

# **Negotiating the Free Trade Area of the Americas**

Zuleika Arashiro

palgrave  
macmillan

# Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figure</i>	viii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Map of the Americas</i>	xii
<b>Part I Analytical Framework</b>	
Introduction	3
Chapter 1	
Trade Cooperation as a Policy Idea	11
<b>Part II The FTAA Negotiations</b>	
Chapter 2	
The FTAA Negotiations	23
<b>Part III Background</b>	
Chapter 3	
Economic Paradigms and Trade Regionalism in Latin America	51
Chapter 4	
Lessons from Economic Cooperation in the Americas	65
<b>Part IV Case Studies</b>	
Chapter 5	
U.S. Foreign Trade Policy: Leadership in a Constrained System	79
Chapter 6	
Brazilian Foreign Trade Policy: Instrument for an Autonomous Nation	109
<b>Part V Conclusion</b>	
Conclusion	143
<i>Appendices</i>	151
<i>Notes</i>	171
<i>References</i>	235
<i>Index</i>	267

# Tables and Figure

## Tables

2.1	Bilateral trade flow between the United States and selected countries, 1992 (%)	25
2.2	Structure of exports by integration group, 2002 and 2009 (% distribution)	29
3.1	Price variation of selected commodities (index 1985=100)	58
5.1	U.S. Free Trade Agreements, through July 2010	105

## Figure

1.1	Analytical framework	19
-----	----------------------	----

## Abbreviations

<i>AFL-CIO</i>	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
<i>APEC</i>	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
<i>BRIC</i>	Brazil, Russia, India, and China
<i>CAMEX</i>	Câmara de Comércio Exterior
<i>CACM</i>	Central American Common Market
<i>CARICOM</i>	Caribbean Community
<i>CEB</i>	Coalizão Empresarial Brasileira
<i>CEPAL/ECLAC</i>	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe/Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
<i>CNBB</i>	Confederação Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil
<i>CNI</i>	Confederação Nacional das Indústrias
<i>CUSFTA</i>	Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement
<i>CUT</i>	Central Única dos Trabalhadores
<i>EAI</i>	Enterprise for the Americas Initiative
<i>EU</i>	European Union
<i>FTAA</i>	Free Trade Area of the Americas
<i>GATT</i>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<i>GSP</i>	General System of Preferences
<i>IDB</i>	Inter-American Development Bank
<i>IMF</i>	International Monetary Fund
<i>ISI</i>	Import Substitution Industrialization
<i>ALADI/LAIA</i>	Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración/Latin American Integration Association
<i>LAFTA</i>	Latin American Free Trade Area
<i>MDB</i>	Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
<i>MERCOSUR</i>	Southern Common Market
<i>NAFTA</i>	North American Free Trade Agreement
<i>PMDB</i>	Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
<i>PSDB</i>	Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira
<i>PRI</i>	Partido Revolucionario Institucional
<i>PT</i>	Partido dos Trabalhadores
<i>OAS</i>	Organization of American States
<i>SAFTA</i>	South American Free Trade Area

<i>SENALCA</i>	Secretaria Nacional de Coordenação dos Assuntos Relacionados à Alca
<i>REBRIP</i>	Rede Brasileira pela Integração dos Povos
<i>TPA</i>	Trade Promotion Authority
<i>UNASUL</i>	Union of South American Nations
<i>UNCTAD</i>	United Nations Trade and Development Conference
<i>USTR</i>	Office of United States Trade Representative
<i>WTO</i>	World Trade Organization

## Acknowledgments

I owe this book to my family in Brazil. Your patience and ability to trust are the best evidence of how beliefs influence behavior.

My initial encounter with the FTAA happened a decade ago, during my time at the Center for Latin American Studies, at Georgetown University. I am grateful to all the academics and friends with whom I shared the passion for *nuestra Latinoamerica*. Robin King, Marisol Reyes, Naomi Moniz, and Arturo Valenzuela, all contributed to the foundations of this work.

A certain distance from events helps us achieve clarity. I am particularly in debt to Barry Carr, Nick Bisley, and John Minns for their continuous academic support in Australia. I also thank Maxwell Cameron, Richard Feinberg, and Anthony Jarvis for their comments on my doctoral dissertation. To all those friends who have patiently supported me throughout these years of immersion in research, I extend my gratitude. I especially wish to thank Russell L. Marks, Sophie Mav, Vanessa Nakamura, Vantier Lima, and Italo Paiva. In your unique ways, you kept me grounded in the world beyond politics.

This project would not have been accomplished without the funding received through the Australian Government's Endeavour International Postgraduate Research Scholarship, and the La Trobe University Postgraduate Research Scholarship.