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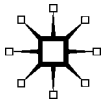
by Olivier Dabène

The Politics of Regional Integration in Latin America

**Theoretical and
Comparative Explorations**

Olivier Dabène

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THE POLITICS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA

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To Mili

Twenty-five and there's so much more

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AND PREFACE

My interest for regional integration processes in Latin America grew out of dissatisfaction. During the 1980s and 1990s, as I was studying the evolution of political regimes, I found that most scholarly efforts in the fields of “transitology” undervalued the simultaneity of the changes, except for rare mentions of a “snowballing effect,” and the fact that the time of democratization was also a time of reactivation of regional integration. In the particular case of Central America, the crisis resolution efforts were studied without considering the isthmus’ long experience in regional integration. The literature, in one word, was dramatically missing a “linkage politics” perspective.¹

Putting these evolutions in time perspective, I realized that Latin America had experienced several waves of political change during the twentieth century that had not received sufficient attention. I tried to describe and explain such waves of collective political change in two books,² with the firm intention to later consider regional integration as a dependant variable. When I started, I noticed that many works on regional integration were missing the political dimensions. I then decided to systematically explore the politics of regional integration, focusing in particular on the motives of the integration entrepreneurs, the institutions built and the policy outcomes they deliver. I soon realized that the investigation was not an easy one, as the sources were scarce and many studies were normative. As Peter Smith puts it, “contemporary discussions have tended to be economic in substance, technocratic in tone, and imprecise in argument.”³

This book is the product of different research conducted in the past twenty years, in Central America, the Southern Cone, and the Andean region. It does not offer a comprehensive vision of Latin American

integration, but rather invites the reader to a theoretical and comparative exploration. Its ambition is to nurture the debates, and certainly not to close them with a definitive proposal of interpretation. This is the academic posture we defend and work on in the Political Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean (OPALC) we are developing at Sciences Po, Paris.⁴

This book could not have been achieved without the kind assistance of many officials, colleagues, and friends throughout the continent who greatly facilitated my field observations in the past two decades and patiently answered my stubborn questions. Thanks to them, I was privileged to have access to insights and unpublished, often confidential, documents. I also had the opportunity to test many of my ideas during a number of seminars and workshops in Europe and the Americas, and as a professor I received great feedback from my graduate students in Latin America, Spain, and France. I warmly acknowledge the contribution of them all and send them a *fuerte abrazo* hoping to have many more opportunities to discuss the complex issues of regional integration with them. I would also like to thank Leo Schwartz and Miriam Perier for their wonderful editing job on the manuscript.

A C R O N Y M S ⁵

ACCP:	Assembly of Caribbean Community Parliamentarians
ACELCO:	Acción del Consumidor (Consumers' Action)
ACS:	Association of Caribbean States
ALADI:	Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración (Latin American Integration Association)
ALALC:	Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio (Latin American Free Trade Association)
ALBA:	Alternativa Bolivariana para las Ameritas (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas)
ALIDES:	Alianza para el Desarrollo Sostenible (Alliance for Sustainable Development)
AMFIM:	Asociación de Municipios de Frontera Integrados del MERCOSUR (Association of MERCOSUR Integrated Borders' Cities)
ANONG:	Asociación de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de Uruguay (Uruguayan Association of Non-Governmental Organizations)
APRA:	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance)
ARP:	Asociación Rural del Paraguay (Rural Association of Paraguay)
ASOCODE:	Asociación de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas para la Conservación y el Desarrollo (Central American Peasants Association for Cooperation and Development)
AUDU:	Agrupación Universitaria del Uruguay (University Group of Uruguay)

AUGM:	Asociación de Universidades Grupo de Montevideo (Association of Universities Group of Montevideo)
AUPRICA:	Asociación de Universidades Privadas de Centroamérica (Association of Central American Private Universities)
BCIE:	Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (Central American Bank for Economic Integration)
BID:	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (IADB: Inter-American Development Bank)
CACEC:	Central American Commission for Education and Culture
CACI:	Comité Centroamericano de Coordinación Intersectorial (Central American Intersectoral Co-ordination Committee)
CAF:	Corporación Andina de Fomento (Andean Development Bank)
CAFTA:	Central American Free Trade Agreement
CAN:	Comunidad Andina de Naciones (Andean Community of Nations)
CAP:	Common Agricultural Policy
CAPRE:	Comité Coordinador de Instituciones de Agua Potable y Saneamiento de Centroamérica (Central American Co-ordination Committee for Drinkable Water)
CARCO:	Camara Argentina de Comercio (Argentine Chamber of Commerce)
CARDI:	Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute
CARICAD:	Caribbean Center for Development Administration
CARICOM:	Caribbean Community
CARIFTA:	Caribbean Free Trade Association
CARIPEDA:	Caribbean Peoples Development Agency
CAT:	Confederación Argentina de Trabajadores (Argentine Confederation of Workers)
CBD:	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBI:	Caribbean Basin Initiative
CBTPA:	Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act
CCAD:	Comisión Centroamericana de Ambiente y Desarrollo (Central America Commission on Environment and Development)

CCC-CA:	Confederación de Cooperativas del Caribe y Centroamérica (Confederation of Cooperatives from Central America and the Caribbean)
CCCCC:	Caribbean Community Climate Change Center
CCE:	Comité de Cooperación Económica (Committee for Economic Cooperation)
CCHAC:	Comité de Coordinación de Hidrocarburos de América Central (Central American Committee for Oil Cooperation)
CCJ:	Caribbean Court of Justice
CCM:	Comisión de Comercio del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Trade Commission)
CCP:	Comisión Centroamericana Permanente para la Erradicación de la Producción, Tráfico, Consumo y Uso Ilícito de Estupefacientes y Sustancias Psicotrópicas (Permanent Central American Commission against Drug Trafficking)
CCSCS:	Coordinadora de Centrales Sindicales del Cono Sur (Southern Cone Coordination of Unions)
CCT:	Confederación Centraoamericana de Trabajadores (Central American Confederation of Workers)
CCVAH:	Consejo Centroamericano de Ministros de Viviendo y Asentamientos Humanos (Central American Council for Housing and Settling)
CDB:	Caribbean Development Bank
CDREA:	Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency
CEC:	Commission for Environment Co-operation
CECON:	Comisión Especial de Consulta y Negociación (Special Commission for Consultation and Negotiation)
CEHI:	Caribbean Environmental Health Institute
CENPROMYPE:	Centro para la Promoción de la Micro y Pequeña Empresa en Centroamérica (Center for the Promotion of Small and Medium Size Business)

CEPAL:	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean)
CEPREDENAC:	Centro de Coordinación para la Prevención de los Desastres Naturales en América Central (Coordination Center for the Prevention of Natural Disasters in Central America)
CEPUCA:	Confederación de Entidades Profesionales Universitarias de Centroamérica (Central American Confederation of Professional University Entities)
CESCA:	Comunidad Económica y Social de Centroamérica (Central American Economic and Social Community)
CET:	Common External Tariff
CFC:	Caribbean Food Corporation
CFNI:	Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute
CFR-SICA:	Consejo Fiscalizador Regional del SICA (SICA General Accounting Office)
CGT:	Confederación General de Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor)
CGT:	Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores (General Confederation of Workers)
CICA:	Consejo Indígena de Centroamérica (Indigenous Council of Central America)
CIM:	Comisión Industrial del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Industrial Council)
CIMH:	Caribbean Institute for Meteorology and Hydrology
CIP:	Centro de Importaciones de Paraguay (Paraguay's Center of Importers)
CIU:	Cámara de Industrias del Uruguay (Uruguayan Chamber of Industry)
CLAT:	Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores (Latin American Central of Workers)
CLC:	Commission for Labor Cooperation
CLE:	Council of Legal Education
CLI:	Caribbean Law Institute
CMC:	Comisión del Mercado Común (Council of the Common Market)
CMI:	Caribbean Meteorological Institute

CMO:	Caribbean Meteorological Organization
CMPI:	Consejo Mundial de Pueblos Indígenas (World Council of Indigenous Peoples)
CMS:	Caribbean Meteorological Service
CNA:	Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil (Brazilian Confederation of Agriculture and Cattle industry)
CNC:	Confederação Nacional do Comércio (National Confederation of Commerce)
CNI:	Confederação Nacional da Indústria (National Confederation of Industries)
CNIRD:	Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development
CNT:	Confederação Nacional do Transporte (National Confederation of Transport)
COCATRAM:	Comisión Centroamericana de Transporte Marítimo (Central American Commission for Maritime Transport)
COCECA:	Consejo Centroamericano Campesino (Central American Peasant Council)
COCESNA:	Corporación Centroamericana de Servicios de Navegación Aérea (Central America Corporation of Air Navigation Services)
COCISS:	Consejo Centroamericano y República Dominicana de Instituciones de Seguridad Social (Central American Council of Social Security Institutes)
CODESUL:	Conselho de Desenvolvimento e Integração Sul (Council for the Development and Integration of the South)
CODICADER:	Consejo del Istmo Centroamericano de Deportes y Recreación (Central American Council for Sports)
COMECON:	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COMTELCA:	Comisión Técnica Regional de Telecomunicaciones de Centroamérica (Regional Technical Commission for Telecommunications in Central America)
CONCADECO:	Consejo Centroamericana de Protección al Consumidor (Central American Council for Consumer's Protection)

CONCAPE:	Confederación Centroamericana de la Mediana y Pequeña Empresa (Central American Confederation of Small and Medium-Sized Business)
CONCATEC:	Consejo Centroamericano de Trabajadores de la Educación y la Cultura (Central American Council of Education and Culture Workers)
CONCAUSA:	Conjunto Centroamérica-USA (Central America-United States of America Joint Accord)
CONCENTRA:	Coordinadora Centroamericana de Trabajadores (Central American Coordination of Workers)
CONDECA:	Consejo Centroamericano de Defensa (Central American Defense Council)
CONFEPESCA:	Confederación de Pescadores Artesanales de Centroamérica (Central American Confederation of Small Fishermen)
CONMEBOL:	Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol (South American Confederation of Football)
COOPERAR:	Confederación Cooperativa de la República Argentina (Argentine Confederation of Cooperatives)
COPA:	Confederación de Parlamentos de las Americas (Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas)
CORECA:	Consejo Agropecuario Centroamericano (Regional Council for Cooperation in Agriculture in Central America)
CO. SUP. EM.:	Consejo Superior Empresarial (Superior Council of Business)
COTA:	Caribbean Organization of Tax Administration
CPC:	Comisión Parlamentaria Conjunta (Joint Parliamentary Commission)
CPDC:	Caribbean Policy Development Center
CRECENEA Litoral:	Comisión Regional de Comercio Exterior del Noreste Argentino y el Litoral (North East and Costal Region Commission for External Trade)
CRFM:	Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism

CRICAP:	Consejo Registral Inmobiliario de Centroamérica y Panamá (Council of Property Registrars of Central America and Panama)
CROSQ:	CARICOM Regional Organization for Standards and Quality
CRPM:	Comisión de Representantes Permanentes del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Commission of Permanent Representatives)
CRRH:	Comité Regional de Recursos Hidráulicos (Regional Committee for Hydraulic Resources)
CSCAC:	Coordinadora Sindical de Centroamérica y Caribe (Union Coordination of Central America and the Caribbean)
CSUCA:	Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano (Central American Council for Higher Education)
CTCA-ORIT:	Confederación de Trabajadores de Centroamérica (Confederation of Central American Workers)
CTCAP:	Comisión para el Desarrollo Científico y Tecnológico de Centroamérica (Commission for the Development of Science and Technology in Central America)
CTU:	Caribbean Telecommunication Union
CUDECOOP:	Confederación Uruguaya de Entidades Cooperativas (Uruguayan Confederation of Cooperatives)
CUSTA:	Canadian-U.S. Trade Agreement
CUT:	Central Única dos Trabalhadores (Unitary Central of Workers)
CXT:	Caribbean Examinations Council
DR CAFTA:	Dominican Republic–Central American Free Trade Agreement
EAI:	Enterprise for the Americas Initiative
EAPCA:	Economic Action Plan for Central America
EC:	Executive Commission
ECCM:	East Caribbean Common Market
ECLA:	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECSC:	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC:	European Defense Community
EEC:	European Economic Community

EFC:	Economy and Finance Commission
ERDF:	European Regional Development Fund
ESAPAC:	Escuela Superior de Administración Pública para Centroamérica (Advanced School of Public Administration for Central America)
ESF:	European Social Fund
EU:	European Union
FCCR:	Foro Consultivo de Municipios, Estados Federados, Provincias y Departamentos del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Consultative Forum of Cities, Federated States, Provinces, and Departments)
FCES:	Foro Consultivo Económico y Social (Economic-Social Forum)
FECABOLSA:	Federación Centroamericana, Panamá y el Caribe de Puestos de Bolsas (Central American Federation of Trade Centers)
FECAICA:	Federación de Cámaras y Asociaciones Industriales Centroamericanas (Central American Federation of Chambers and Associations of Industry)
FECAMCO:	Federación de Camaras de Comercio del Istmo Centroamericano (Central American Chambers of Commerce Federation)
FECATRANS:	Federación Centroamericana del Transporte (Central American Federation of Transporters)
FECOP:	Federación Centroamericana de Organizaciones Comunes (Central American Federation of Community Organizations)
FEDECATUR:	Federación de Cámaras de Turismo de Centroamérica (Central American Chambers of Tourism Federation)
FEDEPRICAP:	Federación de Entidades Privadas de Centro América y Panamá (Federation of Private Entities of Central America and Panama)
FEDEPRODIS:	Federación Red Pro Personas con Discapacidad (Federation Network in Favor of Handicapped Persons)
FEM:	Fondo de Financiamiento del Sector Educativo del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Fund for Education)

FEMICA:	Federación de Municipios del Istmo Centroamericano (Central American Federation of Municipalities)
FENASEG:	Federação Nacional das Empresas de Seguros Privados e de Capitalização (National Federation of Private Insurance Companies)
FIESP:	Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo (Federation of Industries from the State of Sao Paulo)
FIPA:	Foro Interparlamentario de las Americas (Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas)
FLAR:	Fondo Latinoamericano de Reservas (Latin American Reserve Fund)
FMIC:	Federación de Mujeres para la Integración Centroamericana (Women Forum for Central American Integration)
FOCEM:	Fondo de Convergencia Estructural del MERCOSUR (Fund for the Structural Convergence of MERCOSUR)
FS:	Força Sindical (Union Force)
FS:	Asociación Latinoamericana de Pequeños Caficultores. Frente Solidario (Latin American Association of Small Café Producers. Solidarity Front)
FTA:	Free Trade Agreement
FTAA:	Free Trade Area of the Americas
FTASA:	Free Trade Area of South America
FUNDEHUCA:	Fundación para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en Centroamérica (Central American Foundation for the Defense of Human Rights)
FUSADES:	Fundación Salvadoreña para el Desarrollo Económico y Social (Salvadorian Foundation for Economic and Social Development)
G3:	Group of Three
GANASIM:	Grupo de Alto Nivel para la Superación de las Asimetrías en el MERCOSUR (High Level Group for Overcoming Asymmetries in the MERCOSUR)

GANCEFI:	Grupo de Alto Nivel sobre Convergencia Estructural en el MERCOSUR y Financiamiento del Proceso de Integración (High Level Group on Structural Convergence and Integration Financing)
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GMC:	Grupo Mercado Común (Common Market Group)
GRAN:	Grupo Andino (Andean Pact)
IADB:	Inter-American Development Bank
ICA:	Institute for Connectivity in the Americas
ICAITI:	Instituto Centroamericano de Investigación y Tecnología Industrial (Central American Institute of Research and Industrial Technology)
ICCAR:	International Conference on Central American Refugees
ICIC:	Iniciativa Civil para la Integración de Centroamérica (Civil Initiative for Central American Integration)
IICA:	Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture
IIRSA:	Iniciativa para la Integración de la Infraestructura Regional Suramericana (Initiative for Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America)
ILO:	International Labor Office
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IMPACS:	CARICOM Implementation Agency for Crime and Security
INCAP:	Instituto Centroamericano de Administración Pública (Central American Institute of Public Administration)
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
IVFC:	International Verification and Follow-up Commission
MAI:	Multilateral Agreement on Investments
MCCA:	Mercado Común Centroamericano (Central American Common Market)
MERCOSUR:	Mercado Común del Sur (Common Market of the South)
MNR:	Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (Nation Revolutionary Movement)

NAFTA:	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO:	Nongovernmental Organization
NRC:	National Reconciliation Commission
OAS:	Organization of American States
OCAM:	Comisión Centroamericana de Directores de Migración (Central American Organization for Migration)
OCAVI:	Observatorio Centroamericano sobre Violencia (Central American Observatory of Violence)
OCB:	Organização das Cooperativas Brasileiras (Brazilian Cooperatives Organization)
OCCEFS:	Organización Centroamericana y del Caribe de Entidades Fiscalizadoras Superiores (Organization for the Superior Audit Institutions of Central America and the Caribbean)
ODECA:	Organización de Estados Centroamericanos (Organization of Central American States)
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECS:	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
ONECA:	Organización Negra Centroamericana (Black Central America Organization)
ONUCA:	United Nations Observer Group in Central America
OPALC:	Observatorio Político de América Latina y el Caribe (Political Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean)
OPAS:	Organismo Panamericano de la Salud (Pan-American Health Organization)
OPESCA:	Organización del Sector Pesquero y Acuícola del Istmo Centroamericano (Central American Organization for Fishing Activities)
ORAS:	Organismo Andino de Salud (Andean Health Organization)
OTCA:	Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica (Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization)
PAHO:	Pan American Health Organization

PAL:	Partido Autonomista Liberal (Liberal Autonomist Party)
PARLACEN:	Parlamento Centroamericano (Central American Parliament)
PARLAMAZ:	Parlamento Amazónico (Amazon Parliament)
PARLANDINO:	Parlamento Andino (Andean Parliament)
PARLATINO:	Parlamento Latino Americano (Latin American Parliament)
PDT:	Partido Democrático Trabalhista (Democratic Worker Party)
PFL:	Partido da Frente Liberal (Liberal Front Party)
PIA:	Parlamento Indígena de America (Indigenous Parliament of America)
PIDS:	Plan Integral de Desarrollo Social (Integral Plan for Social Development)
PIT-CNT:	Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores – Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (Inter-union Plenary of Workers—National Convention of Workers)
PJ:	Partido Justicialista (Peronist Party)
PMDB:	Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement)
PN:	Partido Nuevo (New Party)
POP:	Protocolo de Ouro Preto (Protocol of Ouro Preto)
PP:	Partido Progressista (Progressive Party)
PPHCAP:	Priority Plan for Health in Central America and Panama
PPP:	Plan Puebla Panamá (Puebla Panama Plan)
PRI:	Partido Revolucionario Institucionalizado (Institutionalized Revolutionary Party)
PSDB:	Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (Brazilian Social Democratic Party)
PT:	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party)
REPAHA:	Regional Center for the Education and Training of Animal Health and Public Health Assistants
ROCAP:	Regional Office for Central America and Panama
SAI:	Sistema Andino de Integración (Andean System of Integration)

SAM:	Secretaría Administrativa del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Administrative Secretariat)
SAT:	Sector de Asistencia Técnica (Technical Assistance Sector)
SC:	Security Commission
SE-CCAD:	Secretaría Ejecutiva de la Comisión Centroamericana de Ambiente y Desarrollo (Central American Environment and Development Commission's Executive Secretary)
SE-CEAC:	Secretaría Ejecutiva del Consejo de Electrificación de América Central (Electricity Central American Council's Executive Secretary)
SE-CMCA:	Secretaría Ejecutiva del Consejo Monetario Centroamericano (Central American Monetary Council's Secretary)
SELA:	Sistema Económico Latino-Americano (Latin American Economic System)
SG-CAC:	Secretaría General del Consejo Agropecuario Centroamericano (Central American Agricultural Council's General Secretary)
SG-CEEC:	Secretaría General de la Coordinación Educativa y Cultural Centroamericana (General Secretary for Coordination of Education and Culture in Central America)
SGT:	Sub-Grupo de Trabajo (Working Group)
SICA:	Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana (Central American System of Integration)
SIECA:	Secretariado de la Integración Económica Centroamericana (Central American Economic Integration Secretariat)
SIRG:	Summit Implementation Review Group
SISCA:	Secretariado de la Integración Social Centroamericana (Secretariat for Central American Social Integration)
SITCA:	Secretaría de la Integración Turística Centroamericana (Secretary of Central American Integration of Tourism)
SRA:	Sociedad Rural Argentina (Argentina's Rural Society)
TCP:	Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos (Trade Agreement of the Peoples)

TIFA:	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
TRIPS:	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UCR:	Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union)
UIA:	Unión Industrial Argentina (Argentina Industrial Union)
UIP:	Unión Industrial Paraguaya (Paraguayan Industrial Union)
ULAC:	Universidad Latino-Americana y del Caribe (University of Latin America and the Caribbean)
UNASUR:	Unión de Naciones Sur Americanas (South American Union of Nations)
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNO:	United Nations Organization
UNTF:	Unidad Nacional Técnica del FOCEM (FOCEM National Technical Unit)
UPROCAFE:	Unión de Medianos y Pequeños Productores de Café de México, Centroamérica y el Caribe (Union of Small and Medium-Sized Café Producers of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean)
UTF/SM:	Unidad Técnica FOCEM de la Secretaría del MERCOSUR (FOCEM Technical Unit of the MERCOSUR Secretariat)
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
WHO:	World Health Organization
WTO:	World Trade Organization