





Institut québécois des hautes études internationales – Université Laval The Centre for International Governance Innovation University of the West Indies Institute of International Relations

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### COLLOQUIUM « INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION AT A CROSSROADS »

A two days conference on the future of inter-American relations to be held at the Institute of International Relations (IIR) on the campus of the University of West Indies (UWI) in Trinidad and Tobago, April 15-16, 2009.

#### **Context**

The fifth Summit of the Americas will be held in April 2009 for the first time in a Caribbean country, Trinidad and Tobago, fifteen years after the first Summit in Miami in December 1994. After 1889 and 1948, the Miami Summit launched a new phase of hemispheric regionalism in a climate of general optimism concerning the future of the Western Hemisphere. A main objective in remodeling the institutional design of inter-American cooperation was to reestablish the relevance of that level of cooperation after more than two decades of relative stagnation.

In the fifteen years following the first Summit, the world has changed considerably, and so have the Americas. Diverging views have shattered the consensus of the early 1990s. Competing strategies for economic development and political representation were adopted, making regional governance more and more difficult. External actors are more present in the region, and new institutions are now challenging older ones. Truly, the landscape has changed considerably in the Americas over the past 20 years.

#### **Objective**

This is a particularly appropriate moment to critically look at the third phase of hemispheric regionalism. We want to examine how inter-American cooperation has made a difference for the various communities of the Americas since the Miami Summit in 1994. What were the successes and the failures? Did competing international institutions do better? And what does it mean for the future of hemispheric regionalism as a relevant level of integration for the Americas?

#### **Target Audience**

The conference will be open to faculty and students from the UWI and elsewhere. Given that the conference will be held immediately before the Fifth Summit, we will seek and hope for a substantial participation of the media, international agencies, think tanks and government officials so that the discussion will be made richer by the expression of various points of view.

#### **Format**

The colloquium will take place on the campus of the UWI in St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, on April 15-16, 2009. It is co-organized by the Institute of International Relations at the UWI, the Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) of Waterloo and the Inter-American Studies Center of Laval University. Professors Timothy M. Shaw, Andrew F. Cooper and Gordon Mace are responsible for the event and its academic content. It will include 5 panels made of academics and practitioners.

#### **Dissemination of Results**

Participants in the panels arrive at the conference with a preliminary paper based on guidelines submitted by the organizers. A book will be published to disseminate the results of our exchanges as widely as possible.

# COLLOQUIUM « INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION AT A CROSSROADS » DETAILED SCHEDULE

#### **APRIL 14, Institute of International Relations, UWI campus**

#### 17h30

Welcome to Trinidad &Tobago, the University of the West Indies, and the Institute of International Relations, by Tim Shaw

#### 17h40

Introduction to keynote, by Campus Principal Clement Sankat Keynote by Norman Girvan, Professorial Research Fellow: The Caribbean in a Turbulent World

#### 18h30

Appreciation to the keynote, by Gordon Mace

#### 18h35

A few words on the importance of the 5<sup>th</sup> Summit, by Alexandra Bugailiskis, Assistant Deputy Minister, Latin America & the Caribbean & Summit Sherpa, Canada

#### 18h55

Acknowledgements to Alexandra Bugailiskis, by Andy Cooper

#### 19h00

Cocktail

#### APRIL 15, Institute of International Relations, UWI campus

#### Panel 1: A Changing Landscape 9h00 to 12h00 (coffee break 10h30-11h00)

Chair: Gail Rigobert

#### Objective:

This panel discusses the changing context of inter-American cooperation from the first Summit of the Americas in Miami to the forthcoming one in Port-of-Spain. The landscape has considerably changed with regard to actors, agenda, institutions and process. What are the fundamental changes over the past fifteen years and what is the impact of these changes on the dynamics of hemispheric regionalism?

#### Theme 1: A New Power Game?

The paper discusses the changes in the relative strength of regional and international State actors. In the region, Brazil and Venezuela have clearly exercised a new leadership while a new U.S. administration will be in place and Canada's diplomacy seems to be less proactive than in the past. On the world scene, the BRIC countries have gained status. China and Russia, but also Spain, through the Ibero-American Summits, have been more active in the Americas in the past few years, as well as the European Union. What is the impact of that new power game on inter-American relations?

Presentation: Diana Tussie (Confirmed)

#### Theme 2: The Institutional Framework

The re-introduction of summitry in 1994 considerably modified the institutional architecture of hemispheric regionalism. A new institutional design was put in place with the SOA as the more executive structure, and the OAS and associated agencies as the administrative structure. How effective has been the new institutional architecture in shaping a regional agenda and implementing summit mandates?

Presentation: Richard Feinberg (Confirmed)

#### Theme 3: Cuba under Raul Castro: The Future of US-Cuba Relations in the Hemisphere

This coming April 17<sup>th</sup>, President Obama will be attending the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago. His intentions are to begin a process of a "new" policy towards Latin America and Cuba, that takes US National Interest into consideration rather than reacting on issues and events that for half a decade have led to the deterioration of policies such as democratic forms of government, immigration, trade, security, and drug trafficking to name a few.

Presentation: **Andy S. Gomez** (Confirmed)

#### Theme 4: The Efficiency of Middle States Diplomacy

States like Argentina, Canada, Chile, Mexico and Peru play a secondary role to the US and Brazil in shaping the future community of the Americas. But unlike the smaller countries, they are not without resources and expertise. In what ways could the governments of these countries intervene in order to help re-launch hemispheric regionalism?

Presentation: Jorge Heine (Confirmed)

Luncheon address by OAS Assistant Secretary General, Ambassador Albert R Ramdin: the Western Hemisphere: beyond the Summit of the Americas 12h00 to 14h00

#### Panel 2: Responding to Challenges 14h00 to 17h30 (coffee break 15h30-16h00)

Chair: Patrick Watson

#### Objective:

The panel offers a critical examination of the performance of the inter-American system in helping to solve critical problems faced by the various communities of the Americas. Have hemispheric institutions been successful in helping to solve these problems since the redesigning of the institutional framework? If not, what were the obstacles? Can they be circumvented?

#### Theme 1: Fostering more Equitable Trade Relations

The negotiations for the establishment of a Free Trade Area of the Americas failed in November 2003. What explains that failure and could it have been prevented? The region is now dominated by a web of trade agreements, often competing with one another. New themes, such as cultural diversity, have also taken more prominence on the trade agenda. Is it possible to envisage a resuming of hemispheric trade negotiations in that new environment? What would be the conditions for success?

Presentation: Maryse Robert (Confirmed)

#### Theme 2: Developing Energy Synergies

Energy has now become a major issue for the countries of the Americas in a context of climate change and scarcity of resources. Traditional suppliers such as Mexico are in the process of being replaced by new ones, Brazil for example. Gas and ethanol now compete with petroleum, and these resources have become a major policy issue for most countries, and a diplomatic instrument for some. How have hemispheric institutions dealt with that problem? Were they effective in helping to develop synergies among member countries?

Presentation: Thomas O'Keefe (Confirmed)

#### Theme 3: Helping to Establish Effective Democracy and Protecting Human Rights

Given its limited resources, the OAS has been fairly successful in promoting democracy in the region and supervising electoral processes. But how successful was it in promoting democracy in-between elections? Has the time come to change the strategy and promote deeper democracy? And what about protecting human rights? Analysts affirm that the human rights regime in the Americas is one of the more positive examples of inter-American cooperation: How effective has this regime really been?

Presentation: **Thomas Legler** (Confirmed)

#### Theme 4: Increasing Security

According to the Secretary-General of the OAS, the biggest threat to security in the Americas now comes from international crime, be it related to drug trafficking, gang violence or other sources. Inter-American institutions were called upon to try to help find remedies to that important problem. How effective were they in that regard?

Presentation: Rut Diamint (Confirmed)

#### Theme 5: Reducing Poverty

Over the past 15 years, the region was somewhat successful in reducing poverty and inequality. How effective have been the IADB and related agencies in helping with that situation in the region? Are the local communities better off now than they were at the start of the 1990s? Did aid programs make a difference? Where and how? What needs to be changed for the programs to be more effective?

Presentation: Nicola Phillips (Confirmed)

#### **APRIL 16, Institute of International Relations, UWI campus**

### Panel 3: The Effectiveness of Other Institutions 9h00 to 12h30 (coffee break 10h30-11h00)

Chair: David Goldberg

#### Objective:

Hemispheric institutions are not the only active institutions in the region. New and competing forums have been created over the last ten years. The panel seeks to assess if and how these alternative institutions have been more effective in managing the problems they were supposed to address. We will also try to determine if these other regional levels of cooperation are now more relevant than the hemispheric one.

#### Theme 1: The Mercosur

The Mercosur is now almost twenty years old. When created, it represented a new model of economic relations in Latin America, different from the previous generation of PTAs using the import-substitution model. How effective was the Mercosur in creating a free trade area and a customs union? Can it represent a model for an eventual hemispheric-wide free trade area? Presentation: Marc Schelhase (Confirmed)

#### Theme 2: NAFTA

NAFTA also represents a particular form of economic integration. For many analysts, it has been a great success in terms of growth of trade and employment in the member countries. It was also supposed to act as a model for the rest of the Hemisphere. But people believe that it is now time to modernize the NAFTA. Will that be possible with the new Obama administration? Where is the NAFTA headed?

Presentation: Louis Bélanger (Confirmed)

#### Theme 3: The CARICOM and the Association of Caribbean States

The CARICOM is one of the oldest institutions for regional integration among those in existence today in the Americas. Handicapped at the start by its creation during the first oil crisis, the CARICOM went through many crises but always managed to survive. A grouping of small and very small economies, through the ACS, the CARICOM always faced a less propitious environment than the other regional integration processes. How effective has it been in integrating the economies of the sub-region?

Presentation: Debbie Mohammed & Anselm Francis (Confirmed)

#### Theme 4: The ALBA Institutions and Mechanisms

The ALBA represents a contending strategy of integration for the Americas, originally put forward by president Chavez of Venezuela. The project envisages cooperation mechanisms both at the regional and bilateral levels. How are these mechanisms working? What has been the impact of the ALBA and what are the prospects for its success in the long term?

Presentation: Josette Altmann (Confirmed)

## Panel 4: Reconstructing a Regional System for the Americas 14h00 to 17h30 (coffee break 15h30-16h00)

Chair: Andy Cooper

#### Objective:

This panel examines various solutions that can help to reinforce the inter-American system. It is clear that after a strong start in 1994, the present phase of hemispheric regionalism has not made any progress since 2004. How can this relative period of stagnation be reversed? What is missing in the agenda? What strategies must be adopted to re-launch inter-American cooperation?

#### Theme 1: The US Policy Towards the Americas

Despite promises to the contrary, the present phase of hemispheric regionalism has been contaminated by the nature of the past, unhealthy, relationship between the US and Latin American countries. Efforts from all parts have not been able to overcome the weight of the past so that a new type of relationship could emerge. What are the necessary conditions for changing that relationship and, in so doing, creating the conditions for a productive dialogue? Presentation: **Dan Erikson** (Confirmed)

#### Theme 2: A Stronger Voice for Smaller Economies?

Small States of the region have traditionally been the « takers » with regards to past initiatives at region-building at the hemispheric level. It is clearly difficult for them to hope to have an impact as individual actors. But what strategies and practices should they adopt to have an impact collectively? Is it possible for regional institutions to give them more space? What to do with the particular situation of the overseas territories and departments in the Caribbean?

Presentation: Anthony Bryan (Confirmed)

#### Theme 3: Continuity and Change

The fifth Summit of the Americas will be held at a particular juncture in the history of inter-American relations. As demonstrated by the ALBA initiative, shared values and shared commitments have been replaced by opposing visions and contending approaches with regard to significant issues for regional and world affairs. In that context of ideological conflict, can hemispheric regionalism regain its momentum? What to expect from the new U.S.

administration in this regard? What contribution could the newcomers to the regional system, Canada and the Caribbean countries, offer to that effect?

Presentation: Mark Kirton (Confirmed)

#### Theme 4: Stronger Legitimacy

Some observers believe that the new institutional design for hemispheric regionalism did not really contribute to increase the legitimacy of inter-American institutions. For instance, civil society's influence appears limited because of the mostly executive nature of the decisionmaking process. Can the situation be modified and what mechanisms should be put in place to make the process really an inclusive one? What can be done with regards to transparency and effectiveness to make the hemispheric level of regionalism in the Americas more relevant?

Presentation: Gordon Mace and Jean-Philippe Thérien (Confirmed)

**Round-Table: Voices from the Americas** 17h30

#### THIS ROUND-TABLE IS ORGANIZED WITH THE SUPPORT OF







Chair: Indira Rampersad

#### Objective:

This is a round table grouping representatives from selective think tanks over the Americas who will discuss the current state of inter-American relations and offer suggestions for improved cooperation.

Participants: Tim Shaw (IIR-UWI), Carlo Dade (FOCAL), Francisco Rojas (FLACSO), Cristina Eguizabal (LACC), Andres Serbin (CRIES) and Paulo Sotero (WWC)