

NOTES

Acknowledgments and Preface and Acronyms

1. James Rosenau (ed.), *Linkage Politics. Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems*, New York, Free Press, 1969.
2. Olivier Dabène, *L'Amérique Latine au XX^e Siècle*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1994 (in Spanish: *América Latina en el Siglo XX*, Madrid, Síntesis, 2000) and *La Région Amérique Latine. Interdépendance et Changement Politique*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 1997 (in Spanish: *La Región América Latina. Interdependencia y Cambio Político*, Buenos Aires, Corregidor, 2001).
3. Peter Smith, "The Politics of Integration: Concepts and Schemes," in Peter Smith (ed.), *The Challenge of Integration. Europe and the Americas*, London, Transaction, 1993, p. 2.
4. <http://www.opalc.org/> (accessed on April 10, 2009).
5. In the whole book, the acronyms are used in their original language as they appear in this list.

One Historical and Theoretical Guideline

1. Gary Wynia, "Review: Central American Integration: The Paradox of Success," *International Organization* 24(2), Spring 1970, p. 319.
2. Wynia, "Review: Central American Integration," p. 325.
3. Leon Linberg and Stuart Scheingold (ed.), *Regional Integration: Theory and Research*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University press, 1971, p. ix.
4. Andrew Axline, "Latin American Regional Integration: Alternative Perspectives on a Changing Reality," *Latin American Research Review* 16(1), 1981, p. 176.
5. Fritz Scharpf's diagnosis of the European integration's paradox ("frustration without disintegration and resilience without progress") could apply to Latin America, except for two differences: there is indifference rather than frustration and many more crises. See Fritz Scharpf, "The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration," *Public Administration* 66, Autumn 1988, p. 239.
6. Andrzej Korbonski, "Theory and Practice of Regional Integration: The Case of Comecon," in *Regional Integration: Theory and Research*, Leon Lindberg and Stuart Scheingold (ed.), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 342.
7. Ernst Haas, "The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing," *International Organization* 24(4), Autumn 1970, p. 610.

8. Walter Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 41.
9. Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," *Daedalus* 95(3), Summer 1966, pp. 862–915. "Reflections on the Nation-State in Western Europe Today," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21(1/2), September/December 1982, pp. 21–38.
10. Raymond Aron, *Paix et Guerre entre les Nations*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1962, p. 733.
11. Ernst Haas, "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process," *International Organization* 15(3), Summer 1961, pp. 366–367.
12. Karl Deutsch, Sidney A. Burrell, and Robert A. Kann, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 5.
13. Donald Puchala, "The Pattern of Contemporary Regional Integration," *International Studies Quarterly* 12(1), March 1968, p. 39.
14. Donald Puchala, "Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 10(3), March 1972, p. 267.
15. Puchala, "Of Blind Men," p. 277.
16. Bruce Russett, "Transactions, Community, and International Political Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 9(3), March 1971, p. 228.
17. Leon Lindberg, "Political Integration as a Multidimensional Phenomenon Requiring Multivariate Measurement," in *Regional Integration: Theory and Research*, edited by Leon Lindberg and Stuart Scheingold, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 46.
18. Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective," in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics. Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 39–45.
19. Frederik Söderbaum, "Introduction: Theories of New Regionalism," in Frederik Söderbaum and Timothy Shaw (eds.), *Theories of New Regionalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 1–2.
20. Jean Grugel and Wil Hout, "Regions, Regionalism and the South," in Jean Grugel and Wil Hout (eds.), *Regionalism across the North-South Divide. State Strategies and Globalization*, London, Routledge, 1999, p. 4.
21. Björn Hettne, "The New Regionalism Revisited," in Frederik Söderbaum and Timothy Shaw (eds.), *Theories of New Regionalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 29.
22. Francesco Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade. The European Union, NAFTA, and MERCOSUR*, Princeton University Press, 2006.
23. Benedicte Bull and Morten Boås, "Multilateral Development Banks as Regionalising Actors: the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank," *New Political Economy* 8(2), July 2003, p. 245.
24. Bull and Boås, "Multilateral Development Banks," p. 258.
25. Joseph Nye (ed.), *International Regionalism. Readings*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1968, p. vii.
26. Olivier Dabène, *La Région Amérique Latine. Interdépendance et Changement Politique*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 1997.
27. Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "La Estructura Uniforme de Iberoamérica como Región," in Manuel Lucena Salmoral, Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína, Demetrio Ramos Pérez, Antonio Gutiérrez Escudero, Lucio Mijares, Angel Sanz Tapia and alii (eds.), *Historia de Iberoamérica. Tomo II. Historia Moderna*, Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 1990, pp. 323–420.
28. Free translation. Simon Bolivar, Letter to Jamaica, 1815, No imprint.
29. Josef Kunz, "The Idea of 'Collective Security' in Pan-American Developments," *The Western Political Quarterly* 6(4), December 1953, p. 673.
30. Olivier Dabène, *L'Amérique Latine à l'Epoque Contemporaine*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2006, p. 27.
31. Mary Ann Glendon, "The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16, Spring 2003, pp. 27–39.

32. See among others: Vasant Kumar Bawa, *Latin American Integration*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press, 1980; Hernán Santa Cruz, "La Creación de las Naciones Unidas y de la CEPAL," *Revista de la CEPAL* 57, December 1995, pp. 17–32; Albert Hirschman, "Ideologies of Economic Development," in *Latin American Issues*, New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1961.
33. Raúl Prebisch, "El Desarrollo Económico de la América Latina y Algunos de sus Principales Problemas," *Estudio Económico de la América Latina 1948*, 1949; Hans Singer, "The Distribution of Gains between Investing and Borrowing Countries," *American Economic Review* 40(2), May 1950.
34. CEPAL, *Estudio Económico de América Latina 1949*, 1950.
35. See, for instance, CEPAL "Significación del Mercado Común en el Desarrollo Económico de América Latina," in *El Mercado Común Latinoamericano*, 1959.
36. Harold Molineu, *U.S. Policy toward Latin America. From Regionalism to Globalism*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1986, pp. 73–74.
37. Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay. Colombia and Ecuador joined later in 1960, and Venezuela and Bolivia in 1966 and 1967.
38. CARIFTA itself replaced the West Indian Federation, a group of ten islands united under British rule between 1958 and 1962.
39. Patsy Lewis, *Surviving Small Size. Regional Integration in Caribbean Ministates*, Kingston, University of West Indies Press, 2002.
40. Gert Rosenthal, "Un Informe Crítico a 30 años de Integración en América Latina," *Nueva Sociedad* 113, May–June 1991, pp. 60–65.
41. CEPAL, *Exposición del Secretario Ejecutivo de la CEPAL en el Decimotercer Período de Sesiones*, April 21, 1969.
42. Gabriel Valdes, "Review: The Americas in a Changing World as a Response to the Consensus of Viña de Mar," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 17(2), May 1975, p. 210.
43. Rosenthal, "Un Informe Crítico a 30 años," p. 64.
44. *Panama Convention Establishing the Latin American Economic System (SELA)*, October 17, 1975.
45. See Miguel Wionczek and Ramón Mayorga Quirós, *Intentos de Integración en el Marco de la Crisis Latinoamericana*, México, El Colegio de México, 1981.
46. Olivier Dabène, "La Dimensión Política de los Procesos de Integración Latinoamericana," in Georges Couffignal and Germán de la Reza (eds.), *Los Procesos de Integración en América Latina. Enfoques y Perspectivas*, Stockholm, ILAS, 1996.
47. CEPAL, *Open Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Economic Integration as a Contribution to Changing Productions Pattern with Social Equity*, September 1994.
48. Table 1.4 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
49. CEPAL (<http://www.eclac.cl/comercio/IS/default.asp>, accessed on July 27, 2008). See figure 2.1.
50. Table 1.5 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
51. In a 1967 piece, Joseph Nye described it as follows: "Whether caused by the 'instant friendship' of ill-prepared summit meetings, the search for panaceas, or the deliberate effort to divert attention from internal problems, the most prevalent form of regionalism in less developed areas is an ephemeral expression of the supra-state sense of community without any significant restructuring of interests. This might be called 'token integration' at the international level." (Joseph Nye, "Central American Regional Integration," p. 377 in Joseph Nye [ed.], *International Regionalism*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1968, pp. 377–429).
52. Of particular interest: Finn Laursen (ed.), *Comparative Regional Integration. Theoretical Perspectives*, Aldershot, UK, Ashgate, 2003; Frederik Söderbaum and Timothy Shaw (eds.), *Theories of New Regionalism. A Palgrave Reader*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

53. Puchala, "Of Blind Men," p. 277.
54. Dimitris Chrysochoou, "New Challenges to the Study of European Integration: Implications for Theory-Building," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 35(4), December 1997, p. 17.
55. Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter, "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration: Projections about Unity in Latin America," *International Organization* 18(4), Autumn 1964, p. 737.
56. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, p. 44.
57. Mattli, *The Logic of Regional Integration*.
58. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Chapter 4, "Creole Pioneers"), London, Verso, 2006, pp. 47–65.
59. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6.
60. Luis Tejada Ripalda, "El Americanismo. Consideraciones sobre el Nacionalismo Latinoamericano," *Investigaciones Sociales* 8(12), p. 171.
61. José Caballero, *Problematising Regional Integration in Latin America: Regional Identity and the Enmeshed State. The Case of Central America*, UNU-CRIS Working Papers, W-2007/02, p. 14.
62. Luis Tejada Ripalda, "El Americanismo. Consideraciones sobre el Nacionalismo Latinoamericano," p. 181.
63. Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time. History, Institutions and Social Analysis*, Princeton University Press, 2004.
64. Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration. A Historical Institutionalist Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2), April 1996, p. 126.
65. Joseph Nye, "Patterns and Catalysts in Regional Integration," *International Organization* 19(4), Autumn 1965, p. 882.
66. Nye, "Patterns and Catalysts," p. 883.
67. Pierson, *Politics in Time*, p. 45.
68. See, for instance, Deutsch noticing that in Europe "men will have to work toward the building of a larger security-community without the benefit of any clear-cut automatic trend toward internationalism to help them" in *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, p. 24.
69. James Rosenau (ed.), *Linkage Politics. Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems*, New York, Free Press, 1969. Of particular interest is what Rosenau calls "fused linkages," a situation where "certain outputs and inputs continuously reinforce each other and are thus best viewed as forming a reciprocal relationship" (p. 49).
70. Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, and Robert Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993.
71. Robert Keohane and Helen Milner (eds.), *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
72. Andrew Moravcsik, "Theorizing European Integration," *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell university press, 1998 (Chapter 1).
73. Just one example: on September 18, 2007, Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte declared that "Failing to pass the FTAs with Peru, Panama and especially Colombia would be a win for Hugo Chávez and a defeat for the forces of democracy in the hemisphere" (<http://www.state.gov/s/d/2007/92433.htm>, accessed on April 30, 2008).
74. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*.
75. Jean Coussy, "International Political Economy," in Marie-Claude Smouts (ed.), *The New International Relations. Theory and Practice*, London, Hurst, 2001, pp. 140–154.
76. Puchala, "Pattern of Contemporary Regional Integration," p. 41.
77. That is prior to the 1965 crisis leading to the compromise of Luxembourg (January 30, 1966).

78. Haas and Schmitter, "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration," p. 707.
79. Nye, "Patterns and Catalysts," p. 872.
80. Nye, "Patterns and Catalysts," p. 881.
81. Haas and Philippe, "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration," p. 707.
82. Stanley Hoffmann, "Reflections on the Nation-State in Western Europe Today," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 21(1/2), 1982, p. 29.
83. Hoffmann, "Reflections on the Nation-State," p. 29.
84. Haas and Schmitter, "Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration," p. 737.
85. I will "try," because the exercise is plagued with obstacles. See Craig Parsons, "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union," *International Organization* 56(1), Winter 2002.
86. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*.
87. Pierson, *Politics in Time*.
88. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*, p. 185.
89. Philippe Schmitter, "Central American Integration: Spill-over, Spill-around or Encapsulation?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 9(1), September 1970, pp. 1–48.
90. Joseph Weiler, Ulrich Haltern, and Franz Mayer, "European Democracy and its Critique," *West European Politics* 18(3), 1995, pp. 4–39. Also available at: <http://www.jeanmonnet-program.org/papers/95/9501ind.html> (accessed on October 10, 2008).
91. Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham, UK, Chatham House, 1987, p. 234.
92. Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1998.
93. Andrew Axline, "Latin American Integration: Alternative Perspectives on a Changing Reality," *Latin American Research Review* 16(1), 1981, p. 168.
94. An allusion is made here to John Austin's classical *How to Do Things with Words*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962.
95. Deutsch et al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area*, pp. 31–33.
96. <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2007&m=July&x=200707241205091xeneerg0.4201471> (accessed on April 30, 2008).
97. Andrew Axline, "Regional Co-operation and National Security: External Forces in Caribbean Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 27(1), September 1988, p. 1.
98. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*.
99. Caballero, "Problematising Regional Integration in Latin America."
100. Some further discussions are available on the Web site of Sciences Po's Political Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean: http://www.opalc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=section&id=9&Itemid=31

Two Resolving Regional Crises

1. Karl Deutsch, Sidney A. Burrell, and Robert A. Kann, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organizations in the Light of Historical Experiences*, Princeton University Press, 1957.
2. "The emergence of the Russian and American superpowers created a situation that permitted wider ranging and more effective cooperation among the states of Western Europe. They became consumers of security." See Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Boston, McGraw-Hill, 1979, p. 70.
3. Ernst Haas, "International Integration: The European and the Universal Process," *International Organization* 15(3), Summer 1961.

4. Ernest Haas and Philippe Schmitter, "Economic and Differential Patterns of Political Integration: Projections about Political Unity in Latin America," *International Organization* 18(4), Autumn 1964.
5. Karl Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, 1968.
6. Ernst Haas, "The Uniting of Europe and the Uniting of Latin America," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 5(4), June 1967.
7. Or even the not so naïve ones: Ernst Haas admits in his 1967 article that "something is missing in the exploration of the integrative process presented in *The Uniting of Europe*. The phenomenon of a de Gaulle is omitted. De Gaulle has proved us wrong." "Uniting of Europe and Uniting of Latin America," p. 327.
8. Philippe Schmitter, "Three Neo-functional Hypotheses about International Integration," *International Organization* 23(1), Winter 1969, p. 164.
9. Philippe Schmitter, "A Revised Theory of Regional Integration," *International Organization* 24(4), Autumn 1970.
10. Engrenage being "the impossibility of maintaining prolonged separability of different issue areas." See Schmitter, "Revised Theory of Regional Integration," p. 840.
11. Philippe Schmitter, "Central American Integration: Spill-over, Spill-around or Encapsulation?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 9(1), 1970.
12. Dorette Corbey, "Dialectical Functionalism: Stagnation as a Booster of European Integration," *International Organization* 49(2), Spring 1995.
13. Corbey, "Dialectical Functionalism," p. 263.
14. Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics* 42(1), October 1989, p. 97.
15. Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization* 45(1), Winter 1991.
16. The Federal Republic of Central America lasted from 1824 to 1838. Thomas Karnes mentioned eight tentative reconstructions between 1842 and 1863 (Thomas Karnes, *The Failure of Union. Central America, 1824–1960*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961). Among the subsequent principal attempts to resuscitate it, it is worth mentioning: the Central American Union (1885), the Major Republic of Central America (1897), the United States of Central America (1889), and the Federal Union of Central America (1921). See Felix Fernández-Shaw, *La Integración de Centroamérica*, Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1965; and Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Central America. A Nation Divided*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1976.
17. Karnes, *The Failure of Union*, p. 174.
18. Karnes, *The Failure of Union*, p. 228.
19. Woodward, *Central America. A Divided Nation*, p. 229.
20. ODECA, *Documentos de la Unión Centroamericana*, 1956.
21. Table 2.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
22. Author translation. The original version is available at: <http://www.sica.int/busqueda/centro%20de%20documentación.aspx?IdItem=992&IdCat=28&IdEnt=401> (accessed on October 4, 2008).
23. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 are available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
24. Joseph Nye, "Central American Regional Integration," p. 390 in Joseph Nye (ed.), *International Regionalism*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1968, pp. 377–429.
25. Haas, "International Integration," p. 367.
26. Alain Rouquié, "Honduras – El Salvador. La Guerre de Cent Heures: un Cas de 'Désintégration' Régionale," *Revue Française de Science Politique* 21(6), December 1971.
27. Figure 2.3 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.

28. As Isaac Cohen Orantes refers to the years 1951–1959 in *Regional Integration in Central America*, Lexington Books, 1972, pp. 21–24.
29. In a constructivist vein, I analyzed the Central American crisis in: “Invention et Rémanence d’une Crise: Leçons d’Amérique Centrale », *Revue Française de Science Politique* 42(2), August 1992, pp. 555–581.
30. There are a number of good studies of that period. See, for instance, Nora Hamilton, Jeffrey Frieden, Linda Fuller, and Manuel Pastor, Jr. (eds.), *Crisis in Central America. Regional Dynamics and U.S. Policy in the 1980s*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1988; John Booth and Thomas Walker, *Understanding Central America*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1989.
31. See Victor Flores Olea, *Relación de Contadora*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988.
32. See John Booth and Mitchell Seligson (eds.), *Elections and Democracy in Central America*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
33. Figure 2.4 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
34. Figure 2.5 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
35. FEDEPRICAP: Federation of private entities of Central America and Panama. I will comment on civil society contribution to the reactivation of integration in chapter seven.
36. Lucile Medina Nicolas, “Central American Borders at the Core of the Regional Integration Process,” *Geopolitics* 12, 2007, pp. 78–108.
37. The depoliticization is also a consequence of the *técnicos*’ influence in the region, as noted by different analysts (Schmitter, Wynia).

Three Building a Collective Defense of Democracy

1. With few exceptions such as: Jeffrey Anderson (ed.), *Regional Integration and Democracy. Expanding on the European Experience*, Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999; Armando Toledano Laredo, *Intégration et Démocratie*, Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1982. Strangely, even the volume edited by Laurence Whitehead, *The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas*, Oxford University Press, 1996, does not include a chapter on regional integration.
2. Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter, “Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration: Projections about Unity in Latin America,” *International Organization* 18(4), Autumn 1964, p. 737.
3. Haas and Schmitter, “Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration,” p. 720.
4. Haas and Schmitter, “Economics and Differential Patterns of Political Integration,” p. 712.
5. Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, Robert Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993.
6. Helen Milner and Robert Keohane, “Internationalization and Domestic Politics: An Introduction,” in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner (ed.), *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 5.
7. See Wayne Cornelius, Todd Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley (eds.), *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*, San Diego, University of California Press, 1999, and Manuel Antonio Garretón, *La Posibilidad Democrática en Chile*, Santiago de Chile, FLACSO, 1989.
8. Philippe Schmitter, “A Revised Theory of Regional Integration,” *International Organization* 24(4), Autumn 1970, pp. 836–868.
9. Andrew Green, *Political Integration by Jurisprudence. The Work of the Court of Justice of the European Communities in European Political Integration*, Leyden, Sijthoff, 1969.
10. See Charles Powell, “International Aspects of Democratization: The Case of Spain,” in Whitehead, *The International Dimensions of Democratization*, pp. 285–314; Toledano Laredo, *Intégration et Démocratie*.

11. All the documents cited are online on the European Navigator (<http://www.ena.lu>, accessed on April 30, 2008).
12. Powell, "International Aspects of Democratization," p. 298.
13. Philippe Schmitter, "The Influence of International Context upon the Choice of National Institutions and Policies in Neo-Democracies," p. 44 in Whitehead, *The International Dimensions of Democratization*.
14. Table 3.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
15. <http://www.parlatino.org/conteudo.php?id=21&lg=en> (accessed on April 30, 2008).
16. Author's translation of: *Convencidos de que la participación de los pueblos es necesaria para asegurar la consolidación y proyección futura del proceso global de integración de los países de la Subregión Andina; Conscientes de que es indispensable crea un medio de acción común para afirmar los principios, valores y objetivos que se identifican con el ejercicio efectivo de la democracia.*
17. *Art.2—El Parlamento Andino estará constituido por representantes de los pueblos de cada una de las Partes contratantes elegidos por sufragio universal y directo, según procedimiento que los Estados miembros adoptarán mediante Protocolo adicional que incluirá los adecuados criterios de representación nacional que acuerden las Partes.*
Art.3—Hasta que el Protocolo adicional a que se refiere el Artículo anterior entre en vigencia, el Parlamento andino estará constituido por cinco representantes elegidos por los respectivos órganos legislativos de las Partes contratantes de entre sus integrantes, según el procedimiento que cada uno de aquellos adopte para el efecto.
18. No one could at that moment anticipate the extreme violent period that followed. On May 17, 1980, the eve of the presidential elections, the guerrilla movement Shining Path launched its operations.
19. Tentative translation of "Procurar un ordenamiento político subregional generado en democracia de extracción popular y definido character participativo" and "el respeto de los derechos humanos, políticos, económicos y sociales constituye norma fundamental de la conducta interna de los Estados del Grupo Andino." Spanish version available online at: http://untreaty.un.org/unts/60001_120000/13/40/00025988.pdf (accessed on April 29, 2008).
20. <http://www.parlatino.org/conteudo.php?id=34&lg=en> (accessed on April 29, 2008).
21. See, for instance, Riordan Roett (ed.), *Mercosur. Regional Integration, World Markets*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner, 1999.
22. In October 1977, the Moncloa Pact was a government sponsored agreement between the recently legalized unions and business associations in order to prevent a raise of expectations in the realm of salaries and other social claims against the backdrop of economic crisis. The agreement was also signed by political parties and approved by a vote in the parliament.
23. Cited by Dominique Fournier in "The Alfonsín Administration and the Promotion of Democratic Values in the Southern Cone and the Andes," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31(1), February 1999, p. 44.
24. Diego Achard, Manuel Flores Silva, and Luis Eduardo González, *Las Élités Argentinas y Brasileñas Frente al MERCOSUR*, BID-INTAL, 1994, p. 141.
25. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of Argentina Jorge Sabato, interviewed in October 1993 by Dominique Fournier. See Fournier, "The Alfonsín Administration," p. 49.
26. *Declaración conjunta Argentina-Uruguay*, Montevideo, May 26, 1987. L'acte de Montevideo approfondit la coopération entre ces deux pays, parallèlement aux efforts de rapprochement avec le Brésil.
27. Arturo Valenzuela, "Paraguay: A Coup that Didn't Happen," *Journal of Democracy*, 8(1), January 1997, pp. 43–55. Tommy Strömberg, *Did Regional Integration Save Democracy in Paraguay? An Analysis of Changing Levels of Governance*, MFS-reports 1998, Department of Economic History, Uppsala University.
28. The European Union had signed on December 15, 1995 a Framework Cooperation Agreement with MERCOSUR. In its Article 1, the agreement mentions that: "Respect

- for the democratic principles and fundamental human rights established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights inspires the domestic and external policies of the Parties and constitutes an essential element of this Agreement." In addition, since 1992, the EU also had a third generation type of a bilateral agreement with Paraguay. Its Article 1 similarly mentions democracy as a pillar of the co-operation and Article 2 details the way the EU supports Paraguay's democratization.
29. Strömberg, *Did Regional Integration Save Democracy in Paraguay?* p. 20.
 30. Dexter Boniface, "Is There a Democratic Norm in the Americas? An Analysis of the Organization of American States," *Global Governance* 8, 2002, p. 376.
 31. Fournier, "The Alfonsín Administration," p. 45.
 32. This Protocol entered into force on January 17, 2002. Table 3.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
 33. Clearly this is not to suggest that no other variable should be taken into account to have a complete picture of the consolidation of democracy in MERCOSUR. On the ambiguity of the European Union's role see Jean Grugel, "Democratization and Ideational Diffusion: Europe, MERCOSUR and Social Citizenship," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(3), 2007, pp. 43–68.
 34. A massive display of popular unrest in the capital city of Venezuela resulted in a death toll of hundreds, if not thousands. The rioters were expressing their desperation following the implementation of neoliberal IMF sponsored reforms by President Carlos Andrés Pérez.
 35. Author's translation of: *El sistema democrático constituye la norma inquebrantable, la forma de vida y el instrumento idóneo para preservar la paz, alcanzar el desarrollo y la justicia social, garantizar el pleno respeto a los derechos humanos e impulsar la cooperación e integración entre nuestros pueblos.*
 36. Table 3.2 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
 37. Table 3.3 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
 38. Andrew Cooper and Thomas Legler, "A Tale of Two Mesas: the OAS Defense of Democracy in Peru and Venezuela," *Global Governance* 11, 2005, pp. 425–444.
 39. Olivier Dabène, "Does the Mercosur Still Have a Project?" in Francisco Domínguez and Márcos Guedes de Oliveira (eds.), *Mercosur: Between Integration and Democracy*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2004.

Four Institutional Isomorphism

1. See, for instance, Miles Kahler, *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration*, Washington, DC, Brookings Institution, 1995.
2. James McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts," *International Organization* 54(1), Winter 2000, pp. 137–180.
3. McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design," p. 143.
4. McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design," p. 138.
5. McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design," p. 145.
6. McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design," p. 147.
7. McCall Smith, "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design," p. 150.
8. Francesco Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade. The European Union, NAFTA and MERCOSUR*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2006.
9. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*, pp. 71–72.
10. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*, p. 63.
11. Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organization Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48(2), April 1983, pp. 147–160.

12. Until the EU introduced flexibility in its relations with CAN during the Europe—Latin America summit of Lima (May 16–17, 2008). The final EU press declaration states: “The EC is aware that there are different approaches and sensitivities in the different CAN countries in respect of these negotiations. Therefore, the EC is ready to address sensitive matters with a great deal of flexibility. . . . If this flexibility would not appear sufficient to make progress in these negotiations, other scenarios may be considered such as temporary opt out from the trade pillar of the agreements for one or the other country that is not ready for this at this moment.” (Source: European Commission, Press Declaration, Lima, May 17, 2008).
13. Gary Wynia, *Politics and Planners. Economic Development Policy in Central America*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.
14. In North’s classical terms, formal constraints are “rules that human beings devise,” and informal constraints are “conventions and codes of behavior.” See Douglass North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 4.
15. Maurice Croisat, Jean-Louis Quermonne, *L’Europe et le Fédéralisme. Contribution à l’Émergence d’un Fédéralisme Intergouvernemental*, Paris, Montchrestien, 1999.
16. Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time. History, Institutions and Social Analysis*, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 142.
17. Philippe Schmitter, “A Revised Theory of Regional Integration,” *International Organization* 24(4), Autumn 1970, p. 862.
18. Albert Hirschman, *Journeys toward Progress. Studies of Economic Policy-making in Latin America*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1993 (1963); Wynia, *Politics and Planners*.
19. In Article 2.d of the Declaration’s Action Program, the Presidents decided “to promote the conclusion of temporary subregional agreements.” See: <http://www.summit-americas.org/declarat%20presidents-1967-eng.htm> (accessed on May 2, 2008).
20. William Avery and James Cochrane, “Subregional Integration in Latin America: The Andean Common Market,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 11(2), December 1972, pp. 85–102.
21. Richard Adkisson, “The Andean Group: Institutional Evolution, Intraregional Trade, and Economic Development,” *Journal of Economic Issues* 37(2), June 2003, p. 378.
22. Fujimori, in his own words, “temporarily suspended” democracy as suspending constitutional rule, removing judges and dissolving Congress.
23. Article 6 of the Trujillo Protocol.
24. Table 4.2 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
25. According to Adkisson “there is little clear evidence of dramatic improvements corresponding with the institutional reform.” See Richard Adkisson, “The Andean Group: Institutional Evolution, Intraregional Trade, and Economic Development,” p. 378.
26. Table 4.3 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
27. OAS translation: www.sice.oas.org/trade/mrcsr/TreatyAsun_e.ASP#CHAPTER_II_ (accessed on May 2, 2008).
28. For all the functions of the different bodies, see the Protocol of Ouro Preto. OAS translation available at: <http://www.sice.oas.org/trade/mrcsr/ourop/index.asp> (accessed on May 2, 2008).
29. Article 32 of the Ouro Preto Protocol. Available at: http://www.sice.oas.org/trade/mrcsr/ourop/ourop_e.asp (accessed on October 4, 2008).
30. On this issue, see Deisy Ventura and Alejandro Perotti, *El Proceso Legislativo del Mercosur*, Montevideo, Fundación Konrad Adenauer, 2004.
31. Article 40 of the Protocol of Ouro Preto, available at: http://www.sice.oas.org/trade/mrcsr/ourop/ourop_e.asp (accessed on October 4, 2008).
32. Article 40 of the Protocol of Ouro Preto.

33. Roberto Bouzas and Hernán Soltz, "Institutions and Regional Integration: the Case of MERCOSUR," in Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.), *Regional Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Political Economy of Open Regionalism*, London, Institute of Latin American Studies, 2001, pp. 104–105.
34. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*, p. 97.
35. Duina, *The Social Construction of Free Trade*, p. 99.
36. His exact words were: "We have to make progress on MERCOSUR's institutionalization, as a claim for institutions with supranational characteristics is rising" (*Precisamos avançar também na institucionalização do Mercosul, pois cresce a demanda por instituições com características supranacionais*). The whole speech is available online at: http://www.ifhc.org.br/Upload/conteudo/01_2_87.pdf (accessed on April 29, 2008).
37. See the full list on MERCOSUR's official Web site: <http://200.40.51.219/msweb/principal/contenido.asp> (accessed on May 2, 2008).
38. See the full list on the MERCOSUR official Web site.
39. Celina Pena and Ricardo Rozenberg, *Mercosur: A Different Approach to Institutional Development*, FOCAL Policy Paper, 05–06. See also from the same authors, *Una Aproximación al Desarrollo Institucional del Mercosur: sus Fortalezas y Debilidades*, INTAL-ITD, Documento de divulgación 31, October 2005.
40. Annex 1 of CMC's Decision 30/02 (2002).
41. The first members of the SAT were indeed high profile academics with a will to push the logic of integration to its limit: Deisy Ventura (Law, Brazil), Alejandro Perotti (Law, Argentina), Marcel Vaillant (Economist, Uruguay) and Oscar Stark (Economist, Paraguay). Parts of my developments owe to long conversations I had with Deisy Ventura.
42. GMC's resolution 16/04 (June 25, 2004) mentions that the solicitations of SAT's technical support must include a "clear description of the work solicited and a justification of its necessity and importance for the MERCOSUR or for the development of a particular negotiation."
43. The Article 2.b of this Annex mentions that one of the SAT's task is to elaborate a report every semester on the evolution of the process of integration, analyzing "the relevant variables affecting the process of integration." Its adds that the reports will also have to identify "in the light of a common perspective, eventual normative lacunas and specific difficulties, or themes of common interest."
44. *Un Foco para el Proceso de Integración Regional*, Primer Informe Semestral de la Secretaría del MERCOSUR, Montevideo, July 2004.
45. During the 2001 Argentine crisis, many observers pronounced MERCOSUR defunct and were quick to write its obituary. The new leftist Presidents elected in 2002 (Lula in Brazil), 2003 (Kirchner in Argentina), and 2004 (Vázquez in Uruguay), decided to strengthen MERCOSUR macroeconomic policy coordination in particular, in order to prevent future crisis.
46. "Desafíos institucionales para el MERCOSUR," Montevideo, August 27–28, 2004.
47. Decision 07/07 mentions that the Secretariat of MERCOSUR can have up to 40 employees.
48. See Decision 11/03.
49. Respectively by GMC's resolutions 66/05 and 54/03.
50. According to the SAT, between March 1991 and May 2007 a total of 1850 norms have been approved. The CMC has taken 473 decisions out of which 210 must be incorporated, and 65 were actually incorporated (30.9%). As for the GMC, the numbers are: 1,206 resolutions out of which 798 must be incorporated and 466 were incorporated (58.4%); and the CCM took 171 directives out of which 122 must be incorporated and 74 were incorporated (60.6%).
51. For a wonderful analysis of the complex relations between institutional mimetism, domestic dynamics and international constraints in MERCOSUR, see Marcelo de A. Medeiros, *La Genèse du Mercosud*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000.

52. See, for instance, Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy. The Case of Latin America Vol.2*, Baltimore, MD, and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
53. Juan Linz, "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?" in Linz and Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy Vol. 2*, p. 36.
54. Andres Malamud, "Presidentialism and Mercosur: A Hidden Cause for a Successful Experience," in *Comparative Regional Integration. Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Finn Laursen, London, Ashgate, 2003, p. 64.
55. Gabriel Negretto, "Government Capacities and Policy Making by Decree in Latin America. The Cases of Argentina and Brazil," *Comparative Political Studies* 37(5), 2004, pp. 551–562.
56. Carlos Pereira, Timothy Power, and Lucio Rennó, *From Logrolling to Logjam: Agenda Power, Presidential Decrees, and the Unintended Consequences of Reform in the Brazilian Congress*, University of Oxford, Centre for Brazilian Studies, Working Paper CBS 71–06.
57. Wynia, *Politics and Planners*, p. 12.
58. Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State. Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
59. Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira was minister of administration and state reform. He conceived the 1998 Brazilian State reform.
60. Sérgio Henrique Abranches, "O Presidencialismo de Coalizão: O Dilema Institucional Brasileiro," *Dados* 31(1), 1988.
61. Jorge Lanzaro (ed.), *Tipos de Presidencialismo y Coaliciones Políticas en América Latina*, Buenos Aires, CLACSO, 2003.

Five Scope and Level of Integration: Explaining a Mismatch

1. Philippe Schmitter, "A Revised Theory of Regional Integration," *International Organization* 24(4), 1970, p. 841.
2. Philippe Schmitter, "Central American Integration: Spill-over, Spill-around or Encapsulation?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 9(1), September 1970, p. 39.
3. Schmitter, "A Revised Theory of Regional Integration," p. 840.
4. But there is also: spill-over (increase of both scope and level), build-up (increase of level), retrench (increase of level, decrease of scope), muddle-about (increase scope, decrease level), spill-back (decrease of both scope and level), encapsulation (no change).
5. Dorette Corbey, "Dialectical Functionalism: Stagnation as a Booster of European Integration," *International Organization* 49(2), Spring 1995, p. 253.
6. Schmitter, "Central American Integration," p. 26.
7. Table 5.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
8. Isaac Cohen Orantes, *Regional Integration in Central America*, Lexington Books, 1972, p. 32.
9. Cohen Orantes, *Regional Integration in Central America*, pp. 49–54.
10. Cohen Orantes, *Regional Integration in Central America*, p. 60.
11. Declaración de Alajuela, Costa Rica, January 16, 1987. This extract and the following ones have been translated by the author.
12. An English translation is available online at: http://www.sice.oas.org/Trade/sica/PDF/TegProtODECA91_e.pdf (accessed on May 1, 2008).
13. Author's translation. Original document available at: http://www.sica.int/busqueda/busqueda_archivo.aspx?Archivo=acue_965_4_29092005.htm
14. English translation available at: <http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rls/70979.htm> (accessed on May 1, 2008).

15. Interview with José Arnoldo Sermeño Lima, secretary of Central American Social Integration, San Salvador, July 19, 2007. At the time of this interview, the representative from Guatemala was the secretary of planning, the one from Honduras the minister of culture, from Nicaragua the minister of family, from Panama the minister of social development and from Costa Rica the minister of housing.
16. CEPAL-BID, *La Integración Centroamericana y la Institucionalidad Regional*, December 10, 1997.
17. Regional integration has never been a burden for Central American governments. According to ROCAP's figures, cited by Joseph Nye in 1965, "the price of running the integration institutions has been quite low: equivalent of roughly 1% of the five government budgets or one-tenth of 1% of the regional gross domestic product. Furthermore, the governments pay only a quarter of these costs directly, the largest part being met from earnings on services and foreign assistance." See Joseph Nye, "Central American Regional Integration," in Joseph Nye (ed.), *International Regionalism*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1968, p. 400.
18. CEPAL, *Open Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Economic Integration as a Contribution to Changing Productions Patterns with Social Equity*, September 1994.
19. XIX Cumbre de Presidentes Centroamericanos, *Lineamientos para el Fortalecimiento y Racionalización de la Institucionalidad Regional*, Panamá, July 12, 2007. All the Summits Declarations are available online on SICA's official Web site: <http://www.sica.int> (accessed on May 1, 2008).
20. The text actually reads more as a declaration of intention than a real change, but since both institutions were opposed by Costa Rica (for the Parliament) and Costa Rica and Guatemala (for the Court), it is a consolidation.
21. Reunión Extraordinaria, *Declaración de Managua*, September 2, 1997.
22. Reunión Extraordinaria de Presidentes Centroamericanos, *Declaración Conjunta*, Comalapa, El Salvador, November 8, 1998.
23. Reunión Extraordinaria de Presidentes de Centroamérica, República Dominicana y Belice, *Ayuda Memoria*, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, February 4, 1999.
24. Reunión Extraordinaria de Presidentes Centroamericanos, República Dominicana y Belice con el Presidente de los Estados Unidos de América, *Declaración de Antigua*, Antigua, Guatemala, March 11, 1999.
25. The Plan was composed of eight initiatives in the sectors of energy, transportation, telecommunications, trade facilitation, sustainable development, human development, tourism, and disaster prevention. Official Web site: <http://www.planpuebla-panama.org> (accessed on May 1, 2008).
26. See José Arnoldo Sermeño Lima, *SISCA. Informe de Labores*, 2007. Available online at SISCA's Web site: www.sica.int/sisca (accessed on May 1, 2008).
27. Cumbre Extraordinaria de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno de los Países del SICA, San Salvador, November 11, 2005.
28. Reunión Cumbre sobre la Iniciativa Energética Centroamericana, El Salvador, January 22, 2006.
29. Reunión Extraordinaria de Presidentes, Declaración conjunta de los Presidentes de El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala y Nicaragua sobre los Pandillas "Mara Salvatrucha" y "Mara 18," Guatemala, January 15, 2004; Cumbre Extraordinaria de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno de los Países Miembros del SICA sobre Seguridad, Tegucigalpa, October 10, 2006.
30. European Commission, *Central America Regional Strategy Paper 2007–2013*, p. 25 (http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/ca/rsp/index.htm (accessed on May 1, 2008)).
31. Protocolo de Reformas al Tratado Constitutivo del Parlamento Centroamericano y Otras Instancias Políticas, Reunión Extraordinaria de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno de los países del SICA sobre la Institucionalidad Regional, San Salvador, February 20, 2008.

32. One of the three conclusions reached by Roberto Bouzas, Pedro Da Motta Veiga and Ramón Torrent in their *In-Depth Analysis of MERCOSUR Integration, its Prospectives and the Effects Thereof on the Market Access of EU Goods, Services and Investment* (Barcelona, Observatory of Globalization, 2002) is that there are “too many legal acts with no practical effects. This has been probably the result of the need to meet deadlines and targets and provide a sense of progress in “rule making.” This has reduced transparency (i.e., it is unclear which rules are effective) and seriously challenged the credibility of the rule-making process.”
33. In these tables, I used an ad hoc classification that differs from INTAL's one or, regarding MERCOSUR, from the one used by Roberto Bouzas, Pedro Da Motta Veiga, and Ramón Torrent in their *In-Depth Analysis of MERCOSUR Integration*. See figure 5.1 online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
34. See the figure 5.2 online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
35. See the figure 5.3 online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
36. See: Martha Isabel Gómez Lee, *Protección de los Conocimientos Tradicionales en las Negociaciones TLC*, Bogotá, Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2004.
37. Common regime on industrial property.
38. Author's translation of: *Artículo 3.—Los Países Miembros se asegurarán que la protección conferida a los elementos de la propiedad industrial se concederá salvaguardando y respetando su patrimonio biológico y genético, así como los conocimientos tradicionales de sus comunidades indígenas, afroamericanas o locales. En tal virtud, la concesión de patentes que versen sobre invenciones desarrolladas a partir de material obtenido de dicho patrimonio o dichos conocimientos estará supeditada a que ese material haya sido adquirido de conformidad con el ordenamiento jurídico internacional, comunitario y nacional. Los Países Miembros reconocen el derecho y la facultad para decidir de las comunidades indígenas, afroamericanas o locales, sobre sus conocimientos colectivos.*
39. WTO Web site (http://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/27-trips_04c_e.htm#5, accessed on March 30, 2008).
40. Martha Isabel Gómez Lee, *Protección de los Conocimientos Tradicionales*, *Op. Cit.*, p.50.
41. See figures 5.4 and 5.5 online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
42. Julio Godio *El Mercosur, los Trabajadores y el ALCA*. Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 2004.
43. The so-called third generation agreements negotiated by the European Union include a clause stipulating that the parties are free to add new issue areas to the agenda.
44. Stephen Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us, Globalization, Neoconservatism and the Canadian State*, University of Toronto Press, 2002. See also Ricardo Grinspun and Maxwell Cameron, *The Political Economy of North American Free Trade*, New York, Saint Martin's Press, 1993.
45. John Foster and John Dillon cite U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter having said at the time of CUSTA negotiations: “The Canadians don't understand what they signed. In twenty years, they will be sucked into the US economy. Free Trade is just the first step in a process leading to the creation of a single North American economy” (“NAFTA in Canada: The Era of a Supra-Constitution,” p.1 on: <http://www.kairoscanada.org/e/economic/trade/NAFTACanada.pdf>, accessed on May 2, 2008).
46. Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, p. 51.
47. Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, pp. 71–72.

Six The Parliamentary Option

1. Author's translation of Paul Magnette, *Contrôler l'Europe. Pouvoirs et Responsabilités dans l'Union Européenne*, Bruxelles, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2003, p. 35.
2. Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, “Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (3), 2006, pp. 533–562.

3. This point is also made by Magnette, *Contrôler l'Europe*.
4. See Olivier Costa, *Le Parlement Européen, Assemblée Délibérante*, Presses de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2000.
5. With the exception of France after its transition to its Fifth Republic in 1958, adopting a more presidential regime. Nevertheless, in this country most of the parliamentarian had been socialized during the Fourth Republic (1946–1958), a parliamentary regime.
6. Table 6.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
7. In 2008, the PARLATINO is comprised of eleven South American countries (all of them but Guyana), the seven Central American countries, and Aruba, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the Dutch Antillas. See the official Web site: <http://www.parlatino.org> (accessed on April 16, 2008).
8. See the IPA official Web site: <http://www.parlamentoindigena.org> (accessed on April 16, 2008).
9. See the official Web site: <http://www.otca.org.br> (accessed on April 16, 2008).
10. See his interview on <http://www.commercemonde.com/024/sommaire/une-charbonneau.html> (accessed on April 17, 2008).
11. See the official Web site: <http://www.e-fipa.org> (accessed on April 17, 2008).
12. The Treaty, signed on May 23, 2008, stipulates in its article 17 that a protocol will later be adopted creating a Parliament with its headquarter in Cochabamba, Bolivia.
13. Trujillo Protocol, March 10, 1996.
14. Actually the first three days of each month's last week, between March and June and August and November.
15. Interviews with Pedro Montero, assistant general secretary, Bogotá, April 20, 2007 and Ruben Núñez Vélez, general secretary of PARLANDINO, Caracas, April 2, 2008.
16. Article 4 of the Agreement for the Establishment of an Assembly of Caribbean Community parliamentarian.
17. See the English version of the Treaty on <http://www.sice.oas.org/trade/mrcsr/mrcsrtoc.asp> (accessed on April 18, 2008).
18. Cited by Pierre Hontebeyrie in *Informe final*, Apoyo a la Comisión parlamentaria conjunta del MERCOSUR, August 2003.
19. MERCOSUR/XXV CMC/DEC. 26/03, in *Hacia el Parlamento del MERCOSUR. Una Recopilación de Documentos*, CPC/Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2004.
20. Ricardo Alonso García, *Informe*, Apoyo a la Comisión parlamentaria conjunta del MERCOSUR, June 10 and October 2, 2003.
21. Acuerdo interinstitucional Consejo Mercado Común—Comisión del Mercado Común in *Hacia el Parlamento del MERCOSUR*.
22. See, for instance, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FESUR), *Desafíos Institucionales para el Mercosur. Documento Preparatorio*, International Seminar, Montevideo, August 27–28, 2004.
23. MERCOSUR/CMC/Decision 05/04, “Aprobación del Programa de Estudios del SAT.”
24. The following comments owe a great deal to a series of interviews and discussions with SAT members and experts during the FESUR Seminar of August 2004.
25. Figure 6.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
26. Author's translation of: “Realizar todas las actividades que correspondan al ejercicio de sus competencias.”
27. At that time Venezuela had dissolved its senate. The adhesion of Venezuela had not yet been ratified by the Brazilian Senate, therefore Venezuela was granted only sixteen representatives, and the right to participate in the debates without voting.
28. And as a result of each country's electoral calendar, elections were about to take place in 2008 in Paraguay, 2009 in Argentina and Uruguay and 2010 in Brazil.
29. See the official Web site: <http://www.parlamentodelmercosur.org/index1.asp#> (accessed on April 19, 2008).

30. See chapter eight.
31. (A) Legal and institutional issues; (B) Economy, finance, trade, tax, and money; (C) International, interregional, and strategic planning; (D) Education, culture, science, technology, and sports; (E) Labor, employment policy, social security, and social economy; (F) Sustainable regional development, territorial order, housing, health, environment, and tourism; (G) Domestic issues, security, and defense.
32. Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. Venezuela has eliminated its Senate so the following argument does not apply to this country.
33. See chapter eight.
34. See figure 6.2 online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
35. See chapter seven.
36. His brother Alberto, who was elected governor of San Luis in 2003 ran for the Presidency in 2007 and even if he lost, he secured 87.5% of the votes in his province.

Seven Integration from Below

1. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2004/epelection/sites/en/results1306/turnout_ep/turnout_table.html
2. There is a growing literature on the topic. See, for instance, Diana Tussie and Mercedes Botto (eds.), *El ALCA y las Cumbres de las Américas: ¿Una Nueva Relación Público-Privada?* Buenos Aires, Editorial Biblos, 2003; and on the particular role played by scholars: Mercedes Botto (ed.), *Saber y Política en América Latina. El Uso del Conocimiento en las Negociaciones Comerciales Internacionales*, Buenos Aires, Prometeo, 2007.
3. As defined by Daphné Josselin and William Wallace: “Organizations 1) largely or entirely autonomous from central government funding and control: emanating from civil society, or from the market economy, or from political impulses beyond control and direction; 2) operating or participating in networks which extend across the boundaries or two or more states—thus engaging in ‘transnational’ relations, linking political systems, economies, societies; 3) acting in ways which affect political outcomes, either within one or more states or within international institutions—either purposefully or semi-purposefully, either as their primary objective or as one aspect of their activities.” (Daphné Josselin and William Wallace, “Non-state Actors in World Politics: a Framework,” in Daphné Josselin and William Wallace [eds.], *Non-state Actors in World Politics*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 3–4).
4. Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1998. Sydney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005.
5. See, for instance, the following Web sites (all accessed on April 22, 2008): World Bank: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,pagePK:220469~theSitePK:228717,00.html> Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): http://www.oecd.org/document/11/0,3343,fr_21571361_38620013_38780171_1_1_1_1,00.html United Nations (UN): <http://www.un.org/issues/civilsociety/EuropeanCommission>: http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/index_en.htm/.
6. See chapter nine.
7. José Caballero, “Problematising Regional Integration in Latin America: Regional Identity and the Enmeshed State. The Central American Case,” UNU-CRIS Working Papers, W-2007/2.
8. Caballero, “Problematising Regional Integration in Latin America,” pp. 31–32.
9. See figure 2.1.

10. FECAICA is one of the oldest Central American private sector organizations. Founded in 1959, it has consistently support the regional integration project, especially during its first phase of import-substitution and industrialization strategy.
11. Olivier Dabène, "Quelle Intégration pour quelle Amérique Centrale dans les Années Quatre-vingt-dix?" *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* no. 12, 1992.
12. Cited by Mario Lungo Uclés, *El Salvador in the Eighties. Counterinsurgency and Revolution*, Philadelphia, PA, Temple University Press, 1996, p. 136.
13. Table 7.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
14. Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Central America. A Divided Nation*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1976.
15. U.S. Democracy Promotion Programs in particular. See William Robinson, *Transnational Conflicts. Central America, Social Change, and Globalization*, London, Verso, 2003, p. 225.
16. The State of Mato Grosso do Sul joined CODESUL in 1992.
17. See figure 7.1 on the Web site: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
18. CRECENEA's provinces population: 7.5 million, with: Chaco: 0.9; Corrientes: 0.9; Entre Ríos: 1.1; Formosa: 0.5; Misiones: 0.9; and Santa Fe: 3. CODESUL's states population: 25.3 million, with: Mato Grosso do Sul: 1.9; Paraná: 9; Rio Grande do Sul: 9.6; Santa Catarina: 4.8.
19. See: <http://www.regionnortegrande.com.ar/?noticia=9964> (accessed on April 24, 2008).
20. Table 7.2 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
21. These classifications ought to be taken with caution, as local politics in Brazil sometimes has partisan cleavages of its own.
22. Some Argentinean social organizations from the city of Gualaguaychú criticized the Uruguayan decision to allow the Finnish multinational Botnia and Spanish paper giant ENCE to massively invest in the construction of two paper-pulp plants on Uruguay's bank of the river. The mobilization resulted in a long blockade of the bridge, received the support of President Kirchner and governors. Busti accused Rovira and Colombi of being hypocrites because their provinces had installed the same plants on their side of the river. See www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2006/11/08/politica/POLI-12.html (accessed on April 25, 2008). For many observers, this crisis epitomizes MERCOSUR's institutional weakness, as Argentina decided to take the case to the International Court of Justice.
23. Asunción (Paraguay); Rosario, La Plata, Córdoba, Buenos Aires (Argentina); Florianópolis, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia, Salvador (Brazil); Montevideo (Uruguay).
24. Cities not only from MERCOSUR's five members (with Venezuela), but also from the associate members (Chile, Bolivia, Peru). See the Mercociudades' official Web site: <http://www.mercociudades.net> (accessed on April 25, 2008).
25. Author's translation of "Favorecer la participación de las ciudades en la estructura del MERCOSUR, persiguiendo la co-decisión en las áreas de su competencia" (Article 2.1 of its Statutes, on the official Web site).
26. Daniel Chaquetti, *El Mercosur y las Ciudades. Apuntes para una Agenda del Comité de Municipios del Foro Consultivo de Municipios, Estados Federados, Provincias y Departamentos del Mercosur*, Montevideo, FESUR, December 2006, pp. 15–16.
27. A secretary was established in Montevideo and a total of ten "technical units" were created: culture, social development, youth, local economic development, tourism, citizen security, education, science and technology, environment and sustainable development, local autonomy, finance, and governance.
28. Many of them were discussed during the Seminar *Políticas de Integración Regional. Experiencias Locales Exitosas en el MERCOSUR*, Tandí, Argentina, September 13–14, 2007. The presentations are posted on Mercociudades official Web site (accessed on April 26, 2008): http://www.mercociudades.net/descargas/documentos/Publicaciones/libro_tandil_set_2007.pdf

29. Diego Achard, Manuel Flores Silva, Luis Eduardo González, *Las Élités Argentinas y Brasileñas frente al MERCOSUR*, Buenos Aires, BID-INTAL, 1994, p. 114.
30. Ministerio de economía, *Iniciativas Inter e Intraempresariales Argentino-Brasileñas en el Marco del MERCOSUR*, Buenos Aires, 1991.
31. Rosario Domingo, Héctor Pastori, Tabaré Vera, *Comportamiento Estratégico de las Empresas Industriales frente a la Apertura*, Montevideo, Universidad de la República, Departamento de Economía, Documento no. 4, 1994.
32. Bernardo Kosacoff, Gabriel Bezchinsky, *De la Sustitución de Importaciones a la Globalización. Las Empresas Transnacionales en la Industria Argentina*, Buenos Aires, CEPAL, Documento de trabajo no. 52, 1993.
33. The survey was based on 414 interviews of “elite members” (politicians, top government agents, entrepreneurs, selected according to their type of activity, reputation, residence, and partisan affiliation). See Achard, Flores Silva, González, *Las Élités Argentinas y Brasileñas*.
34. Wolfram F. Klein, *El MERCOSUR. Empresarios y Sindicatos Frente a los Desafíos del Proceso de Integración*, Caracas, Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 2000.
35. Guillermo Ondarts, “Los Industriales Latinoamericanos y la Nueva Integración,” *Intal* 17, 1991, pp. 3–19, cited by Wolfram Klein, *El MERCOSUR, Empresarios y Sindicatos Frente a los Desafíos del Proceso de Integración*.
36. Also cited by Wolfram Klein, *El MERCOSUR, Empresarios y Sindicatos Frente a los Desafíos del Proceso de Integración*: Eduardo D’Alessio, “El MERCOSUR, la Voz de los Empresarios de los Cuatro Países,” in Adeba, 7a convención de Bancos privados nacionales, Buenos Aires, August 26–28, 1991; Ciesu, *Organizaciones Empresariales y Políticas Públicas*, Fesur e Instituto de Ciencias Políticas, Montevideo, 1992.
37. The group was composed of five Argentine universities (Buenos Aires, La Plata, Litoral, and Rosario), and one from Brazil (Santa Maria), Paraguay (Asunción), and Uruguay (Republic).
38. Sílvia Helena Soares Schwab, José Waimier, *Asociación de Universidades Grupo de Montevideo. 15 años de Historia*, Montevideo, AUGM, 2007, pp. 12–13.
39. Sílvia Helena Soares Schwab, José Waimier, *Asociación de Universidades Grupo de Montevideo. 15 años de Historia*, p. 24.
40. See the official Web site: www.grupomontevideo.edu.uy (accessed on April 27, 2008).
41. The countries invited in 1997 included the four members of MERCOSUR, the two associate members (Chile and Bolivia), and a guest country, Venezuela. In a premonitory way, the Biennial integrated this country ten years before its actual accession to MERCOSUR. These insights are owed to discussions with the Biennial’s officials in 2000–2002.
42. Peter Katzenstein, “International Interdependence: Some Long-term Trends and Recent Change,” *International Organization* 29(4), 1975.
43. GMC Resolution 11/91.
44. Frequent discussions with CUT’s members in charge of the MERCOSUR division in 2001 in Sao Paulo, Brazil.
45. Wolfram Klein, *El Mercosur, Empresarios y Sindicatos Frente a los Desafíos del Proceso de Integración*, p. 182.
46. CMC Decision O4/91.
47. Frequent discussions with FIESP members in charge with the MERCOSUR division in 2001 in Sao Paulo, Brazil.
48. Wolfram Klein, *Empresarios y Sindicatos Frente a los Desafíos del Proceso de Integración*, pp. 189–190.
49. Table 7.3 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
50. See the official Web site: <http://www.fc-es-mercosur.com/es/node/35> (accessed on April 28, 2008).
51. SIECA, *El Desarrollo Integrado de Centroamérica en la Presente Década*, 11 vol., Buenos Aires, INTAL, 1973.
52. Both tables are available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.

53. See the official Web site: http://www.comunidadandina.org/sai/estructura_18.html (accessed on April 28, 2008).
54. See the official Web site: http://www.comunidadandina.org/sai/estructura_19.html (accessed on April 28, 2008).
55. Alvaro de la Ossa, "Gran Caribe: Mecanismos para Profundizar la Participación de los Actores Sociales," pp.141–169 in Francine Jácome, Andrés Serbin (ed.), *Sociedad Civil e Integración Regional en el Gran Caribe*, Caracas, Nueva Sociedad, 1998.
56. See the official Web site: http://www.caricom.org/jsp/secretariat/legal_instruments/chartercivilsocietyresolution.jsp?menu=secretariat (accessed on April 28, 2008). Another example could be the Inter-American Dialogue. See, for instance, Jorge Domínguez, founding Dialogue member forecasting in 1997 a strengthening of an Inter-American civil society (Jorge Domínguez [ed.], *The Future of Inter-American Relations*, New York, Routledge, 2000).
57. Primer Foro de la sociedad civil del Gran Caribe, *Documentos*, Cartagenas de Indias, Colombia, November 23–26, 1997.
58. *Participación de la Sociedad Civil en los Procesos de Integración*, Montevideo, ALOP, CEFIR, CLAEH, 1998.
59. This is what André Drainville calls the "double movement of social forces in the Americas" (Drainville, "Social Movements in the Americas. Regionalism from Below?" in Gordon Mace and Louis Bélanger [eds.], *The Americas in Transition. The Contours of Regionalism*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner, 1999, p. 235).

Eight Integration and Common Goods

1. Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham, UK, Chatham House, 1987, p. 234.
2. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, p. 228.
3. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, p. 235.
4. Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 6. This perspective has not received sufficient scholar attention. See, for instance, the otherwise extremely stimulating Philippe Schmitter's *How to Democratize the European Union... and Why Bother?* Boston, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.
5. See the discussion in Jaime de Melo, Arvind Panagariya, and Dani Rodrik, "The New Regionalism: A Country Perspective," in Jaime de Melo and Arvind Panagariya (eds.), *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.
6. Willem Mole, *The Economics of European Integration. Theory, Practice, Policy*, Aldershot, UK, Ashgate, 4th edition, 2001 p. 396.
7. Table 8.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
8. Like between the Eastern and Western parts of Germany after its reunification.
9. See an official definition in the Europa Glossary: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm (accessed on May 5, 2008).
10. Centre d'Analyse Stratégique, *The European Union Budget: Some Central Issues at Stake in the 2008–2009 Revision*, July 9, 2007 (online: <http://www.strategie.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/FwkdocumentLisbonne4EN.final.pdf>, accessed May 5, 2008).
11. See the research conducted at Sciences Po (Groupe d'économie mondiale): www.gem.sciences-po.fr/content/publications/pdf/PB_transparence_PR_EN170306.pdf, accessed on May 8, 2008.
12. Marco Schaub, *European Regional Policy. The Impact of Structural Transfers and the Partnership Principle since the 1988 Reform*, West Lafayette, IN, Purdue University Press, 2004, p. 80.
13. Scharpf, *Governing in Europe*, p. 50.

14. The notion of multilevel governance describes this type of decision-making process. See chapter nine.
15. See Rolando Franco and Armando Di Filippo, *Las Dimensiones Sociales de la Integración Regional en América Latina*, Santiago, CEPAL, 1999.
16. Table 8.2 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
17. See the official presentation: http://www.comunidadandina.org/ingles/agenda_social/pids.htm (accessed on May 5, 2008).
18. Official Web site: <http://www.orasconhu.org> (accessed on May 5, 2008).
19. Marco Ferroni, "Regional Public Goods: The Comparative Edge of Regional Development Banks," Paper presented at the *Conference on Financing for Development: Regional Challenges and the Regional Development Banks*, Washington, DC, Institute for International Economics, February 19, 2002 (www.iiea.iie.com/publications/papers/ferroni0202.pdf, accessed on May 6, 2008).
20. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay, and Venezuela.
21. Mauricio Mesquita Moreira, *IIRSA Economic Fundamentals*, ITD-INT, August 2006. <http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=800737> (accessed on May 5, 2008).
22. See the official Web site: <http://www.iirsa.org> (accessed on May 5, 2008).
23. Ricardo Carciofi, "Cooperation and Provision of Regional Public Goods. The IIRSA Case," *Integration and Trade*, n°28, January-June 2008, pp. 51–82.
24. Ricardo Carciofi, "Cooperation and Provision of Regional Public Goods. The IIRSA Case," p. 52.
25. See chapter nine.
26. See Kurt-Peter Schütt and Flavio Carucci (ed.), *Retos y Perspectivas de la Integración Energética en América Latina*, Caracas, ILDIS, 2007.
27. See PVDSA's site (accessed on May 5, 2008): http://www.pdvsa.com/index.php?tpl=interface.en/design/readmenuprinc.tpl.html&newsid_temas=46
28. Interview with Dominican President Leonel Fernández, February 14, 2008.
29. When the oil prices reached \$70 a barrel, Chávez offered 50%. He promised to go up to 30% if the prices reach \$200 a barrel.
30. "Venezuela Pone sus Reservas a Disposición de Suramérica," *El Tiempo* (Bogotá, Colombia), April 18, 2007.
31. See chapter nine for comments on UNASUR.
32. To be sure, only the Argentine military junta believed the United States would help them conquer the islands over the United Kingdom.
33. Table 8.3 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
34. For a more sophisticated discussion on asymmetries in the MERCOSUR, see Roberto Bouzas, "Compensating Asymmetries in Regional Integration Agreements: Lessons from MERCOSUR," in Paulo Giordano, Francesco Lanzafame, and Jörg Meyer-Stamer, *Asymmetries in Regional Integration and Local Development*, Washington, DC, IADB, 2005, pp. 85–112.
35. The following comments are based on a study of all the debates' minutes.
36. Figure 8.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
37. Article 17.1 (Decision 24/05).
38. Even for Paraguay, it represents a mere 0.15% of the GDP, as compared to the structural funds in Europe that at their maximum amounted to about 6% of Spain's GDP.

Nine Regional Multilevel Governance in the Americas?

1. Verónica Montecinos, "Ceremonial Regionalism, Institutions and Integration in the Americas," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31(2), Summer 1996.

2. Stephen Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," in Stephen Krasner (ed.) *International Regimes*, Cornell University press, 1983, p. 2.
3. Andreas Hasenclever; Peter Mayer; Volker Rittberger (eds.), *Theories of International Regimes*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
4. Inaugurated in 1983, CBI was eventually expanded in 2000 with the U.S.-Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act (CBTPA), signed by nineteen countries.
5. Denver (June 30, 1995), Cartagena (March 21, 1996), Belo Horizonte (May 16, 1997), and San José (March 19, 1998). See the official Web site: http://www.ftaa-alca.org/View_e.asp (accessed on May 29, 2008).
6. General Principles and Objectives, Summit of the Americas Fourth Trade Ministerial Joint Declaration, Annex 1, San José, Costa Rica, March 19, 1998 See: http://www.ftaa-alca.org/Ministerials/SanJose/SanJose_e.asp#AnnexI, accessed on May 29, 2008.
7. At that time, MERCOSUR's average external tariff was 13% against 3% for the United States.
8. General Principles and Objectives, March 19, 1998.
9. General Principles and Objectives, March 19, 1998.
10. Richard Feinberg, *Summitry in the Americas. A Progress Report*, Washington, DC, Institute for International Economics, 1997, p. 103.
11. Table 9.1 is available online at: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
12. NAFTA covers exactly the same issue areas, except competition policy. For a view on the way the "Bush and Clinton administrations adopted strategies of targeted side payments in order to enhance the prospects for ratification of the agreement," see William Avery and Richard Friman, "Who Got What and Why: Constructing North American Free Trade," in Kenneth Thomas and Mary Ann Tétreault (eds.), *Racing to Regionalize. Democracy, Capitalism, and Regional Political Economy*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1999, p. 111.
13. A final meeting was held on November 27–29, 1994 at Airlie House (Warrenton, VA) to draft the Plan of Action that would be approved during the Miami Summit. Feinberg, *Summitry in the Americas*, p. 148.
14. James Rosenau, *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier. Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 40.
15. James Rosenau, "Governance in the Twenty-first Century," *Global Governance*, 1, 1995, p. 13.
16. Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(3), September 1996, p. 346.
17. Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe, "Contrasting Visions of Multi-level Governance," in Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders (eds.), *Multi-level Governance*, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 16–17.
18. Of course the notion of governance has also received many criticisms that cannot be mentioned in the scope of this study. See in particular the March 1998 issue of the *International Social Science Journal*.
19. James Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics. A Theory of Continuity and Change*, Princeton University Press, 1990.
20. The Inter-American Dialogue, *Convergence and Community. The Americas in 1993*, Washington, DC, Aspen Institute, 1992, p. v.
21. Including the academic community. See, for instance, Abraham Lowenthal, "Latin America: Ready for Partnership?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72(1), 1992–1993, pp. 79–92 ; or Robert Pastor, "The Latin American Option," *Foreign Policy* 88, Autumn 1992, pp. 107–125. In Europe, the same euphoria was perceivable. See the report of the second Euro–Latin America Forum titled *A Convergência Natural* (Lisbon, IEEI, October 1993).
22. "Convergencia: la Palabra Mágica de la Integración," *Capítulos de SELA*, no. 42, January–March 1995.
23. Olivier Dabène, *La Région Amérique Latine. Interdépendance et Changement Politique*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 1997, pp. 273–280.

24. Nicola Phillips, "Moulding Economic Governance in the Americas: U.S. Power and the New Regional Political Economy," in Michèle Rioux (ed.), *Building the Americas*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2007, p. 25.
25. Richard Feinberg's testimony is once again interesting. The United States wanted to label the Miami summit "Partnership for prosperity." The Brazilians fought hard to include "development." See Feinberg, *Summitry in the Americas*, p. 147.
26. It could also be mentioned that after a decade, NAFTA did not provide a very encouraging model, as far as Mexican development is concerned. See, for instance, René Villarreal, *TLCAN 10 Años Después. Experiencia de México y Lecciones para América Latina*, Bogota, Editorial Norma, 2004, or Dorval Brunelle and Christian Deblock (eds.), *L'ALENA. Le Libre-Echange en Défaute*, Québec, Editions Fides, 2004.
27. Leaving only Market Access, Dispute Settlement and Competition Policy.
28. Originally the Contadora Group was formed in 1983 by Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela to offer a mediation channel to Central America. Four other countries (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru) later joined them. In 1986, the eight countries decided to create a Political Consultation and Concertation Permanent Forum (also known as the Rio Group).
29. Laurence Whitehead and Alexandra Barahona, "Las Cumbres Mundiales y sus Versiones Latinoamericanas: ¿Haciendo una Montaña de un Grano de Arena?" *América Latina Hoy*, 40, 2005, pp. 15–27.
30. See http://www.opalc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=468&Itemid=48 (accessed on June 6, 2008).
31. A few days before, Chávez had announced the mobilization of troops along the border. See http://www.opalc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=335&Itemid=123 (accessed on June 6, 2008).
32. FLACSO's classification includes the following items: (1) Democracy, (2) Human Rights, (3) Security, (4) Economic Integration, (5) Social Development, (6) Modernization of the State, (7) Sustainable Development, (8) International Issues, (9) Culture, (10) Others. In figure 9.1, Politics corresponds to (1) + (2) + (6); Social to (5) + (7) + (9); Economy to (4); International to (3) + (8) and Other to (10).
33. See figure 9.1 on the Web site: <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>.
34. Composed of the following summits:

<i>City</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of Summit</i>
Miami (United States)	December 9–11, 1994	First Summit of the Americas
Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia)	December 7–8, 1996	Summit of the Americas on Sustainable Development
Santiago (Chile)	April 18–19, 1998	Second Summit of the Americas
Québec (Canada)	April 20–22, 2001	Third Summit of the Americas
Monterrey (Mexico)	January 12–13, 2004	Special Summit of the Americas
Mar del Plata (Argentina)	November 4–5, 2005	Fourth Summit of the Americas

See the official Web site: <http://www.summit-americas.org/> (accessed on June 6, 2008).

35. See the official Web site: <http://www.summit-americas.org/miamiplan.htm> (accessed on June 8, 2008).
36. See the official Web site: <http://www.summit-americas.org/miamiplan.htm#APPENDIX> (accessed on June 8, 2008).
37. Feinberg, *Summitry in the Americas*, pp. 161–162.

38. Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz and William Smith, "Protest and Collaboration: Transnational Civil Society Networks and the Politics of Summitry and Free Trade in the Americas," *The North South Agenda Papers*, 51, September 2001.
39. Making democracy work better; Human rights and fundamental freedoms; Justice, rule of law and security of the individual; Hemispheric security; Civil society; Trade, investment and financial stability; Infrastructure and regulatory environment; Disaster management; Environmental foundation for sustainable development; Agriculture management and rural development; Labor and employment; Growth with equity; Education; Health; Gender equality; Indigenous Peoples; Cultural diversity; and Children and youth.
40. Composed of past and present hosts of the Summits (in Québec, United States, Chile, and Canada).
41. With Canada, Chile, the United States, Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil, and one representative from Central America, CARICOM, the Rio Group, and CAN.
42. See the official declaration on FTAA's official Web site: www.ftaa-alca.org/Ministerials/Miami/Miami_e.asp (accessed on June 20 2008).
43. Mónica Serrano rightly points out that despite several proposals made for instance by Venezuela (an Inter-American fund), the final declaration "comes out of a good governance manual: 'each country has primary responsibility for its own economic and social development through sound policies, good governance, and the rule of law'" (Mónica Serrano, "Conclusion: The Americas and Regional Dis-integration," in Louise Fawcett and Mónica Serrano [eds.], *Regionalism and Governance in the Americas. Continental Drift*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 275).
44. Point 19A: "Some member states maintain that we take into account the difficulties that the process of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) negotiations has encountered, and we recognize the significant contribution that the process of economic integration and trade liberalization in the Americas can and should make to the achievement of the Summit objectives to create jobs to fight poverty and strengthen democratic governance. Therefore, we remain committed to the achievement of a balanced and comprehensive FTAA Agreement."

Point 19B: "Other member states maintain that the necessary conditions are not yet in place for achieving a balanced and equitable free trade agreement with effective access to markets free from subsidies and trade-distorting practices, and that takes into account the needs and sensitivities of all partners, as well as the differences in the levels of development and size of the economies."

Source: Declaration of Mar del Plata: <http://www.summit-americas.org/Documents%20for%20Argentina%20Summit%202005/IV%20Summit/Declaracion/Declaracion%20IV%20Cumbre-eng%20nov5%209pm%20rev.1.pdf> (accessed on June 8, 2008).
45. Other than OAS and IADB, the other partner organizations of the Summit process are: CEPAL, World Bank, OPAS, Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA), Andean Development Bank (CAF), Central American Bank for Economic Integration (BCIE), Caribbean Development Bank (CDB), International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Labor Office (ILO), Institute for Connectivity in the Americas (ICA).
46. See, for instance, OAS, *Achievements of the Summits of the Americas. Progress since Mar del Plata, Report of the Joint Summit Working Group*, Washington, DC, 2007, pp. 83–84.
47. Andrew Hurrell, "Hegemony and Regional Governance in the Americas," Global Law Working Paper 05/04.
48. Stephen Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us. Globalization, Neoconservatism, and the Canadian State*, University of Toronto Press, 2002, pp.41–42.
49. Philipps, "Moulding Economic Governance in the Americas," p. 35.

50. Mario Pujols, "Detrás de Bastidores: Percepción del Sector Privado Dominicano Frente a las Negociaciones del DR-CAFTA y del EPA," April 2008, <http://www.opalc.org/images/INRE/pujols.pdf>, (accessed on June 25, 2008).
51. Alba in Spanish means dawn.
52. See the historical references on ALBA's official Web site: <http://www.alternativabolivariana.org/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=32> (accessed on June 11, 2008).
53. Interview with Osvaldo Martínez, president of the Economic Commission of the Cuban Parliament and director of Center for World Economy Studies (CIEM), La Havana, Cuba, February 20, 2008.
54. The "Barrio Adentro" Mission is a social program providing free basic health care to poorest sectors of the population.
55. See the text of the Agreement on ALBA's official Web site: <http://www.alternativabolivariana.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=81> (accessed on June 11, 2008).
56. See chapter eight.
57. Between September 2006 and November 2007, 673 projects were selected and granted a total amount of US\$15 million. The Venezuelan Bank for Social and Economic Development (BANDES) administers the payments, sometimes with delays. See "El Alba-TCP No Cumple Expectativas del Gobierno," *La Razón*, La Paz, Bolivia, October 23, 2007; "El TCP-Alba Dará US\$9.5 Milliones Hasta Fin de Año," *La Razón*, La Paz, Bolivia, October 24, 2007.
58. Carlos Romero, *Jugando con el Globo. La Política Exterior de Hugo Chávez*, Caracas, Ediciones B, 2006.
59. As of June 2008, the Brazilian Senate had not ratified Venezuela's adhesion. Therefore, Venezuela was still not legally a member of MERCOSUR.
60. Cusco, Peru (December 8, 2004), Brasilia, Brazil (September 30, 2005), Cochabamba, Bolivia (December 9, 2006), Margarita, Venezuela (April 17, 2007).
61. See the text on the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' site: http://www.mre.gov.br/portugues/imprensa/nota_detalle3.asp?ID_RELEASE=5466 (accessed on June 24, 2008).
62. Figure 9.2 is available online at <http://us.macmillan.com/author/olivierdabene/>. This figure is exploratory. My intention is no more than suggesting further discussions. For each variable, I gave a coefficient between one and four to each regional grouping, based on the previous chapters' developments. "Level" corresponds to the degree of institutionalization; "Scope" to the number of issue areas included in the agenda; "Actors" to the importance of non State actors (the higher the coefficient the higher the participation of civil society); and "Policies" to the type of integration (the higher the coefficient the more positive the integration).

Conclusion

1. See Olivier Dabène, *Amérique Latine. Les Elections contre la Démocratie?* Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2008.
2. *Tenemos que bajar el umbral de las expectativas*, said Peruvian minister of foreign affairs Fernando García Belaunde in a conference in Paris, on November 16, 2007.

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