V International Symposium on Comparative Regionalism and the EU

The Jean Monnet Chair
in cooperation with
the Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence
(a partnership of the University of Miami and Florida International University)
is sponsoring a Symposium on

The European Union in Comparative Perspective:
A Model and Reference for the Americas

at

The University of Miami
Cuban Heritage Collection
Conference Room
2nd Floor, Richter Library
Friday, November 4, 2005

Organization:
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**Background**

On November 4-5, 2005, President George W. Bush will meet the leaders of the Western Hemisphere in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in a new Summit of the Americas, a series that was inaugurated in Miami in 1994 when President Bill Clinton convened a gathering of the continent to announce the foundation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). A decade of accomplishments and failures, the explorations of alternatives and the consolidation of other schemes of regional integration has mirrored across the Atlantic the steady and at times troubled progress of the European Union, leading to its most spectacular enlargement in 2004 to include 25 countries and the failure to ratify the Constitutional Treaty. Different in purposes and means, the diverse experiments in the Americas are prime candidates for a close scrutiny with the EU model as a point of reference.

**Overview**

This symposium intends to offer an in depth review of the fundamental features in the institutional and treaty framework of the European Union (as a point of reference) and the prevalent models of regional integration in the Western Hemisphere, with an emphasis on the prospects of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The first panel will offer a panorama of the main institutions of the European Union, a brief history of their evolution until today, their respective competences and the prospects for the future. The slim institutional structure of NAFTA will serve as a base for comparative analysis, particularly in light of recent attempts to strengthen it.

The second panel deals with the comparison of the treaty and primary law evolution in the two main regional integration models in the Americas, in terms of complexity and in comparison with the European Union.

The third panel will be dedicated to an evaluation of the EU and FTAA models as applied in other sub-regional settings, such as CARICOM, the Central American integration system, CAFTA, and the Andean Community.

A closing roundtable will also take into consideration alternative and competing novel and traditional schemes and ideas such as the South American Community, the ALBA, and the Ibero-American summits.
PROGRAM

Thursday, November 3

8:00pm. Welcome Dinner By invitation

Friday, November 4

9:00-9:15am

Welcome:
  Michael Halleran, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
  Jonathan West, Chair, Department of International Studies

Opening remarks: Santiago Cabanas, Consul General of Spain

Theme: The road to regional integration in Europe and America

9:15-10:45am

Session I: The FTAA/NAFTA and the EU: Institutional and Process Comparison

Chair: Ambler H. Moss, Professor of International Studies, University of Miami

Presenters:
  - Francesc Granell, University of Barcelona, “Will the EU follow the model of the FTAA, or the FTAA will ever decide to look like the EU”
  - José Briceño Ruiz, Universidad de los Andes, Venezuela, “The FTAA and the EU: models for Latin American integration?”
  - Roberto Domínguez, Suffolk University, Boston, “Aspects of North American integration in the context of the EU evolution today”
  - Gustavo Vega, El Colegio de México, México, “Regional governance: the lessons of dispute settlement in NAFTA for the FTAA”

Comments: Bruce Bagley, University of Miami

10:45-11:00: Coffee Break

11:00am-12:00pm
Session II: Contrasts in Treaties and Primary Law: EU and NAFTA

Chair: Joaquín Roy, Jean Monnet Professor, University of Miami

Presenters:

- **Tomas Gronberg**, EU Fellow, University of Miami, Directorate General of Environment, European Commission, Brussels, “EU Environmental law”

- **Clifford Jones**, Professor of Law, University of Florida, Gainesville, "Competition Policy Dimensions of NAFTA and the EU"

- **Caroline Bradley**, Professor of Law, University of Miami, “Financial services: recent developments in the EU and NAFTA”

Comments: **Armand De Mestral**, McGill University, Canada.

12:00pm-1:30pm  Lunch. Keynote presentation:

Introduction and briefing on the United Kingdom Presidency of the European Union:

**Simon Davey**, Consul General of the United Kingdom

**Emil Kirchner**, University of Essex, United Kingdom, “The EU as a model for regional integration: the Muslim world and beyond”

1:30-2:45.

Session III. Caribbean and Central America.

Chair: **Anthony T. Bryan**, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C.

Presenters:

- **Wendy Grenade**, Florida Atlantic University, “Exploring the model of Caribbean Integration: Any resemblance to the EU?”

- **Paul Mullen**, Florida International University, “The European Court of Justice and the Caribbean Court: models and progress”

- **Fernando Rueda-Junquera**, University of Burgos, Spain, “The current status of Central American integration”

Comments: Hans Petersmann, Florida International University

2:45-4:00pm

Session IV: The Andean Community and the EU.

Chair: Nicol Rae, Director, Miami-Florida EU Center of Excellence, Florida International University

- Angel M. Casas, Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey, México, “Lessons from the Andean Community integration”
- Aimee Kanner, Florida Atlantic University, and Gaye Gungor, Florida International University, “Parliamentary Experiences Across the Regions: The European and Andean Parliaments Compared”
- Eric Tremolada, Universidad Externado de Colombia, “Application of the Andean Law in Bolivia, Ecuador, Perú and Venezuela in comparison with the European Union experience”

Comments: Anthony Bryan and Joaquín Roy

4:00-4:30pm. Round Table discussion: Regional Integration and Free Trade alternatives in Europe, the Americas, and beyond.

Presentation: Fraser Cameron, European Policy Center, Brussels. “The EU model - can it be used elsewhere?”

4:30pm: Book Presentations:

- The European Union and Regional Integration: a Comparative Perspective and Lessons for the Americas. Joaquín Roy and Roberto Domínguez (eds.)

4:45-5:00pm: Closing remarks:

Jorge Lomonaco, Consul General of México
and
Thomas LeBlanc, Provost and Executive Vice President, University of Miami
Biographical Notes and Abstracts

Bradley, Caroline (Professor of Law, University of Miami).

Caroline Bradley, professor of law, began her academic career in 1986, serving as a lecturer in law at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She obtained her LL.M. (first class) from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1984, and qualified as a solicitor before joining the LSE faculty. Professor Bradley, who joined the Law School faculty in 1992, has written widely on matters of British and European financial law. At the University of Miami, she teaches courses in European Community law, United States securities regulation, international finance, and business associations.

Briceño Ruiz, José (Universidad de los Andes, Venezuela).


The FTAA and the EU: models for Latin American integration?"

This paper analyses the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the European Union (EU) as models of regional integration. The EU interventionist model of economic integration is examined in the first section of the paper. The nature of FTAA as a new model of integration is analysed in the second section, whilst debate concerning the model to be implemented in Latin America is considered in the third section. The paper ends with a series of conclusions.

Bryan, Anthony T. (Center for Strategic and International Studies)

Dr. Anthony T. Bryan is currently a Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. From 1992 to 2003 he was the director of the Caribbean Studies Program at the North-South Center of the University of Miami. Born in Trinidad and Tobago, he served for a decade, as tenured Professor of International Relations and the Director of the Institute of International Relations at the University of the West Indies-St. Augustine, and subsequently as a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. He is the author/editor of 10 books and more than 100 articles on Caribbean and Latin American related themes. He has published widely on Caribbean regional trade and integration. His current research includes funded projects on Caribbean Trade and Security and Caribbean Energy Cooperation. These include: Principal of a multi-year major research project on Adapting Border Controls to Support Caribbean Trade and Development, funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and being implemented by the University of the West Indies in Trinidad, and the Council on Foreign Relations (N.Y); co-director of a 3-year
research project on *Caribbean Trade, Security and Development* at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London; member CSIS Working Group on *Energy Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere*; consultant on a 2 year project on the *Impact of the Transnational Illegal Drug Trade on Jamaica Society*, funded by the Ministry of National Security of the Government of Jamaica; and consultant to the *CARICOM Regional Task Force on Crime and Security*. He has served on several governmental committees in Caribbean countries dealing with foreign relations and on several occasions has testified before Congressional Committees on Capitol Hill on pending trade legislation, regional security, and other issues common to the United States and the Caribbean.

**Casas, Ángel M.** (Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey, México).

Ángel M. Casas Gragea received an MA in International Relations from the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar of Quito, Ecuador, and a Doctorate in Economics from the University of Córdoba, Spain. He has held different teaching and research positions in several Latin American institutions among them the General Secretariat of the Andean Community in Lima, the Instituto for Latin American Integration (INTAL) of the Inter-American Bank (IBD) in Buenos Aires, and the Organization of American States (OAS). He is currently a professor at the Technological Institute of Monterrey (México), visiting professor at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, and Research Associate of the ATEA Foundation and the Department of Sociology of the University of Seville.

*The Andean Community and the EU*

Since it was born in the sixties, the Andean Regional Integration Process has attempted to become a strategy to promote a harmonious and balanced development among the Andean Countries. This presentation has three main goals: (a) To explain and analyse the theoretical concept of the Andean New Regionalism in the framework of Latin American region in a comparative perspective with the European Model of Regional Integration; (b) To show the coexistence of two different regional integration models. Where the dominating one during the sixties was known as old regionalism, and the other that is currently being used is known as new regionalism, and (c) To analyse the way in which this coexistence appears to be an obstacle for the Andean countries to define their regional integration model and to advance toward their main goal: the balanced and harmonious development of each and every country member.

**Armand De Mestral** (McGill University)

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.
Domínguez, Roberto (Suffolk University).

Roberto Domínguez is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Suffolk University, Boston. He 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 co-edited the following books: with Joaquín Roy and Alejandro Chanona, *La Unión Europea y el TLCAN: Integración Regional Comparada y Relaciones Mutuas* (2004); with Joaquin 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).

Granell, Francesc (University of Barcelona, Spain).

Dr. Granell is professor of Economic International Organization at University of Barcelona and Honoree General Director of the European Commission. His academic background comprises a Ph. D. in Political, Economic and Trade Sciences at University of Barcelona and studies in the same are at the Institute of European Studies (Geneva), the International Marketing Institute (Cambridge), and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has also been visiting professor at Georgetown University. Among his professional activities in the European Commission, he was head of the Commission negotiating team for the accession of Finland as well as head of the area of relations with the Pacific, Caribbean and Indic countries. He has published an extensive number of articles on external trade, economic international relations and European integration.

Grenade, Wendy (Florida Atlantic University).

Wendy Grenade is an Adjunct Professor at the Florida Atlantic University and Associate Director of the Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence. She holds a Ph.D. in International Studies from the University of Miami as well as 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. Dr. Grenade also has experience in the areas of public policy and diplomacy.

*Exploring the Model of Caribbean Integration: Any Resemblance to the EU?*

This paper examines the extent to which the European model of integration is being adapted in the Caribbean. The paper argues that since the European Union (EU) is the oldest and most advanced regional project in the world, it is useful for other regional movements to draw
lessons from the EU in keeping with their own circumstances. In the case of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) the 1992 Report of the West Indian Commission did recommend aspects of the EU model for CARICOM. After many hurdles, CARICOM seems to be slowly evolving into a unique project given initiatives such as the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery (CRNM), the Bureau of the Conference, the Community Council of Ministers, the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ), the proposed Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) and Executive Commission. However, these initiatives are carried out within an intergovernmental framework. The paper argues that while the EU model has to some extent influenced the Caribbean integration process, CARICOM’s almost purely intergovernmental approach makes it distinctly different from the EU. The paper also contends that CARICOM should continue to draw useful lessons from the EU, but seek to carve out its own path to development through regional integration.

**Grönberg, Tomas** (EU Fellow, University of Miami, Directorate General of Environment, European Commission, Brussels).

Tomas Grönberg (B.A. with honors in Russian and Russian and Eastern European Studies, Grinnell College, 1982; Master of Arts in International Relations, Yale University, 1985) is EU Fellow for the academic year 2005/06 at the University of Miami European Union Center. A Swedish national, he represents the European Commission in Brussels, where he has been an administrator on environmental issues since 1996. Most recently he has worked as a political advisor (“Member of Cabinet”) to the European Commissioner for Environment with a particular responsibility for the preparation of new legislation on chemicals and for relations with the European Parliament. He was active in the “Yes to Europe” campaign before the Swedish referendum on whether to join the EU in 1995 and prior to that he was political advisor to the Swedish Minister for Culture and Immigration Affairs. He started off his professional career as Program Specialist at the U.S. Information Service at the American Embassy in Stockholm.

**Gungor, Gaye** (Florida International University).

Gaye Gungor is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Florida International University. She holds a B.A in International Relations from Middle East Technical University, and an M.A. in Political Science from FIU. Her area of specialization is comparative politics with an emphasis on the European Union, and the European Parliament specifically. She is currently writing her dissertation on the supranational party groups and party system of the European Parliament.


Gary Clyde Hufbauer resumed his position as Reginald Jones Senior Fellow in September 1998. Before joining the Institute for International Economics, he was the Marcus Wallenberg Professor of International Financial Diplomacy at Georgetown University. From 1977-1980, Dr. Hufbauer served in the U.S. Treasury Department. He holds an A.B from Harvard College, a
Ph.D. in economics from King College at Cambridge University, and a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center. His publications include *World Capital Markets* (co-author, 2001) and *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges* (co-author, forthcoming 2005).

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

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.

*Trends in the CAFTA process*

This paper will focus on the US trade agenda for the Americas following the July 2005 congressional approval of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). CAFTA managed to squeeze through the US House of Representatives by a two-vote margin but only after major pressure from the Republican party. More than 90 percent of Democrats united in opposition to CAFTA and partisan divisions on trade became crystallized. The ongoing US-Andean trade negotiations present the Bush administration with the opportunity to construct a more viable consensus on trade in the US Congress. With congressional elections in November 2006, the Andean trade agreement (when completed and signed) is unlikely to face a vote in the US Congress anytime soon. The paper also examines the various US political factors that obstruct bilateral and multilateral trade agreements in the Americas (principally focusing on CAFTA's lessons for the Andean Free Trade Agreement) and will look at the prospects for congressional approval of the Andean agreement and future trade accords.

**Jones, Clifford** (Professor of Law, University of Florida, Gainesville).

Dr. Clifford A. Jones teaches at the University of Florida’s Frederic G. Levin College of Law. His teaching and research interests include Competition and Antitrust Law, European Community Law, Election and Campaign Finance Law, Media Law, Constitutional Law, Federal Courts, Intellectual Property, Public International Law, International Trade Law, and International Business Transactions. He received his J.D. from the University of Oklahoma in 1977, and his M. Phil. in European Studies (First class honours), concentrating in EC law, in 1995 from Wolfson College, University of Cambridge, and his Ph.D. in Law in 1997 from King’s College, University of Cambridge. He is a former Fulbright Scholar (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany), former Visiting Fellow in the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy, University of Oxford, and a Visiting Professor of Law, King’s College, University of London. He has published 45 books, journal articles, and book chapters, including *PRIVATE ENFORCEMENT OF ANTITRUST LAW IN THE UK, EC, AND USA*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999) and *COMPETITION POLICY IN THE GLOBAL TRADING SYSTEM*, C. A. Jones and M. Matsushita, Eds., (The Hague: Kluwer International 2002). Prior to becoming an academic in 1996, he was in private practice in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, specializing in antitrust, intellectual property, securities, and civil rights litigation.
Competition Dimensions of NAFTA and the European Union: Semi-Common Competition Policy, Uncommon Rules, and No Common Institutions

This paper compares the development of competition policy in the EU with developments in the NAFTA. While the implementation of competition policy is of substantial importance to expanding free trade in both organizations, there are significant differences in the commonality of rules and institutions which might serve to apply competition policy in both organizations. Except in certain narrowly defined areas, NAFTA lacks the common antitrust rules present in the EU, and these differences have grown since the 1994 effective date of the NAFTA as Council Regulation 1/2003 (effective May 1, 2004) has increased the uniformity of competition rules in the EU, while NAFTA has failed to refine its competition rules as originally contemplated. Moreover, NAFTA lacks the common (supranational) institutions of the EU (e.g., no Commission, no Court of Justice), and excludes competition policy from its dispute resolution procedures, which ironically results in disputes on competition policy being taken to the World Trade Organization. The absence of more robust competition provisions in NAFTA hampers the development of North American regional competition policy within NAFTA and enhances the importance of other non-NAFTA cooperation measures.

Kanner, Aimee (Florida Atlantic University).

B.A. in International Relations (George Washington University, 1995); M.A. in Inter-American Studies (University of Miami, 1997); Ph.D. in International Studies (University of Miami, 2001) Dr. Kanner is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Florida Atlantic University. She is the former associate director of the Miami European Union Center, serving also as an editor, research associate, and program consultant. 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 Europea?” in Alejandro Chonona, Roberto Domínguez, and Joaquin Roy (coordinators), La Unión Europea y el TLCAN. (México: UNAM, 2003); “La institucionalidad del MERCOSUR,” in Roberto Domínguez Rivera, Joaquín Roy, and Rafael Velázquez Flores (coordinators), Retos e Interrelaciones de la integración regional: Europa y América. (México: Plaza y Valdés, 2003); and with Joaquin 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).

Parliamentary Experiences Across the Regions: The European and Andean Parliaments Compared

Although most regional integration processes were started as elite projects, their development and increased involvement in policy-making and decision-making processes has raised concerns regarding public representation and accountability. One of the responses to these concerns has been the creation and/or strengthening of regional parliamentary assemblies. In this paper, we conduct a comparative analysis of the European Parliament and the Andean Parliament, with a focus on their historical development, in an attempt to better understand and
explain the structure and processes of these regional institutions, particularly the Andean Parliament about which there has been little systematic research. We argue that while lessons can be learned in the Americas from the European experience, that the needs, resources, and traditions of the Andean countries and Andean Community must be a significant part of this analysis.

Kirchner, Emil (University of Essex, United Kingdom).

Emil Kirchner is Professor of European Studies in the Department of Government, and Honorary Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration at the University of Essex. He has studied at the Akademie für Welthandel, Frankfurt, Germany and received his BA (Economics), MA and PhD (Political Science) at Case Western Reserve University, USA. He currently holds an Honorary Guest Professorship at Renmin University of China, Beijing. He has held Fellowships and Visiting Professorships at the European University Institute, Florence, the University of Connecticut, the University of California at San Diego, and Charles University, Prague, and the Free University of Brussels. He has also held visiting teaching position at the University of Cambridge, the London School of Economics, and the Autonomous University of Mexico. Kirchner is currently Executive Editor of the Journal of European Integration; General Series Editor for Manchester University Press on "Europe in Change"; Co-ordinator of the Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence at the University of Essex; and Vice-President of the International Scientific Conference Minorities for Europe of Tomorrow (ISCOMET). Professor Kirchner has authored, co-authored, edited or co-edited fifteen books. The most recent are: Studies on Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union (2003); Committee Governance in the European Union (2000); Decentralization and Transition in the Visegrad (1999). He has authored or co-authored over one hundred articles, chapter contributions, and commissioned reports. He received in 2002 the Cross of the Order of Merit from the German Government for his outstanding contribution to Anglo-German relations.

The European Union: A model for integration of Muslim countries in the Arab region?

The success of the European Union in reaching a relatively high level of integration among its constituent member states over a fifty-year period has made it attractive for regional integration efforts elsewhere in the world. However, to use the European Union as a model for other regional integration efforts might be limited, given the unique circumstances in which it was established and promoted. Born out of conflict, the European Union benefited from special circumstances in its development, e.g. the Cold War, the United States guarantee and nurturing role, and the industrialised nature of the European economies, which are not found elsewhere. It would therefore seem more appropriate to use the European Union experience not as a model or blue print when judging the success or failure of other regional integration attempts, but rather as a yardstick for regional policy and institutional developments. Such a perspective appears particularly relevant to a comparison between the EU and integration efforts of Muslim countries in the Arab region.

Moss, Ambler (Professor of International Studies, University of Miami).
Ambler H. Moss, Jr. (B.A., Yale University; J.D., the George Washington University) is Professor of International Studies at the University of Miami. He is of counsel to the international law firm of Greenberg Traurig in Miami. He was founding Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami and Director of the Dante B. Fascell North-South Center. He was involved with the negotiation of the U.S.-Panama Canal Treaties, and with their ratification as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. He served as Ambassador to Panama from 1978 until 1982. In the career Foreign Service he served in Spain, the U.S. Delegation to the Organization of American States, and as Spanish Desk Officer in the Department of State. He has practiced law in Washington, DC, Brussels and Miami.

Mullen, Paul (Florida International University).

Petersmann, Hans (Florida International University).

Rae, Nicol (Director, Miami-Florida EU Center of Excellence, Florida International University).

Professor Rae received is Ph.D. from Oxford University. His research has focused primarily on the contemporary Congress and the impact of American political parties on national institutions. His most recent book – co-authored with Colton C. Campbell – is *Impeaching Clinton: Partisan Strife on Capitol Hill* (University Press of Kansas, 2003). Professor Rae is the author of *The Decline & Fall of the Liberal Republicans: From 1952 to the Present* (Oxford University Press, 1989), *Southern Democrats* (Oxford University Press, 1994), *Conservative Reformers: The Republican Freshmen and the Lessons of the 104th Congress* (M. E. Sharpe, 1998). Professor Rae is also co-author, with Tim Hames, of *Governing America* (Manchester University Press, 1996), and co-editor, with Dr. Colton C. Campbell, of *New Majority or Old Minority? The Impact of Republicans on Congress* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1999) and *The Contentious Senate: Partisanship, Ideology and the Myth of Cool Judgment* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000). Most recently he has been conducting research on political polarization in America, and Congress’s influence on other contemporary democratic legislatures. Professor Rae has published articles in several academic journals, including: *Electoral Studies*, *The British Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Zeitschrift fur Politik*, *Party Politics*, and has contributed to several edited volumes on American and British politics. He was awarded a Congressional Fellowship by the American Political Science Association in 1995-1996, and served as a Capitol Hill aide to Congressman George P. Radanovich of California, and Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi. Rae was a Visiting Professor at Yale University for the Fall 2000 semester.

Roy, Joaquin (Jean Monnet Professor, Director, EU Center, 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-Florida European Union Center of Excellence. He has published over

**Rueda-Junquera, Fernando** (University of Burgos, Spain).

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.

*European integration model: lessons for the Central American Common Market*

Under the stimulus provided by the formation of the European Economic Community in 1957, interest in economic integration spread to Central America during the early 1960s. Despite the problems raised by this integration scheme in the past, there has been a renewed concern for its reactivation as a means of stimulating growth and confronting the challenges posed by the increased regionalism in world trading system. So far the new integration experience has failed to match expectations. The objective of the paper is to compare the new Central American Common Market with the European Union, drawing relevant lessons from the European experience that may serve to overcome the current limitations of the Central American integration scheme. Comparison is carried out taking into account the prevailing structural differences between both regions, as well as the constraints of a theoretical framework that has been biased largely towards the study of the problems of economic integration among developed countries.

**Tremolada, Eric** (Universidad Externado de Colombia).

Eric Tremolada is B.A. in Law, University Externado of Colombia. He is Ph.D. Candidate in International Law and International Relations, University Complutense of Madrid,

Application of the Andean Community Law in Bolivia, Ecuador, Perú and Venezuela in comparison with the EU experience

The correct application of the Communitarian Law produced by an International Integration Organization implies that States Members have to make political and legal internal reforms. However, those obligations are not always undertaken by the States and, therefore, the goals of integration process can not be reached. As this year 2005 is very crucial for the conformation of the Andean Common Market, it is quite important the study of the different mechanisms of application of the Communitarian Law within the States Members and the comparison of them with those of the successful European Union experience. This historical context is the frame within we are going to undertake the study and investigation of the political and legal reforms that facilitates the application of Andean Communitarian Law made by Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. This research is not going to consider the case of Colombia because that issue is being addressed in other broader and deeper academic investigation.

Vega, Gustavo (El Colegio de México, México).

Gustavo Vega received his doctoral degree in political science from Yale University and is currently Professor of International Political Economy at the Center of International Studies of the Colegio de México. He is a specialist in processes of regional economic integration, particularly in North America, which was the topic of his most recent work: México, Estados Unidos y Canadá: resolución de Controversias en la Era Post- Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (UNAM, El Colegio de México y PIERAN, 2005). His recent publications include: (with Gary Hufbauer) “Rapport D’Etape sur L’ALENA” in Martine Azuelos et al (eds) Integration dans les Ameriques. Dix ans d’ALENA. (Paris, Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2004) and “Whither NAFTA in the New Security Environment?” in Kevin, C. Kennedy (ed) The First Decade of NAFTA: the Future of Free Trade in North America (Ardsley, N.Y Transnational Publishers, 2004). This last publication is part of a current, broader research project considering North American regional integration in terms of the security regulations adopted by the United States government to protect its borders from a possible terrorist.
Dispute settlement mechanisms are an integral and important part of any regional trade agreement. They serve to clarify and strengthen the commitments made by the parties and to that extent they seek to improve the management of trade and investment relations. In this paper I will analyze the experience of the dispute settlement mechanisms established in NAFTA under the assumption that the NAFTA experience on dispute settlement is of great relevance to the western hemispheric integration process as a whole. The basic premise is that NAFTA and the negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) follow the same logic. Both purport to be regional arrangements seeking to achieve economic growth through free trade and to attract foreign investment without a commitment to a higher level of supranationality like in the European Union where trade and investment disputes are resolved by the European Court of Justice. NAFTA’s dispute settlement procedures represent a different type of experiment in governance and the experience is highly relevant to guide the design of the dispute settlement mechanisms of the FTAA.