

# Regional Integration - the Americas (Venezuela)

SDPCW-5, Class notes by Dr. Tim Anderson

## **Overview**

1. American regionalisms
2. Chavez and Venezuela
3. The ALBA and 'Bolivarian' integration
4. Counter Hegemonic Regionalism

## **Question**

Q: Explain the key differences between Washington led 'Pan Americanism' and the Latin American 'Bolivarian' view of American integration?

## **Wider questions:**

- What are the key 'globalist' elements of regionalism linked to Hegemonic Neoliberalism?
- What is the 'new regionalism' and to what extent is it 'counter hegemonic'?

## **Readings:**

Anderson, Tim (2014) 'Chávez and American Integration' in Luis Fernando Angosto-Ferrández (Editor) Democracy, Revolution and Geopolitics in Latin America: Venezuela and the International Politics of Discontent, Routledge, New York

Guevara, Ernesto Che (1961/2006), Our America and Theirs, Ocean Press, Melbourne, pp.19-29

Kennedy, John F (1962) 'Address on the first Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress', The American Presidency Project, 13 March, online: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-first-anniversary-the-alliance-for-progress>

## 21<sup>st</sup> Century: US-led Hegemonic Neoliberal 'Globalism' in decline

- ❑ Globalist (mandated globalisation) institutions exerted their influence in the 1980s and 1990s (World Bank and IMF), but there was resentment and push back;
- ❑ In 1995 the WTO was created (from the GATT, 1947-1994), but failed amid claims of 'rigged rules' and disputes over agriculture, IPRs and investment, in the 21st C;
- ❑ NAFTA (1994), the US regional agreement with Mexico and Canada faced conflict and the proposed FTAA failed in 2005, after strong Latin American opposition;
- ❑ Subsequent *proposed* regional agreements with globalist (or hegemonic neoliberal) features emerge (investment privileges, strong IPRs, limited social regulation), such as the proposed Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP);
- ❑ A push for opportunities in new regional agreements began; some of the new regional blocs or proposals have hegemonic neoliberal features, while others are emancipatory, with counter-hegemonic features;
- ❑ In the 21st Century the USA in decline has pursued more mercantile objectives, through greater use of unilateral coercive measures ('sanctions').



The construction of counter hegemonic regional blocs is fiercely opposed by Washington, but long term pressures can force even reluctant neighbours together.

<b>The false promises of hegemonic neoliberalism</b>	
Globalism	Economic liberal ideology of integration with universal benefits, but 'rigged rules' and contrived outcomes
Structural adjustment	1980s-90s conditional loans, created a strong reaction and rejection, especially of privileges for foreign capital
GATT-WTO	'Rules based system', rejected in the 21st century mainly over (a) agriculture (b) IPRs and (c) investment privileges
Unilateral sanctions	Widespread economic war, aggravated by 'rigged rules', as a declining US economy demanded monopoly rents
West Asia, Latin America	Invasions, economic and proxy wars drove systematic exclusion for the independent peoples of Latin America and West Asia
Source: Anderson 2020	

Anderson, Tim (2020) 'Iran's resistance economy and regional integration', Journal of World Socio-political Studies, Volume 3, Issue 4, Autumn 2019, Pages 649-877, online: [https://wsps.ut.ac.ir/article\\_77940.html](https://wsps.ut.ac.ir/article_77940.html)

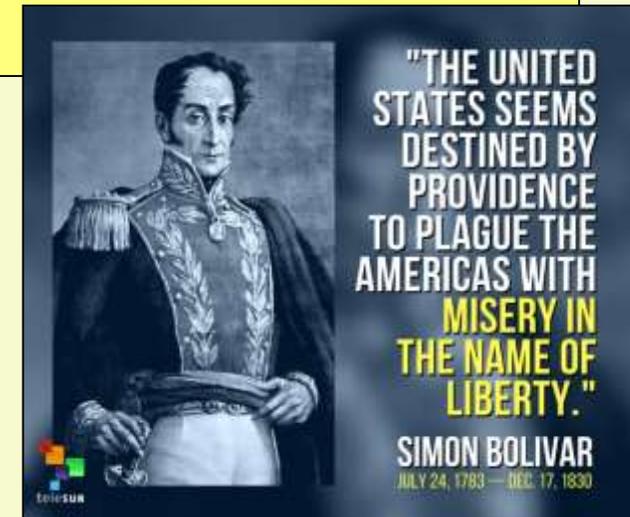
# 1. American Regionalisms

## Overview:

- With the collapse of the globalist project of Hegemonic Neoliberalism (WTO, IMF), a new *competition* emerges in regional blocs;
- In the Americas there is a two century history of such competition, which of course precedes contemporary neoliberalism, but has strong continuity with anti-imperial struggles;
- Sequence: Bolivar's 'continental union' - Washington's 'Monroe Doctrine' and 'Manifest Destiny' - Marti's 'Our America' - Pan Americanism, the OAS and NAFTA - Cuba, Venezuela and the ALBA (2004)

New York Morning News, December 1845: "the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent."

Massachusetts congressman Robert C. Winthrop: "the right of our manifest destiny to spread over this whole continent."



# Simon Bolivar's Congress of Panama (1826)

1914: Bolívar sends a message calling for union of the former Spanish colonies, "[we need] a single powerful American nation . . . a colossus capable of confronting the Spanish colossus."

1815: Bolivar's "Letter from Jamaica," foreshadowed a union of independent peoples with "one origin, one language, various customs but one religion." Federation would prevent big powers from dividing the peoples of the Americas. "How beautiful it would be if the isthmus of Panama were for us what Corinth was for the Greeks!"

1824: Bolívar called the new Latin American administrations to a regional meeting, a *Congreso Anficciónico* (a joint foundation), to be held in 1826 in Panama. Bolívar had secured confederation treaties between his Greater Colombia (present-day Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela), Perú (in 1822), Chile (in 1823), México (in 1823), and, after its separation from México, with the Central American Republic (in 1825).

The project failed and further disintegrated when Bolívar died.

<p><b>1798</b></p> <p><b>COLOMBIA</b></p> <p>Francisco de Miranda</p> <p>Según el/According to the</p> <p>'Proyecto de Constitución para las Colonias Hispanoamericanas'</p> <p>'Constitutional Project for the Spanish American colonies'</p> <p>Excluye explícitamente/Explicitly excludes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Brasil/Brazil</li> <li>-Guayanas/Guianas</li> <li>-EEUU/USA</li> <li>-Istlas atlánticas (excepto Cuba)/Atlantic islands (except Cuba)</li> </ul>	<p><b>1826</b></p> <p><b>CONGRESO ANFICCIÓNICO DE PANAMÁ</b></p> <p><b>AMPHICTYONIC CONGRESS OF PANAMA</b></p> <p><b>Simón Bolívar</b></p> <p>'Tratado de Unión, Liga, y Confederación Perpetua'</p> <p>'Treaty of Union, League, and Perpetual Confederation'</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>Acude al Congreso, firma el Tratado</td> <td></td> <td>Rechaza la invitación</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Acude al Congreso, no firma el Tratado</td> <td></td> <td>No invitado</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Decide acudir, ausente debido a accidentes</td> <td></td> <td>Territorios a ser liberados</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Decide acudir, cambia de decisión en el último momento</td> <td></td> <td>To be liberated territories</td> </tr> </table>		Acude al Congreso, firma el Tratado		Rechaza la invitación		Acude al Congreso, no firma el Tratado		No invitado		Decide acudir, ausente debido a accidentes		Territorios a ser liberados		Decide acudir, cambia de decisión en el último momento		To be liberated territories
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## Pan Americanism and US expansion

1776+: Push westward to conquer Native American territory

"[The British King] ... has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions." DoI, 1776

1803: Louisiana purchase (from France)

1845: Texas annexed after war with Mexico and Native Americans

1823: Monroe Doctrine: 'America for the Americans'

No US interference in Europe or its colonies, no more colonies in the Americas

1845: 'Manifest Destiny' - US destiny to rule the Americas

'Americans' were a 'chosen people' with a divine mission to spread the fruits of their 'democracy'

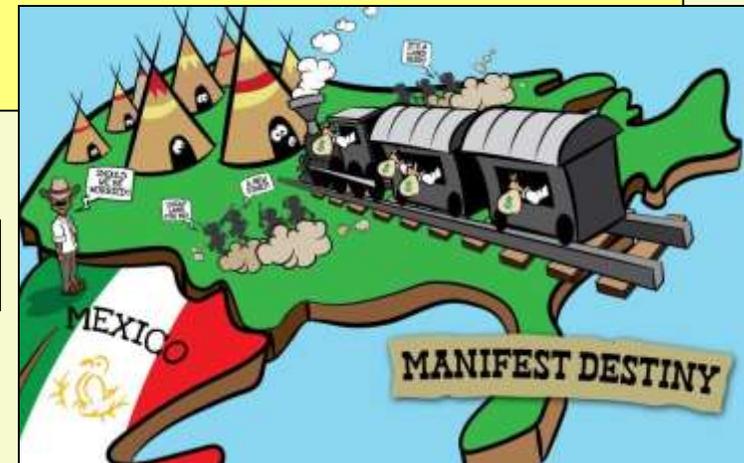
1848: California and New Mexico annexed

1889: Pan American Congress in Washington DC;

1898: Spanish-American war, the US seizes Cuba and Puerto Rico (from the independence movements), and later the Philippines

1948: Organization of American States (OAS) created

Image: Warren Hierl (2020) 'Manifest Destiny for APUSH',  
online: <https://apprend.io/apush/period-5/manifest-destiny/>



## Counterpoint: Jose Marti's 'Our America'

Cuban independence hero José Martí (1853-1895) saw the designs of Washington on "Our America," calling for a "second independence."

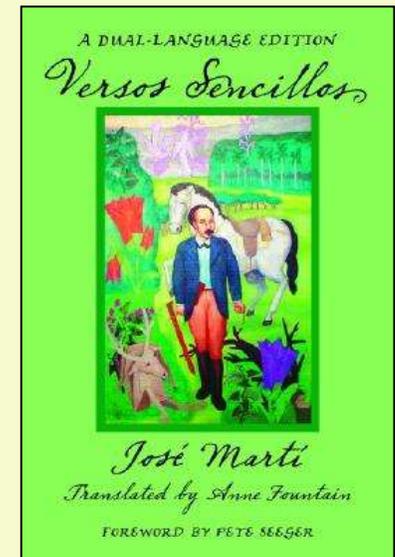
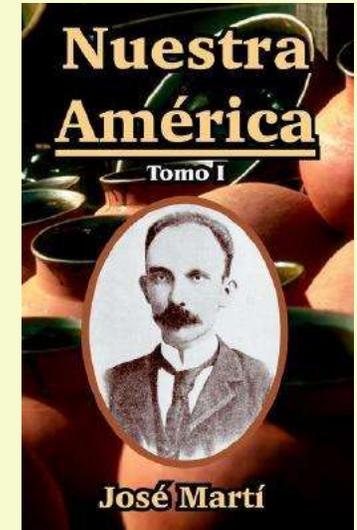
1889: "There is another plan, dark and malevolent, threatening our land [to force a war and then] ... use that as a pretext to intervene and, in the role of mediator ... to seize [Cuba]. There is nothing more cowardly in the annals of free people, nor a more cold hearted wickedness."

1890: Better for Latin Americans to be "natural friends" of the USA, than to become "its choir, subject to a country with different interests, a hybrid composition and terrible problems, determined to face the world in an arrogant and perhaps childish challenge, before putting its own house in order." The United States had begun to consider that the "universal aspiration" of freedom was its exclusive privilege, and that it had been acting "to invoke its name in order to deprive other nations of it."

1891 (NA): on Bolivar's project for an inclusive union: "The trees must form ranks to keep the giant with seven-league boots from passing."

1895: Martí is shot and killed fighting for Cuban independence.

1898: the USA uses the pretext of a bombing of the USS Maine (in Havana harbour) to enter the war against Spain and seize all the Spanish colonies.



## Cuban revolution, Venezuela and JFK's 'Alliance for Progress'

- ❑ The Cuban Revolution (1959) shook up Latin America, raising expectations of land reform and other social justice advances
- ❑ Washington responded through the OAS, with an 'aid' program called the 'Alliance for Progress' (AFP), promising 'reforms' in the semi-feudal Latin regimes
- ❑ Just Weeks after the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro travelled to Caracas and told large crowds that Venezuela "must lead" the project of Latin American integration. Soon after US President John F Kennedy also appeared in Venezuela, to promote his AFP, after imposing 'sanctions' on Cuba and having the socialist island excluded from the OAS.
- ❑ The AFP collapses in a series of military coups from the mid 1960s (Brazil) to the 1980s



Fidel Castro with newly elected Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt, January 1959.



U.S. President John F. Kennedy in December 1961 promoting the Alliance for Progress with Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt, who had invited Kennedy to this land redistribution ceremony in a Venezuelan village.

## 2. Chavez and Venezuela

### Overview:

- After a failed coup attempt in 1992, Chavez is elected president in 1998 and begins a radical form of social democracy in Venezuela;
- Venezuela's changes: new constitution, social missions, PDVSA re-nationalisation, community participation, 'socialism of the 21st century'
- In 2004 the ALBA was created, attempting a strong integration of progressive governments of Latin America and the Caribbean; wider groups UNASUR and the CELAC follow soon after.
- For convenience, in this presentation, I will look only at the Chavez period (1999-2013), although parallel conflict continues.

### Further reading:

Ellner, Steve and Daniel Hellinger (Eds) (2003) *Venezuelan Politics in the Chavez Era: Class, Polarization and Conflict*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London  
Regalado, Roberto (2007) *Latin America at the Crossroads*, Ocean Press, Melbourne



## Allende to Chavez - Video 2'24"

- ❑ 1973: Chile's President Allende is overthrown in a US-backed coup
- ❑ 2006: Rev Lucius Walker (1930-2010) - the US "has destroyed every electoral democracy" in Latin America and the Caribbean;
- ❑ 1989: Caracazo uprising in Venezuela, against neoliberal 'reforms';
- ❑ 1992: Hugo Chavez and a civil-military group fail in their coup attempt of 1992; but after release from prison Chavez becomes the most popular figure in Venezuela, outflanking the major parties.

Excerpt from Anderson (2020) ALBA Part One (HD) Cuba and Venezuela, when Chavez met Fidel, online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzXX0kYMIq0>

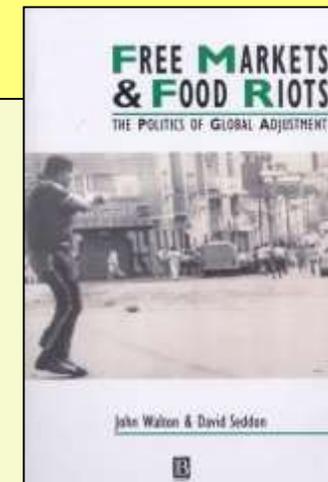


## 'Structural Adjustment' in the 80s and 90s

- ❑ Latin American governments were hit hard with the 'debt leverage' of 'Structural Adjustment Programs' in the 1980s and 1990s;
- ❑ These programs, a.k.a. 'austerity packages', were enormously unpopular and were met with protests around the world, especially in the 1980s, 1997-98 and 2008;
- ❑ Not only did SAPs cut public spending on social programs, they removed subsidies on fuel and basic food, as these 'distorted markets';
- ❑ Former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz wrote that the WB handed every minister the same package with privatization, investor privileges and budget cuts. The "inevitable result" was IMF/food riots.

Walton, John and David Seddon (1994) 'Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment', Wiley-Blackwell  
Palast, Greg (2001) 'IMF's four steps to damnation', The Guardian, online:  
<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2001/apr/29/business.mbas>

IMF austerity brings  
cholera epidemic to Peru



## Chavez and Integration, 1994 - Video 2'16"

- ❑ After his release from prison in 1994, Fidel Castro invites Chavez to the University of Havana, to speak on Bolivar and Latin American unity;
- ❑ Chavez speaks of the "absolute" corruption in Venezuela's oil economy, and the need for radical renewal;
- ❑ He raises the "Bolivarian dream" and of Marti's "Our America", saying "why continue fragmented?"
- ❑ Fidel Castro names Chavez "Commander" of the Bolivarian Movement

Excerpt from Anderson (2020) ALBA Part One (HD) Cuba and Venezuela, when Chavez met Fidel, online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzXX0kYMIq0>



## Chavez 1999+: key initiatives as President

### Venezuela's new path, 1999+

#### □ Constituent Assembly and a new constitution

Mass participation in a Constituent Assembly, which allows Chavez to defend the peoples' constitution. Recognition of indigenous communities, recall referenda. Rights to public health and education.

#### □ Natural resource recovery (PDVSA)

Gradual re-nationalisation of the oil conglomerate, so as to 'plant the oil' at home (*sembrar el petróleo*)

#### □ Social 'missions' - education, health, land, food, etc.

Oil revenue used for mass programs in education, health, nutrition, small farming, housing.

#### □ Expanded participation - communal councils

Local level management of investment in urban reconstruction and services.

#### □ 'Socialism of the 21st century' (2006)

Moving from radical social democracy ('a third way') into a more systematically socialised system; nationalisation (buy outs) of large industries (steel, banking, etc), worker cooperatives.

Hugo Chávez (1954-2013)  
with Venezuela's 1999 constitution

Further reading: Raby, D.L (2006) Democracy and Revolution:  
Latin America and Socialism Today, Pluto Press, London



## Chávez: a vision of Latin American unity

- ❑ Populism? the western accusation
  - ❑ historically – popular democracy linked to a ‘style’ of mobilisation and leadership; then ‘clientelism’ in distinct political economies
  - ❑ currently – demagoguery, false promises, hidden elitism
- ❑ Nationalism – NB. Distinct history to western nationalism
  - ❑ ‘The great nation’ (La patria grande); *Abya Yala*, the indigenous concept
- ❑ Social democracy – the initial phase
  - ❑ social and economic as well as representative democracy – inclusive and participatory – facilitated self-empowerment, role of state ...
- ❑ ‘Socialism of the 21st century’ – (c.f. Rodriguez, Martí, Mariategui)
  - ❑ Chávez: three basic components – (i) economic transformation; (ii) participative and protagonistic democracy in the political sphere; and (iii) socialist ethics ‘based on love, solidarity, and equality’



*A revolutionary leader with charisma communicates with the people like a populist. The difference is that the populist gives things, like Perón; but doesn't help people to be independent' - Marta Harnecker 2012*

Further reading: Marta Harnecker (2015) A World to Build: New Paths toward Twenty-First Century Socialism, Monthly Review, New York

## Outcomes:

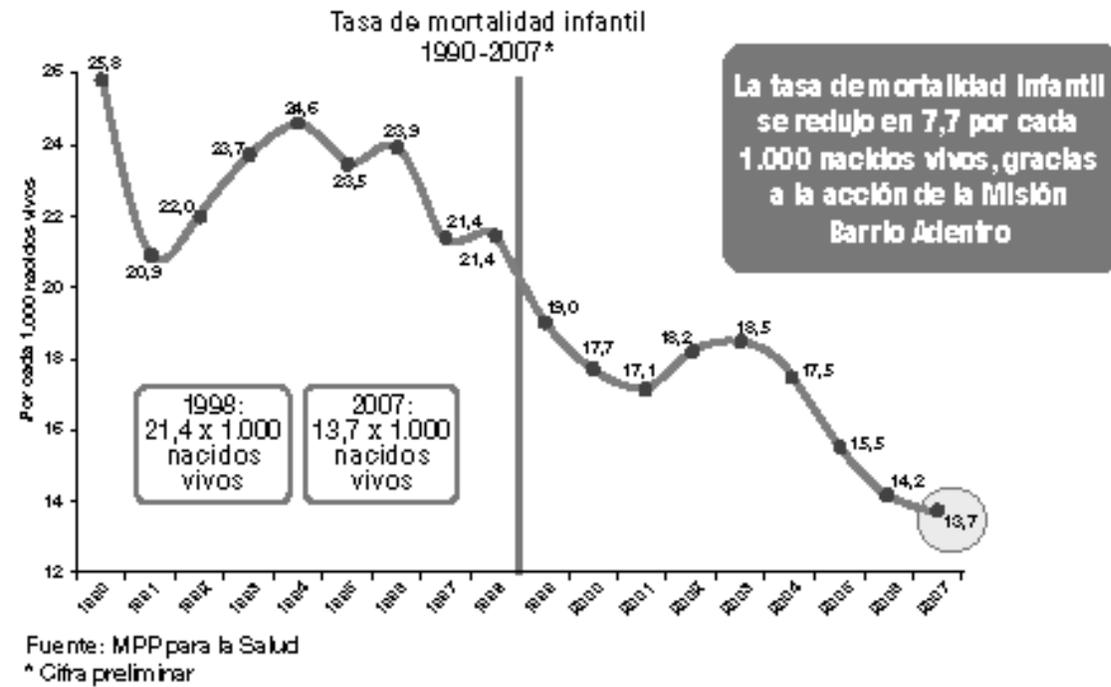
### Venezuela: progress in health

	Infant mortality
1990	25.8%
1998	21.4%
2007	13.7%

**source:** UNDP Venezuela (2008) MDG Report; see also Ministry of Planning (2008) 'Logros de la Revolución', online at: <http://www.mpd.gob.ve/Logros-Revolucion/Nuevo-Encarte.pdf>

### reading data:

Why is infant mortality important?  
How can we interpret such 'longitudinal' trends?



## Video: Las Clavellinas - Communal Councils (2'40")

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWdKbqvbCj4>

### Key points

- ❑ Communal Councils created in 2006; later combined into 'comunidades' (communities), with a range of shared 'missions'
- ❑ National Government finance goes directly to these democratic 'communal councils', bypassing state government and local councils

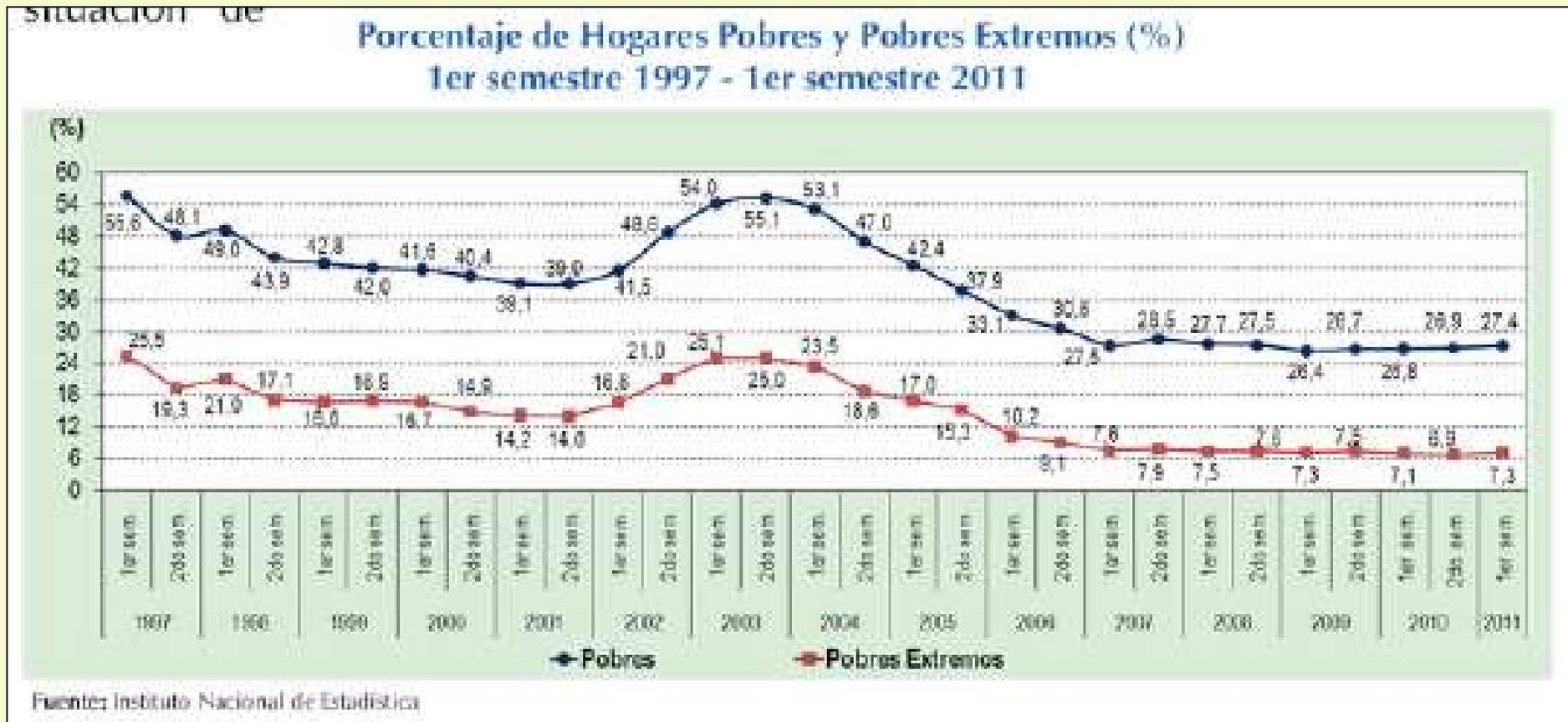
### Key points:

- ❑ Management of resources at local level
- ❑ 'Popular power' in the community
- ❑ Coordinate state's social missions
- ❑ Housing and infrastructure



Las Clavellinas has seen an enormous change  
Now we are the ones who decide ...

## Income poverty in Venezuela, 1997-2011 (I.N.E.)



Q: what does the fragility of the 1999-2002 gains tell us?

### 3. The ALBA: 'Bolivarian' Integration

#### Overview:

- 2004: ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of the Americas) creates new principles and programs.
- 2005: ALBA derails the FTAA (a NAFTA extension)
- ALBA opens the way for UNASUR (2008) and CELAC (2011)
- 2013: Cuba assumes Presidency of CELAC; in 2014, realising that the USA is isolated, President Obama recognises Cuba
- Counter Hegemonic bloc appears, displacing Pan Americanism



ALBA's founding members: Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia



## Cuba-Venezuela: ALBA principles 2004

### **ALBA is initially an 'alternative', then later an 'alliance'**

- ❑ 'just and sustainable development', 'special and differential treatment' (c.f. distinct meanings at the WTO)
- ❑ guaranteed access to benefits for all who participate
- ❑ 'complementarity and cooperation', rather than competition
- ❑ 'cooperation and solidarity', a special emergency fund
- ❑ environmental protection & 'energy integration'
- ❑ reduced dependence on foreign investment
- ❑ Telesur, Bancosur, Petrosur.
- ❑ Bolivian contributions (2006): TCP (peoples trade) replaces TLC (free trade), 'Vivir Bien' introduced, status of 'mother earth' (*Pacha Mama*) emphasised.



Further reading:

ALBA: <http://albatcp.cubaminrex.cu/page/alba-tcp>

Artaraz, Kepa (2012) "Cuba's Internationalism Revisited: Exporting Literacy, ALBA, and a New Paradigm for South-South Collaboration." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 31, issue supplement s1: 22-37.

Azicri, Max (2009) "The Castro Chávez Alliance." *Latin American Perspectives* 36, no. 1: 99-110.

Bruce, Iain. *The Real Venezuela: Making Socialism in the 21st Century*. London: Pluto Press, 2008.

## Cuba-Venezuela accords, 2004

- ❑ **integration:** free trade (tariff abolition), national treatment (shared sports, transport facilities), preference and tax exemptions for public and joint investments
- ❑ **Cuba offers** - minimum 15,000 health professionals (has risen to 39,000), 2,000 scholarships annually for 10 years, tourism cooperation, oil purchase at \$27 barrel plus agreed premium
- ❑ **Venezuela offers** - transfer of energy sector technology, oil purchase agreement, scholarships in energy sector, finance for infrastructure and energy, tourism cooperation
- ❑ These programs are ongoing today, despite US economic siege measures.



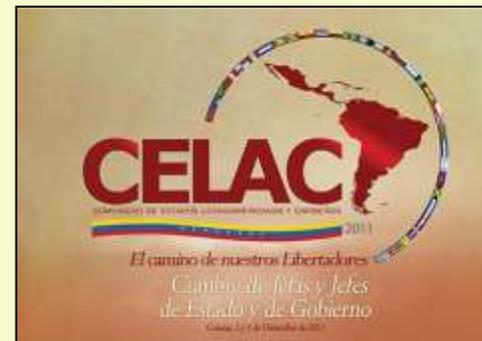
So begin big changes in Venezuela's human services and in Cuba's energy sector

Further reading: Mario Alberto Arrastía-Avila and Lisa M. Glidden (2017) 'Cuba's Energy Revolution and 2030 Policy Goals: More Penetration of Renewable Energy in Electricity Generation', *International Journal of Cuban Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 2017), pp. 73-90



## ALBA and ALBA-linked regional agreements

- ❑ **11 ALBA members** (at 2015): Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Dominica, [Honduras]; Ecuador, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis – with a number of ‘associate members’
- ❑ **Operation Miracle** – Cuba-Venezuela program provides free eye operations to LatAm – 2 million over 2004-2012
- ❑ **Misión Manuela Espejo** - disability (including rural disability) mission
- ❑ **Petrocaribe** – 200,000 barrels a day to 12 islands, 40% discount
- ❑ **Petrosur** – Venezuelan fuel agreements with Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay –
- ❑ **Telesur** – continental anti-imperialist television station (v. CNN)
- ❑ **Bancosur** – inter-national LatAm public bank
- ❑ **Latin American School of Medicine** – Cuban scholarship system



## ALBA: themes and achievements

- ❑ **South-South cooperation** & technology transfer
- ❑ **Barter exchange**, and the SUCRE (2008)
- ❑ **UNCTAD principles** – ‘special and differential treatment’, ‘fair’ commodity prices, aid as compensation
- ❑ **Integration** with convergence and industrialisation
- ❑ **socialist/statist tendency** – preferences for international public (or joint venture) investment (c.f. the globalist WTO, FTAA and TPP claims)
- ❑ **Achievements:** 11 million lifted out of poverty, 2 million free eye operations, eradication of illiteracy in several countries, disability mission, land reform, mass housing programs, new participatory initiatives (Zambrano 2012)
- ❑ **Inspired the larger regional blocs:** UNASUR (2008), CELAC (2010)

**2014 update:** <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/telesuragenda/10-Achievements-of-the-ALBA-Alliance-in-10-Years--20141213-0024.html>

Video - ALBA-Telesur-2016, 0'53"

# ALBA TCP

Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of America - People's Trade Treaty

Member State	Joined	Main Exports
Venezuela	2004	Petroleum
Cuba	2004	Medical Supplies & Pharmaceuticals
Bolivia	2006	Natural Gas
Nicaragua	2007	Meat, Dairy, Coffee
Dominica	2008	Fruit and Vegetables
Ecuador	2009	Petroleum, Fruit, Flower, Shrimp, Cacao
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	2009	Spices, Yams
Antigua and Barbuda	2009	Petroleum Products, Handicrafts
St. Lucia	2013	Spices, Refined Petroleum

**2.5 Million** Square kilometres  
**69.5 Million** People  
**US\$650 Billion** Annual GDP

**ECONOMY**  
 Use of the SUCRE increased from \$12M to \$1B  
 PetroCaribe providing 102,000,000 people with discounted oil

**SOLIDARITY**  
 More than 50 tons of Aid sent to Gaza after Israeli Assault  
 \$2.42 billion in aid to Haiti after 2010 earthquake

**EDUCATION**  
 3,443,000 people taught to read and write  
 Literacy increased from 84% to 96% in member states

**HEALTH**  
 +21,000 doctors trained at Latin American School of Medicine  
 3,000,000 people with restored vision through Miracle Mission

telesur

# ALBA VS ALCA

FUENTES: OEA / ECLAC

ALBA-TCP	ALCA
Alianza Bolivariana para los pueblos de nuestra América – Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos.	Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas.
<b>¿QUÉ ES?</b> Plataforma de integración regional para los países de América Latina y el Caribe enfocada en la lucha contra la pobreza y la exclusión basada en un proyecto de colaboración y complementación económica, política y social.	<b>¿QUÉ ES?</b> Proyecto comercial que pretendía asegurar la libre circulación de bienes, servicios, mercancías y capital desde Alaska a Tierra del Fuego. Para lograr el control de Estados Unidos sobre las economías de los países de todo el continente.
<b>¿QUIÉN LO PROPUSO?</b> Cuba y Venezuela.	<b>¿QUIÉN LO PROPUSO?</b> Estados Unidos.
<b>¿A QUIÉN BENEFICIA?</b> Los pueblos de América Latina y El Caribe.	<b>¿A QUIÉN BENEFICIA?</b> Al gobierno de EE.UU. y a los grandes grupos económicos de ese país.
<b>SURGIMIENTO</b> Se creó en La Habana Cuba en 2004, con la participación de Fidel Castro y Hugo Chávez. En 2006, Bolivia se integró a la alianza.	<b>SURGIMIENTO</b> Producto de la crisis económica de EE.UU., la Iniciativa del ALCA fue propuesta en 1994 durante la I Cumbre de las Américas (Miami, EE.UU.)
<b>EN EL ÁREA SOCIAL</b>	
Lucha contra la pobreza y otorga importancia a los Derechos Humanos, laborales, para promover la igualdad y la defensa de la soberanía.	Convierte a los servicios de salud, educación, asistencia social y jubilaciones en mercancías privatizadas.
<b>¿QUÉ CONTEMPLA?</b>	
Defiende el ambiente, la soberanía alimentaria y la cooperación energética entre los países.  Lucha contra políticas neoliberales fundamentada en la creación de mecanismos para aprovechar la cooperación entre los países para compensar las asimetrías entre las naciones.	Atenta contra la soberanía alimentaria, contra el medio ambiente.  Imposición de normas que eliminan la capacidad de los países de controlar las actividades de los inversores extranjeros.

# American Integration: twin currents

Latin Americanism	Pan-Americanism
<b>Ideas:</b> symmetrical integration of peers, common history	<b>Ideas:</b> Washington-centred 'America for the Americans'
Bolívar's congress of Panama (1826)	Monroe doctrine (1823), 'manifest destiny' (1845), exceptionalism (1835)
José Martí: 'Our America' (1891)	Washington Pan-American Congress (1889)
	Organization of American States (1948)
Cuban Revolution (1959)	'Alliance for Progress' (1961)
ALBA (2004), UNASUR (2008), CELAC (2011)	NAFTA (1994), Free Trade Area of the Americas (1994-2005) → TPPA
<b>Ongoing themes:</b> mutual benefit and integration of peoples, 'south-south cooperation', cultural protection, towards a 'multi-polar world'	<b>Ongoing themes:</b> free trade and integration of capital, neoliberal globalism, 'hegemonic stability' and 'full spectrum dominance'

Further reading: Casey, Clifford (1933) "The Creation and Development of the Pan American Union." The Hispanic American Historical Review 13, no. 4: 437-456.  
 Castle, William R (1939) "The Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism." Annals in the American Academy of Political and Social Science 204: 111-118.

## 4. Counter Hegemonic Regionalism

### Overview:

- ❑ Globalist failures --> New Regionalism --> Counter Hegemonic Regionalism (CHR) as organised Resistance, in heavily intervened regions of Latin America and West Asia
- ❑ Elements of CHR:
  1. Rejection of imperial privilege and domination
  2. Control of strategic investments
  3. Preference for 'south-south' cooperation
  4. Measures of self-reliance

### Further reading:

Muhr, Thomas (2009) 'Venezuela and ALBA: Counter-hegemonic regionalism and higher education for all', online: <https://www.slideserve.com/kirra/venezuela-and-alba-counter-hegemonic-regionalism-and-higher-education-for-all>

### Venezuela and ALBA: Counter-hegemonic regionalism and higher education for all

ESRC-ECCC  
23 Jan 2009



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Centre for Globalisation,  
Education & Societies (GES)

Ricardo Cordero (Cuba, 2004)  
Rafael Correa (Ecuador, 2004)  
Rafael Ángel Ángel (Guatemala, 2004)  
Manuel Zelaya (Honduras, 2006)  
Evo Morales (Bolivia, 2009)  
Hugo Chávez (Venezuela, 2004)  
Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua, 2007)

## Variants of New Regionalism

After the collapse (i.e. no new agreements) of the WTO in early 21st Century, 'new regionalism' simply means new a search for new trade opportunities; in *some* cases (e.g. the ALBA) the regional agreements have counter-hegemonic features.

### Distinct Regional Trade and Integration Emphases

	Commodity trade	Agric. Protection	Foreign investor privileges	Cultural industries	IPRs	Distinct features
Nth American	Liberal	Subsidies	Strong	Imperial	Very strong	Hegemonic, investor driven
European (EU)	Liberal	Subsidies, safeguards	Strong	Cultural protection	Strong	Investor driven, socially inclusive
East Asia (ASEAN+3)	Selectively liberal	Tariffs, subsidies, safeguards	Controlled	Cultural protection	Lax, selective	Developmental state, pragmatism
LatAm (ALBA)	Selectively liberal	Tariffs, subsidies, safeguards	Regional & public	Cultural protection	Lax, selective	South-south, anti-imperial, socialist

Anderson, Tim (2012) 'Economic crisis and reintegration: the emerging regional variants', Chapter 3 in Parvesh Chopra (Ed) (2012) Development Macroeconomics: global issues and human development, essays in Honour of Professor B.N. Ghosh, Wisdom House, Leeds, pp.25-44

<b>Regional integration: potential practical benefits</b>	
'Training ground'	Industrial development builds skills and technology
Expand domestic market	Expanded market helps economies of scale
Improve resource allocation	Regional division of labour helps efficiencies
Enhance industrialisation	The multiple benefits of industrialisation compensate for possibly cheaper imports
Joint production of public goods	Cooperation in (e.g.) infrastructure and services
Protection against global shocks	Reduce vulnerability to sudden outside changes
Collective bargaining power	Bulk shared purchases can leverage prices
Build security consensus	Joint practice can help identify common aims
Source: Langhammer and Hiemenz 1990	

From: Langhammer, Rolf and Ulrich Hiemenz (1990) Regional Integration among developing countries: opportunities, obstacles and options', Kieler Studien, No 232, ISBN 3161456246, Mohr, Tübingen.

<b>Elements of Counter Hegemonic Regionalism</b>	
<b>In principle</b>	<b>In the ALBA</b>
Rejection of imperial privilege and domination	Exclusion of the USA from regional blocs, based on its recalcitrant historical role
Control of strategic investments	Internal bloc (public and joint venture) preferences with independent outside partners (Russia, China, Brazil, Iran)
Preference for 'south-south' cooperation	Non-commercial social missions between bloc members, 'compensation' (e.g. for aid to poorer members) can come later
Measures of self-reliance	Assertion of food and energy sovereignty, control of lands and human development

### **The legacy of Chavez:**

- ❑ UNITY: small nations cannot resist great powers if they are divided, they must join forces.
- ❑ ANTI-IMPERIALISM: external powers must be expelled, as they always corrupt and degrade the accountability of local regimes and systems.
- ❑ BOLIVARIAN REVOLUTION: building the Bolivarian *Patria Grande* (Great Homeland), based on the original principles of sovereignty and independence, with the people as protagonists.



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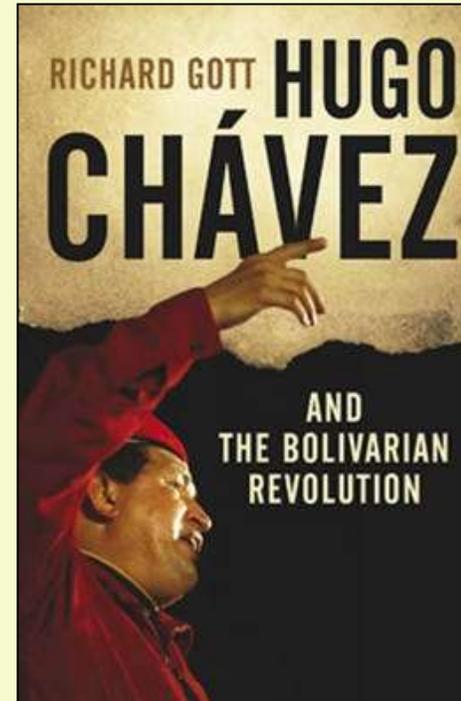
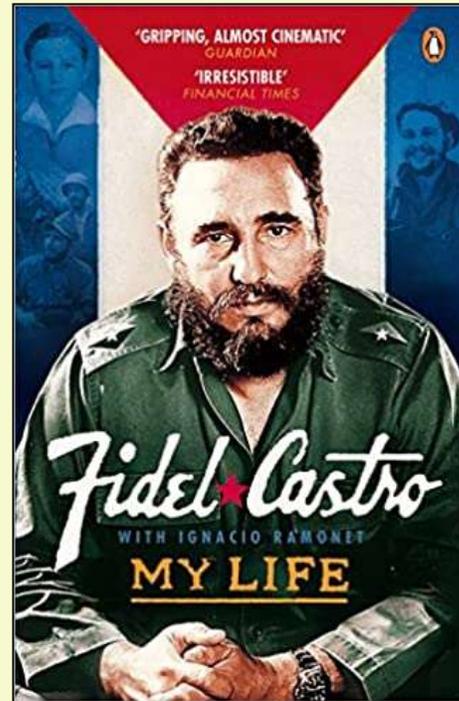
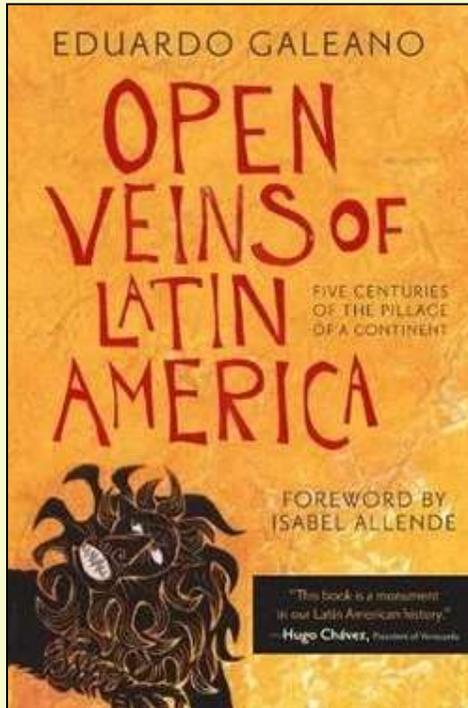
### **Hugo Chávez's Legacy: Unity and Anti-imperialism**

Nino Pagliccia (2021) 'Hugo Chávez's Legacy: Unity and Anti-imperialism', Orinoco Tribune, 5 March, online:  
<https://orinocotribune.com/hugo-chavez-legacy-unity-and-anti-imperialism/>

## Summary

- ❑ New regional formations have emerged with the declining influence of globalist institutions
- ❑ The Americas have seen a two century long struggle between competing currents of regional integration, Pan Americanism and Latin Americanism
- ❑ The strong counter hegemonic elements of Latin Americanism were renewed by Hugo Chavez in Venezuela
- ❑ There are lessons from the Counter Hegemonic Regionalism of Latin America for other regions.

Further reading:



Eduardo Galeano (1971) *The Open Veins of Latin America*  
Ignacio Ramonet and Fidel Castro (2006) *Fidel Castro: My Life*  
Richard Gott (2011) *Hugo Chavez and the Bolivarian Revolution*