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Regional Integration in Latin America: States, Markets and Organizations

Latin Amerika'da Bölgesel Entegrasyon: Devletler, Piyasalar ve Kuruluşlar

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ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Latin Amerika'daki bölgesel entegrasyon girişimleri ve bunların Latin Amerika ülkelerinin ekonomik kalkınması üzerindeki etkileri ile ilgili araştırmalara dayanmaktadır. Alan üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, ABD'nin Latin Amerika siyasetine müdahalesinin bölgesel entegrasyon sürecinin önündeki en büyük engel olduğunu ortaya koymaktadırlar. Bu açıdan bölge ülkelerinin siyasi olarak kutuplaşması, bölgesel entegrasyon için oluşturulan örgütlerin başarısını etkilemektedir. Bu durum, özellikle Arjantin'deki ekonomik krizler, Venezuela'daki siyasi istikrarsızlık ve Latin Amerika ülkelerinden ABD'ye artan göç gibi ülkelerin siyasi süreçlerinde kendini göstermektedir. Alan üzerine yapılmış çalışmalar, bölgesel entegrasyon çabalarına rağmen, bölgeye sağlanan ekonomik faydaların, küresel ekonomik güçlerin çıkarlarına kıyasla sınırlı kaldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Mevcut literatürden farklı olarak, bu çalışma Latin Amerika ülkelerinin iç dinamiklerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma bölgesel entegrasyon girişimlerinin Latin Amerika ülkelerinin ekonomik kalkınmasına etkisini incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, devletlerin rasyonel politikalar takip etmeleri, Latin Amerika entegrasyon girişimleriyle ilişkili olarak açıklanması gereken önemli bir unsur olarak bulunmuştur. Liberal hükümetlerarası bir bakış açısıyla bu çalışma, Latin Amerika Serbest Ticaret Birliği (LAFTA), Güney Ortak Pazarı (MERCOSUR) ve And Topluluğu (CAN) örnekleriyle Latin Amerika'daki bölgesel entegrasyon girişimlerinin başarısını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel argümanı, ekonomik iş birliğinin artırılması ve bölgedeki az gelişmiş ülkelere mali yardımlarla yeniden yapılanma modelinin Latin Amerika'nın bölgesel güçlerinin politikalarıyla uyumlu bir bölgesel ekonomik kalkınmaya yol açmış olduğudur.

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ABSTRACT

This paper is based on the research related to regional integration attempts in Latin America and their effect on the economic development of Latin American countries. Recent analyses clarify that the US' intervention in the politics of Latin America has been the main obstacle of the regional integration process. Most importantly, political fragmentation of the countries in the region affects the success of the organizations that are formed for the regional integration. This is especially visible in the political processes of the countries such as economic crises in Argentina, political instability in Venezuela and increasing migration to the US from Latin American countries. Notable studies reveal that despite the regional integration efforts, the economic benefits to the region has been limited compared to the benefit of the global economic powers. Different from the current literature, this paper focuses on the internal dynamics of Latin American countries. In this respect, this paper investigates the effect of the regional integration attempts for the economic development of the countries in Latin America. In this regard, the rational state behaviour was found as an important element to explain in relation to the Latin American integration attempts. With a liberal intergovernmentalist perspective, this paper aims to reveal the success of regional integration attempts in Latin America with the cases of Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and Andean Community (CAN). The main argument of this paper is that increasing economic cooperation and creating a reconstruction model with a financial assistance to the less developed countries in the region have led to a regional economic development in cohesion with the policies of the regional powers of Latin America.

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Introduction

The analyses of the regional integration attempts in Latin America¹ have been prevalent as a result of the anti-colonial activities that had a root of more than a hundred years in the region. Notable analyses reveal that with the expansion of the nationalist approaches in Latin America, the regional integration attempts accelerated during the World War I (WWI) (Miller, 2006, p. 209-210). Important examples of these integration attempts have been visible after the World War II (WWII). Though, the regional integration trend is not only an example of the Latin America. The success of the regional integration has been visible in other parts of the world such as in Europe. This success motivated Latin American countries to form regional organizations and work for the integration attempts in the region.² Even, the previous studies brought the regional integration attempts in Latin America to the forefront, they had limitations to explain the major motivation of the integration attempts.

As a result of the regional economic needs of the countries and the effect of the financial crises, a number of regional integration attempts emerged in Latin America. As the first step, the efforts began in the increasing trade relations. This has been related to the economic needs of the countries in Latin America. It is possible to argue that the Latin American countries followed the global trend in the post-WWII. In this regard, the contribution of the regional integration attempts to the economic development of the countries and the rise of global competitive position of the countries in the Latin America are the major focuses. Notable studies reveal that despite the regional integration efforts, the economic benefits to the region has been limited compared to the benefit of the global economic powers (Ocampo, 2020, p. 17-18). Thus, a number of global powers have been in search of the allies in the region. This is one of the factors that make the Latin America different from the other examples.

Based on a comprehensive research and analysis, this study examines the integration efforts in Latin America. In this regard, the research is dealing with the function of the integration efforts. Although economically there was an important impact; but Latin American integration efforts have the great achievements and benefits also in terms of creating a cooperation mentality based on the common historical and cultural features. The hypothesis of this study is that the regional integration attempts in Latin America are good ways to achieve the economic development through creating the communication channels among the countries in the region. Moreover, through applying the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism, it is aimed to explain the rational behaviour of the countries in Latin America for the development of the regional integration.

In order to analyze the success of regional integration attempts in Latin America, first of all this study presents the theoretical notions and concepts and the historical factors that affect the integration attempts. Moreover, important cases are given to show the integration efforts in Latin America with the examples of Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) and Andean Community (CAN). In

¹ This paper focuses on the regional integration attempts of Latin American countries. Latin American countries refer to the countries whose heritage predominantly French, Spanish and Portuguese and have a cultural and historical connection, not only locating in a certain geographical area such as in Central America, South America, North America and the Caribbean.

² As an example of the successful integration attempt for the Latin America, here, it is important to mention that the change between the European Community (EC) and the European Union (EU) is quite complicated. The main reason is related to the difference of their formation based on the economic and political union principles. The EU is in the only strong form of political integration as opposed to the economic integration, which is the basis to most of the regional integration attempts so far, except the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

addition, the study presents an evaluation of the success of the regional integration attempts in Latin America. Furthermore, the analysis covers the effect of integration efforts in the countries in Latin America. The last part is devoted to a conclusion of the analysis.

Theoretical Notions and Concepts

The analyses of regional integration aim to present the cooperation between the states rather than a competitive structure. Even so, the state rationality is the main driving force of the integration attempts that bring states together. State rationality is the main assumption of many international relations theories for the formation of the theoretical bases. In this sense, the goals and objectives of the states are assumed to continue with the state rationality based on the important subjects of the states (Dönmez, 2022, p. 311). It is accepted to be not only on the certain direction. The alternative actions are also followed in order to maximize the national interests. In this regard, the state rationality gets its basis on the realist and neorealist approaches that regard the states as pursuing wealth, security and power (Morgenthau, 1973, p. 5-6). While these approaches do not consider the domestic dynamics for the rational behaviour of the states, neoclassical realism, consider the domestic dynamics and the function of the leaders to follow the rational behaviors of the states (Rose, 1998, p. 146). Even so, the cooperation structure does not exist in neoclassical realism and that is far from analyzing the regional integration dynamics of the countries.

Different from the realist approaches, the state-society relations are the major focus of liberal theories related to the regional integration such as in functionalism and neofunctionalism. In order to analyze how foreign policy preferences are shaped, these approaches consider the influential potential of the domestic dynamics including the social groups and other domestic actors. In this sense, the liberal approaches deal with the domestic politics in order to understand the foreign policies of the countries that has been an important factor to predict the government's behaviour in the foreign policy dynamics (Moravcsik, 1993, p. 481). So, the power competition in the domestic arena is important in shaping the foreign policy that shows the state institutions and society are merged in regard to the direction of the country.

In relation to the Latin American integration attempts, it is important to mention that it has based on the rational state behaviour in order to maximize the national gains of the countries (Caichio, 2017, p. 121). Thus, as in many liberal approaches it has based on the domestically motivated preferences that shape the government's actions in the international relations through bargaining for the domestically motivated desires. In the integration process of the Latin America, it is possible to mention that this process of directing the state behaviour started from the domestic arena through shaping the policies of the countries with an aim of pursuing potential benefits. Thus, in the second phase this shapes the political responses of the governments. Hence, the integration attempts require to have a social base in order to society's pursuing the desired way of integration models.

Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Regional Integration

In the theoretical ground, liberal ideas concerned with the cooperative nature of international relations. Within this cooperation, national preferences have an important place that shape the states' actions. In this sense, for the emergence of national preferences, unlike the realist theories, not only the state; but also the function of the society, societal groups and the individuals are important. This reveals the fact in liberal theories that societal actors had a function in shaping the direction of politics both in national and international level (Moravcsik, 1993, p. 483). The political leaders have the power of directing the political preferences of a country. In liberal theoretical ground, the politicians connect to the society in regard to the formation of political preferences (Moravcsik, 1992). In this sense, the state interests are also

related to the society's interests and shaped by the identity of the most influential actors in the society.

Moreover, the interstate negotiations in the intergovernmentalist analysis lies in the policy coordination of the nation states for the flow of goods and services, and other economically based policy outcomes. The outcome of this international policy is expected to create the cost and benefit for the public in the countries of part of this policy relation. So, the policy outcomes of the countries that are the part of negotiations depend on the domestic situation of the other part of the agreement (Brown and Urpelainen, 2015, p. 1044). This reveals the interdependence of the national policies that is important in the negotiations of the regional integration.

In this section, a theoretical framework would be offered to create an explanation of 'liberal intergovernmentalism' in order to apply to the case of regional integration attempts in Latin America. Liberal intergovernmentalism was selected as a theory because it best suits the cases of the regional integration attempts in Latin America. Importantly, for explaining the case of regional integration attempts in Latin America, Liberal intergovernmentalism sees the integration attempts as states' bargaining for their own interest within the interstate relations with the other states (Moravcsik, 1998, p. 18). Liberal intergovernmentalism was constructed over a previous approach, 'intergovernmental institutionalism' through developing its theory of interstate negotiations and institutional cohesion. Moreover, the liberal intergovernmentalism includes a clear theory of national preference formation based on liberal theories of international interdependence (Moravcsik, 1991, p. 35). In this theoretical formation, different approaches are tried to be developed to extend the current literature. However, the results have been mainly the same to explain the current position of the regional politics.

The liberal intergovernmentalism lies on three major elements, including rational state behaviour, a national preference formation and interstate negotiation (Moravcsik, 1993, p. 480). The economic interdependence of the countries based on the cost and benefit calculations of them are the major determinant of the foreign policy preferences of the countries (Moravcsik, 1993, p. 480). In this regard, the national preferences in terms of the foreign policy directions and formation of the alternative coalitions based on the interests of the countries have been the important point of analysis.

Overall, notable explanations of Latin American integration attempts are both incomplete and misleading for major explanations of the socially constructed nature of this integration attempt. This is because explaining the emergence of Latin American integration attempts requires that understanding both macroeconomic policy preferences, which led Latin American governments to favour regional coordination, and the determinants of the outcomes of the strong interstate negotiations that took place over the clear terms. In this section, the main assumptions, concepts and normative arguments related to the liberal intergovernmentalism have been provided to create a theoretical base for explaining the integration attempts in Latin America. The rational state behaviour was found as an important element to explain in relation to the Latin American integration attempts.

The Evolution of Regional Integration Stance in Latin America

Many Latin American nations experienced the similar historical development as a result of the effects of colonial powers. However, their independence such as through creating their own countries either through state structure or not in a very institutionalized form present

important differences.³ In this sense, the similarity in anti-colonial activities in the civil society provides important benefits for the regional integration attempts. Moreover, further historical experiences after the colonial period provide an important perspective, especially in the political sphere, even major social differences exist in the region (Fiddian, 2003, p. 113-124). Latin American countries gained independence after the colonial period, but it is not possible to argue that they all have a common thinking and historically similar background. Thus, some regions have very different ethnic mixtures, depending on how they were integrated into colonialism as well as their typographical specialties. It is possible to argue that the historical experiences provide a new vision for the political activists that is important for the integration attempts in Latin America.

Moreover, an important fact for the Latin American countries that after the colonial period economic and social factors influenced the emergence of the similar economic and cultural perspectives. Exploiting the economic resources and creating dependent states to the economic and political intervention of the capitalist powers created a similar economic base of the region. While the countries have important natural resources, they have been positioned as the agricultural economies that depend on selling the products to the developed countries. For instance, Colombia is a very important banana producer, but comparatively, it has little importance in the broader economic structure of the country; it is a more regional pull (Sanint, 1995, p. 5). However, specific departments in the country have a high dependence on banana production. So, this depends on the importance of this agricultural sector in the overall economy.

Starting from Simon Bolivar there have been many attempts of the unity in the Latin America. The major speciality of this relates to their anti-colonial engagement, but not all the nationalist governments such as those that emerged from the strong regional pulls of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the Northeast region of Brazil. It was previously argued that the social and cultural motives in Latin America provided an important contribution for the regional integration attempts. However, when the integration attempts have been analyzed, it is seen that the economic factors are the most important driving force for the Latin American integration attempts (Ocampo, 2020, p. 17). In this regard, repeating economic crisis and higher inflation rates provides economic mistrust that creates an important public support for the regional integration.

The fact remains that economic effects, rather than social and cultural ones are important for the analysis of the influence of the regional integration. For instance, the Argentinean crisis in 2000 was not grounded in disorder and ‘moral degeneration’; it was linked to rampant social unrest after harsh Structural Adjustment Programs as well as the structural problems associated with pegging the Argentinean peso to the US dollar (Feliz, 2007, p. 96-97). Furthermore, it was a political crisis in that rampant and systemic corruption robbed the state legitimacy and created a leadership vacuum. The Venezuelan “crisis” of 2002-2003 was not so much a crisis, but rather a period in which the opposition sectors, backed by the US government and transnational media attempted to oust the democratically elected Chávez Government militarily (Bull and Rosales, 2020, p. 4). This could be regarded as an intervention attempt from the external dynamics that affects the economic situation and shape the political actions of the countries.

Concerning the US’ intervention, Monroe Doctrine in 1823 has been important for the US to position towards the political involvement in the Latin American politics. Under this

³ Here, it is important to use terminology both clearly and consistently. For instance, Puerto Rico, is a Latin American country, but it isn’t a state in itself.

doctrine, US tried to impede European colonial powers from involving themselves in the independent countries (Pires and Nascimento, 2020, p. 203). The US did involve itself strongly in the policies of Latin American countries. As an important indication, Mexico lost nearly half of its national territory over a period of 50 years via US military activity and political bullying. Moreover, the US's actions in Cuba, the separation of Panamá from Colombia and countless others can be given as important examples of the US' involvement.

Most people argue that the armed forces in the Latin America have developed too much and gaining too much political power. However, no doubt that the mass of military dictatorships rocked the region in the post 1970 period. In this sense, the support of the US to the military rules in the region provided dependency to the US aids (Myllymaki, 1978, p. 74). These brought inequality of the regions concerning the economic development. But this is more or less the same in every region and in every attempt at integration. Thus, there are marked differences with the US, Canada and Mexico. The same applies to Germany and France compared to the lowland countries or the emerging economies of the East who are now part of the EU.

Concerning the integration attempts, Brazil tries to be a leading power for any integration attempts to have a role of major hegemonic power in the region. However, other countries resist to this and this inequality in the region has been an important obstacle that affected the Latin American integration process. Though, Brazil's aim at being a leading country in the Latin American integration process creates incompatibility with the US's interests in the region (Long, 2018, p. 115). As it was previously explained, even similar cultural and social processes have been passed throughout the history the Latin America has a very complex nationality and identity debates. Within these conflicting environments, the US had benefits to intervene the domestic problems of the countries that have been the main obstacle of the regional integration of the Latin America.

Regional Integration Attempts in Latin America: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach

As a matter of fact, the US had a historical vision to influence the Latin American politics through not only intervening the political affairs, but also having economic relations with the countries in the region. After the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the US, Canada and Mexico; the US wanted to spread a similar kind of organization towards the entire continent. Moreover, FTAA was proposed agreement in the 1990 for the same purpose. However, the US - Brazil competition as well as the wider economic crisis in the South brought the end of the purpose with the FTAA in the 2000s.

In the post-WWII, integration attempts in Latin America have been based on increasing the economic activities through creating free trade zones in the region. However, the lack of economically prosperous countries in the Latin America affected the success of this integration process and the external trading partners needed to bring financial support for functioning the trade area in the region. In this sense, in order to maximize economic activities throughout the region and also to benefit from the international trade, regional integration attempts in Latin America pointed to increasing trade volume. In this process, most important integration attempts have been visible with the foundation of LAFTA, MERCOSUR and ANDEAN Community. The basic starting point of these organizations has been related to increasing economic activities and forming a political union throughout the process.

Latin America Free Trade Association (LAFTA)

It was previously argued that the post-WWII has been a scene for the regional integration attempts not only in Europe, but also in Latin America. One of the first integration attempts in the Latin America was with the foundation of LAFTA with the Treaty of

Montevideo on 18 February 1960. Thus, the association focused on the liberalization of trade in the region, it was supported by the capitalist world and the treaty was approved by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (Sautter, 1972, p. 150). The association was founded with the signing of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Peru. Later, with the participation of Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia, the association aimed at the economic interdependence with the countries in the region.

Notable studies compare LAFTA with the European integration process such as with European Economic Community (EEC). In this regard, main difference has been related to that while the EEC aimed at the regional integration with the political features, but LAFTA positioned only on for the liberalization of the trade in the region (Valladão, 2015, p. 113-114). The main feature of the LAFTA has been related to regionalization of the intergovernmental relations with the countries in the region. In this sense, trade relations between certain countries and the conflicting relations have been regionalized with the LAFTA. However, the lack of a central power in the association and the competition among the members concerning their economic capacities brought the end of the organization. In this sense, the regional plans were not achieved, and LAFTA became over in practice in the 1980s.

Common Market for the Southern Cone of America (MERCOSUR)

In the literature, MERCOSUR has been regarded as the most successful integration attempt in Latin America. It was mentioned previously that the Treaty of Montevideo has been founding agreement of LAFTA. In the later process, based on the negotiations among the countries, especially with the leading role of Argentina and Brazil; MERCOSUR has been developed based on the idea of the creation of a common market (Esteradeordal et al., 2001, p. 181). Furthermore, MERCOSUR was formally established with the Asuncion Agreement that was signed on 26 March 1991. Later, it turned into a customs union with the Ouro Preto Protocol in 1994.

Moreover, MERCOSUR started to increase its power in the world politics with the participation of Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile and Bolivia in 1995. Thus, the major aim of the integration attempt in Latin America has been to have more competing power with the North especially the US and the EU. Hence, MERCOSUR started to be a scene following the national interests of the member states (Caichiolo, 2017, p. 121). Moreover, the existence of the organization had a function of empowering the hands of the member states over other international organizations such as in Europe and in the US.

It is important to mention that the major aim with the establishment of MERCOSUR has been the economic development of the member states. In this regard, a common tariff for the exported goods from the outside of the MERCOSUR members was agreed. Thus, it was aimed to the liberalization of trade in the inside of the organization, but protect the countries from the outside effects concerning the economic matters. In this process, member states increased the trade volumes. As an important example, in 1995 and 1996 Argentina's export to Brazil grew 49 % and 21 % with the effect of trade liberalization attempts (Bouzas et al., 2002, p. 445-446). However, because of many countries' economic capabilities are different within their trade volume, notable criticism came to the bigger economies such as Brazil to benefit more from the organization for constructing the hegemonic position of it.

On the one hand, the foreign investment increased to the member states of the MERCOSUR. On the other hand, the investments between the member states also increased as a sign of economic cooperation and interdependence within the economic nature of the development policies. As an important example, while total intra-regional exports of the MERCOSUR members was 2,7 billion US Dollars in 1986, it has increased to 17,7 billion US Dollars in 2000 (Bouzas et al., 2002, p. 314). This is an important indication of the positive

effect of MERCOSUR on the regional trade. At the same time, this economic cooperation deepens in the Latin America, and the governmental relations also got closer in a way of leading the countries towards the political alliance. Even so, important problems arose between the countries concerning their trade relations. In this regard, major competition has been between Brazil and Argentina that created a risk for the continuation of MERCOSUR to contribute the regional integration in Latin America. An important competition between Brazil and Argentina has been on the nuclear sector for developing nuclear power plants (Solingen, 1993, p. 263-264). In this sense, state involved projects have been on the agenda of both countries.

Moreover, US' plan to create a free trade area in all Americas contradicts with the major aim of MERCOSUR that only aimed at the regional integration in the South. In this regard, the US' intervention to the policies in Latin America such as through creating a political connection with Chile irritates the political approaches in the South. The US' approach to the common free trade area in the whole Americas is not existed in the recent process. The US has adopted a bilateral method of signing trade agreements in the region (Wrobel, 1998, p. 548-549). In addition, it is possible to say that Brazil's counter-connections to the other countries in the region such as with Venezuela and Bolivia provide a competitive environment. Overall, even the integration efforts continue through the MERCOSUR, it positioned mainly on the free trade with an inter-governmental perspective, and far from providing a regional integration model in the Latin America.

ANDEAN Community (CAN)

Another important regional integration attempt in Latin America is ANDEAN community. With the membership of Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, it was established by Cartagena agreement in 1969. Venezuela became a part of the agreement in 1973, but left the ANDEAN in 2007 because of the adoption of a socialist economic model. In this regard, through creating a balance mechanism between the regional powers such as Brazil and Argentina, it was aimed the liberalization of trade through the formation of ANDEAN. In the first ten years, ANDEAN served to raise the trade capacity between the member states. As it was previously mentioned, total intra-regional exports in Latin America was 2,7 billion US Dollars in 1986, it has increased to 17,7 billion US Dollars in 2000 (Bouzas et al., 2002, p. 314). Moreover, towards the end of the 1970s, regional integration efforts with the institutional formations continued under the ANDEAN such as with the foundation of the ANDEAN court of justice, then ANDEAN parliament and then ANDEAN council of foreign ministers.

As a result of the Oil crisis in 1973, the Latin American economies also affected by the global crisis environment. To achieve desired goals in the regional integration of Latin America, free trade area was agreed in 1990 to move integration to a higher stage. In 1993, the Free Trade Zone entered into force between Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. This followed a new step for the formation of common foreign policy guidelines. Moreover, ANDEAN and MERCOSUR started to get closer to having a similar perspective with an aim of liberalizing the trade in the region. In this sense, having the same members in both organizations affected by these similar policies. On 16 April 1998, a framework agreement was signed between ANDEAN and MERCOSUR for the development of free trade (Caichiolo, 2019, p. 265). This has been in parallel to the rise of bilateral agreements between the states in the Latin America and the US and Canada for the liberalization of trade.

Concerning the continuation of the liberalization of trade in the region, the members of both MERCOSUR and ANDEAN came together in Asuncion in Paraguay in 2001 and declared on the continuation of the works for the liberalization of trade between the members of both blocs. In this sense, not only the liberalization of trade policy, but also common foreign and security policy were discussed. Overall, as MERCOSUR, ANDEAN has been an important

platform for increasing the trade relations with the countries in Latin America. Especially, ANDEAN had a function of bringing the voice of small countries in the Latin America because of the wider membership to the organization of the countries in the region. In this sense, economic share of the integration attempts in the region contributed to increase the economic benefits of the region. For the period from 1980 to 2013, while the average export of ANDEAN community to the rest of the world is 76,14 %, average export to the rest of the Latin America region is 15,16% and intra-exports is 8,7% (SELA, 2015, p. 22). This shows while the intra-trade of the ANDEAN community increase, the overall trade volume is also increasing with the effect of internationalization.

Integration Efforts and Regional Development

In the liberal intergovernmentalist perspective, the above-mentioned arguments present that the regional integration attempts in Latin America have been partially successful. The main reason has been the failure of institutionalization of the integration attempts. Thus, the organizations in the regional integration perspective need to be formed through an institutionalized manner that is shaped with the interaction of the states in the regional integration perspective. One of the main reasons that eliminate the success of the regional integration attempts in Latin America has been the existence of conflicting relations of the countries in the region. Thus, the colonial history and the problems with natives as well as historical migrations from especially Europe and Africa provided an important problem for the cooperation models of the countries in the region (Miller, 2006, p. 205-206). Moreover, another important factor that affects the regional integration attempts in Latin America has been related to the presence of the US in Latin American politics. This involvement dated back to the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 that positioned the US to be an expansionist in the regional politics (Pires and Nascimento, 2020, p. 203). In this sense, favoring some countries over others and intervening the domestic and international politics of some countries in Latin America affect the success of the formation of regional institutions in a way of dealing with the integration politics.

However, a bad reputation of the US in the region for the success of integration motivated the countries to interact with the countries in other parts of the world. In this sense, free trade agreement with the EU and increasing investments in China are important examples of diversifying the economic relations of the countries in the region. As a matter of fact, MERCOSUR has been one of the most attracting organizations of the EU. In this respect, MERCOSUR and the EU signed an Interinstitutional Cooperation Agreement on 25 May 1992. With this agreement, the EU's experience of integration is aimed to be absorbed in this Latin American integration process (Santander, 2005, p. 292-293). The institutionalized structure of MERCOSUR in liberal intergovernmentalist perspective facilitates the increasing trade relations with the EU through free trade agreements. In this sense, while the Latin American countries keep them secure from the political influence of the US, at the same time benefit from the financial contribution of the EU in the region.

As a result, in the liberal intergovernmentalist perspective state driven negotiations and other bargaining instruments contributed to the regional development of the Latin American countries. The development of construction projects, communication technologies and increasing trade capacity, not only in Latin America but also with the other countries in the world, have been the important impact of these regional integration attempts. In addition, the positive impact for the economic development as a result of the regional integration attempts brought regional powers into the scene. In this sense, with the national interest driven policy way, the countries such as Brazil brought into the global competition level, both with the trade relations and the political connections.

Conclusion

On the one hand, Latin American countries have serious similarities in terms of history, languages and the economic and social structures. On the other hand, they have very unstable economic structures, quite problematic social structures and differences in terms of geography and the power. The rational behaviour of Latin American countries in terms of national interests and their politics and the economic situations affected the success of regional integration attempts. In addition to these, the external pressures have been important to shape the Latin American political and social life. In the historical process, the US' intervention to create FTAA in the whole continent was aimed to separate the Latin American countries to two different groups. When the integration attempts are compared with the EU case, Latin America is a big disappointment. However, in the economic level integration attempts contributed to the development of the countries in the region. The research indicates that considering well development with the creation of communication channels, increased bargaining power with the great powers, small and medium-sized states protection with the organizations and a significant increase of trade and foreign investment, the integration attempts in Latin America is partially successful to contribute the development perspective of the countries in Latin America.

Overall, in comparison to the emergence of the EU as a successful integration model, the regional integration in Latin America is far from having an institutionalized model of the regional integration. However, the cases of LAFTA, MERCOSUR and ANDEAN in this paper shows that these all attempts contributed to the emergence of consciousness about the economic, political and cultural structures of the Latin America. In this sense, deepening the institutionalization of the integration attempts and providing a competitive power for the countries in the region will affect the future developments of the integration models. As a result, increasing economic cooperation and creating a reconstruction model with a financial assistance to the less developed countries in the region can provide a regional economic development in cohesion with the regional powers of Latin America. Thus, a major step could be taken on the way to the success of the regional integration.

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