

**The Ibero-American System and its Influence in the Ibero-American
Regional Summit Diplomacy**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

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Acknowledges

To my dearest Lilly Julia for all her love and support and for being one of the most important figures in my life.

To Celsa for being a living inspiration.

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List of acronyms

AA: Association Agreement

ACE: Association of Caribbean States

ALBA: Alternativa Bolivariana para las Américas (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas)

APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CABEI: Central American Bank of Economic Integration

CACM: Central American Common Market

CARICOM: Caribbean Common Market

CARIFTA: Caribbean Free Trade Organization

EC: European Community

EEC: European Economic Community

ECLA: Economic Commission for Latin America

ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

EU: European Union

EU-LAC: European Union-Latin America and the Caribbean

FLACSO: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Latin American Social Science Faculty)

FTAA: Free Trade Area of the Americas

G-3: Group of 3 (France, Germany and United Kingdom), (Canada, Mexico and the United States of America), (Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela)

G-4: Group of 4 (France, Germany, Italy and United Kingdom)

G-7: Group of 7 (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom and the United States of America)

G-8: Group of 8 (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States of America)

G-22: Group of 22 (G-8 and 14 nations more)

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IAB: Inter-American Bank

IATRA: Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance

IGOs: International Intergovernmental Organizations

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IT: Information Technology

LAFTA: Latin American Free Trade Association

LAIA: Latin American Integration Association

MERCOSUR: Mercado Común del Sur (Southern Common Market)

MINUSTAH: United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OAS: Organization of American States

ODECA: Organización de Estados Centroamericanos (Organization of Central American States)

OEI: Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (Organization of Ibero-American States)

ONUCA: United Nations Observer Group in Central America

ONUSAL: United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador

ONUEN: United Nations Observer Mission to verify the electoral process in Nicaragua

PPP: Puebla-Panama Plan

SECIB: Secretaría de Cooperación Iberoamericana (Ibero-American Cooperation Secretariat)

SEGIB: Secretaría General Iberoamerica (General Ibero-American Secretariat)

SICA: Sistema de Integración Centroamericano (Central American Integration System)

SRE: Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico

U.N.: United Nations (Organization)

U.S.: United States of America

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNO: United Nations Organization

USAN: Union of South American Nations

USSR: Union of Soviets Socialist Republics

WB: World Bank

WTO: World Trade Organization

Introduction

The Ibero-American System has a short but challenging existence. Since 1991, the Iberian Peninsula and Latin American countries have been working on the construction of a community of nations with new opportunities of development and cooperation, based on a common history and cultural values. Never before in the modern history of these countries have their common interests been so important and strong in their national and regional agenda.

After the Ibero-American Summits' foundation, bilateral and regional political profiles have evolved, increasing political and diplomatic contacts as well as their economical, cultural, scientific and technological, educational, cultural and social relations. This concertation is evident in the cooperation on a wider number of topics and agreements and has helped to support and encourage further negotiations between the European Union (EU) and Latin America. Summitry has been, since the second half of the last century, an important component of regional integration. Ever since the beginning, the vaguely stated purposes have been enriched with innovative proposals, suffering the consequences of summitry climb-down until the reformulation of pragmatic aims based on a modern institutionalized structure.

The existence of several integration processes linking all these countries have produced the need to study the evolution of their cooperation ties and the new dynamic of summiting which

has made possible the birth of a new international organization with a clear mandatory goal to intensify cooperation and political contacts. It is not possible to classify it as a traditional trade-oriented or political-alliance entity; it is the result of the revival of a millennial relationship emanating from 1492 with the conquest and colonization and which is based today on a serious understanding of realities, looking for common purposes of social and economic development.

The Ibero-American System is a new proposal of regional development that deserves the attention of scholars due to its influence on the traditional models of integration in both regions and the regional summit diplomacy created by the Ibero-American countries. Its cooperation orientation, along with the high political profile has made it unique and reflects a particular Latin American characteristic. This reality should be studied in order to understand why this model of summitry remains and maintains its popularity in the Ibero-American countries.

During this study, we can not forget the historical and cultural facts that influence any integration model that includes Latin America. Particularly important is the impact that the system has had on the relations between Latin America and Spain and the EU. These relations have been modified drastically and both regions are living a continuous interaction and exchange of all kind of contacts , enriching at the same time the theory of integration and generating new political and theoretical outcomes worth to be considered when analyzing their historical bounds and the way that Latin America, the Iberian Peninsula and the EU, perceive each other. It is necessary then to know the usefulness of the Ibero-American System and how it has modified and increased diplomatic contacts and public outcomes in all these countries.

Chapter I. Regional Diplomacy and Summitry in Latin America

1.1 Regionalism in Latin America

Latin America has experienced several attempts at political and economic integration through history, mainly after the Second World War. Most of them were not successful or did not produce enough benefits to encourage further integration stages. The internal situation of Latin American countries during the second half of the Twentieth Century, as well as the regional and international context were the reasons for failure of such projects. Nevertheless, the countries have always shown willingness to integrate efforts in order to achieve common goals. This will to integrate was particularly strong in some sub-regions such as Central America, the Caribbean and some South American countries; but it took real importance after the Cold War, when democracy returned to the region and new markets were opened. The transformation and openness caused the international agenda to be filled with new and relevant international topics and the conditions for the development of real regional policies in different fields were set.

Although with different approaches, the idea of regionalism as an appropriate strategy for the international engagement of Latin America, gained relevance with the region's intention to increase its influence in multilateral organizations and international trade negotiations (Sanahuja, 2007). In addition, the region and sub-regions wished to promote a more efficient

performance. That is why the term is an essential component in the region's development agenda.

Contrary to former processes, the appearance of endogenous elements in this new regionalism contributed to the agenda-enlargement and was not limited to economic issues, as used to happen before (Sanahuja, 2007). At the political level, the establishment of the Rio Group after Contadora Group and its Support Group gave the region new political and diplomatic momentum that helped to the inclusion of new discussion-areas like environment, civil and regional security, migration and foreign policies coordination.

Economically, the implementation of new trade policies based on the "Washington Consensus", helped on the reformulation of protectionist models followed by the region for more than fifty years. The new development strategies were based on exports diversification and therefore, regional integration became an attractive option to promote international competitiveness (Kregel, 2008).

1.2 Integration Processes and Summitry

Summitry, understood as the use of meetings of heads of state or government for diplomatic and propaganda purposes (Berridge and James, 2003, p.255) is nowadays considered an integral part of the interactions of states in international relations. It allows articulating, coordinating, socializing and exchanging opinions in order to create international policy products. Today summitry is referred to gatherings of Head of States or international organizations, and Ministers of Foreign Affairs. It is the meeting of political leaders for official purposes, where the executive participation is a key element, activity which constitutes diplomacy at the highest level. (Dunn, 1996, p.20) According to Peter R.

Weilemann (2008), besides the key element of executive participation, summitry might not only mean state leaders, but also leader of international organizations such as NATO or the EU. Summit meetings are distinguished by the form of personal contact, meaning that participants communicate face-to-face, making it more difficult for the ceremonial dimension involved. That represents a greater commitment of time, energy and political risk. Most of them lack formal decision-making competencies in the sense of legal or constitutional bases attributed to them. Moreover, most of them do not command permanent administrative support or a secretarial structure independent of national administration. And most of the time, they are not legally binding.

George F. Will (cited in Melissen, 2008) says that modern summitry began at Versailles in 1919; and others say that it was Sir Wiston Churchill who first used the term in the fifties when calling for meetings at the top levels to resolve international differences. Summitry is an old practice which was originated at the earliest phases of diplomacy. It has been molded during the different stages of history depending on the international actors, national or personal objectives and nature of their relationships, which have determined its dynamic. Nowadays, it has been institutionalized as an international practice with the particularity of frequency and capacity to replace other established and traditional methods of diplomatic discourse.

The enormous impact of communication and technological development in the Twentieth Century, along with the democratization and decolonization process, besides the end of the Cold War, facilitated the use of summitry as an international instrument to deal with the growing number of crisis and challenges of a changing world and help to explain its significance.

Among the justifications for summitry, Jan Melissen (2008) says that politicians are now people readers rather than paper readers, modifying traditional diplomacy. New leaders have more faith in their own direct personal impressions and believe strongly in the advantages of personal contact with their foreign peers. The good personal relations can have a distinctly beneficial effect on the business of foreign affairs and subsequently, in international negotiations. Summitry favors familiarity and mutual understanding.

The expansion of the international community, the growth of regional diplomacy, as well as the interdependence of world economy, which has led to the expansion of commercial diplomacy, have provided stimulus for the proliferation of summit meetings.

However, according to Dunn (1996) besides its importance in international affairs, scholars call attention to both the risks and advantages of summitry. Experience, commitment, will and personal capabilities of leaders not always help to get good results; there is lot of elements and factors that could influence an international meeting. Linguistic expertise, diplomatic training and country-knowledge are qualities not always found in politicians. Furthermore, summitry is usually criticized as an unnecessary photo-opportunity and still we have to consider the risks of summitting democratic and totalitarian leaders.

Although all these negative references could influence an international negotiation, they need not necessarily to be in conflict (Dunn, 1996, p.11). Professionalization in international affairs, have guided countries to find an ideal blend of professional knowledge and political directives, in spite of natural tensions between national and international actors.

There is no doubt, however, that while summitry may well be irrelevant and highly damaging to diplomacy, and may often serve principally foreign and domestic propaganda purposes, it

can also be valuable for diplomacy—provided, of course, that it is employed judiciously (Berridge, 2005, p.180). They give the opportunity to generate new ideas, encouraging bilateral and multilateral talks and exerting pressure to impel negotiations and commitments. Wilemann stresses that because the specific subjects of summit can vary greatly, the setting of the agenda is a highly political process; it could shape the outcome of the meeting and determines its character. They can be considered as a pre-negotiation stage or can simply legitimate negotiations already concluded. They can also attract attention on crucial topics of the moment.

As a diplomatic and political phenomenon, summitry can take variety of forms. There may be few participating states or many; might be held by adversaries or allies. They might be held relatively regularly, or on an ad hoc or even one-off basis. Summit agendas might leave heads of state and government with a creative role, free to explore the scope and content of political agreement. They provide an important margin of flexibility that could even leave heads of states or governments with no more than a symbolic role to play (Dunn, 1996, p.88). It has an important educational value for the leaders, contributing to their training and familiarization in international affairs; bypass multiple bureaucratic procedures and can take place at any moment of the negotiation process. One very important characteristic is its ambiguity, leaving room for maneuvering and follow-up talks.

According to Berridge (2005, p.180), there are three main kind of summitry: first, the serial summit, which is part of a regular series. This is probably the best suited to the key function of negotiation, though the extent to which this is true turns to some extent on its length and frequency; they arouse fewer public expectations and has developed clear and comprehensive rules of procedure; indeed, foresee the establishment of an institutional framework. Besides, they help to educate head of governments in international realities, permit the use of linkage

as a constant opportunity, due to the higher representation; set deadlines for the completion of an existing negotiation, sustain diplomatic momentum and may serve to break any remaining deadlocks. It is also the best suited for information gathering, including the gathering on information of personalities; and so, they could help to the establishment of friendly relations, or even unfriendly when there is no cultural or personal affinity among participants.

Under this model, member's interests must be reflected in the system objectives, institutional framework as well as the procedures agreed, in order to allow further commitments in higher integration stages. It is fundamental to keep a balance of those interests and those generated by the executive body (in case of having one) to guarantee the continuity of cooperation by all parts.

Secondly, *ad hoc* summit conference¹, which is usually an exceptional meeting but could turn out to be the first of a series. They often have a narrow focused theme and invariably have a high profile. Most of them last no more than three days, generate more publicity than the serial summit and usually lack of clear procedural rules. Due to its symbolic purpose, it could be better suited than serial summits to create friendly relations. Besides, considering its nature, is perhaps better suited to generate diplomatic momentum and to deal with deadlines. A good example of this was the Ibero-American Summit held in Guadalajara, Mexico in July 1991, a multilateral summit aim to increase economic and cultural ties among its participants (Berridge, 2005, p.182).

Thirdly, the high level "exchange of views"², which could be part of a series but it is more likely to be *ad hoc*. It has more modest purposes to clarify intentions and looks to gain intelligence giving an extra push to a continuing negotiation at lower level (Berridge, 2005,

¹ E.g. Camp David, Wye River and Sino-American summit.

² E.g. foreign tours of head of governments visiting a number of countries; face-to-face-talk.

180). The agenda is usually varied and it is often a bilateral rather than multilateral meeting. Thanks to its modest ambition and low-key proceedings, is probably the best suited of all summits to promote friendly relations. It helps well in the promotion of cooperation in trade, culture and some consular affairs like cases of maltreatment of nationals; eventually, some times are important in further continuing talks and rescue deadlocks on particular points.

David H. Dunn (1996) mentions some of the characteristics of summitry, and calls the attention in the importance of diplomacy at democratic age (so called, New Diplomacy), gathering open and accountable governments and changing as never before, the vision of secrecy or lack of trust common to the Cold War. These changes represented a vital change of direction for international relations, encouraging dialogues that represent a great opportunity to louse up or built agreements or even to raise public expectations. Internally, it has increased the executive role in foreign policy, allowing the emerged of tensions between national bureaucracy and professional diplomats.

Dunn (1996) highlights some of the advantages of summitry, pointing out on the facility of getting to know other heads of government, which permits confidence in their existing or initial relationship, so essential for routine diplomacy. This opportunity raises the symbolic importance of summitry resulting from the agreement of a new policy. In many occasions, such gatherings help in terms of propaganda to benefit the countries and persons involved. They force political leaders to focus on the international rather than the domestic implications of their policies, demanding to master most of the foreign policies' elements in order to perform in a competent way, especially considering the publicity surrounding such encounters. Summitry has been usual in imposing deadlines on negotiations thanks to the authority of the individuals involved, which is no present in the established diplomatic channels. It allows issues to be considered in a holistic framework that helps policy-

coordination and integration in a more international and higher level and eventually, could be critical in diplomatic impasses and is functional for exports and national promotion abroad.

On the other hand, Dunn, along with Harold Nicolson and George Ball (cited in Dunn 1996) become worried about the “risks” of summitry, especially when referring to the process of “getting to know each other” amongst leaders. They argue that friendliness could be highly damaging for summitry because of the unexpected affability of conversations that produce allusiveness, compromises and high intensions that are not always seriously committed. This could conclude in an international fiasco oversized by the national and international press. Ball (1976, p.32) is more specific when indicates that when leaders have disparate backgrounds, customs and language and in many cases, ethical attitudes and ideologies, summitry is more likely to produce mistaken and misleading impressions than a clear meeting of minds. It is normal to find leaders with lack of diplomatic expertise, however, today more than never before, training in international affairs as for domestic matters is part of a leader background in this new democratic and accountable diplomacy. Despite normal clashes of personalities, summitry is still an important tool for politicians. It can be used as an effective mechanism to fulfill their national and international projects and they have partially solved the “risky” problem with the help of trained advisers, translators and interpreters.

It is necessary for summitry to be constantly under development and reform in order to preserve its useful role. It should be capable to stop and reverse, adjusting itself to the current trend toward larger and more elaborated summits (Weilemann, 2008).

Francisco Rojas Aravena (cited in Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.47), one of the few researchers in Latin American summitry says in some of his essays that the region is characterized for having summitry processes with lack of specialization. They normally approach the agenda in

a wider way; however, to avoid thematic dispersion, a focal point of particular importance is placed. The agreements don't have a binding nature but they reflect common positions and certain degree of political will. This situation can affect the global or regional agenda, as well as the goals imposed on the international organizations related to the summitry process. Besides, Latin America experience shows a constant increment in the gap between assumed compromises and its implementation and problems in follow up. For that reason, gatherings of Head of States have evolved to more operative forms where multilateral institutionalization has a central role, contributing to the stability of their integration systems.

Other important considerations are those related to cross-cultural negotiations. Berridge (2005) and Dunn (1996) agree on the fact that most of the countries are engaged to summitry processes not only with their closest neighbors but with those states culturally different. There will never be a total knowledge of the other party's perspective but the existence of common values could help in the form and substance of negotiations.

In the case of Latin America, most of the countries share a common history and values. Through the development of national states since the independence from Spain and Portugal, the group of countries has built up a homogenous area that is willing to search for common solutions to regional problems, contributing to the establishment of its own regional diplomacy. Geographical proximity as well as the existence of common objectives were crucial for the commitment of heads of governments to gather and discuss common problems and challenges. It was necessary to find new ways of dialogue and policy coordination in order to overcome obstacles natural to parliamentary multilateralism. That is how during the eighties the region emphasized in Summitry or "Diplomacia de las Cumbres"³ that was formalized as a direct politic dialogue at the highest inter-state level.

³ The word "cumbre" is literally translated as "summit".

In Latin America, summitry has been immersed in two main scenarios: one as part of the integration process at a sub-regional or regional level, working as a component of an institutional framework; and on the other hand, as part of several multilateral initiatives, not always with a strong institutional element, but with a common agreement in agenda, goals and a high number of proposals. There is a traditional strong component of economics and trade in the first scenario that has evolved to include socio-economic, environment, education, and other fields; meanwhile, the second one has added the political component and both of them maintain an absolutely strong desire to increase mutual cooperation (Roy, 2006).

The idea of integration in the region was first spread by the Enlightenment in the XVIII Century, when Latin American countries were part of Spain and Portugal and above all, due to the need of political independence. Since that time, national heroes of the new-born countries like Simón Bolívar in South America, Francisco Morazán and later José Martí in Central America and Cuba, fulfilled integrationist attempts with no positive results. They struggled for a political project of union and based their arguments in common characteristics like their language, Spanish,⁴ socioeconomic structure and common problems throughout history. It was before the second half of the XX Century that the region was willing to be seriously involved in integration processes.

During the nineties, summitry, as part of new integration processes, became one of the main Latin American instruments in the international stage, helping mainly to the establishment of policy-coordination spaces at a regional and sub-regional scope (Fuentes and Rojas Aravena, 2004, p.21). To understand that better, it is necessary to make a quick review of the regional and sub-regional integration processes and their own summit dynamic.

⁴ Brasil, Portuguese speaking, was not part of the first efforts because of the distance in terms of culture and language.

1.3 Pan-Americanism:

It refers to the diplomatic movement that took place between 1823 and 1954 toward commercial, social, economic, military and political cooperation among American countries (northern, central and southern). This was the first general effort related to hemispheric regionalism looking for the creation of a regional identity. It was however incipient and at the same time faced lot of problems due to national perspectives and individual projects enforced by different countries (Columbia, 2007a). Some scholars have called the attention on the role of the United States in Latin American matters during this period. We can stress the significance of military cooperation in order to increase national security in the middle of important international conflicts.

After 1823, the United States through the Monroe Doctrine⁵, declared the Western Hemisphere off-limits to European colonization and started its long-lasting interventionist policy in the region. In 1826, Pan-Americanism existed in the form of a series of Inter-American Conferences, starting in Panama, where Simon Bolivar, looking upon the United States as a model, proposed a federation of nations from Chile to Mexico; later, the main objective of the subsequent conferences in Lima (1847), Santiago (1856), Lima (1864) was to create a common defense system. Once the Civil War (1861-1865) ended in the U.S., the country was more interested in commerce with the region due to the growing presence of Great Britain, which had taken advantage of its weak position during the conflict (Columbia, 2007a).

⁵ Declaration made by U.S. President James Monroe, articulating the principles of independence from European colonization and support to the newly independent Latin American republics stating that both political systems, European and American were essentially different and further efforts to interfere in American business would be considered as a manage to peace and safety. It was seen by many Latin American nations as a "mask" for U.S. imperialist ambitions.

In 1889 was held the first of the modern Pan-American Conferences in Washington, attending most of the countries⁶ that adopted treaties for arbitration of disputes and adjustments of tariffs. In that conference was created the Commercial Bureau of American Republics, later Pan-American Union.⁷ (Columbia, 2007b) There were four more conferences until 1948, focused on military and defense cooperation. During this time, U.S. policy to Latin America had changed from Theodore Roosevelt's "*big stick*"⁸ to Franklin D. Roosevelt "*good neighbor*"⁹, besides that, its interest to secure the Panama Canal brought new tensions to the relations with Latin America and regional conflicts continued, putting the credibility of the system under scrutiny.

The international context created by the World War II, allowed Latin American states to become more united in common topics, mainly defense, commerce and financial matters. Considerable improvements were made in 1947 through the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (IATRA). It was a regional security pact which incorporated the principle that an attack against one was to be considered as an attack against all. As a consequence, the IX Pan-American Conference produced the Organization of American States (OAS) to promote hemispheric unity.

This organization was created as a permanent forum of political, economical, social and cultural coordination at a continental level. It has performed mainly a political role and its aims are to strengthen security and peace, to promote and consolidate democracy, to prevent conflicts and procure economic development in the continent (OAS, 2009). Its headquarters are located in Washington D.C. and U.S. influence is still argued by experts. One of its main political objectives was to prevent communism to spread in the American continent.

⁶ Represented by special delegates and plenipotentiary ministers.

⁷ Created at the Conference of Buenos Aires in 1910.

⁸ Slogan describing Roosevelt's corollary to Monroe Doctrine that says "speaks softly and carry a big stick; you will go far" and describes U.S. right to oppose European actions in the Western Hemisphere and right to intervene economically and militarily in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries if they proved incapable to maintain peace and sovereignty by their own.

⁹ Renouncing military intervention, the United States shifted to other methods to influence the region, as support to local leaders and institutionalism (Pan-Americanism), defense, economic and cultural cooperation.

Unfortunately, the organization failed in most of its objectives during the whole period of the Cold War and proved to be inoperative in regional crisis like Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1962)¹⁰, Dominican Republic (1965), Falklands, Argentina (1982). Better results were obtained in the nineties with its participation in the Haitian and Central American conflicts. The last Pan-American Conference was held in Caracas, Venezuela in 1954 and the subsequent summits have adopted the form of meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs or special conferences both under the tutelage of the OAS.

1.4 Economic Regionalism

During this period, cooperation in military and security matters remain critical owing to the fact of having a bipolar world. At the same time, the crisis of the seventies and the beginning of the European economic integration process encouraged the development of Latin America's own economic integration processes. At the ibero-american level, Spain continued promoting its Hispanic Community of nations under its tutelage, but such plans were not successful thanks to the particularities of the Spanish regime and Latin American regional characteristics, in addition to the U.S. interventionist policy. We will talk about the Hispanic Community in the second chapter.

In 1948, the United Nations Organization (UNO) created, along with other four Commissions, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA); which working field was later broadened to the countries of the Caribbean and changed by the acronym ECLAC. Its aim was to collaborate with UNO's Economic and Social Council, with the intention to elaborate assessments and collect statistical data needed by the member states (ECLAC, 2000).

¹⁰ This led to Cuban expulsion from OAS after Fidel Castro's overtake and advocate for a parallel and independent Pan-Americanism far from U.S. interests and imperialism through revolutionary fights.

Together with the IATRA and the OAS, which are fundamentally political and military institutions, aroused a serial of agreements and organizations with economic purposes, usually under ECLAC's direction. The Commission, beyond its original aims, set and promoted a developing model considered "specific" for Latin America called "import substitution". It tried to impel industrialization, giving a central role to the state as a major actor in the economy, protecting national production through strong tariff barriers (Couffignal and De la Reza 1994, p.15).

The effects were mainly positives till middle seventies, when the consequences of the international depression hit and affected structural problems in Latin American economies. The model helped to the regional integration in the sense that practically all countries applied the same economic policies.

The creation of the Inter-American Bank (IAB) in 1959 contributed to the coordination of economic projects and policies and thanks to its technical assistance and loan-program became an instrument of economic intervention of first importance. The Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) was created in 1960 with the main objective of contributing to the economic integration of its members.¹¹ That same year, Central American countries created the Central American Common Market (CACM)¹² and the Central American Bank of Economic Integration (CABEL) as the financial arm of the system. In 1969, the Andean Pact (today Andean Community) was born following the same integration logic. Besides, Caribbean countries, although with less ambitions, created the Caribbean Free Trade Organization (CARIFTA) which was later known as Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM). Eventually, the Latin American and Caribbean Economic System was created in 1975 as a regional consultative organism for coordination, cooperation and socio-economic

¹¹ Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela.

¹² As part of the Organization of Central American States –ODECA- which was created in 1951 by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

promotion (Couffignal and De la Reza 1994, p.15-16). All these organizations focused on precise objectives and rigid stages to fulfill economic integration with the idea to establish common tariff barriers among their members.

The balance of this period is not so positive after all. None of the integration processes fulfilled their initial objectives; antagonisms among states, conflicts of interests and lack of an active solidarity were part of the problems. After this, countries privileged a more informal integration, always trying to get results, but this time favoring bilateralism instead of multilateralism through agreements limited to certain products instead of global agreements. This is well illustrated considering the creation of the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA) in 1980, which replaced LAFTA, and didn't set a rigid proceeding schedule for negotiations; its objective was to contribute on celebrating specific and bilateral agreements.

Some scholars have pointed out the decade of the seventies as the turning point with the raising of economic summits (Daniels, 2004) inside the Bretton Woods crisis' context and the turbulence caused by the shock of petrol prices. During this period were established most of the G (Group) summits, G-3, G-4, G-7 and subsequently, G-8 and G-22. Topics have varied from environment to gender, human rights and sustainable development, among others.

As we can notice, at this moment, when we talk about integration in Latin America, we are referring mainly to the economic side of it. Political integration was put apart after the creation of the OAS in 1948 and during the Cold War; it came back again to the agenda after radical regional changes, along with the debt crisis of the eighties and other complications experienced by the Latin American countries.

1.5 New Political Integration

At the beginning of the eighties, Latin America was clearly part of the U.S. area of influence, submerged in a bipolar world, hardly integrated and with multiple socio-economic problems at a national and regional level. Under this context, there were several factors that determined Latin American politics, economy and development.

Summitry acquired fundamental importance in the development of diplomatic relations in the area and the regional situation allowed starting a real coexistence through the reformulation of a community of states promoted by Spain.

The U.S. policy, considered since the beginning of the Cold War, was consistently fighting for military, political and economic influence from extra continental powers, just like before. The existence of ideological considerations in that policy acquired a primary importance and the consolidation of the Cuban Revolution in the earlier sixties changed that vision to worse, exerting harder influence and interfering more drastically in internal affairs (Couffignal and De la Reza, 1994, p.17-18).

That explains U.S. support to right-wing military regimes in most of Latin American countries. These regimes, besides their own national antagonisms, didn't usually have good relations between each other in spite of the same support and cooperation given by the U.S. Nevertheless, there was still space for business, mutual economic cooperation and some grade of integration.

The ideological confrontation during the second half of the last Century affected drastically international relations and Latin America was not an exception. Multilateralism was blocked

in its capacity of action and transformation of the international system during the whole period of the Cold War.

One of the most vulnerable areas in the continent was Central America, so far the most conflictive sub-region with a long story of abuses, military regimes and paramilitary groups. The increasing socio-economic deterioration since the first half of the century and human rights abuses by the governments allowed the grouping of left-wing national guerrillas in El Salvador and Nicaragua, supported by Cuba and the USSR. As a reaction, the U.S. supported paramilitary right-wing forces. Guatemala had a more complicated internal situation with a disgraceful record on human rights and indigenous abuses. This situation increased political violence and produced denaturalization of statehood in most of the Central American countries (Martí i Puig and Santiuste Cué, 2008)

The situation was unsustainable at the end of the seventies and in addition to the threat of a generalized conflict, the international debt crisis hit deeply in the region, only complicating an already chaotic situation. The conflict acquired a clear ideological tone but the internal context and the search of democratic claims, social justice and development against repression and authoritarianism gained popularity and the world put their eyes on that small and distant area.

In 1982 Costa Rica and Honduras were seriously threaten to be involved in the conflict and after them, the fight could spread to other countries. That is how in 1983 Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela formed the Contadora Group, the first mediation attempt of Latin American countries for other Latin American countries (Dana Sims and Petrash, 1987). At the same time, the Group created a mechanism of consultations and definition of policies. Contadora performed efforts to find political and diplomatic solutions to the conflict and

alternative arrangements to end the military fights and to negotiate a better access to international markets. The peace plan was supported by the United Nations Security Council and other international bodies.

In 1985 Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay formed the Contadora Support Group to give a higher dimension to the efforts, but their initiative failed to be approved by all parts. However, it laid the foundations of a plan to be reconsidered in subsequent years (Dana Sims and Petrash, 1987).

Under the leadership of Costa Rican President, Oscar Arias Sanchez, all the parts signed and ratified the Esquipulas Peace Agreement II (Plan Arias) in 1987, which led to a fundamental reshaping of Central American and later Latin American politics, giving even the honour to the region to have its first Nobel Peace laureate, President Arias, because of his efforts to bring peace to Central America.

As part of the agreements, in 1991 Central American countries signed the Tegucigalpa Protocol, transforming the sub-regional integration process by creating the Central American Integration System (SICA), an intergovernmental organization with several supranational institutions like the Central American Parliament and the Central American Court of Justice. The System includes annual summits of Heads of Governments and Ministers of Foreign Affairs as well as a rotative six-month-Presidency. It has engaged external members and observers from three continents (SICA, 2009).

Contadora, its Support Group and the Plan Arias proposals introduced two new characteristics to the history of inter-American relations and regional summitry. First of all, they emanated from a group of Latin American countries associated under a common political enterprise and

at the same time, had the capacity to oppose U.S. policy in the region at a moment when Latin America was never before so economically dependent. Secondly, countries grouping-conformation achieved a higher level in the continental diplomacy, acquiring prestige and new international responsibilities, letting the region to build capacity by its own to deal and negotiate with other countries or bloc of countries.

This new summitry dynamic was the beginning of a process of empowerment in regional affairs by the Latin American countries, marking an important distance to U.S. influence and style. It is important to consider that part of the negotiations were defined by the desire of a real application of the principle of non-interference or intervention in the internal affairs of the states, which was clearly not always observed by the U.S. and its policy to the region. The success in the final agreement, where this principle was evoked several times, represented another milestone in Latin American matters and the beginning of a new relationship with the U.S. and other important powers.

The EU commitment in the democratic transition was fundamental for the consolidation of peace and other parallel outcomes. In 1984 was launched the San Jose Dialogue, with the intention to cooperate in economics and political integration, taking into account the EU experience in the field. The encounters promoted inter-region relations and region-to-region dialogue. Actually, this was the first exercise of inter regional contacts (CEC, 1995). After Central America, the EU promoted the same framework of relations with the Andean Community and Mercosur, as well as bilateral contacts with Chile, Mexico and Brazil.

According to the Europeans, Latin America has traditionally been seen as a “natural partner” and both regions have been always linked by a “strategic partnership” and in the attempt to broaden inter regional contacts, both sides agreed to upgrade political contacts to presidential

summits. Such gatherings are celebrated every two years and have been enlarged to summits between the EU and the Rio Group, also celebrated every two years at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (EC, 2009a).

The primary idea behind the summits was to offer an opportunity for direct, personal contact between leaders, searching for a flexible framework beyond established mechanisms of bureaucracy and provide opportunities to generate new ideas and set up audiences for issues of international interest (Mainhold, 2007, p.1). Besides the fact that the relation is deeper than ever and the EU along with Central America and the Andean Community are negotiating an Association Agreement (AA), summitry mechanism has produced partial outcomes due to the mere number of leaders attending the meetings, making very difficult to establish personal relationships.

The “summit effect” has been considered as an essential element for promoting political, economic and cultural cooperation between the two regions, and as a direct consequence of this, the number of issues to address is rising constantly. The immediate effect of this presidential diplomacy has been a centralization of foreign policy in the hands of presidents or head of governments with a politically headstrong nature. And the dramatic result has been that in the absence of effective follow-up mechanisms, it has been up to the European Commission to take on the political costs of the impression shared by many that there is no real policy behind all the talk (Mainhold, 2007, p.1).

It is very important to avoid such situation and reduce the distance between words and action achieving higher levels of efficiency, centered in workable agendas and transparent processes.

At a continental level, the solution of the Central American conflict helped to let practically all Latin American countries, with the exception of Cuba, to embrace democracy. The new regional situation, combined with the transformed international scenario set the conditions to start an innovative policy-coordination process with a strong political component, unifying criteria in order to propose a new regional agenda characterized by the inclusion of all common problems and development aspirations.

But maybe one of the most important attributes of the changes was the will to speak openly about the needs and challenges of the region, giving a more determinant role to summitry as a mechanism of dialogue and issue-highlighting. This new and democratic summitry would help in setting up several sub-regional integration processes with a distinctive and personal dynamic, but this time combining politics, economics and development issues.

The Latin American determination to preserve and develop a process with its own identity was fundamental for the establishment of the Rio Group in 1986, which has the status of an international organization and was composed at the first moment by the members of the Contadora Group and its Support Group. Nowadays, practically all Latin American countries are part of the group. The Rio Group plays the role of a permanent mechanism of consultation and policy-coordination. It was conceived as an alternative body to the OAS during the Cold War, since the U.S. influence in that organization. It does not have a secretariat or permanent executive body and relies on yearly summits of Heads of State (SEGIB, 2008 a).

It too contemplates meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member states and has institutionalized informal dialogues with countries and group of countries. The most formal of them has been established between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and those from the European Union (EC, 2009b). Besides Central America, it has deal with the Malvinas

(Falklands) conflict, urging for negotiations between Argentina and Great Britain, the external debt crisis, the trade protectionism in developed countries, etc.

The amazing success of the first Ibero-American summit in 1991 in Mexico is a sample of this increasing compromise to discuss regional problems but this time since a different optic, considering the common history and culture between Latin America and their mother-lands and former colonizers, Spain and Portugal.

1.6 New Multilateralism and Economic-Bloc Formation

One of the main consequences of the end of the bipolar confrontation was the strengthening of the economic globalization and the tendency to constitute regional blocs, mainly in America, Asia and Europe. It gave at the same time, the opportunity for summitry under the new conditions, encouraging inter-bloc contacts and further institutionalization of policy-coordination mechanisms (Telò, 2007, p.1-8).

In America were founded different sub-groups with the purpose to reach levels of integration that at the same time allowed the countries to proceed to single markets in an acceptable period of time. Mercosur,¹³ founded by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay in 1991 achieved such objective in 1995. The North American Free Trade Agreement-NAFTA¹⁴ lasted ten years to suppress barrier tariffs between Canada, Mexico and the U.S (Summit, 2009). The Group of 3 or G-3¹⁵ started a process toward integration between Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela.¹⁶

¹³ Trade bloc that promotes free trade and free movement of goods, people and currency and motivates further steps in political and cultural integration between its member states.

¹⁴ Came into effect in January 1, 1994 and in terms of combined purchasing power is the largest trade bloc in the world and second largest in nominal GDP comparison.

¹⁵ Free Trade Agreement that came into effect in 1995 and stated a ten percent tariff reduction over ten years, including copy rights, goods, investment, government purchases, regulation to competition and services.

¹⁶ In 2006, this country decided to withdraw from the G-3 due to differences with both partners and from the Andean Community because of the negotiation of Free Trade Agreements with the U.S. and the rest of the partners. Eventually, initiated its membership to Mercosur.

Besides the tendency of bloc-formation, in this period Latin America experienced an increasing multiplication of bilateral and multilateral (inter-bloc) agreements with a limited range of scope. The list is large and keeps growing, Chile-Mexico, Chile-Costa Rica, Mexico-Central America, Central America-Caricom, Caricom-Mercosur, Mercosur-Andean Community, etc. Even the Caribbean got closer, in 1994 Caricom, G-3, Sica, Haiti, Cuba and eleven sovereign territories founded the Association of Caribbean States (ACE).

This was the perfect scenario for the U.S. to encourage the creation of a continental free trade union, transforming the continent in the largest economic bloc in the world. The first proposal, Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, was first stated by President George H.W. Bush in 1990 with the goal to achieve hemispheric free trade by 2000, concentrated in trade, investment and debt. After 1994 when NAFTA and the GATT came into force, the initiative was renamed as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the hemispheric free trade goal was postponed until 2005 (FTAA, 2006). It was considered as an enlargement of NAFTA.

After the establishment of serial summits to fulfill its objectives, Latin American countries had mended their debt problems and the macroeconomic indicators have improved notoriously. Besides, the Civil Society, as well as different governments criticized FTAA implications and led by Venezuela, have promoted the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA)¹⁷ (Alternativa Bolivariana, 2004). So, as a consequence, the U.S. had to change its strategy to utilize existing Free Trade Agreements among the members, adding those celebrated by the U.S. with Central American countries, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Peru. There is a great uncertainty about FTAA's future.

¹⁷ Based in the European model with emphasis in energy and infrastructure to be extended to economic, political and military integration.

In May, 2008, South American countries decided to create the Union of South American Nations (USAN), integrating the Andean Community and the Mercosur; and modeling the new community after the European Union, including common currency, parliament and passport. According to the proposal, they could reach a complete union by 2019 and with the intention to avoid more bureaucracy, no new institutions would be created for the moment and the entity will use the existing institutional framework belonging to both trade blocs (Ministério 2009).

In addition to these important and vast processes of economic and political integration, some sub-regions decided to join efforts to accomplish a higher level of cooperation in specific regional projects. One of the most notorious is the Puebla-Panama Plan-PPP¹⁸, which was formally initiated in 2001, eager to promote regional integration and development in Central America, Colombia and nine southern Mexican states: Puebla, Guerrero, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatán, Quintana Roo and Chiapas. It is focused on energy, transportation, telecommunications, trade, sustainable development, human development, migration, tourism and disaster prevention. It looks for a coordination of policies in those topics and a funding rising process according to each country's capacity (Proyecto Mesoamericano, 2009).

Summitry has been critical for the success of these integration efforts. Besides the sum of wills to agree on integration steps during this period, the engagement of national leaders and governmental offices in the processes has produced a new more competitive dynamic based on technical negotiations always supported by politicians. This new reality has raised the need to adequate national agencies and professional profiles of those individuals involved in the processes. Latin American traditional diplomacy has changed into a more open institutional framework not anymore lead by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The inclusion of new and

¹⁸ Today called 'Proyecto Mesoamericano' (Mesoamerican Project), integrating Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

important international topics has created the necessity to include Ministers of Trade, Agriculture, Energy, Environment, etc, other agencies and of course, Presidential Offices.

The integration process is intended to continue and reach new stages and summitry will be a central part of it. The trend will be to intensify economic and political integration, especially in times when international crises require common answers for common problems. Thanks to Latin America common cultural heritage the task to find answers and solutions will not be so dramatic, and it could even be a distinguished element that could give value added to Latin American proposals.

Chapter II. The Ibero-American Community

2.1 The Term Ibero-America

The term started to be used in the second half of the Nineteenth Century and is composed by the words Iberia and America to designate the collectivity of countries located in one of the largest and more culturally united regions in the world. The prefix Ibero refers to the Iberian Peninsula in Europe, consisting in Spain and Portugal and America refers to all the Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas and Brazil, Portuguese-speaking.¹⁹ It excludes French-speaking and English-speaking countries. It includes Puerto Rico which was a Spanish colony and today is an associated free state of the U.S. and excludes the United States besides its forty million Hispanics living in its territory, due to its historic and cultural origins.²⁰

The term shouldn't be confused with Hispano-America²¹ or Latin America²². The first is more restrictive and refers only to the Spanish-speaking countries and the second includes all those American countries colonized by Spain, Portugal and France. The term Pan-Americanism is another concept linked to the Ibero-American history but created and promoted by the U.S. during a certain period of time (Roy, 2006, p.8-11).²³

¹⁹ See Annex n.1

²⁰ Andorra took part of the Ibero-American Summits despite the fact that it is not a Spanish or Portuguese speaking country.

²¹ See Annex n.2

²² See Annex n.3

²³ See "Pan-Americanism" Chapter I, subsection 1.3

It is important to notice that besides the two predominant Ibero-American languages, there are a multitude of other native official and unofficial languages inside its territory. Some of them are: Aymara, Basque, Bribri, Chorotega, Guaraní, Mapundungun, Mayan languages, Náhuatl, Rapanui, Quechua, etc.

2.2 Building Ibero-America

The Ibero-American common identity has its roots back in the Discovery of America in 1492. This date marks the beginning of a common history that lasted for more than three hundred years and helped to the conformation of what we know today as Latin America and Ibero-America (Pico de Coaña, 2005, p.24). There are several theories with different perspectives regarding the implications of this historical process. Any of those perspectives has a historical and critical legitimate basis, but sometimes they prevent us from a serious study and assessment of what the discovery and subsequent conquest and colonization meant to America and to the same colonial powers, Spain and Portugal.

It is not my interest to explain or base my arguments on any of those theories and I will be focused in the facts that allowed the creation of a cultural area with specific characteristics and located in two different continents, known today as Ibero-America.

The Discovery of new lands by the Spaniards is considered one of the most important events in human history, marking the beginning of a new Renaissance in Europe and a turning point in pre-Hispanic American history. Christopher Columbus was commanded by the kings of Spain (Castile and Aragon) to find new trade routes through Asia in order to counteract the resent lost of African trade routes in favor of Portugal. During his journey to Asia his caravels unexpectedly came across the American continent. By the time, Spain possessed a powerful

war machine, a strong economy, a long naval experience with exterior projection equipped with an important number of experts in mathematics, astronomy and geography; in fact, they were prepared to conquer, occupy, populate and exploit the new lands that were inhabited by natives with a millennial history and unknown knowledge in science and other fields.

The conquerors wanted to establish a society model with a strong religious element of coexistence between Spaniards, Portuguese and American natives but the reality was very different. The colonial civil power spread all over the continent together with the Catholic Church, which evangelist role was fundamental to propagate Christian values and language, both of them fundamental to build the Ibero-American identity. There were many atrocities and brutalities during the process but it is fair to recognize that it left an important positive footprint in American lands and history. In fact, most of the institutions created by the Spaniards and Portuguese people prevail over time (Larrain, 2000, p.43-53).

The natural order of things allowed the mix of races between the conquerors and natives. This process is known as “mestizaje” or “miscegenation”²⁴ and was not limited to racial matters. It included all those outputs product of the combination of both worlds heritage. The extraordinary cultural richness provided by the mestizaje is reflected in countless works of art and engineering all along the American territory. They are a living sample of a culture that began its first steps and that recognizes its double heritage.

The mestizaje was accompanied by a strong religious element and was a complementary part of the American man and woman. Due to its particular characteristics, the mestizaje created in some level a new and tolerant vision of religion. That permitted to overlap beliefs and created an indissoluble hybrid in some parts of the continent, where the Virgin Mary could perfectly

²⁴ This English equivalence is not of common use by scholars. We will use the term “*mestizaje*”.

coexist with the Pachamama.²⁵ And maybe the most important attribute was the language, Spanish and Portuguese which are an inalienable part of Ibero-American culture. They are the connecting link that binds Ibero-American countries and reflects them to the world. The countries have modified and adjusted both languages to their needs, feelings and regions transforming them and turning them into theirs. Both are considered major languages, spoken by more than one hundred million people each and curiously, Spanish speaking people can easily understand Portuguese and vice versa. Today, Spanish is considered the second largest international language after English.

2.3 Spanish Ibero-American Policy

The Spanish policy toward Latin America was based on the existence of a community of interests (history, language, culture). This was the foundation of the Spanish projection in the sub-continent, systematically assumed as a state policy. The Latin American policy is fundamental to understand the Ibero-American dimension of the Spanish foreign policy. To understand what we know as Ibero-America is necessary to understand the historical evolution of the relation between Spain and the American countries. We should even consider the evolution of the U.S. policy to the region, mainly during the XX Century.

Spain has been the main promoter of the idea of one community based in common principles, values and history. For that reason, it is necessary to look carefully first at the development of the Spanish policy to the region since the colony, where most of them were part of its overseas territories and most importantly, later, when practically all former colonies got independent and Spain and Latin American countries had to develop their own bilateral and regional relations.

²⁵ Goddess worshiped by the indigenous people in the Andes and translated as “Mother Earth” or “Mother Universe” in native languages Quechua and Aymara.

The development of intensive diplomatic relations after the democratic transition in the Iberian Peninsula, the establishment of several cooperation programs as well as a cooperation policy and the increasing Spanish involvement in Latin American matters allowed the establishment of a privileged relationship. Eventually, the proposal of the Ibero-American Community was a major regional project that would give a new dimension and character to the bi-regional relation.

2.3.1 From Emancipation to Hispanoamericanism

The Spanish policy to its American colonies during the XIX Century was dominated by an utterly complicated and unstable internal situation along with an unfavorable international context that immersed the country into a constant passivity in international affairs together with the lack of consistency in its policies, marginality and isolation. This situation limited Spanish international performance (Del Arenal, 1994, p.13-22)

Spain went into a gradual relative decline since the Thirty Years War in the XVII Century. In the XVIII Century, the Spanish Succession War cost Spain its European possessions and its leading position as one of the main powers in the continent. Short after the installation of the French Bourbons as new crown dynasty, the country experienced a gradual recovery and prosperity through the empire thanks to the Bourbon Reforms. The administration was modernized and trade began to grow strongly. Even its participation in military assistance during the American War of Independence improved Spain's international standing (Keen, 2009, p.135-143).

After the French Revolution and Napoleon campaign, Spain made peace with France in 1795 and fought next to them against Great Britain and Portugal. A terrible economic situation

along with other factors led to the imposition of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain. In 1812 the first Spanish Constitution ratified the principles of popular sovereignty, abolished absolute monarchy and engaged other examples of classic liberalism. This was a cornerstone for Spanish criollos²⁶ that were empowered by the new legislation to fight for their own freedom, especially after Ferdinand VII repudiation of the Constitution in 1814 (Del Arenal, 1994, p.13-22). The fights ended with the independence and lost of Spanish colonies in the Americas with the exception of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines in Asia. The French invasion in addition to important mistakes made by the Spaniards left a deeply divided country prone to political instability for more than a century.

After these events the Spanish authorities didn't have the capacity to value the importance of a relationship with the new countries. Spain started the recognition process in 1836 and concluded in 1894 (Pereira Castañeras, no date/). It preferred to celebrate bilateral agreements in spite of general agreements that prolonged the process and lost the sense of unity. Even during the sixties that century, tried vain intervention attempts in Mexico, Dominican Republic and during the Pacific War that brought into conflict to Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

In 1892 both continents celebrated the quartercentenary of the Discovery, establishing October 12 as a date to celebrate and renamed as "Day of the races" in reference to the encounter of both worlds (Rachum, 2004). Practically the whole XIX Century was characterized by cold commercial relations that only changed after 1898 after the Hispano-American War when Spain lost the last colonies in the continent and was no longer a main European power. At the same time, the U.S. and later Japan emerged as extra European powers, changing the balance of power worldwide. The Hispano-American countries remained neutral during the conflict, producing an increment of sympathies in Spain for the so called "New World" (Del Arenal, 1994, p.18).

²⁶ Locally born colonials with European ancestors.

At the beginning of the XX Century there was an important growth in intellectual exchange and several research and study institutions were founded in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and a new idea of Hispanic union was born. This idea was related to the existence of romantic vindication movements in Spain to exalt spiritual national values. It was based on the idea of republican fraternity and solidarity in order to achieve common progress (Martín Montalvo et al. 1985)

Once Spain had lost its last colonies, it was necessary to recover and encourage all those elements of unity existing during the last four centuries looking for the own national sense and international prestige. It was necessary to build a new different model based on one community of nations mutually beneficial for its members. Its basis would be its common cultural identity. Under this logic, Spain was not conceived without Hispano-America and vice versa. It protects the unity of the Hispanic world, its religion, culture and promotes cultural integration (Del Arenal, 1994, p.18-21). This movement, known as hispanoamericanism²⁷, is the basis of the other movements that came later.

In practice, the movement wasn't so successful, due to the lack of interest in Spain for one America without possessions. In this regard, Ibero-America wasn't part of the Spanish foreign policy priorities until 1923 under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. The new regime brought with it a change in the official attitude regarding the region. Rivera wanted to provide Spain with a prestigious foreign policy along with a permanent seat in the League of Nations' Council. He favored the existence of an international bloc of Hispanic nations with Spain as its leader. Rivera reformed the Spanish diplomatic body upgrading and increasing Spanish representations in its former colonies (Pereira Castañares, 1992, p.106-110).

²⁷ As a product of the combination of both concepts, "Christianity" and "humanity". It tried to express the most characteristic feature in Spanish identity and according to its promoters, the historic and spiritual mission of an universal Spain.

The country established a new *Americas Department* at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a Bureau for Cultural Affairs which was mainly oriented to Ibero-America. For the first time, the aim to implement an official cultural policy toward Ibero-America to support previous political objectives was properly set. At the same time, new institutions were created and others were restored in order to endure such policies.

With the arrival of fascism to the Peninsula, the conservatives took over the Hispanic ideas and transformed them. In the meantime, during the II Republic in 1931, the liberals would give a new impetus to the Ibero-American policies. This period was characterized for maintaining diplomatic relations with all the Ibero-American nations regardless its political regime, the renunciation of any expansionist intention, an active compromise of Spain as a mediator in inter-American diplomatic or military conflicts under the League of Nations and a desire to transform in positive and practical the already existing bonds between the Ibero-American countries (Del Arenal, 1994, p.25). According to their point of view, they were looking for a better cooperation in economics, politics and cultural affairs without former euphemisms on an equal level.

2.3.2. Hispanoamericanism and Fascism

The situation in 1933 forced the authorities to focus on internal matters and once General Francisco Franco Bahamonde came into power in 1939, after winning the Civil War, the new conservatives re-formulated the Ibero-American policy with the most traditional approaches. The union of the traditional fascism, right-catholicism and the messianic hispanicism after 1929 generated the institutionalization of the idea of hispanoamericanism and a conservative fascist conception in Spanish politics. This caused a changeable model of relations based and

developed under different international contexts after 1939 and until democratic restoration (Del Arenal, 1994, p.29-33).

This new model was based on two fundamental objectives. The first, at an internal extension was to legitimate the regime in order to achieve internal cohesion. The second was based on an external propaganda to set the basis of an influence sphere (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, 1988). There was a desire to create a counterweight to U.S. Pan-Americanism, but once this country joined the Second World War and there was no doubt about its future international role, Latin American countries aligned before it and the idea of a political and ideological penetration was abandoned (Del Arenal, 1994, p.34-36).

After the Allies victory, there was a null presence of Spain in international forums and Western and European international organizations. Due to its isolation, the regime proclaimed itself as the Christian values' advocate and as a visceral enemy of communism with the sole objective to survive in the international system (Pardo Sanz, 2009). Taking advantage of the Spanish legacy in the Latin American region, Franco aspired to create a community of states similar to the Commonwealth and the French Communauté and so, avoid isolation at a moment characterized by the rise of new regional international organizations. For this reason, the government created the Hispanic Culture Institute with political competences that would be reformulated to concentrate in the promotion of cultural relations and the idea of a community of hispanic nations (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, 1988).

The idea of a community was highly supported by the regime's intellectuals. The project was based on historical and cultural elements, but the main problem consisted in the ideological structure given by the same regime. This is understood due to its emotional and intellectual attributes that determined its characteristics and produced distrust in Latin America.

Moreover, because of its nature, the regime could not have friendly relations with all Latin American countries. In its attempt to join the UNO, Mexico promoted the Assembly General Resolution 39 (I) in 1946, where Spain is blamed for its cooperation with Hitler and Mussolini and recommends the regime to be debarred from membership in international agencies in relation with the UNO and to all member states to withdraw their Ambassadors from Madrid (UNO, 2008a). The resolution was supported by the majority of Latin American nations. In practice, the isolation wasn't implemented excessively rigorous and Spain could attract the collaboration of other countries as Argentina which assisted them during the economic crisis before 1950.

At the beginning of the Cold War, Latin America countries seemed more open and reliable with the exception of Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico and Uruguay. They even started opening embassies in Madrid, followed by some European countries. That is how through General Assembly Resolution 386 (V) (UNO, 2008b) several Ibero-American countries and even the U.S. agreed to revoke the recommendations stated in Resolution 39 (I), opening the possibility for Spain to engage with United Nations Specialized Organizations. Eventually, it became a UNO member in 1955.

During the fifties and sixties, the decolonization and further integration processes in Latin America and Europe allowed Spain to build a more technical and structured foreign policy focused in economic matters. At the same time, such foreign policy wasn't free of ideological elements natural to the regime policy. The country was eager to reform its relations with the Latin American region looking for spaces in the politic and economic integration processes, going beyond strict cultural proposals.

The decrease in military governments in Latin America during this period and the success of the Cuban Revolution produced a policy of special treatment at the margin of the U.S. policy. Spain favored trade and as a sample of its intention to increase bilateral relations, organized high-level contacts sending its Trade Minister, Alberto Ullastres as its messenger to some Latin American countries (Del Arenal, 1994, p.50). This attitude was justified because of export restrictions imposed by the European Economic Community (EEC), showing the instrumentality of Latin American policy according to the regime's vision. As a result, technical cooperation in agriculture and public health were increased. Spain even contributed with 20 USD millions to the Inter-American Bank.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs López Bravo helped in this matter too, reorienting diplomatic action to support the economic integration processes, mainly LAFTA, where he was received by the Executive Committee, opening contacts at the highest level. He tried to open exploratory conversations regarding the establishment of global diplomatic relations with Spain and that organization in order to take part of it in the future. Promoted dialogue and collaboration with other regional and sub-regional integration blocs related to LAFTA²⁸ and the idea to develop integral cooperation with Ibero-America under a geographical and economic scope. They even suggested the creation of ibero-American multinational companies without the hegemony of any country (Del Arenal, 1994, p.60-63).

This new approach found sympathies in some countries and sub-regions and at some level, Spain returned such correspondence. Taking advantage of ODECA's success and its single market, as well as ECLAC policies, Spain and Latin America enjoyed an increment of bi-regional trade and minor political contacts.

²⁸ According to Spain, LAFTA represented a valid interlocutor to get closer to the region.

In 1951 attended the First “Unión Latina” Congress²⁹ and in 1954 supported the “Madrid Convention” in order to create the new international organization. That same year, established the double nationality regime, which was an important step forward for the creation of a Hispanic community.³⁰ In 1955 Spain was incorporated as an observer to the ECLAC and collaborated in some projects under OAS auspices. This integrative impulse allowed the foundation of the Ibero-American Education Office and the Ibero-American Social Security Organization, among others.

Besides all the advances, the regime’s ideological characteristics prevented the relations, even cultural, to enter in a normal and fruitful field. In the middle sixties, the European integration dynamic made Spain modify its priorities and Ibero-America to lose its strategic importance. The region lost its practical interest as an instrument of prestige and became just one of the topics in the Spanish foreign policy. This change produced the loss of impetus in Spain and the official contacts decreased considerably. This is as a clear consequence of the irregularity and lack of planning in the Spanish process of policy-making and follow up, damaging even its idea of one community.

To counteract this situation, the country decided to implement a new rhetoric proclaiming itself as the “bridge” between Europe and America, increasing its Foreign Service budget to achieve a higher presence in integration organizations, specially the OAS. Its aim was to lay the foundations of a hypothetical Ibero-American common market to contribute to the Spanish national interests. However, the common market lacked of a serious leadership that sank the project and warned one more time Latin American countries about the regime’s capabilities and real objectives (Malamud, 2006).

²⁹ International Organization created in 1954 through the “Madrid Convention” to promote and spread cultural heritage and identities of Latin world present in four continents. See: <http://www.unilat.org/SG/index.es.asp>

³⁰ The double nationality regime and a differentiated judicial treatment between nationals of Hispanic countries had been claimed by the Hispanic-Americanists since the beginning of the XX century as a recognition to the intensification of relations between Spain and Latin America. It was even included in art. 24 of 1931 Political Constitution.

The desire to fully engage Spain to the Western and Europe using Ibero-America as an instrument of policy made the country to formulate one of its more ambitious and less realistic projects, the Atlantic Community. This initiative had a politic, economic and strategic nature and through which pretended three main objectives. Firstly, seal a triangular cooperation Europe-U.S.-Ibero-America to fight communism. Secondly, break the excluding dialectic of blocs through the Community of Hispanic Nations. Thirdly, make Spain the official speaker and bridge of dialogue between both shores of the Atlantic in order to strengthen its possibilities to become a member of the EEC and NATO (Del Arenal, 1994, p.54).

At the same time, as an act of solidarity, Ibero-America was on Spain's side when tried to validate its rights in Gibraltar before the United Nations. In return, Spain supported Argentina, Belize and Guyana in their decolonization revindications. The idea of the Atlantic Community didn't find supporters and was put apart.

Mexico and other countries denied their support to the proposal adducing a clear interest to use the region for Spanish national interests. For this reason, Spain decided to concentrate its strategy in the Andean Pact and in 1973 hosted the Ibero-American Conference of Ministers of Planning and the First Hispanic-Andean Conference in Cooperation, Economy and Technology. As a product of this conference, it was established the Mixed Hispanic-Andean Commission (Del Arenal, 1994, p.62). In 1974 took part of the Latin American Association of Development Financial Institutions and became part of the Inter-American Bank. Nevertheless, the bi-regional trade decreased because of the every time deeper trade relation of Spain with the EEC.

The last times of the regime were characterized by the external isolation. The death sentence given in 1975 to eleven people accused of terrorism provoked an international movement

against the country. Mexico demanded its expulsion from the United Nations and the EEC condemned the regime and suspended the bilateral negotiations for its integration (Del Arenal, 1994, p.65). As a direct consequence, the Ibero-American policy was reduced to its lowest level and its utility use was once again evident after Europe turned its back on Spain.

The idea of a Community had always an unrealistic, discontinuous and subordinate character to the defense of Franquism interests. That is why it is considered as an instrumental policy where rhetoric was more important than substance. It was a policy of substitution due to the lack of a serious foreign policy in other areas as the Western and Europe (Del Arenal, 2008). This explains its limited echo in Ibero-American countries.

The regime never developed, nor even could because of its authoritarian nature, a realistic and consistent policy in the region combining national interests and solidarity with democracy and development that was the only that could has set the basis of a real Ibero-American Community. Nevertheless, further democratic elected governments would take some principles and proposals impulse by the regime to guide their own propositions of a community of countries.

2.3.3. Democracy and the Community of Ibero-American Nations

After 1976 and thanks to the democratic transition in Spain, its foreign policy would be set forward in different terms than those from the Franquism with a new political willingness and a diverse national scenario. Further centrist governments developed a new Ibero-American policy that would be adequately developed once the socialists came into power (Del Arenal, 2008).

It is important to notice that this new policy maintained some of the positive elements proposed by Franco as well as some of the controversial components for Latin America. For the centrists (1976-1982), Ibero-America was a cornerstone in their foreign policy, as a complement to the European policy, which was their main concern.

They tried to eliminate the old rhetoric and move forward to real cooperation projects redefining budgets in order to concretize the idea of the community of Ibero-American nations. The transition gave a historic opportunity to make a radical change in the Spanish foreign policy regarding the region and helped to consolidate Spain's international prominence. To achieve that, the country restored its diplomatic relation with Mexico in 1977 and reinforced the Institute of Hispanic Culture, known later as the Institute for Ibero-American Cooperation.

The proposal was based on five main principles and three conceptual axis: indivisibility, giving the sense of a sole united region; continuity, taking the best of the last propositions; credibility, based in trust and solidarity; indiscrimination, having relations with all countries with no distinction of their political system; and community, maintaining the idea of the creation of one community of Ibero-American nations. The conceptual axis were, binding, connecting nations and their Hispanic roots; "bridge" seeing themselves as the natural bridge between Europe and Latin America; and integration, trying to increase the Spanish role in the processes (Del Arenal, 1994, p.116-117).

At the end of the centrist period, the Spanish policy showed an important advancement compared with that from Franco. The relations achieved a high profile but the policy-implementation was characterized by ambiguity and deficient information about the diverse and problematic Ibero-American reality. There was a lack of unity and continuity of action

where was evident the lack of democratic experience in foreign policy. The country was largely limited by its difficult internal situation and that explains its constraint and contradictions. The Ibero-American policy was used sometimes as a policy of substitution, just like the Franquists although with a more altruistic vision.

They were more successful giving a higher economic content to the policy and expanding the cooperation scopes, mainly in development aid. In 1979 signed two symbolic treaties, the “Declaration of Caracas”³¹ where due to high petrol prices and its effects in the development process of the signatories, agreed common efforts to revert that situation and joint coordination in international forums. The other treaty was the “Declaration of Quito”³² supporting the democratization processes that were taking place in Ibero-America (Del Arenal, 1994, p.120-121).

Besides the clear advances, at a bilateral level had to deal with problems with some countries, specially Mexico which was suspicious about Spain’s engagement in Central America and with Venezuela when President Suarez (1976-1981) from Spain openly supported the opposition candidate to the Presidency, Piñería, at the expenses of Herrera Campins, who was eventually elected, affecting the bilateral financial and politic relations (Villabona Blanco, 1986). Suarez tried to develop an active policy in Central America but the problems with the consistency of those policies in Nicaragua and El Salvador prevented good results. Furthermore, the assault to the Spanish Embassies in Guatemala and El Salvador in 1980 damaged its position in the area. Out of the sub-region, he was more cautious because of the Spanish national interests present in those countries.

³¹ Signed by Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic and Spain.

³² Signed by Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Spain and Venezuela.

In South America, dominated by military regimes, promoted human rights and even the King Juan Carlos offered to be a mediator between Argentina and Chile in the Beagle Channel conflict (Ampuero, 2008). With Cuba existed a particular approximation in economic and political relations. Spain procured a relatively important presence in regional Latin American organizations like the Andine Pact signing several agreements in democracy and defense. In 1979 the European country coordinated regional projects in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. That same year became ECLAC's full member.

The Presidency of Calvo Sotelo (1981-1982) meant a backwards step in the Ibero-American policy. He strictly aligned to the U.S. interests in Central America with a strong desire of not interfering in regional problems. His clear European orientation determined Spain's official position in the Falklands conflict, showing that the former aspiration to work as a bridge between both continents was weak and inconsistent (Del Arenal, 1994, p.125-126). His main contribution to the area was the establishment of the Spain's Quincentenary Commission to celebrate 500 years of common history and which role was fundamental for the creation of the Community.

The socialist government lead by Felipe González as President (1982-1996), vindicated the strategic importance of the Ibero-American policy. It was sustained in solidarity and firm principles like democracy and protection of human rights. The executers were convinced ibeorameranists that based their proposals on the unity of action, which was not always present in the centrist governments. There was a higher dose of realism upon the use of infrastructure and financial resources. Under this context, the project of an Ibero-American community was the horizon for 1992 and disappeared the idea of the Hispanic world through the affirmation of a democratic solidarity (Ubeda-Portugés, 2007, p.29-37).

The efforts would be focused in four action-lines, intensification of relations on realistic and a solidarity bases; full support to democratic processes and defense of human rights; increasing politic, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation as the way to advance in the solution of development problems; and support to the Ibero-American integration processes (Yañez Barnuevo, 1984, p.373-383). At the same time, the relations would be determined by the principle of nondiscrimination, but this didn't mean an equal treatment and equal intensity of relations. The idea to be a "bridge" was rejected and the socialists established a complementary dimension between Europe and Ibero-America instead, acting inside the European Community (EC) in favor of the Ibero-American interests.

The importance to celebrate the Quincentenary from a real and no rhetoric basis was still present and the last goal was to establish a community of Ibero-American states under the foundations of free will and the existence of common values and interests. The only way to achieve such goal would be through cooperation, equality and respect to independence, sovereignty and national particularities.

Spain's incorporation to the EC would impulse its Ibero-American vocation, broadening the dimension and possibilities of Spanish projection in the region. It would mean the convergence of the two most important dimensions in Spain's foreign policy, the European and the Ibero-American. This new vision was clearly implemented in the Central American policy. The sub-region was the main scenario for the Spanish foreign policy, having the opportunity to show its level of independence when supported Contadora and Esquipulas I and II. And when sustained that the conflict causes were those inherent to the socio-economic and political conditions that intensify the fragile and unsustainable situation of poverty that affected the majority of the Latin American population. This position put Spain in an

uncomfortable situation toward the U.S. regarding the interpretation of the conflict (Del Arenal, 1994, p.134-137).

One of Spain's main credit was the use of summitry to exercise a positive influence in conflict-solutions, not only inside Central America, but in Europe too. Its compromise with the region allowed the formulation of specific European policies to the area, a better understanding of the situation in Brussels, and finally, an approximation and involvement in solution-proposals. They pressured to benefit Central America with more aid cooperation.

In order to fulfill this objective, the country had to oppose U.S neo-hegemonic policy established by Reagan³³, as well as the Cuban and Mexican lack of confidence for being an extra regional actor and from El Salvador and Costa Rica due to the Spanish support to the Sandinistas. Central America was the place where the effectiveness of Spain's policies was put under a close scrutiny in a very difficult environment (Piñol i Rull, 1988). The final result was very positive and helped to gain prestige and respect from Latin America and Europe. Its contribution helped to set an atmosphere of trust and cooperation, fundamental for a real solution of the conflict.

Spain maintained its traditional friendly and cooperative relation with Cuba, where tensions were not absent. Condemned the U.S. invasion to Panama; normalized its relations with Mexico which became a great supporter of the Community's idea, strongly promoted by President Salinas de Gortari, who hosted the first Ibero-American Summit. Encouraged democracy, human rights and cooperation in the other countries and stimulated mutual support in delicate topics like Falklands and Gibraltar with Argentina. In general, established conditions that improved trust-building process, changing for better the perception of Spain in Latin America.

³³ The U.S. President, favored interventionism and a military solution in the region.

2.3.4. Quincentenary Commission

The establishment of the Quincentenary Commission had two important aims. Firstly, to strengthen Spanish prominence in the international scenario, publicizing and promoting Spain as a modern state with an alive and creative culture. Secondly, contribute in the construction of the Community of Ibero-American Nations promoting at the same time the ibero-americanism around the world (Sanhueza Carvajal, 2003) The Commission was also looking for a higher sensibility of the Spanish society in all the values related to the celebration as a way to reinforce the national and ibero-american identity. It was important to recover national history and Spain's contribution to universal History.

The year 1992 was a symbolic date with great importance for Spain and the Ibero-American countries. It was a reference for the consciousness-raising and coordination of a common Ibero-American space non-existent before. It was a unique opportunity to strengthen the existing ties and bonds. Spain carried out continuous diplomatic efforts to modernize its relations with Ibero-America and motivated bilateral cooperation in order to be inserted in Ibero-America and established multilateral cooperation programs and mechanisms to intensify the sense of an Ibero-American identity (Del Arenal, 1994, p.227).

The Quincentenary Commission's Conference, along with the National Commissions established in all the Ibero-American countries was the only meeting-forum of those countries from 1983 to 1992. It forged a common philosophy of celebration and conscience of community where the multilateral cooperation allowed the establishment of the operative basis, reaching its highest point in the first Ibero-American Summit in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1991.

2.3.5. The Spanish Crown

Along with the importance of the Spanish Governments commitment to the development of the Ibero-American System, it is necessary and fair to mention the role played by the Spanish Crown in the process. King Juan Carlos I of Bourbon was restored as Spanish Head of State in November 22, 1975, just two days after Francos' death. Right after assuming power, he instituted reforms oriented to re-establish democracy and civil guaranties.

In 1977 promoted the first democratic post-Franco elections. He was a leading protagonist in Spanish transition and a model leader for the rest of the Ibero-American countries that were under military regimes and fulfilling important transformations too. His compromise in the promotion of democratic values and freedom made him very popular in Latin America and was one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the idea of an Ibero-American community since the beginning(Aznar, 2007, p.17).

The King has participated in all the summits and has had an active role in its promotion and the search of consensus. His high diplomatic profile allows him to take part in important negotiations and gives him the opportunity to offer his good offices and mediation skills to achieve bilateral and multilateral agreements. The institution that he represents, the Crown, has become an Ibero-American institution, giving to the system an extra element of continuity, stability and credibility, so necessary during the foundation and the difficult moments, mainly before the establishment of the Ibero-American General Secretary.

Another member of the Royal Family with a very active role in Ibebro-American matters is the Crown Prince Felipe of Bourbon, Prince of Asturias. He has developed close relations with most of the Ibero-American Heads of State, due to his participation in practically all the

investitures of Ibero-American leaders. His popularity remains high in Latin America and Portugal.

2.4 The Ibero-American System

After a long journey of more than 500 years of common history, the conditions to establish a permanent and lasting relation were properly placed. To fulfill its goals, the project needed to have an institutional framework that gives the advantage of continuity to guaranty a space for serial meetings to maintain continuous contact and room to discuss important regional and international topics.

The Ibero-American Summit in Guadalajara was the first of the series and represented the culmination of a process and the beginning of another. It symbolizes the termination of a course of action that started with the Quincentenary Commission and that was oriented to coordinate regional policies. In practice, it was darkened for centuries of domination, lack of interest, political instrumentality and a renewed significance. At the same time, the summit was the starting point of a common Ibero-American space named Community of Ibero-American Nations. It was called like that to mark a difference with the Hispanoamericanism and its negative implications.

Due to its important function as a political concertation forum, the Ibero-American Summits³⁴ have become the cornerstone of the Ibero-American System. It is thanks to the summits that the system has been reinforced and developed through its main two variables, political coordination and cooperation (América Latino Hoy, 2005, p.58-60). To understand its evolution and its influence in regional diplomacy, it is necessary to analyze the different periods of the gatherings and evaluate their future. For this study, we will use a model based

³⁴ Called officially "Ibero-American Conference of Head of State and Government", according to the Declaration of Guadalajara, 1991.

on Professor Christian Frerres (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.5) appreciations, but updated to 2008. We are going to consider five variables: political advance and institutionalization, to note down the main advances in this two aspects; thematic axis, this has special importance because of the faculty of the Secretary Pro Tempore to establish a main topic-discussion; declarations and agreements, highlighting the main topic-discussion and other important matters; cooperation programs which are essential for the system; and other summits, to have a better view of the different integration processes existing in the region which agenda sometimes overlaps.³⁵ Frerres considered four of these variables.

2.4.1. Constituent Summits 1991-1992

The importance of these two first summits lied on the need to determine the summit-structure, preliminary meetings, functional organs, follow up and sectorial gatherings. It was chose a flexible non-permanent structure and the only organ was the Secretary Pro Tempore. This should be the organizer of the summit and had to change yearly from country to country, without headquarters, nor even a bureaucratic body (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.9-10). The main idea was to build the Community step by step, according to the needs and demands. The Quincentenary meant a milestone in the regional history, specially considering that the second summit was held in Spain.

According to the Guadalajara Declaration, the three main objectives of the Ibero-American Community would be the regional compromise on the superiority of international law in international relations; the economic and social development; and the education and culture (Sanhueza Carvajal, 2003, p.40-42). Besides the importance of democracy during that specific period of time, its promotion was not considered as a main objective in order to embrace all political regimes, since a parliamentary monarchy to a socialist republic. This was a major

³⁵ See Annex n.4

difference between the Community and the Rio Group and the Commonwealth, where participation is determined by a democratic clause.

The Declaration states that democracy, respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms are values shared by Ibero-America; but at the same time, says that it is recognized the right of each nation to freely build its political system and its institutions (SEGIB 2008b).³⁶ The absence of a clear reference to the promotion of democracy doesn't mean that it is not a recurrent topic in practically all the summits, producing some contradictions at the internal of the Community.

Education and social development had a central role, expressing the aspirations of Ibero-American countries and mainly Latin American. Economy and political coordination and their contribution to multilateralism and integration were another essential part of the discussions, establishing general principles for Ibero-American behavior (SEGIB 2008b).

The final declaration of Guadalajara was a product of a difficult consensus between very different and heterogeneous countries at the political and socio-economic levels. In the cooperation field, both meetings clarified that the group wanted to use education as a driver element to achieve development. Four cooperation programs were created, based on education and its application in science and technology, as well as literacy as one of the main objectives.³⁷

³⁶ In a clear reference to allow Cuban engagement.

³⁷ See Annex n.4

2.4.2. Thematic Summits 1993-1997

After the constituent effort, the countries decided to establish a thematic mechanism for each summit where the Secretary Pro Tempore should chose a central topic of general interest. This procedure would let the countries focus on a modest range of subjects related to the thematic axes, besides those normally recurrent for Ibero-America and related to the region compromise with international peace, free trade and development (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.11-14).

The axes were part of a wider regional agenda and Brazil, after holding the World summit on Sustainable Development, chose the same topic for its encounter. Colombia chose regional integration at a very interesting moment when the Andine Community, which it was part of, showed deceleration in its integration will, Mercosur started to be impulse and the preparations for the first Summit of the Americas in Miami started to take place (SEGIB 2008b).

The others were education, but this time related to economic and social development; governance and ethic values. Each summit tried to be specific and there were important institutional advances with the settlement of an enlarged troika that included the last two and the next two hosts; the signature of the first Ibero-American treaty, the Treaty of Bariloche that established two basic networks, the national coordinators, responsible to canalize the projects approved by the summits and the cooperation coordinators (Lozoya et al. 2005, p.38-40). Both were crucial for the work of the system.

The sustainable development gave a new premise to the system and helped to have new approaches to regional problems, especially those related to poverty, social security,

education, governance, integration and national and regional competitiveness. Particular importance had the inclusion of references regarding the scope of national law and its extraterritoriality. All this happened because of the U.S. Helms-Burton Law and its consequences, strongly criticized by Latin America and Europe (OEI, 2008c).

On the other hand, Chile decided to restrict Heads of State collateral activities to focus in the summit. This decision produced the reduction of public and media attention to the gathering due to the decline of photo-opportunities. In that same summit, Jose María Aznar, new Spanish President from the Popular Party started his connection with the system and the character of continuity given by the Crown was consolidated.

In this period, the cooperation fields were increased to urban development, youth, audiovisuals, professional training and a new solidarity fund dedicated to the indigenous was founded. During this time, Spain experienced economic problems that were reflected in the regional cooperation projects which were mainly financed by them. Besides, not all countries were participating in those projects and Spain was asserting so much influence in the cooperation agenda (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.12-14). This situation raised one of the more characteristic problems in Ibero-American cooperation, the tension between the bilateral and multilateral dimension. The problem was never properly solved and financing remains as one of the main concerns.

The Treaty of Bariloche tried to set an Ibero-American Cooperation System and according to it, the programs and projects should consider these principles: multilateral criterion, they must have the support of a considerable number of countries, three to present the initiative and seven to present them in the summit; specificity, favoring Ibero-American identity; sectorial orientation, centered in education, culture, science and technology; solidarity; joint

responsibility, co-financed by the participants; operative character; viability and decentralization (OEI, 2008a).

The good intentions didn't help to solve the follow-up and execution problems, nor even to the disordered proliferation of programs and initiatives. In Bariloche final declaration there were 20 initiatives and 13 programs and only 5 succeeded, as can be noticed in Annex number 4.

2.4.3. First Institutionalization 1998-1999

In this period is proposed and established the Ibero-American Secretariat of Cooperation (SECIB). This is a fundamental and permanent organ created to have a better coordination in the cooperation projects and make them more efficient. The situation before the SECIB was almost chaotic because of the number and autonomy of the projects and their unequal results and non-existence of an adequate institutional framework. The new institution was promoted by Spain and this country offered to finance most of its needs in order to centralize and give to the cooperation the strategic role that it should have in the system (Malamud, 2005, p.12-13). New programs included projects on archives, quality management, small and medium enterprises, as well as diplomatic archives were developed.

The central topics were focused on globalization and its risks, mainly those referred to finance, drugs and social integration. Once again, the countries rejected the Helms-Burton Law and its implications to national legal systems (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.14-25). The final declarations called the attention about the excess of initiatives in the Ibero-American system. They represented 40% of all initiatives contracted by Latin America in all the summit-processes where it was part of.

In 1998 was held the second Summit of the Americas that besides commercial matters, dealt with the challenges of democracy. Controversy was not absent from the gathering, there were anti-globalization demonstrations and during the celebration in Oporto, Augusto Pinochet, former Chilean dictator was arrested in Great Britain prompted by an extradition request from the Spanish magistrate, Baltazar Garzon, who wanted to prosecute him in Spain. There was a worldwide scandal regarding the legal implications and consequences of the case in diplomatic and international law. The summit adopted a declaration against extraterritoriality of national laws.

Controversy continued in La Habana summit because of the imprisonment of four dissidents before the meeting. Argentina, Costa Rica and Chile announced that they would not attend and Chile, supported by Argentina, argued that Spain had violated the agreement reached in Oporto regarding extraterritoriality. Even the King of Spain doubted about the convenience to attend the summit and give wrong signals of supporting Castro's regime. To overpass the situation, Cuba decided to guarantee limited encounters between dissidents and some delegations (Blázquez Vilaplana, 2004, p.13-15). This was the first real test for the system and besides the negative propaganda that surrounded this last summit; the system itself proved its viability despite the clear differences among its members.

2.4.4. Crisis and Institutionalization 2000-2003

The thematic focus was social; Panama chose childhood and youth and Bolivia social inclusion. Peru didn't match up with its "*united to build one tomorrow*" and the Dominican Republic didn't even have a thematic axis. From this time on, the thematic axis would be linked to the Millennium Development Goals.

After the credibility crisis of the last period, Spain adopted a more sided and partial position in the way they approached the summits. President Aznar carried out a profound reformulation of Spanish foreign policy that was more radical after the terrorist attacks of September 11. The rest of the countries were more cautious about the SECIB, its financing³⁸ and its ultimate purpose (Roy, 2006, p.13-15). Bolivia was a venue for reconciliations and new confrontations, but this seems to be normal in multilateral Ibero-American summits. This time, like many times before, most of the hostility had a political-oriented basis, grouping left-wing countries like Argentina with Kirchner, Brazil with “Lula”, Cuba with Castro; against more right-oriented countries. Besides, we should consider the especial political situation in Bolivia that caused the overthrow of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and almost provoke the cancelation of the meeting.

During this same convocation, for the first time in the history of the system took place one alternative summit called “Alternative Social Encounter” with a strong indigenous component and organized by the coca-leader Evo Morales who became President few time later. Cuba, Venezuela and the same Bolivian President participated in the gathering. The encounter had a clear anti-globalization and anti-U.S. discourse (Malamud and Mallo, 2003).

On the other hand, Spain was looking to transform the system and grant it with a political entity. Most of the Latin American countries were against the idea and preferred a cooperation-oriented institution. At the same time, the Spanish sentiment of exhaustion of the model and its desire to use the forum to exert national interests generated to unilaterally call for an assessment to reform the system in a wider way. Spain proposed President Fernando Henrique Cardoso from Brazil to lead the working group (Lozoya et al. 2005, p.93-97).

³⁸ Spain committed in the IX Summit to finance 80% of its operations.

The mandate for the working group was to give a higher internal cohesion and international prominence to the Ibero-American Community. They considered the changes in the international scenario since 1991, the consequences of September 11 and its “splitting” that lead the world to unilateralism. Highlights the Spanish term of “convivencia” which doesn’t have a literal translation to other languages and reflects the sense and search to establish and create the spirit of community; in it converge values of peace, democracy, human rights and sustainable development. The group had to reflect the interest to strengthen the political dimension of the system and the importance to rationalize cooperation and increase its benefits.

The Cardoso Report (OEI, 2008b) was ready in the XIII Summit in Bolivia and as part of its conclusions and recommendations we can enhance:

1. To privilege space for Heads of State deliberations, favoring knowledge and trust-building
2. To promote a concise declaration
3. There was no consensus regarding frequency (every one or two years)
4. To favor specific lines of cooperation like Ibero-American cultural diversity, audiovisuals, copyright, university degrees and university exchange
5. To harmonize national legislations in strategic economic areas (energy and telecommunications)
6. To strengthen risk-valuation agencies
7. To establish a permanent Secretariat to give continuity to the process and privilege dialogue and political concertation. The Secretary General must be a person of international height
8. To create the Committee Permanent of Concertation with the embassies accredited in the Secretariat or National Coordinators hosting country. Its objective is to give

continuity to the decisions taken by the Presidents, Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary General.

9. To establish a group of sherpas to help with the agenda coordination

10. Further admissions only to sovereign states, inside the Ibero-American geographical space with Spanish or Portuguese as official language

In Bolivia, the statutes didn't reach the political dimension proposed in the report, the committee was not included and the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) lost its political character and was constituted as "*an institutional, technical and administrative support to the Ibero-American Conference*".³⁹

The creation of the SEGIB was indubitably the most prominent happening during this period. To reach an agreement, Spain had to give up on the political extent of the project and promised to maintain the level of economic support and not to nominate a Spaniard as Secretary General.

The III Summit of the Americas and the II EU-LAC Summit took place during this phase (Del Arenal, 2005b, p.17). Spain forced on points related to security and the fight against terrorism; meanwhile, Latin America struggled for revindications in access to the European market and for reforms in the common agricultural policy. In cooperation, new programs in libraries development, public policies, internet and reading were created.

During the X Summit in Panama the SECIB carried out a diagnosis called "*Balances and Perspectives of Ibero-American Cooperation 1991-2001*". The document pointed out the strengths of the system such as the multilateral character, the political support to the summits and the sectorial meetings and the creativity and flexibility reflected on the thematic diversity.

³⁹ According to Article 1.

However, there were important weaknesses: dispersion and discoordination, lack of unified evaluation procedures, control and follow-up; disproportional financing and lack of visibility (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.152). The SECIB decided to take note of the recommendations and suggested the establishment of priority areas and a more efficient administration of the programs. Eventually, the recommendations were taken by the SEGIB when this absorbed the SECIB and its competitions.

2.4.5. Re-Foundation and SEGIB 2004-2008

This last period is one of the most important in the Ibero-America summit history. Once the SEGIB statutes were ratified in Costa Rica, the international organization started to articulate the Ibero-American cultural wealth and gave a new and wider dimension to term Ibero-America.

Costa Rica was considered as a transition summit and emphasized on a renewed interest in education and its importance in the development process, but this time related to social rights and social inclusion (Malamud and Mallo, 2004). The countries agreed on the creation of a program of debt exchange for investment in education. It even admitted Andorra as a member state (Del Arenal, 2005b).

The socialists came to power in Spain, favoring dialogue and consensus. President Jose Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and its Foreign Minister located Ibero-America as the second pillar in Spain's foreign policy, after Europe (Del Arenal, 2005b). The change of leadership produced an eminent improvement of Spain's image in the region. This helped in the confirmation of the system as an instrument to conform the Ibero-American common space in the politic, economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural field. There was a better mutual

understanding and a share leadership with the main Latin American countries and a clear political approximation with the region.

Politically, the meeting was useful to endorse Central American support for the candidacy of Salvadorian President Francisco Flores as OAS Secretary General; to promote Port-of-Spain (Trinidad and Tobago) as FTAA headquarters and helped on the resolution of a diplomatic problem between Cuba and Panama.

The number of participants in Costa Rica was another concern for some scholars and leaders. There were six absences, but in the IX Summit in La Habana five Heads of States were excused. Somehow, the absences reflect certain tiredness of the process, but this is not a new thing in this kind of meetings and the Ibero-American summits are not an exception (Malamud and Mallo, 2004). The gathering in Costa Rica coincided with the APEC summit in Santiago and it is absurd to pretend that both summit-processes had the same interest. That is why we would expect a reactivation with the creation of the SEGIB.

The new organization officially started to work in 2005 and allowed a better articulation in logistics and theme-treatment, facilitating the diversity and choosing of important and actual subjects of discussion. It has been crucial in the follow-up process besides the fails in the implementation. The SEGIB would absorb SECIB functions and its headquarters are located in Madrid, Spain. There would be a Deputy Secretary General and a Secretary for Cooperation (Del Arenal, 2005c).

The thematic axes were focused on migration, social cohesion and youth and development. The migration topic was particularly important, due to the engagement of civil society in the process and the establishment of the Ibero-American Development Agenda and the Ibero-

American Cultural Charter were civil society has a crucial role. Since Salamanca, the SEGIB started the celebration of Civic and Business Forums with very important results reflected in the documents adopted and the follow-up of the cooperation programs and agreements. It even included the Ibero-American Parliamentary Forum (Malamud and Mallo, 2005).

The XVII Summit in Santiago, Chile was another controversial gathering, remembered by the famous words said by His Majesty, the King of Spain to President Hugo Chavez from Venezuela... “why don’t you shut up?!”, after an exchange of opinions regarding Spanish former President Aznar and its participation in the attempt to overthrow the Venezuelan government, according to Chavez. The Venezuelan Presidente questioned as well the range of the thematic axis, causing the anger of the hosts. Chavez was seconded by President Ortega from Nicaragua who proposed an OAS without the U.S. (Gallardo, 2007).

The countries adopted some cooperation projects in education, IT and hydric resources training, childhood, social security, as well as theater, museums and greed on the establishment of the Human Milk Bank. The period coincided with the IV Summit of the Americas in 2005 where the agenda to push the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) forward failed and the new gathering was postpone till 2009. The UE-LAC Summits in Vienna and Lima ratified the “strategic relationship” between Europe and Latin America and allowed the beginning of negotiations for an Association Agreement with Central America and the Andine Community. Mercosur had to wait more time due to internal concerns regarding the convenience of the agreement.

Chapter III. The Ibero-American System and its Challenges

3.1 Evolution and Perspectives

The different stages of the building process of the Ibero-American Community have contributed to the evolution of summitry perspectives in the region. It is evident that the first foundation summits marked a slow but effective beginning. They are characterized by general political declarations that reflect the commitment of the region as part of the international system. The countries proclaimed their attachment to international law and multilateralism and their solidarity with the international socio-economic objectives of education, poverty and development.

The system has advanced a lot since those first considerations, not only due to the higher level of compromises that are assumed year after year, but for the public policies that are created or strengthened around specific topics and thanks to the development of cooperation projects that affect millions of Ibero-American citizens. The system has been favored by the advances reached in the development of a common institutionalization that responds to the objectives and decisions taken by the Heads of State and Government and other representatives of sectorial areas, civil and business society.

The main idea of one Ibero-American community was the recognition and potentialization of the common cultural heritage and the establishment of a suitable framework of dialogue and political concertation in order to promote the already existing link between the Hispanic and Lusitanian worlds. The intention was to create a community of interests of mutual benefits of more than six hundred million people. The cultural wealth was always part of the reality of the Ibero-American countries relations. There were no questions regarding the origin of customs and language and the cultural bonds between the former colonies and the mother-lands. The real problem and integration obstacle was the political relation between those countries.

Spain, which was the main colonial power in Latin America came into a decadent situation right after the independent movements in the XIX Century and recovered its influence after the return of democracy in the second half of the XX Century (Encarnación, 2008, p.61-63). During this period there was no real interest to establish and maintain normal relations with its former colonies in Latin America, apart from an instrumental political aim to gain prestige and international support. This was particularly obvious during Franco's time in power (Del Arenal, 2008). On the other hand, Portugal never had the intention nor even the capacity to influence in Latin American matters and its role is nowadays limited to a strong and fruitful cultural, political and economic relation with Brazil and a few other major Latin American nations.

The creation of the Ibero-American System gave the mother-lands the opportunity to recover their previous influence mainly in a cultural way where there was no doubt regarding the importance to strength common relations. The political will to create a community based in cultural links was the first step to give to the bi-regional relations an adequate cultural

dimension. This cultural heritage would be expanded and intensified along with the evolution of the Conference.⁴⁰ The countries have given content to this main objective since Guadalajara through discussions, agreements and cooperation projects organized to promote such richness. The Cultural Charter (OEI, 2008d) is a clear example of this and the political recognition of this fact is evident in practically all political declarations adopted by the countries in every summit.

The potentialization of the cultural binds has been mainly exploited since the establishment of the SEGIB; the organization is seen by other international actors as a cultural-oriented entity more than a political-oriented. That is an advantage in the sense that it should be easier to engage solidarity and supportive functions to act more openly and freely in Latin American and Iberian countries.

Under this logic, the performance of the organization shouldn't be limited by political considerations natural to the participation of political organizations like the OAS. On the other hand, it could limit its international performance in major political situations or even bilateral disputes where other actors would have a more preponderant role.

According to the current Spanish President (Rodríguez Zapatero, 2005), In the evolution of the system is important to consider the evolution of Latin American – Iberian and European relations too. Before the first summit in Guadalajara in 1991, Latin America was not a priority for Europe and the region was far to be one. The situation in Central America permitted an increasing European engagement in regional matters, starting with the Dialogue of San Jose Process. The active role taken by Spain once this was incorporated in the European Community was essential to change the way the old continent used to look at Latin America. At this point is important to recognize the benefits of such proactive mediation not only for

⁴⁰ Official name given to the system.

the sub-continent but for the same Spain, which was looking for a personal position inside Europe with its own perspectives and characteristics.

The model worked very well for all parts and nowadays Spain is considered as an interlocutor of the region in the European Union. Some countries, small mainly, still have the vision of Spain as a “*bridge*” between both regions, forgetting the negative implications of this concept in the bi-regional history. However, they are still grateful for the cooperation given by Madrid in important negotiations.

Central America for instance has turned to Spain’s diplomatic support during all the negotiations stages of the Association Agreement with the EU, which is expected to be signed by 2010, during Spain’s EU Presidency (AFP, 2008). The Andine Pact has done the same and has reinforced in Spain looking for its support in the negotiation of its own Association Agreement.

Practically all Ibero-American scholars have called the attention of the Spanish influence in the system. This is a fact and it has not been denied by governments or politicians, not even by SEGIB high-ranking officials. The main reasons for this situation are the financial dependency (around 80%) of Spain by the system and the poor political interest regarding the Community in Latin America (Roy, 2006, p.19).

There is a lack of interest of important regional countries like Brazil and Mexico in the potentiality of the Ibero-American System. Despite the fact of having each of them an Under Secretary General, their commitment is deficient (Roy, 2006, p.14). Spain has been the only country with a clear strategy with respect to the system, its articulation, performance and its international impact. Until today, there is no reason to consider Spanish performance as

negative; it has been constructive and the system has been enriched by all state member motions and proposals. Its institutional evolution from simple serial summits to the establishment of an international organization is a clear example of that.

For Mexico and Brazil, the “Aznar Era”⁴¹ and the Spanish desire to use the system for national interests is passed. A new stage started with the creation of the SEGIB which is not maybe going to be out of the Spanish influence at all, but secures the establishment of an Ibero-American multilateral dynamic. Suspicions from the past related to Spanish real interest have been diminished thanks to the increase in diplomatic contacts and trust-building process in several international and regional forums (Del Arenal, 2005c). Spanish support to upgrade European relations with both countries until getting special treatment through association agreements helped to clarify political stances of these three countries.

Another important aspect of the evolution is the increment in investment and trade. Before 1991, Spanish and Portuguese participation in Latin American business was poor and disorganized. The economic presence is fundamental in all processes of convergence even in those which are cultural-oriented. It is the guarantee that the investor recognizes the significance of the country where it is investing and the importance of the bilateral or multilateral relation. In the case of Ibero-America, investments from the Peninsula came accompanied with political and cooperation projects, giving a more general vision of the real range and scope of the system. Nowadays, Spain and Portugal are two of the main foreign investors in the area and the significance of their role as major regional foreign investors is only threatened by the U.S. and China (Arahetes and García Domonte, 2005).

The ultimate objective in the evolution of the system is the conformation of the political community as a space for dialogue, coordination and concertation that allows coordinated

⁴¹ In reference to Spanish former President Jose María Aznar (1996-2004).

positions in the international scenario in topics of general interest for the Ibero-American countries. That objective considers as well the potentiation of a space of multilateral cooperation through the development of a series of programs and projects created to improve the level of welfare of the citizens along with the reinforcement of the sense of the Ibero-American (Lozoya et al. 2005).

This is not a consummated objective; it has to be constantly built. This is the only way that we can conceive, after years, the Ibero-American Conference, as a community that besides its recognized institutional and judicial framework, hasn't yet proposed itself the possibility to be transformed into an integration system of binding character. Nevertheless, the countries are working in that direction, integrating judicial topics, intensifying the cooperation between local governments, creating special business and civic forums, producing a community more dynamic, more effective and more real.

Institutionally, since Bariloche and the SECIB, the creation of the SEGIB gave proper functionality to the system, allowing adequate follow-up mechanisms for the compromises assumed at the highest level and giving shape to the initiatives and proposals. Before the establishment of the international organization, the logistic and follow-up problems were related to the Secretaries Pro Tempore and the yearly coordination inconveniences have been almost totally solved (Del Arenal, 2005a et al. p.249-251). But it is still necessary to coordinate general logistic issues and subject matters with the hosting countries.

The presence of a general secretariat means a substantial change with respect to the organization of the summits or Ibero-American Conferences of Heads of State and Government. It was fundamental to redesign the same format of the summits with the intention to concentrate the deliberations of the leaders in subjects that motivate their

participation and commitment. At the same time, it was necessary to create proper mechanisms that ensure an open and reserved debate where the heads of the countries could express their opinions freely and directly without entailing the need to transcend to the public opinion.

The policy of rationalization would determine the activities sponsored by the SEGIB with the intention to prioritize those encounters that have higher impact in order to save the organization's resources (SEGIB, 2008c). Due to the interest to get involved in the Ibero-American Summits by some countries and organizations, it have been established two ways of engagement or participation; one is the associated observer state, where the candidate should have linguistic and cultural affinities with the countries of the Community or in those cases where the candidates could accomplish significant contributions. The other engagement procedure is the consultative observer, directed to international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) that could fulfill contributions to the Ibero-American space (SEGIB, 2008d, p.30-33).

The development of the thematic discussions has been fundamental for the regional and international credibility of the system. In this concern, the participation of the Secretary General has been of particular importance. Since 2006, it has been notorious the inclusion of current subjects and topics of first importance. The conclusions of an international migration seminar organized in Madrid, months before the Montevideo Summit were incorporated in one of the most representative documents of this new stage of the Ibero-American system. The "Montevideo Compromise about Migrations and Development" (OEI, 2008e) has served since then as a parameter for any migration discussion at a regional level or for debates related to the treatment of the topic. The compromise has been critical for the construction of

a positive diplomatic agenda between Latin America and the Caribbean and the European Union.

In 2007 Chile proposed social cohesion as the summit thematic axis. In this case, it was another significant subject for a region that pretended to consolidate a special moment of macroeconomic development, promoting measures tending to create more and greater conditions of equity and welfare for its population. The ECLAC and the SEGIB contributed to transform the debate in concrete actions in favor of the most underprivileged sectors in areas like education, social inclusion, health, social security or migration (SEGIB, 2008e). The idea included government actions toward fiscal and social agreements that promoted a more open and popular participation in the decision-taking process, as well as a wider sense of membership of the most vulnerable sectors to the nation they belong.

In the case of El Salvador, the international crisis couldn't be out of the topic-basket. There were many dignitaries that knew how to link the subjects of youth with global crisis, understanding that in one way or another, the most vulnerable segment in a negative economic situation would be the young people (SEGIB, 2008f).

The inclusion of local governments, parliamentary, business and civic forums was another important step forward. The contribution of these forums has been especially determinant when getting the summits close to the common citizen in order to contribute to respond, in a more objective way, to their hopes and needs.

3.2 New Regional Summitry Dynamic

The usefulness of the Ibero-American System and its contribution to regional summitry is one of the main questions raised along this study. Since 1991 Spain, Portugal and Latin American countries have tried to find common opportunities of development and cooperation, based on common historical and cultural values. These aims have allowed both regions (Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula) to build a regional system of cooperation based in mutual understanding and respect. This willingness to achieve more and higher objectives has influenced the way both regions perceive each other and has encouraged a new dynamic of regional summitting. This new political rapprochement has modified and increased diplomatic contacts and public products between all these countries.

There have been two main critics to the summits, long declarations with insufficient practical results; and few implementation of the Ibero-American in the civil society and media (Del Arenal et al. 2005a, p.53-54). In conclusion, what have been the benefits of this summitry system?

It seems inconceivable that nations with long lasting common history, culture, language and religion hadn't gathered for almost two hundred years at the level of Heads of State. The political concertation and multilateral cooperation toward the OAS since 1948 was established at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the organization performance was hindered for the clearly hegemonic and unsettling U.S. presence. Besides, the important initiative of the Rio Group and the Summits of the Americas didn't include Cuba. The First Ibero-American Summit in Guadalajara solved this problem and in a written way, made official what was already part of a reality for thousands of scholars, immigrants, business people, workers, artists, writers and normal people.

In this new space, Latin America and Ibero-America weren't opposed concepts but complementary and non-excluding. Today Spain and Portugal are European and Ibero-American at the same time and Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil and Argentina are Latin American and Ibero-American countries. Unfortunately, there is still a lot of work to do.

Besides the good intentions, the term "Ibero-America" is mainly a Spanish concept of non common use in Latin America (Lozoya et al. 2005, p.70-73). It is necessary a better coordination between the media and scholars about the use and the propagation of the word. Furthermore, still exists the Latin American feeling that Spain is not part of the region and the increasing antagonism of populist leaders like Hugo Chavez from Venezuela decrease the significance of the mother-land in regional matters.

The countries have created through several declarations lead by Guadalajara and Madrid, a code of conduct that constitutes the "Ibero-American cultural wealth" or "Cultural Charter" (OEI, 2008f). The code states the importance of international law and multilateralism, recognizing UNO's international role in peace and international security, as well as in the socio-economic development of the nations. They have recognized the respect toward sovereignty, judicial equality of states, the principle of non-intervention, prohibition of the use of force and threat in international relations, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs of states, peaceful solution of controversies, protection and promotion of Human Rights, fight against terrorism and drug trafficking, proscription of nuclear weapons and renunciation of the use and proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction.

The charter identifies, as necessary conditions for democracy, the independence and division of powers, minorities and majorities representation, freedom of speech, association and

gathering, access to information, free and open elections, periodical and transparent based on universal and secret suffrage. It has recognized the principle of share responsibility between producers and consumers concerning drug-trafficking and money laundering, allowing the creation of coordination mechanisms between Latin America and the European Union.

As a group, the countries have contributed with the UNO and OAS in peace-keeping operations and electoral supervision in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, ONUCA (Central America), ONUSAL (El Salvador), ONUVEN (Nicaragua), MINUSTAH (Haiti) (OEI, 2008g) . They have given their joint support to Doha, Monterrey Consensus, Kioto, Development Objectives of the Millennium, UNESCO cultural diversity (OEI, 2008h), New York Declaration Against Hunger and Poverty and the Spanish proposal of the Alliance of Civilizations (SEGIB, 2008h). They have rejected in multiple occasions the unilateral application of extraterritoriality in international law, exhorting the U.S. not to implement Helms-Burton Law.

The system has produced the establishment of a new Ibero-American space, a new forum of political concertation and economic and social cooperation. Has created an atmosphere of contacts and direct dialogue between Heads of State and Government that has helped to solve, in a silent and discreet way, from territorial conflicts (Ecuador and Peru, Argentina and Chile, Colombia and Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia, El Salvador and Honduras) to diplomatic breaking ups (Panama and Cuba) and re-establishment of diplomatic relations (Panama and Mexico) (Del Arenal et al. 2005a). There have been join declarations condemning state takeovers in Bolivia, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela; and Ibero-American candidatures of people, countries and cities like Zaragoza (Spain) to host the 2008 international exposition “Water and Sustainable Development”.

There has been a particular Ibero-American judicial coordination toward an international corruption convention in the UNO and suggestions to sign the United Nations Convention Against Organized Transnational Crime and its Protocols. The countries have committed themselves to accept and execute the judgments carried out by the International Court of Justice and have emphasized in the importance to ratify and become part of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Rojas Aravena, 2008).

The Ibero-American countries have created a network of cooperation programs and projects in multiple areas that involve, in different levels, all the states of the region, intensifying interactions between national cultural, academic and civic actors. It has been established an Ibero-American sectorial network that engages mainly the socio-economic ministries, including areas like health, culture, education, justice, finance, Taxes, economy, science and technology, social security, courts, environment, public administration, agriculture, tourism, housing, urbanism, youth, childhood, trade, trade chambers, ombudsman, universities, diplomacy, archives, lawyers, physicians, journalists, cinema, businesspeople, etc.⁴²

This dynamic would generate proposals that would be presented to the Heads of Government in order to be considered first as compromises and later as state policies destined to act internationally in a join and coordinated way or just to give responses to the needs in different areas. At the same time, allows the development of interstate bonds from which it would be possible to create finance programs, technical assistance and cooperation or simply information trade and gathering.

In this regard, all the concerns of line ministries and other government agencies would be considered in the documents presented to the Heads of State with the intention to avoid poor and merely declarations, giving real content to the political agreements and the opportunity to

⁴² See Annex N.4

promote concrete initiatives related to the main summit-topic. It would be responsibility of the leaders to discuss international and especially regional subjects that require a statement at the highest level.

The existing interest of Angola, Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, the Philippines, Italy, Romania, France, the EU and the U.S. to be admitted as members or observers is a clear proof of the rising importance of the organization (Lozoya et al. 2005, p.28-32).

The European dimension of the system has brought together Latin America and the European Union, favoring bi regional relations in different levels. Politically, the support given to the Dialogue of San Jose, as stated before, has been fundamental for the mutual understanding and common political concertation.

The posterior establishment of the UE-LAC Summit mechanism has been fundamental to increase diplomatic and mainly economic contacts. This serial summit represents the biggest interregional gathering in the world, congregating the highest number of Heads of States and Government in international meetings apart from the U.N. Assembly. The privileged relations between Spain and Portugal with Latin America have been fundamental to achieve this goal. It should be considered as one of the most important diplomatic outcomes in the current diplomatic history of both regions, but mainly for Latin America which is likely to take more advantage due to the international prestige and recognition that this relationship means to the region.

The liberalization of economies and international trade and the strengthen of regional integration processes demanded the creation of some kind of self-identified supra geographically blocs that allow the development of national and regional production, markets

enlargement and defense of common interest. It is evident that the willingness to create a space of dialogue is part of a real approximation between nations and societies where governments have an unquestionable participation.

The significance of the figure of the Secretary-General has been fundamental for the performance and evolution of the system. At the same time, the credibility of the head of the organization has definitely contributed to influence regional diplomacy and SEGIB's international standing (SEGIB, 2008f). In more than three years, Iglesias has not only achieved the original institutionalization goals proposed by the Heads of State and Government when created the Secretariat, but have succeeded in given a new dynamism to the Ibero-American space.

The Secretary General has tried to take the summits out of the purely governmental sphere and has impulse the need to transform the emanated decisions from those gatherings in more concrete agreements with the capacity to be transformed in initiatives or ibero-american programs of wide-ranging repercussion. He has called the attention on the idea of working on visible actions with the Ibero-American particularity to carry out by governments to truly favor the Ibero-American population and respond to the regional needs.

It is in the sum of these transformations and relevant incidences that have forced internal cohesion. The twenty two states that shape Ibero-America are united in a political, economic and cultural force supported by six hundred million people and the 10% of the global GDP. In this regard, their actions can be decisive in the definition of solutions to help in the transformation of the world in a more equitable, fair and solidary space. That should be then the direction of the system.

The existence of other regional spaces of a more clearly geographical character that could be reinforced for systems of economic integration are not an impediment for the growth and consolidation of one Community that has strong historic roots. The fact to be located in both shores of the Atlantic Ocean is a unique characteristic that facilitates complementation and political concertation. The Ibero-American Community has the opportunity to have its own voice and as far as that voice represents all and each of the countries part of the system, it will be the interlocutor that the international community requires from the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

3.3 Ibero-America, Commonwealth and the Francophonie

After the creation of an Ibero-American international organization, SEGIB, it is necessary to think about the future international role of this new entity and its possibilities to fulfill its goals. Its international performance will be fundamental for the future and further development of the system and as a consequence, the international standing of the Ibero-American countries.

It is necessary to consider the behavior and reality of similar organizations, in order to have a framework of reference that help us to understand what actions should be considered as positive and in what areas could the organization improve or support the members of the Community.

According to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miguel Angel Moratinos (2005), the Ibero-American Community not only pretends to go beyond the Commonwealth and the Francophonie, it rejects any comparison with both organizations because the Ibero-American

identity is stronger and its values are more abundant and homogeneous. Such declarations were supported by the Secretary General, Iglesias.

Like the Commonwealth and the Francophonie, Ibero-America has in common with those organizations its origin out of the historic-cultural relations between the colonial mother-lands (United Kingdom, France and Spain) with their former colonies; the focalization in soft-issues like cooperation, culture and concertation; as well as the institutionalization and celebration of periodical summits. These are probably the only similarities.

About the organization values, Ibero-America is not ruled by clear political criteria. Democracy, for instance, besides its recurrent reference in all the summit declarations, is not officially considered as a main principle. With the intention to allow the engagement of governments like the Cuban, the Ibero-American countries agreed to open the participation without distinction of political systems. On the other hand, the Commonwealth and the Francophonie consider the respect to democracy, good governance and the promotion of human rights as milestones for their internal relationships and under this logic, have temporarily suspended the participation of Fiji, Mauritania, Nigeria, Pakistan and Zimbabwe for their failur in upholding democratic governments.⁴³(Reuters, 2007)

Another difference is their geographical and cultural extension. Ibero-America is mainly a transatlantic organization and the other two include countries from all continents and are more heterogeneous in terms of geography, culture and history.⁴⁴ In this respect, the main difference between the three of them is the cultural affinity shared by the Ibero-American countries that according to Yago Pico de Coaña (2005) are: history, language, culture, judicial

⁴³ As stated in Singapore (1971), Harare (1991) and Bamako (2000) Declarations.

⁴⁴ See Annex 5 and 6.

tradition, religion and migration. It is absolutely different to compare countries like Peru and Chile vs India and Australia; Canada and Egypt.

Another element to consider is that the Ibero-American Community is of a more recent creation and is looking for the revival of a relation of five hundred years. The others are more united by a common past and less for nowadays common goals. The main cohesion element of the Commonwealth and the Francophonie is their colonial history and resulting leadership of the United Kingdom and France; both are nuclear powers, permanent members of the UN's Security Council with higher economic weight than Spain.

The international projection of the SEGIB lead by Enrique Iglesias and its engagement to the United Nations have been fundamental to give more preponderance to the organization, for its credibility and its participation in international affairs. And of course, to achieve a similar international level of recognition as the other two have done already.

Conclusions

The long journey carried out by all Ibero-American countries in their goal to fulfill a community of nations is filled of positive and negative experiences that show the strongest side of the Ibero-American spirit. The desire to achieve national and regional welfare through development and mutual cooperation is the milestone that motivates, at least that has been the legacy in their written agreements and discussions, the existence of the Ibero-American System.

The understanding that as single countries their field of action is limited and sometimes poorly effective is maybe the reason why exists a new desire in the project. Since 1991 we can certainly talk about a region called Ibero-America, and one of the most interesting subjects related to that region is the way this has reflected itself in other integration processes, politic or culture oriented, in order to look for its own space and identity.

Latin America, after decades of continuous efforts of political and economic integration has achieved a mature age when it is necessary to take further decisions to finally give up traditional beliefs of sovereignty and take advantage of common positions and influence to execute their negotiation power and find its own place in history. This new reformulation of national and regional identity is simply necessary whether Ibero-America wants to keep moving forward toward integration and development.

The Iberian Peninsula and mainly Spain, after centuries of colonial legacy are now more than prepared to embrace this new opportunity and use it as an international instrument in their Ibero-American and European relations. Unfortunately, as stated before in this study, the system is too much “Spanish” and changes have to be made in this matter. Besides a policy of openness, integration and ibero-americanism, the countries should start getting more concerned with their financial and cooperation responsibilities within the system. If this is not going to happen, there will be few real opportunities to create a genuine Ibero-American spirit in Latin American population.

The cultural and historic bonds are the natural relations-conduit of these countries but more important than those advantages is to get what the countries really want and need, international influence. Besides the existence of the community, it is going to be very difficult that Ibero-America gets its own voice in the international scenario. Their history and cultural affinities are the most important value added but the fact that the twenty two countries have interests and political profiles very well determined and different is going to be the biggest challenge. It is not only extremely difficult to reach a consensus between Spain, Portugal and Latin America but the internal competition inside Latin America proves the difficulty of the system.

Brazil and Mexico still have their own regional agenda, both deficient and mutually conflictive. Countries like Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela continue implementing their own agenda and confronting countries like Colombia, Peru and in a lesser weight, Brazil, Mexico and the U.S., the traditional regional power in the American continent. The predominance of national agendas with no differences between small, medium and big countries is a constant reality in the summits that is reflected in the final declarations.

The diplomatic outcomes after eighteen years of efforts are clearly positives for the diplomatic history of the region, mainly in all the subjects related to the Ibero-American cooperation, which has reached levels never expected before. However, it has been impossible for the system to coordinate common policies regarding the agriculture conflict in the WTO or in the IMF due to the use of the veto by the U.S. Maybe the UNO is more suitable for this kind of proposals and other forums for others. The fact is that the system has proved its limitations and without a general interest or concern, the situation is not likely to be changed. Even inside the UNO, Mexico and Brazil are struggling for their own formula to modify the Security Council.

There is a need to find new and innovative ways of common international engagement. In this sense, SEGIB has the responsibility to open new opportunities inside the European and the American continent and through the other integration systems like the Rio Group, the Americas Initiative, the EU, as well as the Inter-American system, the EU-LAC system, the Rio Group-EU dynamic and all those international and regional exercises that limit, influence and potentiate the Ibero-American System.

The institutionalization process is expected to be readapted to the changes that will be allowed by the countries and those promoted by the functional and executive bodies of the system. The opportunities of an organization like the SEGIB could be clearly defined in three main stages, national, regional and international. At a national and regional level, political and civil society support will be necessary to increment its credibility and prestige at home. That will be critical for the projection of a distinctive entity, different to the other existing systems. It is going to be necessary more years of negotiations, understanding, trust and cooperation to have the capacity to identify Ibero-America with a community of nations with a real regional spirit.

The international opportunities are going to depend on what are they really looking for as a region and how they see each other as a group. It is not an easy task and during that time the real common history and culture will be weighed in order to define what kind of community the countries really want and what is the system going to be able to offer when responding to the Ibero-American international expectations, wherever inside the region they come from.

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ANNEX N.1

Ibero-America



Source: Wikipedia.org

Ibero-America is formed by: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Spain, Uruguay and Venezuela. Andorra is officially part of Ibero-America since the XIV Ibero-American Summit. (Countries marked in green).

ANNEX N.2

Hispano-America

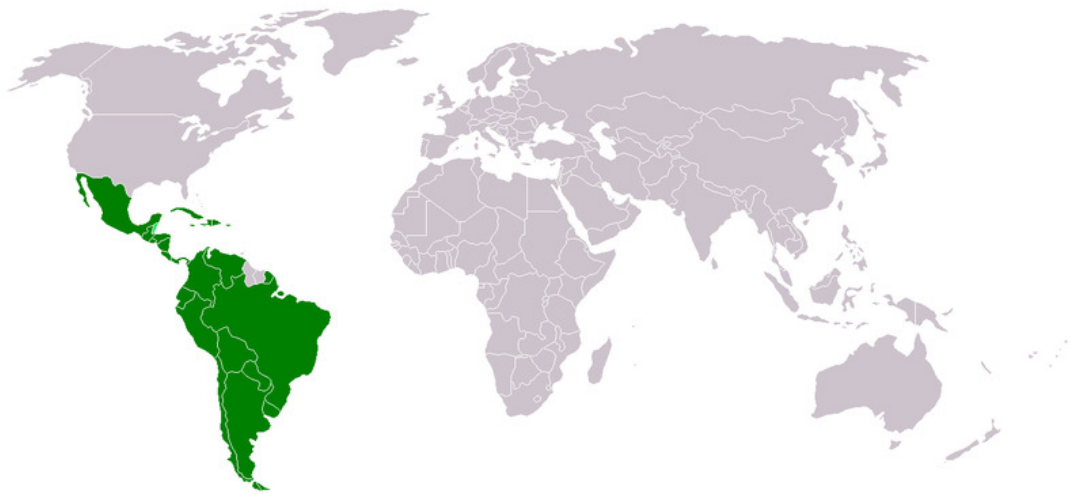


Source: Wikipedia.org

Hispano-America is composed by: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela. (Countries marked in green).

ANNEX N.3

Latin America



Source: Wikipedia.org

Latin America is formed by those countries part of Hispano or Hispanic-America seen in Annex n.1 and Brazil, Clipperton (part of French Polynesia), Guadalupe, French Guyana, Martinique, Saint Bartolome, Saint Martin (all these are part of France) and Haiti. (Countries marked in green).

ANNEX N.4

Ibero-American Summits

	I Guadalajara	II Madrid	III Bahia
	Mexico	Spain	Brazil
	1991	1992	1993
Political Advance and Institutionalization	. Foundation . Secretary Pro Tempore	. Quincentenary	
Thematic Axis			Sustainable Development
Declarations and Agreements	<p>International Law:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Support to International Law . Democracy, pluralism and sovereignty promotion . Social, civil and human rights cooperation <p>Economic and Social Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Support GATT and women equality . Fight against drug trafficking . Strengthen multilateralism and integration cooperation <p>Education and Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Bonds intensification in Ibero-American institutions 	<p>Politic Coordination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Support Treaty Proscription in Nuclear Weapons . Controversy solution principles, international law and international treaties and fight against narcotics and psychotropics <p>Integration and Cooperation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Support GATT and regional investment potential . Financial resources by IMF and BM <p>Education and Modernization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Human resources importance . Relation Education-productive system <p>Social and Human Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Indigenous Fund and importance of Health, Environment and national mechanisms of human rights protection 	<p>Politic Coordination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . MFA and UNO consultations on national law's extraterritoriality; representative democracy, human rights, non intervention and territorial integrity <p>Fight against Poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Better income distribution and social expenditure; migration flows <p>Finance, Development and Foreign Debt</p> <p>Health and Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Ibero-American Social Security Code . Development-peace-democracy and global problems. Political, social and human development dimension. Free trade and technology access <p>Education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Education, culture, health, technology
Cooperation Programs	Ibero-American Union of Municipalities	CYTED (Science and Technology) MUTIS (Scholarships) PAEBA (Basic Education and Literacy) TEIB (Educative Television)	Indigenous Fund CIDEU (Urban development)
Other Summits			

	IV Cartagena Colombia 1994	V Bariloche Argentina 1995	VI Viña del Mar Chile 1996
Political Advance and Institutionalization	. Enlarged Troika	. Treaty of Bariloche . National Coordinators Network . Cooperation Coordinators	
Thematic Axis	Regional Integration	Education	Governance
Declarations and Agreements	<p>International scope . Trade multilateral system perspectives and WTO support</p> <p>Regional scope . Convergence of integration structures and support to Central American efforts in democracy and integration. Better access to the European market</p> <p>National Scope . Competitiveness and social development . importance of business development and technology and their links to education centers . State modernization in deregulation and basic services . Modernization in infrastructure, energy, transport and telecommunications</p>	<p>Education essential for economic and social development . Comprehensive and integrative . Equal access to high-quality education . Importance of professional training . Respect to cultural diversity . Relation Science-Technology-Society . Education Programs modernization</p> <p>Education as an Ibero-American cohesion element</p>	<p>Governance for an efficient democracy . Representation and overcoming of poverty, violence and corruption as conditions for a regional political cooperation</p> <p>International dimension and public institutions . Understanding globalization, peace and international security. Trade liberalization and fight against terrorism, money laundering, organized crime, illicit traffic.</p> <p>Social-economic dimension . Equity and investment</p> <p>Political dimensions . Democracy improvement, minorities inclusion, ethics, modernization and deregulation</p>
Cooperation Programs		IBERFOP (Professional Training) IBERMADE (Education Managers)	IBERMEDIA (Cinema)
Other Summits	I Summit of the Americas (Miami)		

	VII Margarita Island	VIII Oporto	IX La Habana
	Venezuela	Portugal	Cuba
	1997	1998	1999
Political Advance and Institutionalization		. SECIB Proposal	. SECIB Protocol and Statutes
Thematic Axis	Ethic Values	Globalization Challenges	International Crisis Impact
Declarations and Agreements	Human Rights promotion and respect Social Justice Adequate Justice management Ethics in Public Administration Political parties and transparency Right of information	Globalization and economy Adjustment international financial system . Fight against international recession, stability and transparency Problems with drugs International law observance Social aspects of regional integration . Strengthen of Ibero-American cultural space . Intensification of cooperation with Europe Support to Ecuador and Peru in peace process Sectorial agreements in education, justice, agriculture, public administration, youth, gender, science, transport, ombudsman, drugs and SMEs	Rejection U.S. Helms Burton law Situation of international financial market and consequences in Ibero-America International capital flows and its volatility Price increment in national and international credit Vulnerable groups Globalization and economic growth
Cooperation Programs		ADAI (Ibero-American Archives) FUNDIBEQ (Quality and Management) IBERPyme (Small and Medium Enterprises) RADI (Diplomatic Archives) IBERQUALITAS (Quality and Competitiveness)	
Other Summits		II Summit of the Americas (Santiago)	I UE-LAC Summit (Rio)

	X Panama City	XI Lima	XII Bávaro
	Panama	Peru	Dominican Republic
	2000	2001	2002
Political Advance and Institutionalization	.SECIB establishment		
Thematic Axis	Childhood and Youth	<i>"united to build one tomorrow"</i>	
Declarations and Agreements	<p>Avoid premature engagement in labour market</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Right to basic education, information on rights and as migrants . Food and social safety, AIDS and sexual education . Housing, drinking water and poverty . Traffic, kidnapping, organs sale, sexual exploitation <p>Participation in armed conflicts and consequences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Ottawa Convention ratification . Rehabilitation <p>Culture of Violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Domestic violence 	<p>Common patrimony</p> <p>Ibero-American space strategic importance</p> <p>Dialogue and policy concertation</p>	
Cooperation Programs	ABINA (National Libraries) PICBIP (Public Libraries) RILVI (Books)	IBERGOP (Governance and Public Policies)	
Other Summits		III Summit of the Americas (Quebec)	II UE-LAC Summit (Madrid)

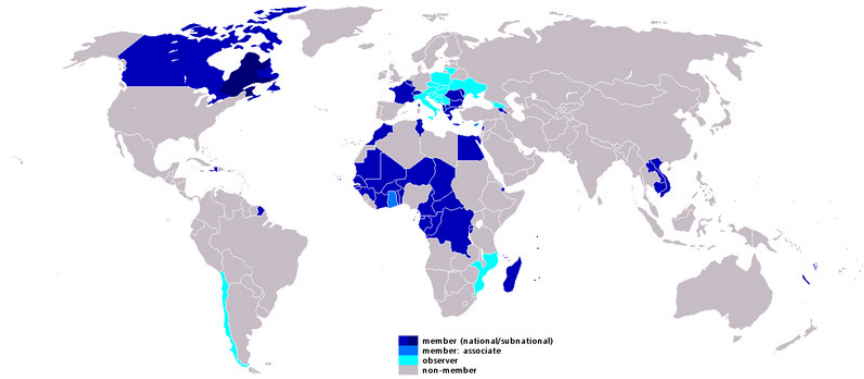
	XIII Sta. Cruz	XIV San José	XV Salamanca
	Bolivia	Costa Rica	Spain
	2003	2004	2005
Political Advance and Institutionalization	. Cardoso Report . Sta Cruz Treaty on SEGIB	. SEGIB ratification . Reforms discussions	. First Secretary General . Ibero-American Cultural Charter . I Ibero-American Business Forum . I Civic Forum
Thematic Axis	Social Inclusion	Education	Migration and UE-LAC relations
Declarations and Agreements		Importance of investment in education Education to prosper Exchange of debt for education Andorra becomes member	Exchange of debt for education Ibero-American business development and engagement to the Ibero-American System Civil Society and its importance for democracy Forum on Finance, Development and Poverty Ibero-American Development Agenda
Cooperation Programs	CIBERAMERICA (internet search portal) ILIMITA (Reading) IBEREMPRENDE (Enterprise establishment)	Virtual Educa (Education)	CIBIT (IT Training)
Other Summits		III UE-LAC Summit (Guadalajara) Summit of the Americas -special- (Cancun)	IV Summit of the Americas (Mar del Plata)

	XVI Montevideo	XVII Santiago	XVIII San Salvador
	Uruguay	Chile	El Salvador
	2006	2007	2008
Political Advance and Institutionalization	. UNO Observer status . Compromise About Migration and Development		. Participation Guidelines
Thematic Axis	Migration and Development	Social Cohesion	Youth and Development
Declarations and Agreements	International engagement of the Ibero-American System Systematic meetings . MFA Ministers, National and Cooperation Coordinators, Sectorial II Ibero-American Business Forum II Civic Forum	Inclusion and belonging III Ibero-American Business Forum III Civic Forum	Seminary Youth and Development IV Ibero-American Business Forum IV Civic Forum Integral development strategy Education and sexuality Integration in IT societies Participation in politics Food safety, Youth violence, organized crime Ibero-American Plan on Youth Cooperation and Integration Cross-cultural dialogue International economic crisis Terrorism, Doha Round, Falklands, political situation in Bolivia, Cuban trade blockade
Cooperation Programs	IBERESCENA (Theater)	Human Milk Bank Childhood Policies Ibero-American Programme on Literacy IBERMUSEOS (Museums) Pablo Neruda Initiative (Postgrades) Ibero-American Social Security Instauration Hydric Resources Training	
Other Summits	IV UE-LAC Summit (Vienna)		V UE-LAC Summit (Lima)

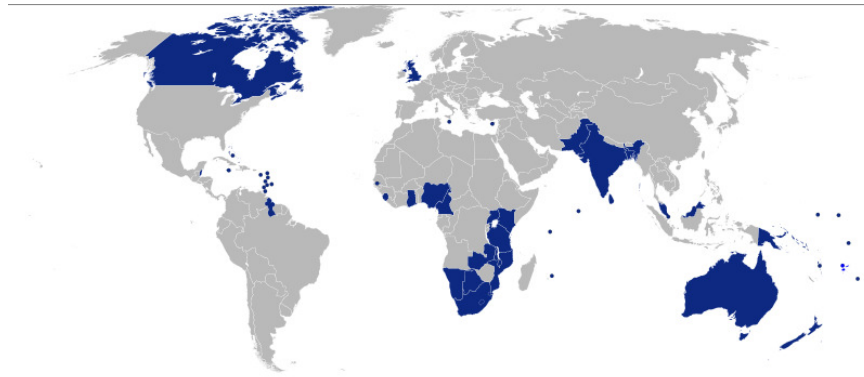
Source: Christian Ferres and own construction

ANNEX N.5

Francophonie



Commonwealth



Ibero-America



Source: Wikipedia.org

ANNEX N.6

Comparative Charter

	Commonwealth	Fancophonie	Ibero-america
Date of Foundation	1887 (formalized in 1931)	1970	1991
Headquarters	London	Paris	Madrid
Number of Countries	53	56	22
Population	1.9 bill. (33% global pop.)	80 mill.	600 mill.
Summits	Every two years	Every two years	Yearly
Democratic Clause	Yes	Yes	No

Source: Own construction