The European Union and Regional Integration: A Comparative Perspective and Lessons for the Americas

Friday, April 8, 2005

A conference organized by the Jean Monnet Chair, under the sponsorship of the European Commission, Action Jean Monnet program, with the cooperation of the Department of International Studies and the Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Miami and the Miami European Union Center, a partnership between the University of Miami and Florida International University, sponsored by the European Commission.

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Thursday, April 7, 2005

7:00pm

Welcoming/Dinner Reception. Location to be announced.

Friday, April 8, 2005

Location: Department of Psychology Seminar Room, Flipse Building, Parking, 5th Floor. Ponce de León Blvd.*

8:30-8:45 am  Registration

8:45 am

Welcome: Jonathan West, Professor of Political Science, Interim Chair, Department of International Studies
Joaquin Roy, Jean Monnet Professor, Director, EU Center, University of Miami
Steve Stein, Professor of History, Director, Center for Latin American Studies

9:00 am - 10:00 am

Session 1: NAFTA

Panel Chair: Bruce Bagley, University of Miami

Roberto Domínguez, University of Miami

Alejandro Chanona, National Autonomous University of Mexico
North America Security: A community or an identity?

Robert Pastor, American University
The Emergence and Future of North America

* All sessions and events will be held in the Department of Psychology Seminar Room, Flipse Building, Ponce Garage, 5th Floor, Ponce de Leon Blvd unless otherwise specifically noted.
10:15 am - 11:15am  

Session 2: NAFTA/CAFTA

Panel Chair: Steve Stein, University of Miami

Luis Rubio, Center for Research and Development (CIDAC)  
*Lesson from NAFTA: Perspectives for CAFTA*

Fernando Rueda-Junquera, University of Burgos  
*The Evolution and Current State of Central American Integration*

Eric Jacobstein, Inter-American Dialogue  
*The Politics of the Central American Free Trade Agreement*

11:30 am -12:30 pm  

Session 3: Caribbean

Panel Chair: Maurice Ferré

Joaquín Roy, University of Miami  
*The Caribbean in the ACP scope of the EU*

Wendy Grenade, University of Miami  
*Exploring Regional Governance Within the Caribbean Community*

David Hinds, Arizona State University  
*Internal Political Tribalism and Regional Integration in the Caribbean*

12:30 pm -1:30 pm  

Lunch
1:30 pm - 2:45 pm

Session 4: MERCOSUR/Andean Community

Panel Chair: José María Lladós, Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

Aimee Kanner, Florida Atlantic University
Comparing Institutional Capacities of Regional Integration: The Andean Community and Mercosur

Félix Peña, Tres de Febrero/CARI, Buenos Aires
Growing importance of Mercosur as a Regional and Global Player

Marcos Guedes, Federal University of Pernambuco
Mercosur: Political Development and Comparative Issues with the European Union

Michel Levi, Simón Bolivar University, Quito
The Andean Community and the European Union Referent: Overview of the Application of Integration Models

3:00 pm - 4:00 pm

Session 5: Hemispheric Integration

Panel Chair: Manuel Montero

Ambler H. Moss, University of Miami
Reflections on the development and prospects of the FTAA

Jeffrey Schott, Institute of International Economics
Whither the FTAA?

Donald MacKay, FOCAL, Canada
Inter-American Integration: a Canadian View
4:00 pm - 5:00 pm

Session 6: EU and the Americas

Panel Chair: Pedro Gomis-Porqueras, University of Miami

Armand De Mestral, McGill University
The EU and its Impact on the International System:
The Case of International Air Transport

Stephan Sberro, Institute of European Integration Studies
Technological Autonomous Institute of Mexico (ITAM)
The European Union in the External Relations of Canada and Mexico: A Comparative Analysis

Paolo Giordano, Inter-American Development Bank
An Overall Analysis of Integration in the Americas:
The EU as Reference.

5:00 pm - 5:30 pm

Closing Roundtable and Remarks

7:30 pm

Closing dinner (by invitation). Location to be announced.
Chanona, Alejandro (National Autonomous University of Mexico)

North America Security: A community or an identity?

North America has become a real region due to reasons of security, economic advantages and political interests, generating the idea of consolidating a North America Community by means of the deepening of NAFTA. The events of 9/11 put pressure on the countries of North America to seek a shared viewpoint about security issues and the regional vision is gradually being acquired. The three countries recognize common problems regarding security and the existence of transnational threats that cannot be treated independently. Given the increasing pressures to make U.S. Homeland Security more efficient and effective, and considering the long land borders shared with the United States, Mexico and Canada are currently in the process of assimilating this national security doctrine through their inclusion in the U.S. Northern Command and the strategy for Smart Borders. Security has become an important element of integration; the main question is if North America is building a security community or an identity in security issues. Is North America a Security Community with identity?

Dr. Chanona earned a Ph.D. in Government and a Masters degree in Western European Politics from the University of Essex, England. He is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Comparative Regionalisms at the School of Political and Social Sciences of the National University of Mexico, where he heads the European Studies Center. Currently he is President of the Mexican International Studies Association, founding member of the World International Studies Committee. He also participates in the Mexican Council of International Affairs, and is member of the Editorial Committee of the periodical publication Foreign Affairs in Spanish. His last book, co-edited with Joaquin Roy and Roberto Domínguez, is, La Unión Europea y el TLCAN: Integración Regional Comparada y Relaciones Mutuas.

Domínguez, Roberto (University of Miami)


The paper argues that there are several ways to asses NAFTA. From a mere quantitative approach based on trade and investment growth, it is clear that NAFTA has been a success. However, the interpretation of numbers raises questions when the distribution of benefits is taken into account. In this regard, the paper overviews the different positions and debates on the impact of NAFTA in the region. Subsequently, the paper evaluates the institutional development of NAFTA and argues that whereas North America remains regionally weak in institutional terms, there is an informal process of regionalization with the prevalence of the United States agenda.

Roberto Domínguez holds a Ph.D in International Studies from University of Miami and an M.A. from Ortega y Gasset Foundation, Spain. He was professor of International Relations at
UNAM, México (1996-1999) as well as editor of the Journal Relaciones Internacionales. Likewise, he has been visiting Professor at University of Quintana Roo and Teikyo University, Maastricht, Holland. From 1999 to 2002, he was research assistant at The North South Center and since 2002 research associate at the Miami European Union Center. Among his publications, he has coordinated the following books: with Joaquín Roy and Alejandro Chanona, La Unión Europea y el TLCAN: Integración Regional Comparada y Relaciones Mutuas (2004); with Joaquín Roy, Relaciones Exteriores de la Unión Europea (2001), and with Alejandro Chanona, Europa en Transformación: procesos políticos, económicos y sociales (2000); Cooperación e Integración en la Organización Regional Europea (2000). Dr. Domínguez was also a weekly columnist of the magazine Siempre (1998-2000) and is currently a frequent analyst for La Jornada newspaper. He was political analyst at Radio Educación (1998-2001) and since 2004 has been political commentator at America en Vivo News (Telemundo-NBC Network). He was also advisor and speech writer for the Governor of the State of Mexico (1994-1995), head of the Department of Press Analysis at the Education Secretariat (1994), and head of the Department of International Press Analysis at the Foreign Affairs Secretariat (1990-1993).

Giordano, Paolo (Inter-American Development Bank)

An overall analysis of integration in the Americas: the EU as reference.

Economist of the Integration and Regional Programs Department of the Inter-American Development Bank, holding a Ph.D. in Economics from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po) and an M.A. from the Bocconi University. He was previously appointed at the Mercosur Chair of Sciences Po, where he lectured on International Economics and Trade Policy and served as the Coordinator of the Working Group on EU-Mercosur Negotiations. He has published in international journals on topics related to regional integration in Latin America, and his latest book is: An Integrated Approach to the EU-Mercosur Association (2002).

Gomis-Porqueras, Pedro (University of Miami)

Dr. Gomis-Proqueras is an Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Miami. He received his PhD on May of 2001 from the University of Texas at Austin. His research and teaching interests focus on the relationships between monetary policy, financial sector behavior and macroeconomic performance as well as assessing how volatility in macroeconomic aggregates affects optimal monetary policy. He has published articles in the Journal of Economic Theory, Economic Theory, Macroeconomic Dynamics and Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control.

Grenade, Wendy (University of Miami)

Exploring Regional Governance within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)

Regional integration is a central pillar of the contemporary global political economy. However, there are different approaches to regionalization. While some regional projects are loose free trade agreements, others represent deeper forms of economic and political union, while others
fall in between the two extremes. It follows therefore that regional projects will have different institutional expressions. This paper examines the institutional architecture of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). In particular it outlines the structure of CARICOM, to include the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery (CRNM). The paper also draws attention to the wide array of institutions and associate institutions of CARICOM which, though often overlooked, underpin the regional governance arrangements of the Caribbean Community.

Wendy Grenade is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of International Studies at the University of Miami. She holds an M.A. in International Studies from the University of Miami and an M.A. in Human Resource Management from the University of Westminster in London. Her area of specialization is comparative politics with an emphasis on democratization and regional integration in the Caribbean. Currently Ms. Grenade is writing her dissertation on the internal and external challenges to Caribbean integration in the contemporary era.

**Guedes de Oliveira, Marcos Aurelio** (Federal University of Pernambuco)

*Merco sur: Political Development and Comparative Issues with the European Union*

In the last ten years Mercosur has become a viable instrument for the creation of a South American pole of economic development and integration as well as for the enhancement of regional power within inter-regional and global negotiations. For Europeans, Mercosur is a son of the EU process and structures; for North-Americans it is being portrayed as nothing more than a regional political arrangement in order to better negotiate with the US. Surprisingly for everyone Mercosur exists and is growing despite all adversities. This essay discusses key aspects that Mercosur shares with the EU and NAFTA and stresses the particularities that produced and maintain Mercosur as an original regional integration model.

Dr. Guedes de Oliveira has a Ph.D. in Government from Essex University, was *Chair Simon Bolivar* Sorbonne Paris III, and has directed the Center for Brazilian Studies at Middlesex University. Today he is the Director of Nucleo de Estudos Americanos at UFPE where he is Professor of International Relations. His latest books are *Mercosul e Política* (LTR ed. 2001), *Brasil e EUA no novo milênio* (UFPE 2004), and he has edited with Francisco Dominguez *Mercosur: Between Integration and Democracy* (Peter Lang ed 2004).

**Hinds, David** (Arizona State University)

*Internal Political Tribalism and Regional Integration in the Caribbean*

The rise of the current wave of globalization has heralded a new push towards deeper regional cooperation among all countries, but particularly among countries in the so-called Third World. However this push towards deeper regionalization has been accompanied by the perennial tension between the demands of regionalization and the internal dynamics of the individual member states. This paper explores this phenomenon in relation to the Caribbean countries that make up the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM). It contends that while there has over the last decade been increased urgency towards deepening regional cooperation, that movement has been curtailed by political considerations within several of the member states.
In particular the paper looks at how the nature of governance and political contestation within these states has undermined the enactment of the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) and the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME).

David Hinds is an Assistant Professor in the African and African American Studies Department at Arizona State University. He is a political scientist with specializations in Comparative Politics (Caribbean) and African Diaspora Studies. Dr. Hinds did his undergraduate studies at the University of the District of Columbia and his graduate studies at Howard University in Washington, DC. His areas of teaching and research include Race, Ethnicity and Politics in Plural Societies; Governance and Democracy; African Diasporic Political Thought; Political Resistance; and Culture as Political Expression. Apart from his scholarly work, he is a prolific writer in the popular media. His column, “The Truth of the Matter” and other popular writings on Caribbean Politics and Society appear in several on-line publications and in the Guyanese newspapers and can be found on his website guyanacaribbeanpolitics.com. In addition, Dr Hinds has been for the last decade a co-host of the most widely viewed Caribbean television program in the USA, CaribNation, which operates out of Washington, DC. In this capacity he has interviewed scores of Caribbean policy makers, political leaders, educators and cultural activists. He is also a political commentator and analyst on a monthly radio program, Caribbean Exchange, heard on Morgan State University Radio in Baltimore, Maryland.

**Jacobstein, Eric** (Inter-American Dialogue)

*The Politics of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)*

The paper will focus on the political dynamics of CAFTA in the U.S. Congress. The vote on CAFTA will be very close and if the agreement passes it will likely pass by no more than two or three votes in the U.S. House of Representatives. I will analyze the major political forces that could block congressional passage of the accord including organized labor and the sugar and textile sectors. Arguing that CAFTA does not require member countries to enforce International Labor Organization (ILO) standards, a number of key democrats have announced that they will vote against CAFTA. In addition, members of Congress on both sides of the aisle will vote against the agreement in order to protect constituents in the sugar and textile sectors. The House of Representatives approved fast track authority for President Bush by just three votes in 2002 and the window on free trade continues to narrow. Failure to gain congressional approval for CAFTA would severely damage the political viability of several upcoming bilateral trade agreements in the region and an eventual Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). It could also damage U.S. trade policy more broadly.

Eric Jacobstein is the manager for legislative affairs at the Inter-American Dialogue. He directs both the Dialogue's work with the U.S. Congress and its inter-American legislative network. Jacobstein holds a master's degree in Latin American studies from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service where he concentrated in government and international development.
Kanner, Aimee (Florida Atlantic University)

Comparing Institutional Capacities of Regional Integration: The Andean Community and Mercosur

This paper provides a comparative analysis of the Andean Community and Mercosur, with particular attention to the institutionalization of regional integration. In this context, several institutional factors are taken into consideration: the pooling of sovereignty in institutions created to facilitate the integration process; institutionalized functional development; the institutionalization of policymaking, decision-making, and dispute resolution processes; and the institutionalization of contracts at the domestic level. Finally, the external aspect of regional integration is analyzed in terms of the institutionalization of relations between these regional organizations.

Aimee Kanner (B.A. in International Relations, The George Washington University, 1995; M.A. in Inter-American Studies, University of Miami, 1997; Ph.D. in International Studies, University of Miami, 2001) is Adjunct Professor at Florida International University and Florida Atlantic University where she teaches courses on Politics of Western Europe, Politics of the European Union, Politics of Latin America and Comparative Politics. She is the Associate Director of the Miami European Union Center, serving also as an editor, research associate, program consultant and webmaster. Dr. Kanner’s interests include European studies, particularly the European Union; Latin American studies; and regional studies. She has published several works related to these interests including “La Convención Europea: ¿Una Constitución para Europa?” in Alejandro Chanona, Roberto Domínguez, and Joaquín Roy (coordinadores), La Unión Europea y el TLCAN. (México: UNAM, 2004); “La institucionalidad del MERCOSUR,” in Roberto Domínguez Rivera, Joaquín Roy, and Rafael Velázquez Flores (coordinadores), Retos e Interrelaciones de la integración regional: Europa y América. (México: Plaza y Valdés, 2003); and with Joaquín Roy, “Spain and Portugal: Partners in Development and Democracy,” in Eleanor E. Zeff and Ellen B. Pirro (eds.), The European Union and the Member States: Cooperation, Coordination and Compromise. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001); and España y Portugal en la Unión Europea. (México: UNAM, 2001).

Levi, Michel (Simón Bolivar University)

The Andean Community and the European Union Referent: Overview of the Application of Integration Models

The influence of the European integration process on the Andean region is mainly evident in the institutional and legal structure of the Andean integration. However, it would not be accurate to assert that the European integration model has been applied as such to the Cartagena Agreement of 1969 or to the more complex Andean Integration System, which created the Andean Community in 1997. Instead, it has evolved responding to its own dynamic of economic, social and political variables. Despite the exclusive characteristics of both processes, it is feasible to find common elements particularly in the legal and institutional architecture developed by the Andean Community, which lead us to consider the European integration as a valid referent for this and other integration schemes in Latin America.
Michel Levi Coral holds a JD in Law from the Catholic University of Ecuador and a Master in International and European Law from the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. He has also studied International Relations and Comparative Politics and participated in the Training Program of the European Commission. Dr. Levi has been professor and researcher at the postgraduate program of the Catholic University of Ecuador and visiting professor at the Simon Bolivar Andean University. Likewise, he has practiced law and he was a consultant in public policies for the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank programs for development as well as cabinet member of the Ministry of Tourism of Ecuador. Currently, he is Jean Monnet Professor of the European Module “European Union-Andean Community Relations” at the Simon Bolivar Andean University.

**Mackay, Donald** (Centre for Trade Policy and Law, Carleton University)

*Inter American Integration: A Canadian Perspective*

Numerous observers have commented that Canada “really” discovered the Western Hemisphere when it finally agreed to join the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1989. Since then, Canada has sought to make a positive impact on inter American affairs, principally from the perspective of a developed “middle power”. For some, these are code words to signify a perspective that is frequently, although not always, different from the United States, the only other developed country in the Americas. Canada’s own national interests as well as its support for development objectives in the Americas led it to pursue an active role in the creation of such regional integration schemes as the NAFTA (completed and successful) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas – FTAA (ongoing and troubled). On the bilateral stage Canada pursued a vigorous post NAFTA agenda, securing trade liberalization agreements with Chile and Costa Rica. It has also launched negotiations with a range of other potential partners, including the Central American 4 (Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras), the Dominican Republic and CARICOM. In addition, discussions have been launched with the Andean Community and most recently with Mercosur. Since 2001, however, not a single one of these bilateral processes has been brought to fruition. This paper explores the political economy of Canada’s recent engagement in the Hemisphere and raises some possible explanations for the apparent inability of Canada to secure successful conclusions to these processes.

Donald Mackay was named Director of the Washington D.C. office of the Centre for Trade Policy and Law (CTPL) in February, 2005. For the previous four years he served as Executive Director of the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Canada’s premier policy institute concerned with developments in Latin America and the Caribbean. Between 1995 and 2000, he served as a Special Advisor to the Secretary General of the OAS as the Deputy Director of the OAS Trade Unit. From 1993 to 1995, he headed the NAFTA Section of the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City. Mr. Mackay was a member of the Canadian NAFTA negotiating team, being involved in the chapters on Trade in Services, Financial Services, Telecommunications, and Temporary Entry. Mr. Mackay joined Canada’s diplomatic service in 1982 and was also posted to Prague, Czechoslovakia from 1984 to 1986. His formal education took place at Queen’s University in Kingston and Carleton University in Ottawa.
Mestral, Armand de (McGill University)

The EU and its Impact on the International System: The Case of International Air Transport

The EU continues to have a dynamic impact on the international system. Each time the EU is granted new jurisdiction this power is projected externally - sometimes with devastating effect on existing international law. Since 1992 the EU has become responsible for the regulation of air transportation within its territory on the basis of "open skies" policies. In 2004 it began a process of revision of its air services agreements with other countries on the basis of open skies policies. The first negotiation is currently under way with the United States. The impact upon other states, other regional trade agreements such as NAFTA and ASEAN, and in ICAO is already being felt. Successful conclusion of an EU - USA air services bilateral agreement will constitute a revolutionary moment in international air transport law.

Armand de Mestral is Jean Monnet Chair of Law at McGill University where he teaches international trade law, EU law, and public international law. His principal current area of research is the law governing regional economic integration. He is the author of works on public international law, international trade law and comparative federalism. Armand de Mestral is the Co-director McGill - Université de Montréal Institute of European Studies, and Past President of the Canadian Red Cross Society.

Pastor, Robert (American University)

The Emergence and Future of North America

North America is the largest free trade area in the world in terms of gross product and territory, and it is almost as integrated – defined as intra-regional trade as a percent of world trade – in a decade as the European Union is after five decades. The North American model is very different from that of Europe; it is driven by the market rather than by governments. This explains both its success and its current weakness. This paper examines the origins and surprising emergence of North America; it evaluates NAFTA and compares it to the EU; and it offers a series of recommendations as to what the three countries should do to create a North American Community.

Dr. Pastor is Vice President of International Affairs, Professor of International Relations, and Director of the Center for North American Studies at American University. He was National Security Advisor for Latin America (1977-81). From 1985-2002, Dr. Pastor was Professor at Emory University and Fellow and Founding Director of the Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program and the Democracy Program. At the Carter Center, he founded and served as the Executive Secretary of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, a group of 32 leaders of the Americas, chaired by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. Dr. Pastor has been a foreign policy advisor to each of the Democratic Presidential Candidates since 1976. President Bill Clinton nominated him to be Ambassador to Panama, and he served as the Senior Advisor to the Carter-Nunn-Powell Mission to restore constitutional government in Haiti in 1994. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard University and an M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government. He is the author or editor of sixteen books, including Toward a
North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New (2001) and Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean (2001). Dr. Pastor was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Malaysia, a Fulbright Professor in Mexico, and a Visiting Professor at Harvard University.

**Peña, Félix** (Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero)

*Growing importance of Mercosur as a Regional and Global Player*

The paper is about Mercosur as an emergent experience of a multinational-multilevel sub-regional approach to global and regional challenges. The analysis will include: its relevance to the political and economic South American scenario; the nature of Mercosur as a consensual alliance among sovereign neighbour nations; its main characteristics and challenges; its role in the consolidation of democracy and economic modernization within its member countries; and its contribution to political stability in the South American region. Some conclusions: Is Mercosur a strategically relevant and potentially strong regional and global player? Could it become a major contributor to global governance?

Félix Peña has a law degree from the Universidad Nacional del Litoral in Santa Fe, a law doctorate from the University of Madrid, and a degree in European law from the Universidad Católica de Lovaina. He has worked in INTAL, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economy where he was Under-Secretary of Trade. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he participated in the creation of MERCOSUR as the Argentine coordinator in the negotiations for the Treaty of Asunción. Dr. Peña is Director of the Instituto de Comercio Internacional-Fundación BankBoston; Professor at the Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero, and a member of CARI’s executive board. His most recent book is *Momentos y perspectivas: la Argentina en el mundo y en la región*. Buenos Aires: Eduntref, 2003.

**Roy, Joaquín** (University of Miami)

Dr. Roy (Lic. Law, University of Barcelona, 1996; Ph.D, Georgetown University, 1973), is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Director of University of Miami European Union Center and Co-Director of the Miami European Union Center. He has published over 200 academic articles and reviews, and he is the author, editor, or co-editor of 25 books, among them *The Reconstruction of Central America: the Role of the European Community* (North-South Center, 1991), *The Ibero-American Space/ El Espacio Iberoamericano* (U.Miami/University of Barcelona, 1996), *Cuba, the U.S. and the Helms-Burton Doctrine: International Reactions* (University of Florida Press, 2000), *Las relaciones exteriores de la Unión Europea* (México: UNAM, 2001), *Retos de la integración regional: Europa y América* (México: UNAM, 2003), and *La Unión Europea y el TLCAN* (México: UNAM, 2004). He has also published over 1,200 columns and essays in newspapers and magazines. Among his awards is the Encomienda of the Order of Merit bestowed by King Juan Carlos of Spain.
rubio, luis (center for research and development [cidac])

lesson from nafta: perspectives for cafta

eleven years after nafta took effect there are two seemingly conflicting outcomes in the mexican economy. on the one hand, nafta has opened up opportunities for economic development and a great number of businesses and regions have benefited from it. on the other, however, only a few mexicans have been able to make use of nafta as an instrument for their own development. the paradox of both successes and failures reflects the political and governmental reality: the economy was liberalized externally, but there was no equivalent in the domestic context. the result is that millions of mexicans are lagging behind in economic development. in contrast to canada, which is seeking new avenues of economic integration once the nafta benefits became visible, mexico has not started yet to take enough advantage of its nafta membership. this is one of the main lessons for the central americans to take into account in their efforts to conclude a similar agreement, cafta.

luis rubio holds a ph.d. in political science from brandeis university and is president of research center for development (cidac), independent institution for the study of economic and political issues. in the 1970s, he was appointed director of planning at citibank and advisor to the secretary of economy. he was also member of the council of the mexico equity and income fund, the central european value fund, inc., national bank of mexico (banamex) and workers bank. among other appointments, he was member of the human rights commission of the federal district (currently mexico city) and the trilateral commission. as a political analyst, he is a weekly columnist at reforma and frequently writes for the washington post, the wall street journal and los angeles times. he has authored 37 books; the most recent ones are políticas económicas del méxico contemporáneo, tres ensayos. fobaproa, privatización y tlc; el dilema de méxico: los orígenes políticos de la crisis económica; reforma del sistema político mexicano: componente necesario de la modernidad; ¿cómo va a afectar a méxico el tratado de libre comercio? y a la puerta de la ley, el estado de derecho en méxico. he also won the 1993 dag hammarskjold award and the 1998 national award of journalism.

rueda-junquera, fernando (university of burgos)

the central american customs union project: beyond rhetoric

the revitalization of the central american integration process in the 1990s is not a return to the former program launched in the 1970s. there is not a plan to extend the national policies of import substitution industrialization to the regional level, but rather to support a model of growth based on the promotion of non-traditional exports. regional integration is considered an instrument for increasing economic efficiency, and thus, the increased competitiveness for central america in the international market. this paper presents an evaluation of the potential and limitations of this process of sub-regional integration, which is currently working on the completion of a customs union. the important existing limitations associated with this process should be overcome in order for sub-regional integration to produce the desired positive effects in terms of economic development.
Fernando Rueda-Junquera is Professor of International Economics and Vice-Dean of Institutional and International Relations in the School of Business and Economic Sciences at the Universidad de Burgos. He received his doctoral and masters degrees in Economics from the University of London, and a masters degree in Planning, Development, and Public Policy from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Rueda-Junquera has worked as a consultant for the European Commission and for the Secretary of State for International Cooperation and Iberoamerica of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His most recent publications have focused on topics related to Latin American economies and processes of regional integration in Latin America. He teaches postgraduate classes related to his research agenda in the Inter-University Institute of Iberoamerican and Portuguese Studies at the University of Salamanca and at the Ortega y Gasset Research University Institute in Madrid.

Sberro, Stephan (Technological Autonomous Institute of Mexico, Institute for Integration Studies, ITAM)

_The European Union in the External Relations of Canada and Mexico: A Comparative Analysis_

Fifteen years ago it would have been extremely difficult to compare Mexico’s relations with the European Union to those of Canada with the EU. Both countries had very different levels of development, commercial strategies and, above all, political traditions (particularly in foreign affairs issues). Mexico’s economic opening, concluding with the North America Free Trade Agreement, changed this situation. From 2000 on everything pointed towards a convergence between Mexico and Canada’s relations with the EU. Nevertheless the result was exactly the opposite. Economic and political strategies continued on separate paths; a fact that can be explained from two perspectives. The first one is external, since it was the EU that adopted dissimilar approaches to Mexico and Canada respectively. Europe did not consider North America as a whole; instead it applied three types of relationships with each of its integrants. From the internal perspective we find that Canada emphasized political convergence to achieve better commercial conditions. On the other hand, Mexico focused on its economic relations without a real definition on political matters. It seems that the single cause has two distinct effects: it is the reason for Mexico’s success and Canada’s standstill. Unfortunately Mexico has not been able to properly take advantage of its relations with the EU.

Dr. Sberro has a Masters degree in Economic Sciences from the University of Paris II-Assas, 1981 and a Ph. D. in Political Science from the University of Paris III-Sorbonne. Currently, he is Professor of the Instituto Tecnológico Autonomo de México (ITAM-www.itam.mx) and Co-Director of the European Integration Institute (IEIE-ieie.itam.mx). He also holds the Jean Monnet Chair awarded by the European Commission, as well as the Alfonso Reyes Chair sponsored by the governments of Mexico and France. He is author of over 50 articles and three books about European Integration and relations between Europe and America as well as other international relations topics. He has contributed with columns to “El Universal” of Mexico for over ten years, and he is a frequent analyst for diverse Mexican and European media.
The paper provides a critique of the Miami Declaration of November 2003 and why it has contributed to the impasse in the FTAA talks. It also explains what needs to be done to have a successful accord (including what should be covered by the pact). Much of the focus is on US-Brazil interactions, but the costs/benefits for smaller economies are also considered. Regarding congressional views, the main focus of members in the short term will not be on the FTAA but rather CAFTA. How the CAFTA ratification vote proceeds in the Congress this Spring or Summer will, however, have a significant influence on all US trade talks in the hemisphere, and a rejection of the pact would seriously undermine prospects for the FTAA.


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