of the 11th century is remembered for the changed destiny of England in terms of its connection with continental Europe, Ireland, as in the era of the Roman conquests and the Great Migration, was exempted from the conquests from Normandy, a region of northern France that tapers to the English Channel. In this period, England, unlike Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, faced radical changes during the reign of William the Conqueror and his successors, regardless of later changes in the dynasty family tree. Apart from the conquest of England in 1066, the second half of the 11th century is also remembered for the influx of cultural, economic, and political influence from Normandy.¹²

⁷ Henry White, *History of Great Britain and Ireland; with an Account of the Present State and Resources of the United Kingdom and Its Colonies*, Simpkin Marshall, and Co, London, 1871, 34.

⁸ Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom: A Political History*. Vol. II, MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1899, 22.

⁹ Sean J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland 1460–1630*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007, 8.

¹⁰ Grant Allen, *Anglo Saxon Britain*, E.&J.B. Young & Co., New York, 1901, 165.

¹¹ Frank Merry Stanton, *William the Conqueror and the Rule of the Normans*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York – London, 1908, 254.

¹² F. M. Stanton, 249–259.

Despite England's and Scotland's highly developed cultural, economic, and political influence, Ireland has never been fully defined as a state dominated by the influence of these countries. Connolly pointed to the pronounced influence of England in Ireland during the transition from the early mediaeval period to matured feudalism, when the Anglo-Irish dynasty was founded.¹³ The invasion of Ireland in 1169 strengthened England's influence and brought about radical changes in Ireland. England experienced the same destiny after the Norman Conquest.¹⁴

That the influence of England in Ireland from 1169 onward was significant is also shown by Prestwich's research. From the 13th century to the beginning of the Hundred Years' War in 1337, thanks to England's vastness, Ireland was connected with the parts of France where England had possessions. Using marriage ties and the strong influence of the Plantagenet dynasty of England on the Valois dynasty of France, apart from Ireland, England also dominated most of France.¹⁵

The question is posed as to what the status of Ireland was during the Hundred Years' War that lasted from 1337 to 1453. Froissart noted in his chronicles that in this period, the English nobility competed for prestige in England and most of France and Ireland.¹⁶ Many notables in Ireland struggled to maintain the privileged status they enjoyed on behalf of England.

Unlike England and Scotland before and after merging into the United Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707, Ireland remained *de facto* an independent state, where the monarchy had been functioning for centuries. This is evidenced by English possessions from the period of Edward III of the Stuart dynasty in the 14th century¹⁷, suggesting that Ireland fought, with more or less success, for the complete suppression of England's cultural, economic, and political influence. This suppression peaked during the reign of the Scottish Stuart dynasty in the 17th century.¹⁸

Contrary to Connolly, Elliott points out that in the 15th century, Ireland not only endured the English influence but also had the vision to take part in overseas expeditions.¹⁹ Regardless of the degree of English influence,

¹³ S. J. Connolly, 104.

¹⁴ Robert Bartlet, *England Under The Norman And Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000, 87.

¹⁵ Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225-1360*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2005, 27.

¹⁶ John Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*. Vol. II. Reprint, J.M'Creery, Black Horse Court, London, [1523] 1812, 278.

¹⁷ H. White, 153-154.

¹⁸ Sean J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2008, 107.

¹⁹ John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*, University of Westminster Press, London, 2017, 22.

such a venture meant a significant step forward for Ireland in understanding that the Earth as a geographical concept was quite different from what it was considered in the period from the Ancient Age to the 15th century. Thanks to the later expeditions, knowledge about the Earth expanded, and the concept of space was understood in the context of interconnecting parts of the world into a single entity.

During the Hundred Years' War, the French gradually suppressed English influence in France, which prompted the expeditions. This war, won by France, was the first to contribute to setting sail for the expeditions during the Age of Discovery at the end of the 15th century. Some Western European countries went on a quest for new overseas trade routes, spreading Western Christian values, including capitalist ones, using capital that, since the 16th century onwards, has been "[...] transnationalized (and) become spread across numerous national territories through globalised circuits of production".²⁰

One of the prerequisites for capital to become transnationalized, that is, to spread across national territories, is national unity, which allows "[t]he integration of all property systems under one formal property law [...]"²¹ The long-term creation of prescriptive property rights and, consequently, the entire property system underpinning the state unity would not be possible without the achieved integration of the state.

From the late 15th century and during the 16th and 17th centuries, thanks to expeditions and conquests, some Western European countries faced the task of overcoming their long-term fragmentation by encouraging and strengthening territorial integrity through the property system and by connecting into larger entities. England and Scotland were no exceptions: in the 17th century, the Union of the Crowns enabled the transition from absolute to parliamentary monarchy. This transition was facilitated by the Glorious Revolution and the outbreak of war in Ireland in 1689.²²

The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland raised the issue of the necessary defining and acknowledging the official faith as well as overcoming the centuries-old differences not only in England and Scotland, but also in Ireland. Ohlmeyer points to the differences, such as "[...] the physical environment, language, dress, political structures, and

²⁰ William I. Robinson, "Global Capitalism, Social Science, and Methods of Critique: Response to Cammack's 'Forget the Transnational State'", *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, Nr. 1/2009, 98–99.

²¹ Hernando De Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*, Basic Books, New York, 2000, 54.

²² Julian Hoppit, *A Land Of Liberty?: England 1689-1727*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, 93.

inheritance and tenurial practices varied considerably (in) many features. Like all frontier societies throughout pre-modern Europe, they remained sparsely populated, with widely dispersed settlements, few towns, and difficult internal communications”.²³

The differences between England, Scotland, and Ireland, the acute concern for the Stuart dynasty’s fate on the English throne, the current issues of conducting colonial policies, and eliminating the danger of spreading French influence through the Jacobites (supporters of the Stuart dynasty) were all factors in the formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Macinnes notes that in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Jacobites operated mostly clandestinely, hoping to restore the Stuart dynasty with the help of France, as was the case in 1660. Before the union with the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland was “[...] the primary theatre for Jacobite military operations only in the rising of 1689-91, (although) Irish Jacobites remained consistently well represented overseas – a situation attributable primarily to the international connections of the Catholic clergy, but also supported by the Irish brigades in the military service of France and Spain and by Irish commercial networks throughout Western Europe”.²⁴

What was the fate of colonial policies during the 17th century before the unification of England and Scotland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain? The issue of the fate of colonial policies, especially in the New World, draws on the fact that, thanks to commercial ties, Ireland became one of the most important centres of mass emigration to North America in the following centuries. Discussing the conduct of colonial policies and the gradual development of emigration centres in this century, Hornsby suggests that, for example, Boston was a significant city on the east coast of North America and that it “[...] developed first, serving as the capital of Massachusetts, a market for local agricultural produce, and a centre for importing English manufactured goods and exporting dried fish, lumber, and provisions. With the development of New England’s trade with the West Indies in the late seventeenth century, Boston formed a symbiotic relationship with Bridgetown, Barbados, exchanging dried fish, provisions, and lumber for sugar and bills of exchange”.²⁵

²³ Jane H. Ohlmeyer, “Civilizing of those rude parties: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s”, *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (ed. Nicholas Canny), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, 127.

²⁴ Allan I. Macinnes, “Jacobitism and the War of the British Succession”. *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 245.

²⁵ Stephen J. Hornsby, “Geographies of the British Atlantic world”, *Britain’s Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c.1550–1850* (eds. H. V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, John G. Reid), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, 31.

The effort to overcome the differences between England and Scotland, on the one hand, and Ireland, on the other, gradually paved the path to the unification of the three states of the British Isles into one. During the 17th and 18th centuries, a remarkable strengthening of the impact of Parliament and overseas merchants, the inevitable rise of social classes, and the simultaneous undermining of the king or queen's role in governing the state facilitated the unification of England and Scotland, and later Ireland. The argument supporting this fact is that in the UK, "[s]ocial and economic change (...) had speeded the shift towards a more diverse, pluralistic and open society. While the Anglican aristocracy and gentry continued to dominate parliamentary politics, they were forced to accommodate urban, commercial, industrial, nonconformist, Catholic, and even working-class interests".²⁶

The periods of cooperation and conflict between the countries of the British Isles during Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Age of Discovery at the transition from matured feudalism to the post-mediaeval period were a reflection of the long struggle of Ireland and Scotland to suppress, if not completely, then at least redirect the overall English influence in their favour. Scotland managed to deal with the English influence by joining England in the naval war against France and Spain after the Glorious Revolution in the late 17th century.²⁷ This war ended immediately after the constitution of the union of Great Britain and Ireland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800, the task of which was to continue and maintain the complexity of international relations. In fact, such a United Kingdom has superseded the former separate kingdoms as independent states.

When it comes to the incorporation of Ireland into the UK, the question arises as to what the status of Ireland was immediately before it became a constituent of the United Kingdom. As for the exercise of legislative power, from 1782 to 1800, Ireland was very active in exercising its legislative role. This fact is confirmed by Innes, who indicates that there was "[...] the era of "Irish legislative independence", customarily termed "Grattan's parliament" – the era inaugurated by the British parliament's agreement, under extreme Irish pressure, to abandon both the requirement that Irish legislation have the approval of the Irish privy council, and Westminster's own claim to legislate for Ireland [...]. The era of "Grattan's parliament"

²⁶ John Darwin, "Victorian Origins: Towards 'The Sceptre of the World'". *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, 59.

²⁷ Agustin Guimera, "Naval Leadership and the 'Art of War': John Jervis and José de Mazarredo Compared (1797–9)", *Naval Leadership in the Atlantic World: The Age of Reform and Revolution, 1700–1850* (eds. Richard Harding, Agustín Guimera), University of Westminster Press, London, 2017, 121.

was conceived by the Irish parliamentary class as an era of nation-building (even though it was relatively recently that this mostly Anglo-Irish group had come to term themselves Irish) [...]”. During this era, the Irish parliament met more frequently than before – every year rather than every other year.²⁸

The nation-building process is not only lengthy but, from the onset, tends to remain permanent in terms of establishing and maintaining overall relations within the state for the nation to survive on the territory in which it is developing. Holton connects the concept of a nation to the concept of state sovereignty, stating that “[...] state sovereignty in relation to the cross-border character of the global economy and global regulatory processes (and) the national integrity of a people (that) brings into focus questions of political and cultural identity”.²⁹

An in-depth view of the creation of the UK shows that in 1800 a step was taken towards establishing a *de iure* union of Great Britain and Ireland by extending the United Kingdom’s sovereignty to Ireland under the Treaty of Union. At the same time, the Irish Parliament was dissolved, which, as mentioned before, had met more frequently for two decades prior to the unification of Great Britain and Ireland.³⁰ At the same time, thanks to the bourgeois revolution and strong military power, France strived to oppose the British navy by attempting to turn Ireland against Great Britain.³¹

The establishment of the *de facto* union of Great Britain and Ireland confirmed the unification of these two kingdoms into a single monarchy.³² England and Scotland are still crucial for the survival of Great Britain as part of the UK. In any case, the period from 1800 to the beginning of the Irish Civil War in 1916 was marked by the UK’s global expansion in colonial and world politics.

Ireland’s inclusion in the colonial and world politics of the UK also meant its recognition of the independence of Latin American countries. To bolster Ireland’s position regarding pursuing colonial and world politics, one needs to paraphrase Howe, drawing on the fact that Ireland

²⁸ Joanna Innes, “Legislating for three kingdoms: how the Westminster parliament legislated for England, Scotland and Ireland, 1707–1830”, *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660–1850* (ed. Julian Hoppit), Manchester University Press, Manchester – New York, 2003, 30.

²⁹ Robert J. Holton, “Is the Nation State Finished?”, *Globalization and the Nation-State*, 2nd ed., Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2011, 99.

³⁰ G. Smith, 283.

³¹ H. White, 381.

³² Christopher Harvie, “Revolution and the Rule of Law: Reflections on the Revolutions”, *The Oxford History of Britain* (ed. Kenneth O. Morgan), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, 487.

was economically conjoined with England before and after its unification with Scotland.³³ Despite polarised views on whether Ireland was or was not England's nearest colony, the sense of Britishness sought its roots in Irish soil.

However, contrary to Howe, Morgan undisputedly indicates that Ireland was a colony of England and actively participated in creating and defending the vast British Empire in the coming centuries.³⁴ From a political standpoint, merging Great Britain and Ireland into the larger UK presumed the conduct of foreign policy in favour of the UK as a global power with a tendency to weaken the status of former metropolises by diplomatic means and waging war as well as by recognising new independent countries of Latin America.

According to Marshall, UK diplomacy worked not only towards recognising the independence of Latin American countries but also creating these countries as new nations.³⁵ Before the UK lost most of Ireland after a hundred years, the gross economic and political interests of the UK dictated mediation between Portugal and Spain, as older metropolises and great powers that existed in the period from the 16th to the 19th century, on the one hand, and Latin American countries, as the former Portuguese and Spanish colonies, on the other. The appearance of France and, especially, the UK as new metropolises was not possible without Ireland, which had been regarded by England and, later, the UK, as "[...] strategically very important, economically, militarily, and politically".³⁶ One concludes that Ireland served to formulate the geopolitical strategy and define the gross economic and political interests of the UK towards the rest of the world in favour of the UK's colonial and world politics, including independent Latin American countries.

Considering the gross economic and political interests of the UK, Waldberg suggests that during the second half of the 19th century, the UK had "[t]he plan for the complete triumph of the British Empire (that) was formulated and implemented at that time - as far as the real world allowed (by) exploiting (the) mineral and resource wealth. The model was based

³³ Stephen Howe, "Questioning the (bad) Question: 'Was Ireland a Colony?'" , *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 36, Nr. 142/2008, 145.

³⁴ Hiram Morgan, "An Unwelcome Heritage: Ireland's Role in British Empire-Building", *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 19, Nr. 4-6/1994, 619.

³⁵ Peter J. Marshall, "Britain Without America - A Second Empire?", *The Eighteenth Century. The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. II* (ed. P.J. Marshall), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, 580.

³⁶ Aziz Rahman, Anne Clarke, and Sean Byrne, "The Art of Breaking People Down: The British Colonial Model in Ireland and Canada", *the Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol. 49, Nr. 2/2017, 16.

- financially on the British government assuming the role of guarantor of the pound as an international reserve currency backed by gold, ensuring free trade through conquest and/or treaty, and
- militarily on the British government building the necessary institutional infrastructure (railways, ports, local administration, including courts, schools, medical facilities) and providing a military force to protect it all".³⁷

When considering Ireland's role in Latin American countries, it is noted that Ireland was not only involved in foreign policy but also in promoting free trade in favour of the UK. The facts supporting the claims about UK interests and its predominant role are seen in the established colonies as well as in relations with Latin American countries. During the second half of the 19th century, the UK was at its heyday, which is confirmed, among other things, by the foreign trade exchange with Chile, which amounted to 9.36 million US dollars.³⁸

The lack of stronger Irish resistance to the English influence facilitated the survival of the UK until the greater part of Ireland finally gained actual and, later, formal independence from the UK and its colonial and world policies in the 20th century. Despite the successful conduct of colonial and world policies until the end of World War II, the Union of Great Britain and Ireland during the 19th century did not reconcile and finally overcome the considerable differences within the British Isles, as was seen by Ireland's growing dissatisfaction with its status within the UK. This is also pointed out by Boyce, who deals with "[...] the question of Irish nationality, which in 1886 became the major political issue of the age when (the UK Prime Minister, William Evert) Gladstone brought forward his proposals of self-government (Home Rule) for Ireland, was one that was inextricably bound up with the future of the British constitution, and more importantly, the British nation".³⁹

Boyce, Waldberg, and other scholars note that the UK in the 19th century was marked by an apparent discrepancy between pursuing colonial and world policies on the one hand and the emerging identity crisis regarding Ireland on the other. In other words, bearing in mind the former issue, in which the UK successfully acted as a single actor in international relations and as a great power, the latter issue of identity in Ireland showed the scope of the constitutional and political crisis within

³⁷ Eric Walberg, *Postmodern Imperialism: Geopolitics and the Great Games*, Clarity Press, Atlanta, 2011, 31.

³⁸ George Francis Scott Elliot, *Chile: Its History and Development National Features, Products, Commerce and Present Conditions*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1913, 205.

³⁹ David G. Boyce, *The Irish Question and British Politics, 1868-1996*, 2nd ed., Macmillan Publishers Ltd., London, 1996, 7.

the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The persistence in resolving the seemingly sensitive issue of Ireland's status in the UK proved justified during World War I.

*The independence of the Republic of Ireland from the UK
during and after World War I and its consequences*

The attempt to resolve the issue of Ireland's status at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries while preserving UK unity was not entirely successful. Instead of the self-government in Ireland transferring powers from central to local authorities in the form of devolution, which would have preserved UK unity, it was not until World War I, thanks to the Easter Rising and the civil war, that the path to the final achievement of the Republic of Ireland's independence was paved. As a witness to the time in which the Republic of Ireland was gaining independence, Phillips stated, "[...] the policy of establishing the Irish Republic is impossible for two reasons: first because it is incompatible with the security of Great Britain and with the existence of the British commonwealth; and second, because if it were conceded, it would mean civil war in Ireland – for Ulster would certainly resist incorporation in the Irish Republic by force – and in this war, hundreds of thousands of people, not only from Great Britain but from all over the world, would hasten to take part".⁴⁰

How sensitive the issue of the independence of the Republic of Ireland was can be seen from the fact that the island's division into Southern Ireland and its northern part (Ulster) was a stumbling block between ardent supporters of the independence of the whole of Ireland (Irish Unionists) and proponents of at least one part of it remaining within the UK, which was the vision of the Ulster Unionists. This issue seemed not to be easily resolvable, as it required a compromise between opposing views. That was indeed the case: "Neither Ulster Unionists nor Southern Unionists got what they initially wanted. They sought to maintain the Union intact, but the Union was repealed, and partition and a parliament of their own in Northern Ireland were very much second and third best for Ulster Unionists".⁴¹

Later, it turned out that the issue of the status of Ireland and its division into northern and southern parts was also resolvable. Michael Collins (1890-1922), a leader of the Irish people, took a crucial step in gaining independence and the final partition of Ireland. He also contributed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty's being ratified and remaining in effect. The final

⁴⁰ Allison Phillips, *The Revolution in Ireland 1906-1923*, Green and Co., Longmans, 1923, 200.

⁴¹ Patrick Buckland, "Irish Unionism and the New Ireland", *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (ed. G. Boyce), Palgrave Macmillan Education, London, 1988, 74.

partition of Ireland represented a compromise between Irish Unionists and Ulster Unionists regarding Ireland remaining within the UK or separating from the UK, as indicated by Pelling stating that “[t]he treaty was bitterly disliked by most nationalists, but Collins argued that it was the best he could achieve at the time and that the (proposed) border (between Ireland and Ulster) would only be a temporary measure. The Irish Parliament voted narrowly to accept the treaty by 64 to 57. [...] The border (still) remains in place”.⁴²

The reactions to the possibility of Ireland’s independence and division into two parts were similar in the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. Ireland gaining economic and political independence presupposed the mutual acceptance of a new reality in which a large part of the island was separated from the UK. However, in the years of the fight for Irish independence, its first president, Éamon de Valera, was not satisfied with the negotiation results. He thought that “[...] the Treaty did not go far enough and that the new state must be a republic outside the Empire (although perhaps associated with the Commonwealth externally)”.⁴³

In contrast to the view of the first Irish president in the years between the two world wars, Austen Chamberlain, the future Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and one of the negotiators in resolving the issue of Ireland’s status, saw Irish independence as the emergence of something in stark contrast to the British Empire. More precisely, Chamberlain “[...] characterised the Irish position as ‘a republic within the Empire’”.⁴⁴ Chamberlain’s position reflected the UK’s public opinion on the emerging situation in which Ireland, although divided, again existed as an independent state.

The establishment of the Republic of Ireland following World War I under the name the Irish Free State was a significant moment in the search for an answer to the question of whether the UK, as a single territory and indivisible subject of public international law, should include all the British Isles. The independence of most of Ireland is incontrovertible evidence that since 1927, when the UK was officially renamed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the British Isles have not been under UK sovereignty. So, what were the consequences of the independence of Ireland? In the context of public international law, Irish independence caused the following: when, in 1921, the Irish Free State separated from

⁴² Nick Pelling, “The Making of a Divided Ireland, 1914–22”, *Anglo-Irish Relations 1798-1922*. Routledge, London – New York, 2003, 72.

⁴³ Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], *Centenary of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921:2021 Programme*. Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], 2021, 3.

⁴⁴ David Torrance, *The Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921*, UK Parliament – House of Commons Library, London, 2021, 12.

the United Kingdom, it was provided that the public debt of the UK would be apportioned “as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any claims by way of set-off or counter-claim”.⁴⁵

The Republic of Ireland, as the successor state of the United Kingdom and under the provisions of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, had to solve the issue of assuming a part of the UK public debt in a way that it “[...] assume(d) liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of War Pensions [...]”.⁴⁶ Regardless of how the Republic of Ireland resolved the issue of the inherited portion of the UK’s public debt, in the following decades, Ireland managed to justify its independence. It turned out that in some circumstances, Ireland managed to more or less avoid the economic and political influence of the UK, which has transformed from a global power into a major European power.

Post-World War II period: the Republic of Ireland and the UK within the European Communities; the relationships of the Republic of Ireland and the UK with Latin America

Unlike the period leading up to World War II, when the degree of achieved interdependence between Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries seemed lesser, the period since 1945 has been marked by the frequent need for manifold cooperation between the British Isles and Latin American countries. This period also includes the period of the Cold War, which was characterised by the process of decolonisation and anti-colonial movements that started with the liberation of the future states of Latin America. To some extent, it coincides with the establishment and functioning of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Latin American countries gaining independence meant the beginning of the “provincializing Europe project”, which, as Chakrabarty states, represents “[...] history with our different and often non-European archive and opens up the possibility of a politics and project of alliance between the dominant metropolitan histories and the subaltern peripheral pasts”.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Malcolm N. Shaw, *International Law*, 6th ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 999.

⁴⁶ The Agreement between the Government of Ireland and the Government of the United Kingdom was signed on November 15, 1985, by the Government of the Republic of Ireland and the Government of the United Kingdom. Treaty Series No. 2. An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha [The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)], available at: <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/treatyseries/uploads/documents/treaties/docs/198502.pdf>, 10. 8. 2022, para. 5.

⁴⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History”, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (eds. Sherry B. Ortner, Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008, 42.

The liberation of most of the future Caribbean states at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the remaining small part of the Caribbean under UK sovereignty, is an important period when the former Portuguese and Spanish colonies started to create and interpret their own history. The same can be claimed for the Republic of Ireland, which has been creating its own history independently of the UK by establishing relations with Latin American countries and concluding numerous, mostly bilateral, international agreements and treaties since World War II.

The foundation of universal and regional international organisations during and after World War II meant the inclusion of the Republic of Ireland as an independent state in constructing a system of bilateral and multilateral international treaties. In the case of the Republic of Ireland and the Latin American countries, the system of international treaties is unavoidable because of the old links between Ireland, which was part of the UK, and the Latin American countries. This is confirmed by the fact that the UK did not remain the only contracting party, nor did it exclusively nurture ties with most of the New World, but “Latin America and Caribbean countries also have a long tradition of strong cooperation with Ireland on some of (the) most fundamental challenges, including gender equality, human rights, nuclear disarmament and more recently climate action [...]”.⁴⁸

While the post-World War I period was marked by new changes in international relations, the period following World War II, particularly the Cold War, was marked by closer and better cooperation between world states as a result of their mutual binding by international agreements and treaties. Since the end of World War II, a completely different approach to inter-state cooperation has been taken. The Republic of Ireland sought, independently of the UK, to secure its place in international relations, participating in, for example, the creation of the European Communities during the Cold War.

In addition to contributing to the creation of the European Communities, Ireland and the UK positively influenced the definition of their multiple policies and essential priorities during the Cold War. Although Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Italy, the Netherlands, and (West) Germany were the founding states of the European Communities, before Ireland and the UK joined the European Communities, French President Charles de Gaulle “[...] sought to launch a system of political cooperation among the Six European States which much better met his views and was meant to keep the integrative, supranational momentum of the EEC (European Economic Community) within strict technical limits,

⁴⁸ Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], *Global Ireland: Ireland’s Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean to 2025*, Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], 2022, 2.

to rein in integration and to place the European authorities under the control of the Six governments".⁴⁹

According to de Gaulle's vision, the system of political cooperation among the six European states that founded the European Communities was intended to discourage the process of achieving supranationalism in the European Economic Community. Until the Republic of Ireland and the UK became full members of the European Communities, France nurtured a vision of a necessary political cooperation system among states that would maintain a degree of independence. It turned out that de Gaulle's policy slowed down the processes of integration of the Republic of Ireland and the UK into the European Communities – the future single supranational organisation, as was the EC, later the European Union.

While de Gaulle promoted the strong influence of France among the founding states of the European Communities, in 1965, the British Isles states entered into a bilateral Agreement establishing a Free Trade Area between the two countries. In the fourth paragraph of the preamble to the Agreement, Ireland and the UK were bound to act for the benefit of "[...] sustained development of all sectors of the economies of the two countries on terms of fair competition and to the promotion of increased productivity, the rational use of resources, full employment, financial stability and the continuous improvement of living standards in their respective countries, thus contributing to the further progress of European economic cooperation and the harmonious expansion of world trade and the progressive (and gradual) removal of barriers to it [...]"⁵⁰

The year 1965 is remembered not only for the conclusion of the Agreement on the establishment of an area for free trade between the Republic of Ireland and the UK but also for Ireland's notable success in relations with the countries of Latin America. This was confirmed, for example, in the close relations between Argentina and Ireland when both countries exchanged notes based on which the Agreement abolishing tourist visas was drawn up.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Georges-Henri Soutou, "The linkage between European integration and détente: The contrasting approaches of de Gaulle and Pompidou, 1965 to 1974", *European Integration and the Cold War Ostpolitik-Westpolitik, 1965-1973* (ed. N. Piers Ludlow), Routledge, 2007, 16.

⁵⁰ The Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Republic of Ireland establishing a Free Trade Area between the two countries. 1966. Signed by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Republic of Ireland. Treaty Series No. 31. London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, para. 4.

⁵¹ "Argentina and Ireland: Exchange of Notes Constituting an Agreement Concerning the Abolition of Tourist Visas", done at Buenos Aires 1965, Treaty Series: Treaties and international agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations, vol. 670, United Nations, New York, 1971.

Apart from being bound to improve the overall development of European economic cooperation, the Republic of Ireland and the UK developed better multidimensional cooperation with Latin American countries. According to contemporary research, the Republic of Ireland and the UK, with their Western Christian values, participated differently in promoting developed democratic values that were also embraced by certain Latin American countries. This is confirmed, among other things, by the operations of the UK intelligence agencies, which “[...] still turned to covert action overseas in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, albeit not to as great an extent as the heyday a decade earlier”.⁵²

Unlike the post-World War I period, when the UK supported Bolivia in its war against Paraguay over the disputed Chaco region in South America, the post-World War II period was marked by UK cooperation with South American states, primarily in the defence and promotion of civil and political rights that took a long time to create.⁵³ In addition, the UK contributed to promoting the importance of democracy and its advantages and establishing the necessary political stability as a critical factor for economic growth and improving living standards. That is why the period following World War II and during the Cold War is considered the period of the UK’s fight against communism, or the left and left-wing movements, in favour of Western Christian values. UK secret agents were also involved in the fight to positively influence the internal orders in Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay.⁵⁴

Contrary to the involvement of UK secret agents in Latin American countries, the Republic of Ireland conducted dual-track diplomacy concerning the processes of integration into the European Communities and relations with Latin American countries. On the one hand, it conducted an active foreign policy to become, together with the UK, part of the European Community. In this sense, regarding the processes of integration into the European Communities, the Republic of Ireland was persistent to such an extent that “[d]espite the fraught state of Anglo-Irish relations, and what turned out to be the worst phase of the Northern Ireland Troubles coinciding with the entry negotiations, (the Minister for External Relations, Patrick) Hillery worked closely with his British counterparts to ensure that Britain and Ireland understood matters of joint

⁵² Rory Cormac, “Operation Storm and Beyond: From Latin America to Oman”, *Disrupt and Deny: Spies, Special Forces, and the Secret Pursuit of British Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, 183.

⁵³ Matthew Hughes, “Logistics and the Chaco War: Bolivia versus Paraguay, 1932-1935”. *The Journal of Military History*, Nr. 2/2005, 419.

⁵⁴ R. Cormac, 186–187.

concern through the entry negotiations” (Government of the Republic of Ireland – Department of Foreign Affairs, 6).⁵⁵

On the other hand, the Republic of Ireland, like the UK, endeavoured to maintain relations with Latin American countries established after their independence. The common interests of the Republic of Ireland and the UK in the post-World War II era have reflected their capability to develop, maintain, and further promote multi-level cooperation with Latin America. The persistence of both states of the British Isles to continue their cooperation is obvious in the case of Ireland. While the UK in this era was bound by the Treaty for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America⁵⁶ to postpone the exploitation of this destructive weapon for military purposes, the Republic of Ireland, regarding its relationships with Latin American countries, was temporarily limited to the relations with Argentina during the Cold War.⁵⁷

Regardless of the turbulent Cold War period, the Republic of Ireland and the UK, in relation to the great powers, strived to establish and maintain a modest overall influence in Latin American countries. Apart from the influence in the fields of economics and politics, research in culture, specifically literature, indicates that “Irish-Argentine literature is the artistic representation of a unique array of cultural values expressed in English and Spanish, as they are portrayed by the Irish settlers in Argentina and their descendants”.⁵⁸

Until the end of the Cold War, “[w]ith the remarkable technological changes in intercontinental travel and circulation of knowledge [...]”, the war between Argentina and the UK for sovereignty over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands denoted the beginning of the end of the period of dictatorships, which arose during the Cold War, and the return to democracy in the South American countries, but also in Latin America as a whole.⁵⁹ This period was characterised by the beginning of the integration processes among South American countries, which, in addition

⁵⁵ An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha [The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)]. Ireland in the EU’s History, available at: <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/irelandintheeu/ireland-in-the-eu-history.pdf>, 10. 8. 2022.

The year when this publication was published by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Ireland is not specified (the author’s note).

⁵⁶ “The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America”, done at Mexico City 1967, Treaty Series No. 54, London. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1970.

⁵⁷ R. na Heireann, 2.

⁵⁸ Edmundo Murray, “Literature, Irish-Argentine”, *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History – A Multidisciplinary Encyclopaedia* (eds. James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, Jason King), Vol. I. ABC-CLIO, Inc., Santa Barbara – Denver – Oxford, 2008, 521.

⁵⁹ Edmundo Murray, “The Irish Experience in the Region”, *Ireland and Latin America: a cultural history*, University of Zurich, Zurich, 2010, 118.

to economic cooperation, also related to security cooperation. This is indicated by Pion-Berlin, who points out that “[...] it is safe to generalise that all (South American) countries touched by economic integration in this corner of Latin America have advanced toward greater security cooperation”.⁶⁰

In the context of resolving protracted disputes, the period of return to democracy in Latin American countries was significant for the Republic of Ireland and the UK due to the signing of the bilateral Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, the same year when the dictatorship in Brazil ended. The attempt of the Republic of Ireland and the UK to positively influence the resolution of the lasting dispute about the status of Northern Ireland can be seen in Article 1, paragraph *a* of the Agreement, which states that both governments “[...] affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland”. In addition, in paragraph *c* of this article, the Republic of Ireland and the UK “[...] declare that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in the respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish”.⁶¹

The importance of the Anglo-Irish Agreement can be seen in the fact that, after the end of the Cold War, the dispute over the status of Northern Ireland was resolved in favour of the UK in compliance with this agreement. The Anglo-Irish Agreement was an important step towards resolving not only the status of Northern Ireland but also the abolition of border controls and facilities between the Republic of Ireland and the UK. The agreement paved the way for the gradual building of increasing trust between the Republic of Ireland and the UK, which was called into question in 2016 when the UK’s EU membership referendum was held.

*The Republic of Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries
in the post-Cold War period*

What characterises the mutual relations between Ireland and the UK, as well as their over two centuries-old relations with Latin American countries in the post-Cold War period? Or, to formulate the question differently: Considering the significant changes, what does the post-Cold War period mean for further developing relations between the British Isles and Latin American countries? The effort to further strengthen the trust between states established during the Cold War within the sub-region

⁶⁰ David Pion-Berlin, “Will Soldiers Follow? Economic Integration and Regional Security in the Southern Cone”. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Nr. 1/2000, 48.

coincides with the development of the Fourth Industrial Revolution during the post-Cold War period.

Building trust between states was consistent with the development and conduct of convergent policies and coincided with the first years of entering the post-Cold War period. During the Cold War, initiated integration processes in both Europe and Latin America sought to deepen mutual trust among states, resulting in the formation of sub-regional trade blocs. However, after the Cold War, integration processes were facilitated by the persistent effort to overcome the turbulent war period.

In the post-Cold War period, Ireland, the UK, and the Latin American countries strive not only to foster mutual trade by using air and sea traffic but also to contribute to the development of the Fourth Industrial Revolution thanks to the Internet. The connection of Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries through the Internet in the last two decades was made possible due to cheaper computers and the development of artificial intelligence (AI), on which the Fourth Industrial Revolution rests. How important computers and the Internet have become in the world can be seen from the fact that “[c]omputers, which AI controls, can exchange the incoming information in real-time via the Internet, this passing orders into production”.⁶²

The increase in the number of computer and Internet users in the world coincided with the period when efforts were made to additionally boost the processes of integration between the countries of Europe and Latin America. In the post-Cold War period, there has been an increase in enthusiasm regarding the unification of Europe and Latin America into (sub)regional units, with both parts of the world becoming “[...] leading in Internet use the last 15 years”.⁶³ In addition, in this period, thanks to the growth of permanent diplomatic missions, the Republic of Ireland established official relations and foreign trade with Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Mexico: “[the period b]etween 2011 and 2013 (saw) the strongest increases in exports (of Ireland) to Latin America were in medical devices such as stents and pacemakers (29%), digital media (177%), aircraft engines and parts (172%), computers, computer parts, and storage devices (22%)”.⁶⁴

⁶¹ The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985.

⁶² Elena G. Popkova et al., “Fundamental Differences of Transition to Industry 4.0: From Previous Industrial Revolutions”, *Industry 4.0: Industrial Revolution of the 21st Century* (eds. Elena G. Popkova, Yulia V. Ragulina & Aleksei V. Bogoviz), Springer, New York, 2019, 26.

⁶³ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), “The Digital Divide in Terms of Internet Connectivity and Use is Compounded by a Data – Related Divide”, *Digital Economy Report 2021: Cross-border data flows and development: For whom the data flow*, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Geneva, 2021, 13.

⁶⁴ Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], *Global Ireland: Ireland’s Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean to 2025*, op. cit., 2; The Irish Exporters Association – IEA, “Ireland and Latin America: Looking to the Future – Strategy Recommendations and Proposals for Trade Growth”, Latin America Trade Forum (LATF): Policy Publication, 2015, 12.

Indisputably, enormous enthusiasm to finally unite Europe, which has been divided for centuries, can be observed in the participation of the Republic of Ireland and the UK in redefining the European Communities to grow into the EC. The first step was the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986 and, four years later, the renaming of one of the European Communities – the European Economic Community – to the European Community. This did not end here: the Republic of Ireland and the UK, together with ten other member states of the EC, signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, based on which the EC became the EU. In this Agreement, the UK refused to be bound by the provisions of the social chapter dealing with workers' rights. Also, the UK and the Republic of Ireland refused to be bound by the Schengen Agreement, later incorporated into the Treaty of Amsterdam.⁶⁵

Even though the Schengen Agreement did not bind the Republic of Ireland and the UK, both countries made a big step forward in resolving the long-term dispute over the status of Northern Ireland when they signed the Good Friday Agreement in Belfast in 1998. This gradually led to building greater and more profound trust between the Republic of Ireland and the UK. The importance of the Good Friday Agreement is that it stipulates that “[...] Northern Ireland in its entirety remains part of the United Kingdom and shall not cease to be so without the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland [...]”.⁶⁶

Unlike the integration processes in Europe, which are considered supranational, Latin American countries' integration processes were more advanced due to a far-reaching vision of creating a supranational entity. Connecting small Central American states, on the one hand, and the Caribbean, on the other, as well as the Andean region making up the northern part of South America, is an example of how far the integration processes in this part of the world have gone. The Central American states took the first steps towards integration processes in 1951, when they signed the Charter of the Organisation of Central American States – the Charter of San Salvador.⁶⁷

Although during the Cold War, the Andean countries were the next to begin integration processes in compliance with the Cartagena

⁶⁵ Phil Harris, *An Introduction to Law*, 7th ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, 217.

⁶⁶ The Agreement – Agreement reached in the multi-party negotiations (Good Friday Agreement or Belfast Agreement). 1998. The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland. Done at Belfast on the 10th day of April 1998, Annex A, para. 1.

⁶⁷ Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana – SICA, *Carta de la Organización de Estados Centroamericanos (Carta de San Salvador)*, Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana – SICA2002, 14.

Agreement (Acuerdo de Cartagena) of 1969, the effort to establish and consolidate democracy in this part of South America in the post-Cold War period was only partially successful. Even the Caribbean countries failed to consolidate their democracy fully. They signed the Treaty of Chaguaramas (Tratado de Chaguaramas) in 1973, which was revised in 2000. In any case, the common denominator for integration processes in these parts of Latin America is characterised by the efforts of member states to sustain the level of their relationships in favour of being supranational.

The only countries that managed to consolidate democracy in the post-Cold War period were Canada, the United States (US), and Mexico. They confirmed the importance and validity of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1992, which came into force in 1994 and was replaced in 2020 by the new Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA)⁶⁸, as well as the Southern Hemisphere countries (the Southern Cone), Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which signed the Common Market of the South (Mercado Común del Sur – MERCOSUR). In the context of integration processes, CUSMA and MERCOSUR developed and operated in diametrically opposite directions: instead of being supranational actors in international relations, they showed their inability to overcome the status of being inter-governmental actors in international relations.

Conclusion

Today, with the UK no longer a member of the EU as a result of the referendum, the question arises: What does the Good Friday Agreement mean in the redefined relations between the Republic of Ireland and the UK? Finally, one raises a far more important question: Can the Republic of Ireland be capable of nurturing established relationships with Latin American countries in the name of the EU's cooperation with them? Research shows that shortly after the UK-EU membership referendum, the status of Northern Ireland was once again called into question. How delicate this issue was can be seen from the fact that it seemed that the UK's exit from the EU "[...] has direct implications for the effective implementation of the Good Friday Agreement [...]".⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The abbreviation "CUSMA", which is used in Canada, is more acceptable than the abbreviation "USMCA", which is used in the US in its official documents, because it is easier to pronounce, read, and write, and, above all, more appropriate for publishing official documents and scientific papers (the author's note).

⁶⁹ David Phinnemore, Katy Hayward, Lisa Whitten, *UK Withdrawal ('Brexit') and the Good Friday Agreement*, Directorate General for Internal Policies, Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Brussels, 2017, 12.

The success of the EU, especially the Republic of Ireland, and the UK in finding a compromise regarding the status of Northern Ireland after the UK's withdrawal from the EU was confirmed by the adoption of the Northern Ireland Protocol. A cautious settlement of Northern Ireland's status, on the other hand, raises the question of whether the Republic of Ireland and the EU, on the one hand, and the UK, on the other, can maintain the compromise regarding the future fate of a smaller part of the island of Ireland in the long term. Northern Ireland's status remains an open question until further notice, as indicated by the "[...] potential spillover effects of the institutional instability within the UK"⁷⁰

The need for the Republic of Ireland, as an EU member state, to actively promote Western Christian values in Latin American countries is in line with the policy of further EU cooperation with this part of the New World. This is demonstrated, for example, by the EU-Mexico cooperation, which is characterised by "[the] close relationship based on common interests and values of democracy and human rights [...]" (European Sources Online – ESO 2016, 4-5). Furthermore, in addition to recognisable common interests based on democratic and human rights values and the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the EU implements a digital strategy towards Latin American countries in order to achieve "[...] a digital transformation that "works for people" and fosters sustainable growth (of these countries)".⁷¹

The Republic of Ireland, the UK, and Latin American countries' rankings by the Fragile States Index for 2022 show that among these countries, the Republic of Ireland is ranked low and is in 171st place among sustainable countries. Of the Latin American countries, Uruguay is the only one in the group of very stable countries. According to the Index, Panama, Barbados, Chile, Costa Rica, and the UK are ranked 139th, 141st, 144th, 149th, and 150th in the group of more stable countries.⁷²

The redefinition of the UK by the inclusion of Ireland coincides not only with the events in France and the discussions on the separation of the executive from the legislative power and the creation of a confederation of European states, as suggested by Kant in the context of establishing lasting peace, but also with the beginning of the Latin American states' fight for independence.⁷³ Today, European states, along with Latin

⁷⁰ European Movement Ireland (EMI). *Re-examining the Protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland in turbulent times*. Dublin. European Movement Ireland, 2022, 3.

⁷¹ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) et al. *Latin American Economic Outlook 2020: Digital Transformation for Building Back Better*. Paris. OECD Publishing, 2020, 238, <https://doi.org/10.1787/e6e864fb-en>.

⁷² The Fund for Peace (FFP), *Fragile States Index*. Washington, D.C., 2022, 6.

⁷³ James Stafford, "The Alternative to Perpetual Peace: Britain, Ireland and the case for Union in Friedrich Gentz's *Historisches Journal*, 1799-1800", *Modern Intellectual History*, Vol. 13, Nr. 1/2016, 63-91.

American states, have competitive electoral policies in place, which generally makes them mature political systems capable of maintaining regional peace. It is also the most important characteristic of the relations between these states.⁷⁴

References

- Allen Grant, *Anglo Saxon Britain*, E.&J.B. Young & Co., New York, 1901.
- An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha [The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)]. Ireland in the EU's History, available at: <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/irelandintheeu/ireland-in-the-eu-history.pdf>, 10. 8. 2022.
- Bartlet Robert, *England Under The Norman And Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000.
- Boyce David G., *The Irish Question and British Politics, 1868-1996*, 2nd ed., Macmillan Publishers Ltd., London, 1996.
- Brading David A., "Bourbon Spain and its American Empire", *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (ed. Leslie Bethell), Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1985.
- Buckland Patrick, "Irish Unionism and the New Ireland", *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (ed. G. Boyce), Palgrave Macmillan Education, London, 1988.
- Céitinn Seathrún [Keating Geoffrey], *Foras Feasa ar Éireann [The History of Ireland]*, Ex-classics Project, 2009, available at: <http://www.exclassics.com>, 5. 8. 2022.
- Chakrabarty Dipesh, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History", *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (eds. Sherry B. Ortner, Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley), Princeton University Press, Princeton – New Jersey, 2008.
- Connolly Sean J., *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2008.
- Connolly Sean J., *Contested Island: Ireland 1460-1630*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007.
- Cormac Rory, "Operation Storm and Beyond: From Latin America to Oman", *Disrupt and Deny: Spies, Special Forces, and the Secret Pursuit of British Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018.

⁷⁴ Geoffrey Hawthorn, "Liberalism since the Cold War: an enemy to itself?", *Review of International Studies*, Nr. 5/1999, 146.

- Darwin John, "Victorian origins: Towards 'The Sceptre of the World'", *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009.
- De Soto Hernando, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*, Basic Books, New York, 2000.
- Edmundo Murray, "The Irish Experience in the Region", *Ireland and Latin America: a cultural history*, University of Zurich, Zurich, 2010.
- Edmundo Murray, "Literature, Irish-Argentine", *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History – A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia* (eds. James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, Jason King), Vol. I. ABC-CLIO, Inc., Santa Barbara – Denver – Oxford, 2008.
- Elliott John H., *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830*, University of Westminster Press, London, 2017.
- Froissart John, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*. Vol. II. Reprint, J.M'Creery, Black Horse Court, London, [1523] 1812.
- Guimera Agustin, "Naval Leadership and the 'Art of War': John Jervis and José de Mazarredo Compared (1797–9)", *Naval Leadership in the Atlantic World: The Age of Reform and Revolution, 1700–1850* (eds. Richard Harding, Agustín Guimerá), University of Westminster Press, London, 2017.
- Harris Phil, *An Introduction to Law*, 7th ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007.
- Phinnemore David, Hayward Katy, Whitten Lisa, *UK Withdrawal ('Brexit') and the Good Friday Agreement*, Directorate General for Internal Policies, Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Brussels, 2017.
- Elliot George Francis Scott, *Chile: Its History and Development National Features, Products, Commerce and Present Conditions*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1913.
- Harvie Christopher, "Revolution and the Rule of Law: Reflections on the Revolutions", *The Oxford History of Britain* (ed. Kenneth O. Morgan), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010.
- Hawthorn Geoffrey, "Liberalism since the Cold War: an enemy to itself?", *Review of International Studies*, Nr. 5/1999.
- Holton Robert J., "Is the Nation State Finished?", *Globalization and the Nation-State*, 2nd ed., Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2011.
- Hoppit Julian, *A Land Of Liberty?: England 1689–1727*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.
- Hornsby Stephen J., "Geographies of the British Atlantic world", *Britain's Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, c.1550–1850* (eds. H.

- V. Bowen, Elizabeth Mancke, John G. Reid), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012.
- Howe Stephen, "Questioning the (bad) question: 'Was Ireland a colony?'" , *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 36, Nr. 142/2008.
- Hughes Matthew, "Logistics and the Chaco War: Bolivia versus Paraguay, 1932-1935" . *The Journal of Military History*, Nr. 2/2005.
- Innes Joanna, "Legislating for three kingdoms: how the Westminster parliament legislated for England, Scotland and Ireland, 1707-1830", *Parliaments, nations and identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850* (ed. Julian Hoppit), Manchester University Press, Manchester – New York, 2003.
- Kant Immanuel, *Kant's Principles of Politics, Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace. A Contribution to Political Science*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, [1795] 1891.
- Maccines Allan I., "Jacobitism and the War of the British Succession". *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007.
- Marshall Peter J., "Britain Without America - A Second Empire?", *The Eighteenth Century. The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. II* (ed. P.J. Marshall), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.
- Merry Stanton Frank, *William the Conqueror and the Rule of the Normans*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York – London, 1908.
- Morgan Hiram, "An Unwelcome Heritage: Ireland's Role in British Empire-Building", *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 19, Nr. 4-6/1994.
- Ohlmeyer Jane H., "Civilizing of those rude parties: Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s", *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (ed. Nicholas Canny), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.
- Pease Neal, "The Conduct of Political Relations, 1927-1932", *Poland, the United States, and the Stabilization of Europe, 1919-1933*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986.
- Pelling Nick, "The Making of a Divided Ireland, 1914-22", *Anglo-Irish Relations 1798-1922*. Routledge, London – New York, 2003.
- Philips Allison, *The Revolution in Ireland 1906-1923*, Green and Co., Longmans, 1923.
- Pion-Berlin David, "Will Soldiers Follow? Economic Integration and Regional Security in the Southern Cone". *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Nr. 1/2000.
- Popkova Elena G. et al., "Fundamental Differences of Transition to Industry 4.0: From Previous Industrial Revolutions", *Industry 4.0:*

- Industrial Revolution of the 21st Century* (eds. Elena G. Popkova, Yulia V. Ragulina, Aleksei V. Bogoviz), Springer, New York, 2019.
- Prestwich Michael, *Plantagenet England 1225–1360*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2005.
- Rahman Aziz, Anne Clarke, and Sean Byrne, “The Art of Breaking People Down: The British Colonial Model in Ireland and Canada”, *The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol. 49, Nr. 2/2017.
- Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], *Global Ireland: Ireland’s Strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean to 2025*, Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], 2022.
- Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], *Centenary of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921:2021 Programme*, Rialtas na hÉireann [Government of Ireland], 2021.
- Robinson William I., “Global Capitalism, Social Science, and Methods of Critique: Response to Cammack’s ‘Forget the Transnational State’”, *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, Nr. 1/2009.
- Shaw Malcolm N., *International Law*, 6th ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.
- Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana – SICA, *Carta de la Organización de Estados Centroamericanos (Carta de San Salvador)*, Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana – SICA 2002
- Smith Goldwin, *The United Kingdom: A political History*. Vol. II, MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1899.
- Soutou Georges-Henri, “The linkage between European integration and détente: The contrasting approaches of de Gaulle and Pompidou, 1965 to 1974”, *European Integration and the Cold War Ostpolitik-Westpolitik 1965-1973* (ed. N. Piers Ludlow), Routledge, 2007.
- Spencer Nick, *The Evolution of the West: How Christianity Has Shaped Our Values*, SPCK Publishing, London, 2016.
- Stafford James, “The Alternative to Perpetual Peace: Britain, Ireland and the case for Union in Friedrich Gentz’s *Historisches Journal*, 1799-1800”, *Modern Intellectual History*, Vol. 13, Nr. 1/2016.
- The Irish Exporters Association – IEA, “Ireland and Latin America: Looking to the Future – Strategy Recommendations and Proposals for Trade Growth”, Latin America Trade Forum (LATF): Policy Publication, 2015.
- Torrance David, *The Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921*, UK Parliament – House of Commons Library, London, 2021.
- Walberg Eric, *Postmodern Imperialism: Geopolitics and the Great Games*, Clarity Press, Atlanta, 2011.

White Henry, *History of Great Britain and Ireland; with an Account of the Present State and Resources of the United Kingdom and Its Colonies*, Simpkin Marshall, and Co, London, 1871.

Иван ДУЈИЋ

БРИТАНСКА ОСТРВА И ДРЖАВЕ ЛАТИНСКЕ АМЕРИКЕ

САЖЕТАК

Рад се бави односима између кључних држава које географски припадају Британским острвима, и држава Латинске Америке. Коришћењем компаративног и историографског метода, рад тежи да понуди одговор на истраживачко питање: Да ли Република Ирска, због више историјских сличности са латинскоамеричким државама него што их са њима имају остале државе Британских острва, има боље економско-политичке односе са Латинском Америком? Рад се заснива на хипотези да Република Ирска настоји да кроз сарадњу с државама Латинске Америке (упркос одређеним разликама у односу на остале државе Британских острва) ипак врши идентичан утицај у погледу афирмације западнохришћанских вредности у државама Латинске Америке. Коначно, то је у складу са политиком дубље сарадње ЕУ са Латинском Америком. Након Увода као првог дела, главни део овога рада подељен је на четири (под)одељка у складу с историјским догађајима у Ирској, Уједињеном Краљевству, као и њиховом утицају на државе Латинске Америке, посебно током периода Хладног рата и постхладноратовског периода. После дугог процеса територијализације и током Четврте индустријске револуције, Република Ирска (која географски припада Британским острвима, али је остала део ЕУ и након иступања Велике Британије) је постала држава, формално и суштински, способна да одржава економско-политичке и културне односе с државама Латинске Америке. То је поента наглашена у закључку рада.

Кључне речи: Британска острва, (Република) Ирска, Уједињено Краљевство, Латинска Америка, Први светски рат, Други светски рат, постхладноратовски период, сарадња, западнохришћанске вредности.