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**Comparative analysis of the agreement and
economic development model between the Pacific
Alliance and MERCOSUR.**

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1 DEDICATION

I dedicate this work that I have done with effort to my parents, Salomón and Diana, who have been my support and strength throughout my university career, giving me good advice to make me an exceptional person. Reminding me every day that responsibility and perseverance are virtues that we have to keep in mind every day.

To my sister Daniela for being the one who has motivated me and brought smiles to my face on difficult days.

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5 Abstract

This article investigates the model of economic and integrative development that the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur have achieved. These relevant blocks in the region have been seen eager to emerge positively to leave pertinent impacts. These two economic communities have shown similarities and differences, since there is evidence of a contrast between the openness and protectionism they manage. The aspects are considered under the historical context of Latin American integration along with its background, advantages and disadvantages. The research question seeks to answer the Ecuadorian case and the possibility that is evaluated in the initiative of being part of one of these two blocks, by taking into account its historical past, its antecedents and its current economic situation. Under this scenario, a comparative analysis of the two blocks will be presented, by leaving an objective conclusion which will pose the most beneficial one for a possible entry of Ecuador.

Keywords: Regional integration, Openness, protectionism, Mercosur, Pacific Alliance, Ecuador.

6 Introduction

Regional integration is undoubtedly a highly controversial issue today and it is determinant of how states behave in terms of cooperation. However, continents and different regions of the world are linked to two dominant variables, integration and fragmentation. The fragmentation of continents has to do with many political aspects and their interests, such as contemporary sub-state nationalism, while integration has its starting point in trade agreements, as trade exchange and the adaptation of world markets to globalization has interconnected different states and regions. (Malamud, 2011). There are continents that have achieved certain levels of integration while others are still in an incipient process to accomplish it, taking into account characteristics that influence the political and commercial aspect at the moment of integration.

In the contemporary course of regional integration, the role of presidents or heads of government has been relegated or even overshadowed. (Haas, 1968). When the Founding Fathers of the most successful case, the European Union, are mentioned, officials such as Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman or Jacques Delors are mentioned, of whom only Schuman served for a short time as head of the national government, and it was not from that position that he reached his greatest achievements. (Haas, 1968). However, this does not mean that the heads of state are overshadowed in their functions.

A relevant feature of integration is its likelihood of developing in a negative or positive way. (Acharya, 2007). Negative integration signals the dislocation of restrictions on cross-border trade and misunderstanding of competition, as opposed to positive integration which implies common policies that are adapted to the conditions under which markets operate (Scharpf, 1996). It is important to understand how significant this distinction could be because the former can be achieved through intergovernmental procedures, while the latter requires supranational organizations or regulation. Given that negative and positive integration are relatively sequential, the use of this criterion focuses the view that the transition from intergovernmentalism to supranationality is gradual; however, gradual does not mean inescapable or irreparable. (Malamud, 2011). Therefore, it is currently of interest to understand the public and commercial policies of the regions of the world and what has led them to have this desire for integration, taking into account that one of the greatest examples is the European Union, which has the most advanced integration process, considering all its aspects within the levels of integration that have been achieved. (Acharya, 2007). Es por esto que varios países han considerado sus aspectos positivos como posibles puntos de partida, para otros modelos integrativos. (Briceño Ruiz, 2018)

As for Latin America, different attempts have been made or integrate it, however, these have stalled or few have safely achieved their stated objectives, so they have not had the initially desired regional influence. (Briceño et al., 2019). Specifically, the case of the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur will be discussed, which, being two economic communities in Latin America with different approaches, are highly attractive for study.

This article will support its bibliographic research on these two communities, taking into consideration their way of developing as a whole in international markets and the way in the countries have achieved the political will to form part of them, as well as analyzing the specific case of Ecuador. This country that has remained on the fringes of these economic communities, could find it convenient to join and participate in them, considering the size of its economy, and the policies established and to be adopted upon joining, considering that it is currently part of the CAN (Andean Community of Nations). One of the most renowned integration models in Latin America, which has gradually and efficiently achieved the objectives set for its development. (Leví Coral & Reggiardo, 2016).

The aim of this article is to analyze these economic communities and their form of development, in the integrative environment that Latin America has reached, through a literature review and the formulation of semi-structured qualitative interviews that will complement the research in order to reach a conclusion as objective as possible in relation to the consideration that Ecuador believes to be relevant.

Starting from this fragment in the methodological part the model and way of conducting the interviews is described, as well as its characteristics based on the author who proposes it (Hernández Sampieri et al., 2014), the sources of information consulted will also be described with their respective authors who by the content of their articles allowed a better understanding and interpretation of the subject. Subsequently, the theoretical framework first describes the concept of integration, delving deeper into Latin American integration, opening the way for a detailed description of all the levels of integration in order to identify in which of these the economic communities to be analyzed are found, and also briefly describes the economic development models that have polarized Latin America: protectionism and openness. Then, in the second part of the theoretical framework, a complete description of the Pacific Alliance and MERCOSUR will be presented, explaining their historical background, objectives, economic development models and current functionality.

As a result of the information obtained, it will be interpreted in order to construct an objective and significant analysis of these two blocks, obtaining their advantages and disadvantages, which will help to contrast with the information obtained on Ecuador and its economy, so that it will be possible to analyze whether or not entry into either of these blocks would be beneficial.

7 Objectives

1. To present a full description of what Mercosur and the Pacific Alliance are and how they work. Openness and protectionism.
2. To analyze the two economic models adopted by these different integration initiatives.
3. To interpret their forms of development in order to be able to identify the benefits and disadvantages within these economic communities.
4. To evaluate Ecuador's possible entry into either of these two economic communities.

8 Theoretical Framework

8.1 *What is regional integration?*

In order to understand regional integration, it is necessary to know its ontology and what regionalism is. In other words, the general nature of regional integration and its properties, which is why it is of utmost importance to distinguish the different concepts behind what we know today as regional

integration. According to Lombaerde and Söderbaum (2013) a conceptual distinction of the following terms is important: Regional integration, cooperation, regionalism, regionalization, regioness.

By **regional integration** we mean a type of cooperation that is more incremental than the traditional cooperation we know. It aims to solve and understand the various common problems within the society or community of nations that seek to integrate with the idea of solving these needs through the creation of common decisions (Malamud, 2012). It seeks to create a transnational political, social and economic system that shares a certain formal institutionality, taking into account geographical or cultural factors.

With regard to **cooperation**, we can observe a certain distinction in that it presents unilateral actions or activities on the part of countries in order to show solidarity on certain issues, or as geopolitical and geo-economic strategies that are of particular interest to certain countries. Cooperation does not have an institutional commitment beyond a specific situation. An example of this is reflected in the "Agencies"¹ that the great powers have in developing countries with the aim of investing their surplus income in development programs and projects that have been shown to be linked to socio-economic, political or even military strategies (Malamud, 2012).

Within **regionalism** we refer to a broader concept in which the tendency to create regions in specific areas is excluded. In other words, this is the basis for understanding regional integration (De Lombaerde, Söderbaum, 2013). Here one can speak of a political commitment to organize the world in terms of regions, which is why in his theories he refers to the "Latin American region", "the European region", "the North American region" and others.

Regionalization is already considered an effective process that fosters dynamics or behavioral patterns of cooperation, integration, complementarity or convergence. These countries usually share a geographical space that may or may not be transnational (De Lombaerde, Söderbaum, 2013). Nor can regionalization be conceived as a project that poses greater institutional commitments within the countries that form the integration.

And as a last concept we have "**regioness**" which is defined more as a multidimensional result, which is already acquiring a commitment grounded in patterns of formality, including legal formality. This process is seen as an evolutionary logic that is formalized in all possible areas in order to be able to share decisions across countries. It aims at creating a community with a specific identity (De Lombaerde, Söderbaum, 2013).

With these different concepts in mind, it will be easier to understand integration from its different approaches. Integration is shown as a complementary human development instrument through which countries with little influence in international politics or economy try to unite their efforts to achieve a more significant participation in the world scenario. Regional integration contemplates different dimensions that study its development, in the political aspect we find the order of governance and the approach of interests of the political leaders of the states that are involved. On the economic side, it is linked to globalization and the capacity of states to participate in world trade as a result of the opening up and free trade that has been developing since the Second World War.

From the legal or political perspective, it is linked to the international order and public international law in which binding agreements between states are proposed and conditions are created so that these countries that are integrated can share regulations, legal acts or legislation, which can be supranational in nature (Acharya, 2007).

The social aspect covers the behavior generated by societies that, despite belonging to different countries, create a dynamic that makes decision-making by political leaders and social demand

¹ International agencies or organizations were created with the purpose of intervening in underdeveloped countries, from different economic and social areas. They present themselves as neutral institutions committed to development. Some that can be mentioned are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), of the International Labor Organization (ILO), of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Additionally, regional organizations were created for Latin America, such as the OAS (Organization of American States).

conducive to a more de facto integration. That is, simply social activities will demonstrate that there is integration between citizens in a continuous geographical area.

Therefore, this multidimensionality of issues is closely linked, integration is thus a political fact that can be implemented in economic and legal form, which has relevant impacts on the social level. It is important to note that the political dimension is often underlain by economic and social dimensions, which crystallize the legal dimension. (Mariscal, 2003)

In this way, based on contemporary times, integration has adapted a different orientation to become more complex in relation to the affinity that countries have with each other, as well as the desire of the different regions at a global level to show themselves as a bloc of integration, cooperation and economic development.

In certain regions, the blocs that have been formed have been efficient in meeting the objectives that have been set out since their creation. The positive effects of integration have encouraged other countries around the world to take a turn towards economic integration, which is immersed in politics, which harmonizes trade policies between the countries that form part of a specific bloc.

This is no easy task. The fact that integration has transcended to this point makes it an issue of interest for countries that seek integration every day, as it could now be a synonym for economic development. Regional and global integration has allowed for progress and advantages in several countries or regions, since by developing their objectives in an efficient way it has positively increased the levels of economy, development and cooperation.

8.2 *Economic integration: levels of integration*

The contemporary state faces two types of scenarios: fragmentation and integration. The former has fundamentally political causes and is related to the revival of sub-state nationalisms; the latter is based on primarily economic motivations associated with the process of globalization. Thus, at the global level, economic integration is currently predominant, which in a way is directly linked to growth and development.

Regional economic integration is based on a process which aims to ensure that a group of countries that have decided to integrate can progressively eliminate the discrimination that may exist between these economically independent units, the objective of this process is to form a new economic unit resulting from the merger of the different economic spheres so that the integration process is strengthened (Basaldúa, 2004).

From the economic perspective, this process implies the generation of certain steps to follow that will help to achieve greater integration, although it is true that the different blocs and initiatives have not developed their process in an orderly manner, in some way they have reached the same result in a different order. In reality, this process can be carried out with parts of one stage and another. It is important to emphasize that in economic integration, the priority is not the way in which institutions are organized, but rather the way in which economies are liberalized vis-à-vis the states that make up an integration process.

These stages or levels of integration occur in principle with a **preferential trade agreement**, which is similar to the generalized system of preferences established by the United Nations for developing countries. This dictates that the world powers can grant a preferential system in which there is a reduction or cancellation of tariffs on imports of certain products from certain countries, which is why it could be said to be a bilateral agreement. In which this decision expects compensation and recognizes that products from certain countries can enter a territory without being discriminated against, either in a tariff or non-tariff manner.

The next level is the **free trade area** which consists of the disappearance of tariffs for products from integrated countries, however, tariffs are still maintained for countries outside the free trade area

which we could exemplify with the T-MEC, CAFTA, among others. These are treaties that establish a list of products that will be liberalized so that they can be traded without duties, including a dispute settlement mechanism at the international level.

Following this we have the **customs union** that is considered a free trade area, which in addition to eliminating tariff barriers between member states, establishes a common external tariff that is applied to third parties. This level of integration is very efficient to determine equitable conditions and avoid the problem of “trade diversion”. This is the level at which MERCOSUR is located, however, the word “imperfect” has been added to it. Imperfect customs union². (Ycaza & Ycaza Valdez De Emen, 2017).

The common market enjoys the free movement of goods, services and factors of production such as labor and capital. In addition to the application of comparative advantages and economies of scale, common policies are established. This level of integration implies ceding certain aspects of sovereignty, so it is necessary to create supranational institutions and bodies to ensure and guarantee the viability of this structure in the economy. At this integrative point, states no longer have the capacity to manage certain policies individually, but all members must participate. It is therefore important to delegate everything to do with the common market to a specific institutional framework with specific competencies (Basaldúa, 2004).

The CARICOM Single Market and Economy is an example, as a worker moving in another member state can work freely and legally in another. An example of a common policy can be seen in the "European Union's agricultural policy"³

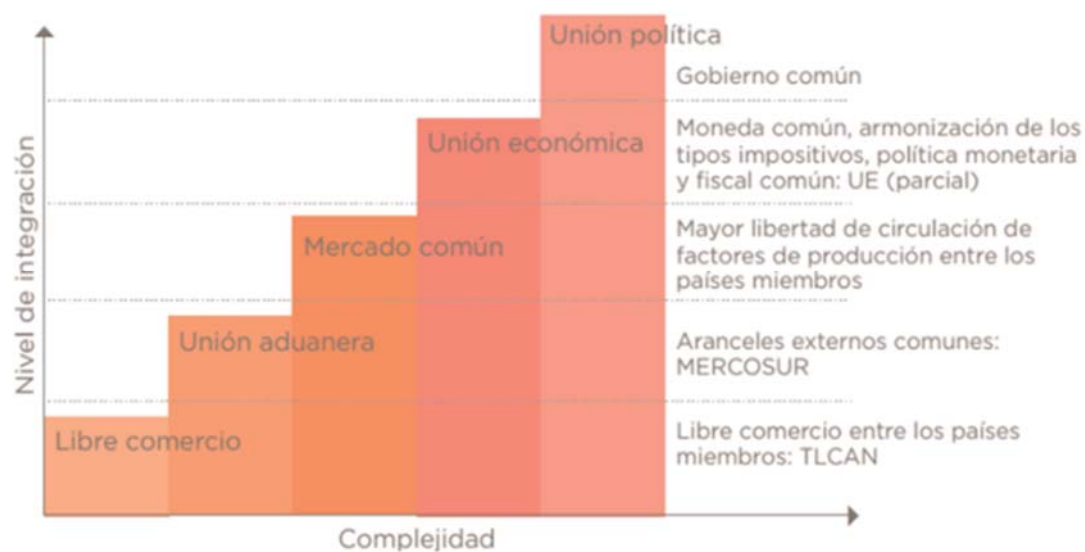
The next stage is **the economic union**, which is shown as a common market and adds the harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies of the member states, a harmonization of public policies. At this level, the transfer of sovereignty is superior to the common market, since by adopting a common currency, the member countries are subject to a common monetary discipline to keep the exchange rate within the authorized margins, as is the case of the euro in some EU countries. However, fiscal policies have not been fully harmonized.

Finally, **political union or full economic** integration represents the complete ceding of sovereignty, unification of monetary, fiscal, and social policies. It requires the establishment of a supranational authority whose decisions are binding on member states. Such a political union is found only within nation states, such as federations in which a central government and regions endowed with certain levels of autonomy coexist, another important feature to note is the sense of identity and belonging shared by its members. The creation of the United States is a case in point (Basaldúa, 2004).

² On December 31, 1994, an imperfect customs union was formed between the four Mercosur countries that allows free movement between the member states of almost all products with a common external tariff that also covers almost all production.

³ The PAC was created in 1962 with the following objectives: to support farmers and improve agricultural productivity, ensuring a stable supply of affordable food; guarantee farmers in the European Union a reasonable standard of living; contribute to the fight against climate change and the sustainable management of natural resources; preserve landscapes and rural areas across the EU; keep the rural economy alive, boosting employment in agriculture, agri-food industries and associated sectors.

Figure 1. Bar chart on levels of integration and their complexity



Source: Vargas, H. (2016). APRENDIENDO SOBRE ACUERDOS COMERCIALES REGIONALES E INTEGRACIÓN. “Universidad Dr, José Matías Delgado”. San Salvador, El Salvador.

After having reviewed the different terms and levels to understand regional and economic integration, it is necessary to explain in a timely manner the economic policies that the integration initiatives have chosen when developing their objectives, since the economic policy they choose will be closely related to their model. of development, so it will briefly explain what the policies that predominate in Latin America consist of and how they operate.

8.3 Economic policies: protectionism and openness

Economic policy can be defined as the deliberate exercise of the legitimate powers of the state. In other words, the state, in its capacity as a regulatory body with the power legally granted to it, exercises certain actions which are carried out through the manipulation of various instruments, such as taxes. This is done in order to achieve socio-economic objectives, such as: reducing inflation, promoting sustainable economic growth, improving exports, growing national industry, strengthening social cohesion and improving the country's overall trade balance.

Throughout history, countries have traded with each other, usually to source products or services that certain countries do not have, and this has proved to be a positive aspect as it represents extra income for the state, which would not be obtained from local industry. However, in contrast to this, it is also evident that countries are not only producing products, but also importing products that already exist in the domestic market. This is a question that arises when analyzing the economy of each country and the doctrine they have adopted to achieve the aforementioned objectives. We will refer to two specific economic doctrines or policies: protectionism and openness.

8.4 *Openness*

On the one hand, we have openness or free trade, which considers that markets should be open to trade between nations.

This doctrine arose in Great Britain in the 19th century, as they were the first nation in the world to begin the process of industrialization, which encouraged their production to grow considerably. As a result, when they generated a surplus in the domestic market, they found it necessary to sell their products to different countries around the world. Historically, it could be said that this nation was the pioneer of openness to trade with the world without restrictions. (Buitrago, 2009).

Openness has positive aspects for those who put it into practice, for small countries that have managed to create efficient companies that reach a larger market where they can sell their products. However, among the disadvantages is the direct competition that exists, because allowing the entry of products that are already manufactured in the country implies competition between companies. (Buitrago, 2009).

If the national industry is not well solidified or does not generate innovation plans, it will suffer great losses or, in the case of small, nascent or inefficient industries, they will disappear. It should also be taken into account that depending on the country of origin of the product and the trade agreements in place, the consumer will have a wide variety when choosing a product, and in this type of situation the foreign product is often cheaper.

8.5 *Protectionism*

On the other hand, we have protectionism, which considers that domestic industry must be protected by preventing the entry of foreign products. In this way, direct competition that could have a negative impact on the domestic industry will be avoided. One of the consequences of protectionism is that other countries also adopt this doctrine, which means that the products and companies of a protectionist country do not have access to large markets.

Historically, protectionism arose in Germany during the 17th century, with the thinking of the philosopher Friedrich List, who considered that Germany should protect its industry from Great Britain, so he did not conceive those goods from this country should circulate freely in Germany until its industry was competitive, since it was not possible to compete with an economy that had already reached high levels of industrialization. Thus, he decided that domestic industry should be protected.

Protectionism uses different instruments to protect industry. The best known worldwide is the tariff. This is a tax paid by the company that imports a product so that it does not enter the country at a lower price and thus does not affect the domestic market (Chiatchoua, Castillo, Santibañez et. al. 2019).

In this way, it could be concluded that protectionism acts under the following arguments: protecting national jobs, preventing and protecting against unfair competition, promoting respect for the environment because it is cheaper to produce by polluting on a large scale and, finally, protecting national industry; in certain cases, there could be temporary protectionism, in which the domestic market is protected until it has reached an adequate size and a certain degree of competitiveness to face large foreign industries (Chiatchoua, Castillo, Santibañez et. al. 2019). This was evident in the trade agreement signed by Ecuador with the European Union, which established "quotas" for dairy products. These quotas are established for a certain period of time, during which the domestic industry is strengthened.

Therefore, openness and protectionist policies have evolved over time; it could be said that since the 1980s, the world has taken a more openness position. As China, which is one of the most influential markets in the world, has abandoned communism to embrace capitalism, many factories located in Europe and North America have moved to Asia in general in order to reduce production costs, considering the cheapness of labor in this region. At the same time, this has led to more and more tariff privileges and increased international trade for products from Asia. However, it is worth mentioning the case of the United States when, in 2016, with the arrival of President Donald Trump,

the US economy took a turn towards protectionism. Under the criticized slogan "America First", which sought to return industry and offshored employment to the United States, which in a certain way had expanded throughout the world during the globalization stage. (Chiatoua, Castillo, Santibañez et. al 2019).

This debate between these two economic policies is an issue that has been discussed historically and is still of interest today. The world's major powers have adapted the two depending on the type of government in power.

9 Literature review

9.1 *Latin American Integration*

As mentioned above, regional integration can be defined as the process in which contemporary states, with the intention to integrate and develop, voluntarily mix, merge and merge with their neighboring countries. Thus, they cede features of their sovereignty and in turn adapt new techniques and development models to solve social, economic and political problems together. For this, the different regions have generated specific planning in terms of the way they operate as a bloc, creating supranational organizations and institutions. These will help to achieve and strengthen the objectives set out from the outset. (Zelada, 2005)

In the specific case of Latin America, the integration process has not been easy due to many factors that are visible to the world.

While it is true that many of the integration processes carried out in the region are still only a bloc that does not generate specific actions, there are also economic communities that have managed to consolidate and develop their main objectives (Zelada, 2005). Of the existing institutions in Latin America, it is important to differentiate between those initiatives that are advancing (Pacific Alliance), those that remain stable (CELAC, Mercosur, SICA, CAN) and those that have entered into an existential crisis (ALBA and UNASUR). Several experts point out that these Latin American integration initiatives are linked to many challenges, risks and discrepancies. Thus, Mercosur and the Pacific Alliance enter into controversy in this article.

One of the main impediments and problems encountered when integrating Latin America is that there is no clear definition of what is to be integrated, be it South America, Latin America or the American continent in general, nor what would be the perfect strategy for doing so. Each time new organizations are created that represent spending and investment but do not have clear objectives.

Likewise, Latin American economies are burdened with prehistoric factors that have conditioned them to peripheral development under an extractivist model, dependence on raw materials and extreme economic and financial dependence on the great world powers, which in a certain way have confused dependence as a synonym for economic manipulation.

Added to this is an international context that today has developed a "trade war" of new forms of unilateral protectionist policies and repositioning in the foreign policy of the great powers, creating great uncertainty about multilateral rules and agreements (Zelada, 2005).

Also, a very controversial issue is the asymmetry of economies between the different countries in the region. These are very marked and notorious since the way of financing and generating profits is not the same in all of them. For example, CARICOM shares the integration of countries with similar economies. This could be said to be based on tourism. This is not the case for the other countries in the region, which focus their economies on different markets, and tend to have asymmetries in terms of their development and success.

As a consequence of the aforementioned, Latin America, far from being an integrated region, has joined efforts in initiatives that have not shown results and that impact on intra-regional relations.

This is in addition to the significant imbalances in South America between Brazil and the rest of the region. This, a consequence of the lack of regional identity, since they do not share a common language, and in some ways their colonization model was different, is what has made it difficult for them to congregate with the other countries in the region. This has complicated not only Brazil's leadership, to the extent that it wants to play a leading role, but also the institutionalization of organizations such as Unasur and Mercosur.

Under an organized regime and with political will on the part of governments, Latin America is a region that can still achieve development cooperation through natural resources, having as an advantage the historical cleavage shared by most countries. Considering that contemporary trading partners such as China and the European Union make Latin America and the Caribbean visible as a region and seek to negotiate regional agreements (Acharya, 2007).

Despite the differences, the comparison of Latin American integration with the European model has been a constant debate due to the fact that several speakers highlight the European Union as the most advanced integration process at the global level. However, the differences that exist between these two regions have not been taken into account, so that the same form of integration could not be adopted. Doing so could have negative repercussions on Latin America's regional governance and bi-regional relations. Although attempts have been made to integrate Latin America, it remains a difficult task for those who dream of it, as supranationality, considered one of the most important factors when it comes to merging interests between states, often does not work in practice.

And this is one of the biggest problems that Latin American institutions have experienced, as member states representing diverse national interests continue to have great influence and there is a certain tendency towards nationalism.

9.2 *Exhibition of the development and economic model between the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur*

9.2.1 *Two economic communities of great impact in Latin America*

9.3 *Mercosur: A historical perspective*

Mercosur was created in 1991 on the initiative of Brazil and Argentina, who recognized themselves as potential partners in the 1980s, in an attempt to leave behind the era of military dictatorships. They developed a context of great expectation for Latin American integration that brought with it the ALADI, which was one of the main impulses for Latin American countries to start talking about the possible creation of economic cooperation agreements, since it was a forum for discussion and countries began to try to form regional trade agreements.

In the 1990s, Argentina and Brazil were in a period of economic abundance due to their degree of industrialization, which led to the initiative to link up, as they were the most powerful countries in the region, while the other Latin American countries were either living under dictatorships or emerging from them. As a result, these two countries recognized each other as trading partners and sought a growth model that favored their recovered democracies, wanting to leave dictatorships in the past.

Thus, in 1991, the Treaty of Asunción was created, in which Mercosur was formed and Uruguay and Paraguay joined.

In the particular case of Brazil, its initial interest in forming Mercosur was to seek external support for its structural economic development plans, understanding integration without major challenges and as a function of its internal economic policy. In other words, Mercosur began as another tool for Brazil's unilateral development and to continue growing its economy, given that it has a protectionist

economic policy in which 41% of its GDP belongs to internal consumption, everything it produces it consumes and sells its surpluses to small countries.

In 1994, the Ouro Preto Protocol was signed, which was established as a complement to the Treaty of Asunción. Mercosur defined its institutionality and attained legal personality in the international context, while at the same time generating the ambition of becoming an imperfect customs union. In this context, Mercosur had already acquired sovereignty as a single entity and began to negotiate on a large scale, signing a bilateral agreement with Chile. However, they are not part of this as they entered into a process of economic liberalization and investment.

In the late 1990s, Latin America's economic and financial problems led the main economic base countries to adopt unilateral measures to protect their economies and defend national interests. As a result, the trade they had achieved declined, tariffs, agreements and treaties were violated, and they began to lose credibility.

In 1999 Brazil went through a severe crisis from which it managed to recover thanks to economic strategies. Argentina was on the verge of adopting the dollar as its currency, which strongly affected Mercosur, as it directly attacked its institutional image. Conflicts arose between member countries as well as within each one. It took years for Mercosur to recover and consolidate what had been set out in its initial objectives.

Currently, Mercosur enjoys great advantages and progress for all its member countries, highlighting its potential in the most diverse areas. Within its territory of almost 15 million km² it has a great variety of natural riches and treasures that humanity possesses: biodiversity, energy resources and territory suitable for work.

However, its greatest wealth lies in its people, since thanks to a population of over 295 million people, it possesses an invaluable heritage of cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, which coexists peacefully, making Mercosur a region of cooperation and development (Basaldua, 2004).

9.4 *The Pacific Alliance: A historical perspective*

The Pacific Alliance was created as a multilateral economic and development initiative between four Latin American nations: Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru. It was formed on 28 April 2011, aimed at promoting regional economic integration among the four member countries. From that moment until today, the Alliance has become the matrix of an innovative and nascent way of doing business in the region.

Unlike other mechanisms that have been created in Latin America, the Pacific Alliance has opted for an open regionalism scheme, with the objective of promoting and fostering policies that increase economic competitiveness. This type of economic regionalism favors a more openness in the international economy, which is why the members of the Pacific Alliance have joined forces to achieve the free mobility of goods, services and labor.

It is clear that, as in other integration initiatives at a global level, what is important when developing them is the articulation of forces beyond territorial borders.

Since its beginnings, the Pacific Alliance has shown itself to be a social, political, economic, cooperation and integration articulation that seeks to achieve greater growth and competitiveness in the four member economies. The members of the Pacific Alliance, since the initiative was formed, are sure and confident that this will materialize through a progressive advance in the free circulation of goods, services, capital and people.

While objectives and interests are united and strengthened within the Alliance, there is an alternative work to turn the bloc into a world power of business and opportunities. This is why it has set as one of its main markets of interest the Asia-Pacific rim, one of the key regions for the global economy. Only teamwork will develop projects and initiatives that will foster continuous and efficient growth.

It is currently made up of 26 teams divided into topics such as Trade Facilitation and Customs Cooperation, experts who audit and analyses the proposals of the Pacific Alliance Business Council, SMEs, Services and Capital, as well as the technical groups of Environment and Green Growth, the subgroup of the Authorized Economic Operator (AEO), among others.

Thus, we can see that the Pacific Alliance is one of the most efficient economic integration initiatives in the region, and to date it has shown solidity, stability and performance in the consolidation of the bloc as it continues to strengthen and serve as an example for the region.

9.5 *Exposition of the advantages and disadvantages of these two economic communities*

Although Latin America has had an arduous process with obstacles at the time of integration, it is important to highlight some of its most important initiatives that have created a nascent sense of integration. It is important to highlight some of its most important initiatives that in some ways have created a nascent sense of integration. Among them are the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which represents dialogue and agreements, the South American Union of Nations (Unasur) and the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), which are the most relevant cooperation initiatives in the South of the region, while the Latin American Integration System (SICA), the Caribbean Community (Caricom) and NAFTA between Canada, the United States and Mexico are the blocs in the North. ALBA and the Pacific Alliance unite geographically distant but politically similar economies. It is also worth noting the important political role that the Organization of American States (OAS) continues to play at the hemispheric level.

We will now turn to an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the two blocs. We will focus on MERCOSUR and the Pacific Alliance and on the realities of these two economic communities, which, although they are stably consolidated, and which are both claiming to be moving towards a bright future, have two different perspectives since their creation, which has led them to take different paths in terms of their development model. However, it could be said that they share common objectives, especially those related to economic development and achieving equitable growth in their economies. At least bureaucratically this is expected, although in practice this may vary.

The positive and negative aspects of these two blocs will be presented, which will help us to have a more objective view of them, and thus be able to determine whether Ecuador would benefit from joining either of them.

Ecuador is currently seeking to join the Pacific Alliance based on a number of fronts and interests, including the integration of the financial sectors and capital markets. As well as the desire to improve the country's technological and industrial development. It is expected that Ecuador will become the fifth member this year, but this will depend on some political aspects of the Colombian government and the positions and modifications adopted by Chile with its new constitution. But not only that, it is also of great importance to form trade agreements with Mexico, which is part of the Alliance and ends up being one of the most powerful members. Ecuador is expected to sign the trade agreement with Mexico, since trade relations with Peru, Colombia and Chile are consolidated through the Andean Community and with Chile through another agreement.

With regard to Mercosur and its relationship with Ecuador, in 2012, Ecuador was processing its initiative to become a member, which is why it activated the accession process with its respective process. However, the current government analyzed the different aspects that would be significant for Ecuador in view of its entry, as it was considered that they are very skeptical of Free Trade Agreements (FTA), bilateral treaties for the reciprocal protection of investments (BIT), considering these as the fundamental basis for the stability of the countries. Under this concept, Brazil has not signed a single one, but the countries that have done so have suffered serious damage.

It was also pointed out that Ecuador's problem is that it does not have a national currency, so the opportunities and risks of joining the Mercosur bloc would have to be carefully weighed, since not owning the currency would make us less competitive in other markets.

Under these points of view, Ecuador decided not to be part of Mercosur, as an alternative means in 2014 decided to sign a strategic partnership agreement with the European Union, which is maintained to date.

In this context, the use of two descriptive tables⁴ has been considered pertinent, in which the negative and positive aspects of these two blocs will be presented, highlighting the most important and relevant ones.

⁴ The information obtained to elaborate these tables was previously selected from their official pages and books of economic analysts who have carried out a study of these two blocks. The information can be reviewed in the following links.
http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/10915/85111/Documento_completo.pdf-PDFA.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, www.alianzapacifico.net, <https://www.mercosur.int/>, World Economic Outlook Database - IMF (2014)

Table 1. Comparative table of the advantages and disadvantages of Mercosur

Vantages	Disadvantages
Represents the 5th largest economy in the world	In the beginning, Brazil imposed its national interests over regional ones.
Equal treatment and civil rights in terms of labor legislation, remuneration, working conditions and social security for member citizens.	There is constant non-compliance with agreements or they do not enter into force.
Coordination of macroeconomic policies between countries, which forms economic stability.	Venezuela, which is a constituted member, is suspended due to its political and social problems.
Residence agreement for citizens to have free movement between countries. Mercosur VISA.	They based their start on a trade policy that satisfied Brazil.
Some harmonization of their legislation, thus consolidating a higher level of integration.	Excessive dependence on political cycles and affinities between governments.
Consolidation of commercial, political, scientific, cultural and academic relations in order to achieve greater competitiveness at a global level.	Agreements are discussed, but there is a lack of consensus to sign them. As a result, they do not become official.
Economic and social strengthening of member countries.	Uruguay and Paraguay have become dependent on the bloc, so their economies would be severely affected if they left. Certain agreements are rearranged with more exceptions depending on individual interests.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2. Comparative table of the advantages and disadvantages of Pacific Alliance

Ventages	Disadvantages
<p>Accounts for 58.8% of total trade in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2020. Attracts 52.7% of foreign direct investment in Latin America and the Caribbean.</p>	<p>Lack of institutionality</p>
<p>In global terms, it is the eighth largest economic and exporting power in the world.</p>	<p>It has not been able to increase its size by not incorporating new members.</p>
<p>Facilitates the deepening of regional relations without generating tensions with third countries or other regional groups.</p>	<p>It is believed that it will weaken employment and that some sectors will be affected, taking Colombia's agricultural sector as an example.</p>
<p>With the participation of Canada, Australia and Spain as observer countries, as well as China and the United States. With the acceptance of Turkey and South Korea, the Pacific Alliance has 20 observer countries.</p>	<p>If it is a question of reaching out to Asia, opponents of this integration claim that these countries have higher productivity than Colombia and Peru, which would put national producers at a disadvantage.</p>
<p>The Pacific Alliance does not exclude other integration processes. It does not exclude or eliminate the work of other regional groups and is open to observation and collaboration with them.</p>	<p>Lack of inclusion vis-à-vis other countries in the region.</p>
<p>It is open to informative dialogue with Mercosur and to academic activities.</p>	<p>The Pacific Alliance prioritizes Mexico's participation because it is a very powerful bridge to Asia-Pacific, which would put it at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the other members.</p>
<p>The Pacific Alliance does not exclude other integration processes. It does not exclude or eliminate the work of other regional groups and is open to observation and collaboration with them.</p>	<p>It is considered that the results do not correspond to the expectations generated by its creation.</p>

Source: Own elaboration

10 Method

In order to carry out this article, qualitative methods will be used for optimal research, both in literature review and interviews to professionals and academics with high knowledge on the subject. Interviews will be used as tools to collect qualitative data and information, as different topics will be addressed, which will be explored in depth as the interview progresses. This article will carry out a comparative analysis of the economic model and integration of the economic communities of the Pacific Alliance and MERCOSUR: the case of Ecuador, should it decide to join one of them. It will address issues related to: integration, Latin American integration, economics, integration models, the Ecuadorian economy, and the CAN. The academics to be interviewed belong to the following institutions: Universidad del Azuay, Universidad Estatal, Centro Andino de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar Sede Ecuador, Universidad de Chile.

Qualitative interviews with general and contrasting questions will be used, taking into account the characteristics based on the book *Research Methodologies* written by Hernández-Sampieri (2013), which specifies that interviews have the ability to be flexible with the participants, Therefore, those that will be used will be semi-structured interviews that are based on a guide of topics or questions in which when interviewing the different participants as interviewer I will have the freedom to introduce additional questions to clarify concepts and obtain more information if necessary, since depending on the different perspectives of the academics new questions will arise. The open-ended interviews are based on a general content guide and the interviewer has the flexibility to handle it. All the recommendations in the interview structure proposed by Sampier (2013) will be taken into account, as well as all the specific methods when interviewing academics following the order of formulation for a good qualitative interview.

As for the literature review, it will be based on the search for information from different articles that have been published on the topic to be addressed, as well as articles related to the economic development model of the Pacific Alliance and MERCOSUR, which will provide significant results that will be sifted to achieve an efficient contrast between these two economic communities, as well as tables and an analysis of comparison and contrast of the two blocks, which will help to develop more effectively the advantages and disadvantages for the evaluation of the possible entry of Ecuador into these.

Therefore, with the structuring of the research and the interviews to be conducted with the different academics, a comparative analysis of the agreement and economic development model will be elaborated, in which different aspects will be identified before the possible entry of Ecuador into these economic communities and a characterization of these will be constructed, covering their functionality, development, commercial tools, commercial agreements, advantages, disadvantages, among other aspects.

11 Results and Discussion

Comparative analysis of the two blocks: Background and considerations

After having carried out a bibliographical review of these two blocks, understanding the context of the Latin American integration, together with its different actors, drawbacks and objectives, it is important to highlight aspects that influence Latin America's integration initiatives.

One of the region's main objectives is to complement each other, which is why economic integration has been linked to different development strategies, as can be seen in the different proposals formulated by ECLAC. However, the process of achieving an integrative consolidation of the region has not been easy; in fact, it is still a process that is developing with different advantages and disadvantages.

After having interviewed different academics with great knowledge on the subject, most of them have agreed on a reform of the development structure in Latin America, that is, the asymmetry that

exists between the countries causes notable disadvantages at the time of integration since Not being at the same level of social and economic development, the highly industrialized countries tend to absorb the smaller ones. Therefore, it is important to take into account aspects such as promoting the development of small countries under the creation of legalized and institutionalized academic institutions, investment in education and research, implementation of technology and training to improve the productive matrix, better control by anti-corruption organizations and the important development of value chains. This is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges in Latin America, the equitable emergence of its countries.

Likewise, under the historical context it is very important to highlight the appearance of "regionalism" as a concept that goes beyond the integrative conceptualization that exists, since it encompasses terms such as consultation and cooperation, which are of fundamental importance to the time to create objectives that benefit everyone, partially setting aside economic integration and including issues of politics, migration, infrastructure and social problems.

Latin America is undoubtedly an important region in the global context, its wide biodiversity and cultural heritage make it unique. It is also important to consider one of the most criticized factors in history related to dependence on raw materials, which is not entirely detrimental as it generates employment for millions of people. Although it is true that since its beginnings it has adapted models, ideological currents and policies from the rest of the world, over time it has been shown that it is not possible to integrate Latin America in the same way as Europe, for example. The European Union, being a reference and for many a model in terms of the construction of an international region, has shown great progress in economic and institutional matters, which has worked well in its development, despite not being free of problems. However, we cannot expect Latin America to behave in a similar way. The European Union should not be taken as a model to imitate, but rather as a reference and adopt its own strategic model of integration and development.

Next, these two blocks of relevance in the region will be analyzed. The Pacific Alliance with its recent formation attached to an openness model and Mercosur an initiative with a long history with a protectionist model.

11.1 Comparison of agreement models and the international context

If we compare the agreement and treaties of both blocks, it is possible to show that Mercosur has as its objective "The free movement of goods, services and productive factors between countries through, among others, the elimination of customs duties and non-tariff restrictions on the circulation of merchandise and any other equivalent measure." (Treaty of Asunción, article 1); on the other hand, the Pacific Alliance states: "Liberalize the commercial exchange of goods and services, with a view to consolidating a free trade area between the Parties" (Pacific Alliance Framework Agreement, 2011)

Contrasting these two articles, the first differences since their institutionalization can be evidenced. On the one hand, we have Mercosur, an initiative with a long history and experience, which has led it to have a strong institutional framework where all its members have combined objectives and interests to have an apparatus among many institutions created in order to better manage the block.

In contrast, the Pacific Alliance, being a relatively recent initiative, has had high expectations since its foundation. It has currently demonstrated economic stability and technological development; however, there has been no tangible evidence of cooperation and solid institutions, except for the council of presidents and foreign trade ministers, but with no intention of going any deeper.

One of the most relevant characteristics when comparing these two blocs is that both obeyed different models since their creation. Mercosur began with a vision of open regionalism encouraged by ECLAC in its development strategy, which promoted the dynamisation of inter-regional trade. One of its advantages is that it is made up of two of the three largest economies in Latin America (Brazil and Argentina), which allows it to have a demanding and efficient type of production. While

the Pacific Alliance was born in the midst of a vision of post-liberal regionalism⁵, which prioritizes political vision and strength over trade, this initiative is a response to post-hegemonic regionalism⁶ with an emphasis on trade that moves away from open regionalism. It opts to maintain treaties with competing markets. For example, it has treaties with the United States, which is beneficial as it not only allows them to converge, but also to compete. Taking into account that Mexico is the most industrialized, Chile could be the next most industrialized country, but they would not be on a level playing field.

These two blocs have different orientations since their objectives are aimed at different specifications. Mercosur aims to be a bloc with a homogeneous policy, while the Pacific Alliance emphasizes the free movement of capital. Mercosur also aims for integration based on a common policy, which makes it a very ideological bloc, and this could be seen as a disadvantage when opening up to the external market. One of the limitations is that members cannot trade unilaterally with other countries, but must do so as a bloc. An example of this is Uruguay, which has caused controversy for achieving structural change, as they seek an individual policy in order to be able to negotiate with China (Villaruel, 2021). For Uruguay, this progress could mean a new structuring of its trade, however, it is important to highlight that within integration, the moment in which countries acquire more autonomy, they lose strength as a bloc. As a result, Mercosur has put obstacles in the way and reformulated external protection.

This is not the case with the Pacific Alliance, which, by focusing its efforts on trade, has left political ideologies to one side. As a result, countries with different ideologies have been combined and focused on opening up trade between them. However, it is perceived as a commercial platform with a lack of institutionality, as it does not have an internal policy that supervises the objectives that are taken together, nor its development. This is seen as a threat to maintaining stability, as it is necessary to analyze the deepening of integration, given that Latin America's productive structure is so similar and it would make no sense to liberalize tariffs if they continue to produce the same products. It is also necessary to establish supranational spaces that allow for the generation of markets and complementary economies.

11.2 *Economic characteristics of both blocks for their development*

One of the main characteristics of these two blocs is that both have as members the countries that represent the largest economies in Latin America. If we combine these two blocs, they represent around 80% of the Latin American economy (ECLAC, 2018).

For its part, Mercosur contributes a very significant demographic and economic weight, while the Pacific Alliance represents the largest contribution in terms of regional foreign trade. These two blocs have demonstrated economic stability since their creation, although they have different development bases, their main objectives have developed over time. However, there has also been a certain disparity within the blocs, since, as mentioned above, both are a combination of large, medium and small economies, which to a certain extent has obscured the "equitable" development that is sought. On the Mercosur side, Brazil is currently its largest economy, which has benefited from the trade relations that the bloc has brought it, as well as creating a certain dependence on the smaller countries (UNECLAC, 2014). It could be mentioned that Argentina is one of the most powerful countries, however, the strong political and economic turmoil it has experienced has weakened it within the bloc and in the international arena. As for the Pacific Alliance, Mexico has shown itself to be the most powerful country economically and demographically, followed by Chile, which has achieved a notorious industrial development in the region. For the other countries that are

⁵ Post-liberal regionalism is redefined in terms of national sovereignty as an instrument of internal governance, concern for social dimensions and asymmetries in terms of levels of development. (Sanahuja 2010: 96)

⁶ Some authors such as Pía Riggirozzi and Diana Tussie define it as post-hegemonic regionalism, marking the end of a stage of primacy of a single integration model and the beginning of another where there are no single recipes to implement.

relatively inferior, this has meant competition in terms of production and industrialization. Although disparities are more homogeneous in the Pacific Alliance, this is due to the extreme dependence that Brazil has generated in Uruguay and Paraguay.

In terms of the form of development, Mercosur, with its protectionist model, and the Pacific Alliance, with its openness model, are based on two different thoughts and doctrines. In the case of Mercosur, it has been immersed in creating joint trade relations in order to maintain its strength as a bloc, and it is evident that it is in a constant debate as to whether its members could negotiate bilaterally. This has been one of the great challenges, as it was not until 2019 that an instrument was created that specifies trade facilitation. This allowed some members to implement bilateral instruments outside the bloc, such as the free trade agreements signed by Chile with three of its members (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay), while maintaining the validity of the Chile-Mercosur ECA No. 35 (Villaruel, 2021). Many criticize this type of trade facilitation since the treaties that were established at the creation of Mercosur provided for a free trade area, a customs union and a common market. In contrast, the Pacific Alliance under an open economy establishes a more liberal trade relationship, in which trade is the most important thing within the bloc so there are not so many restrictions when negotiating, which is why they have adhered to the Additional Protocol to trade facilitation, signed in 2014 and in force since 2016, so that countries maintain bilateral free trade agreements containing rules on trade facilitation. In this sense, it is understandable that the Pacific Alliance takes the lead in terms of free trade as it has efficiently developed its Single Windows for Foreign Trade (SWFTA)⁷, resulting in a more homogeneous perspective in the bloc. This is the result of having signed the Additional Protocol to the Pacific Alliance Framework Agreement, in which if we review article 5.9 on Trade Facilitation, it establishes its intention to advance interoperability.

11.3 A possible convergence between the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur: productive integration

One of the questions that arose during the development of this article is the possibility of a solid convergence of these two blocs, which, despite being so distant in their trade policies and ideologies, share similar economies, so that working together could be an advantage for the region. This has already moved from discourse to practice as it has been gradually developing over the last few years. The first Summit between the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur took place in Puerto Vallarta in 2018. In this protocol, a variety of topics of interest, mostly economic and social, were discussed (ECLAC, 2018). This summit marked an important event as it established the possibility of productive integration between these blocs, which I believe would be of great economic relevance for the region. It addressed issues such as: Non-tariff barriers, Trade Facilitation, Global Value Chains and Accumulation of Origin, Regulatory Cooperation, Trade Promotion and MSMEs, Facilitation of Trade in Services, Digital Agenda, Inclusive Trade and Gender, Exchange of experiences in academic mobility, Tourism, Culture, Mobility of People. (Pacific Alliance, 2021).

The aim of this action plan is to establish a link that reaffirms the interest in establishing cooperation ties and implementing economic and trade relations in areas of common interest, with the objective of achieving regional integration, considering the opportunities and challenges brought about by globalization (ECLAC, 2018). However, Mercosur, with its restrictions, has not allowed these agreements to go beyond the discourse, as it continues to prioritize the politicization of all areas of the bloc, leaving the economic and trade agenda in the background, which gives it a political imprint (Peyrani & Geffner, 2013).

Although this type of convergence between the blocs would be a process of advantages and disagreements, the positive aspects could be highlighted. However, leaving aside the political conjunctures that characterize Mercosur, this is a long and arduous road that will have to continue

⁷ The Parties will implement and strengthen their Single Windows for Foreign Trade (hereinafter referred to as "VUCE") to speed up and facilitate trade, and must guarantee interoperability between them, in order to exchange information that speeds up trade and allows the Parties, among others, verify the information of foreign trade operations carried out. For this purpose, the Parties establish Annex 5.9.

exploring and facing great challenges, the initiative of a possible convergence between Mercosur and the Pacific Alliance represents Mercosur going through a series of reforms that will allow for true integration and greater development. In short, there is an initiative and desire that somehow has yet to make substantial progress.

11.4 Is the Ecuadorian economy ready to belong to one of these blocks?

Historically, the Ecuadorian economy has been a topic of great importance and controversy for the country, since when it is described, it is portrayed as having negative characteristics. Most academics have agreed that the Ecuadorian economy is going through many cracks and problems that have prevented it from advancing towards its long-awaited development (Ruesga & Fujii, 2006). However, this is a process that has been dragging on for many years as we have experienced a "colonial heritage" followed by a slow adaptation and adoption of an agro-export model, so that the Republic of Ecuador has experienced a transitory evolution in its changing and stagnant models of accumulation, from its independence to the establishment of a stable monetary policy with official dollarization (Acosta, 1995). The economy of a country is always a complex thing to describe, specifically that of Ecuador, which has been a country covered with natural resources, where a notable number of citizens have experienced poverty, while minorities have become richer (Acosta, 1995).

The Ecuadorian economy has not overcome the structure it has had for centuries, not only in the economic sphere but also in the political and cultural spheres, as it has not managed to overcome the agro-export model, although it is true that in recent years under the government of Rafael Correa there has been a discursive proposal to change this productive matrix dependent on crops, or on certain products such as bananas, cocoa, coffee, shrimp, and to take it towards industrialization. In fact, the first integration processes in Latin America aimed at industrialization, which in a way has been achieved on a small scale, as there are still pockets of productivity in some cities or specific regions that attract internal migration, but it does not end up being an exploitation of the productive capacities of a specific sector. Also, there were certain reforms in the service economy and even the banking sector that were invigorated and strengthened, but industrialization was not achieved. An example of dependence is the current conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which has weakened access to traditional products, whether roses or bananas, which immediately puts Ecuador on alert, since we have a large percentage of exports to these countries. There is also a dependence on oil that has not been overcome, on the contrary, it has become a cyclical chain in which, since the emergence of the different booms, in many cases a large part of the budget is obtained from the income of the private sector, which also does not think about invigorating other sectors, but asks the state to do so, and most of the time there are no forms of financing. This is why a change in the productive matrix is needed in both the public and private sectors. Currently, under this same model, the focus has not been on technification, but rather on the extraction of metals, and this has become a problem not only of public responsibility but also of the private sector, as there is no intention to move to another type of production, which affects the state and society. In terms of education, priority is given to these types of careers, and this will not change if this economic structure is maintained.

As a reflection of this, it became evident that with the arrival of COVID 19 to Ecuador there was a fiscal deficit that left large consequences that are currently being felt as within the employment and unemployment rates we have barely increased 0.4% since 2019. During the period of 2020 GDP fell 0.8% and in 2021 it recovered 0.4%. (International Monetary Fund, 2021). In the specific case of Ecuador, at least 44% of the population had no food, which resulted in a visible increase in crime, which is closely related to the poverty that exists. All of the above-mentioned are evident consequences in Ecuador, as there are few positive results at the economic level.

The aforementioned factors are essential to make a decision prior to seeking integration, i.e. to know where the country is before entering more competitive markets, which gives way to innovation in the service sector or technology, which would be an optimal alternative and even more so if what is sought is integration. Integration is an issue that has been immersed in Ecuador for several years.

However, there are many factors that must be analyzed before making decisions that will directly affect the country.

Integration has always been seen as an option with a positive impact on the economy, and this could result in a good management of political will and effort. Always considering that our economy over the years and at present tends to be oligopolistic and very vulnerable to external factors. If the objective is to dynamize the productive sector, improve employment rates and attract foreign industry, integration could be seen as a valid objective. However, it is necessary to analyze how attractive Ecuador is for world trade, considering that we are surrounded by neighboring countries with which we do not function as complementary economies but as competitive ones, which could represent a disadvantage considering Ecuador's size. This raises the question of whether companies would really be willing to invest in a market of 18 million when they have a market of 50 million inhabitants, who produce the same products at lower prices. It is necessary to analyze the behavior of investors and the international market before considering this as a strategic solution.

Another important factor is that local producers can migrate to a market where they find a higher profitability. Having the door open to other markets can be an opportunity to leave the country. This has been done through the CAN, giving the example of PINTO S.A., a company that internationalized to Peru because it found a cheaper way to produce and a larger market.

The legal and political issue must also be analyzed, as our country has been characterized by a very unstable and changing policy related to aspects of the productive matrix, and to the interconnection of production, which is fragmented between the Coast and the Highlands. There are no factors that integrate these productions or form national and complementary value chains.

Politically, the decentralized governments are concerned with maintaining their own policies and interests, which also represents a threat to integration. In this way, Ecuador could decide to be part of an integration process that is politically and ideologically in line with its objectives, but the political and ideological instability of the governments in power could represent obstacles and inconveniences, as they would try to change the agreement, would not comply with what has been said, and when the government changes, they would try to re-enter again.

And lastly, the social issue, analyzing how aware citizens are of Ecuador's political culture in order to recognize the importance of a regional integration process.

Ecuador as a country has been part of the Andean Community of Nations since 1969, and there are still problems of xenophobia and rejection of foreign production, as on occasions the agricultural sector has complained that certain products enter from Colombia and Peru at cheaper prices. Another social problem that has arisen is that citizens have shown dissatisfaction with migration, as it is believed that there are not enough jobs to satisfy the needs of Ecuadorians and migrants.

These are factors that in both processes, whether protectionist or liberalizationist, represent certain obstacles when complying with all the processes to achieve a well-structured integration initiative, which is why it is extremely important to objectively analyze the situation Ecuador finds itself in, how its economy functions, the shortcomings of its productive matrix, social problems, and the instability and political will of the governments.

12 Conclusion

From the literature and interviews analyzed, it can be concluded that regional integration has many advantages when the planned objectives are achieved under governments that enjoy political will and stability, but that there are also certain disadvantages to achieving stability from the moment of its insertion. While it is true that integration has reacted and developed differently in different continents around the world, this article has focused its study on the role of regional integration in the development of the region. This article has focused its study on the Latin American case, evaluating the development model of the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur, two blocs of great economic and social importance in the region. Latin America has presented an integration process with certain drawbacks due to the asymmetries between countries and the political instability that has been evident. ECLAC has insisted a lot on how sustainable strategies and value chains should

be developed to help balance the conditions of the countries, but this has not been easy. As a result, there have been a number of factors that inhibit responsible and effective integration of the region.

Both the Pacific Alliance and Mercosur have demonstrated permanence, however, it is evident that there are certain shortcomings in their constitution and objectives, although it is true that Mercosur has been seen as a more protectionist bloc in its approach to foreign trade, given that in its internal market, the model of complementary economies has partially worked. It has also been considered that there are internal shortcomings that have led to the bloc's stagnation, in which its member countries have struggled to reach unilateral trade agreements with major powers such as Uruguay. On the other hand, it is important to mention that they enjoy great internal benefits, as there is equal treatment among the civilians of the bloc, as well as having the Mercosur visa, which has allowed them to work and study freely, obtaining great benefits.

As for the Pacific Alliance, it was observed that its nature is more participatory and less committed to institutional issues, which for many is a cause for criticism and for others a commercial advantage, which has allowed this bloc to focus its efforts on improving the technological development of the countries in order to effectively reach markets of great importance in the Asia-Pacific, which is its main objective. It is important to note that the Pacific Alliance was born out of a more liberal integrative process and therefore has a more commercial focus without connecting closely with civil society. While it is true that its main focus is defined as improving internal value and production chains, it is necessary to establish institutions, regulatory and control bodies, as well as to regulate growth in order to avoid abuses of power or unbridled growth.

Finally, in response to the research question posed, which was one of the objectives for analyzing the behavior of these two blocs, we have the Ecuadorian case in relation to them. Ecuador is a country that has gone through periods of great abundance and scarcity, which have reflected political instability and subjection to raw materials, as well as absolute dependence on oil, which is what basically regulates the country's economic stability. Ecuador is a country that has the productive capacity to reach Peru's levels; however, it does not have the necessary industrialization, and the priority and investment given to sectors such as technology, training, innovation and industrialization are very low, which is why it is essential to change the productive matrix. It is important that Ecuador clearly defines its growth objectives and that under this initiative it develops a strategy designed to meet the real needs of Ecuadorians, and the expectations it has at the time of joining blocs that are of great importance in the region. Another very important aspect that must be analyzed is the political situation that the country has gone through and is going through. One of the fundamental bases for maintaining the country is to enjoy political stability when the government in power decides to join an integration process, the same strategy and budget must be maintained with the following governments, in order to achieve stable integration without contradictions. If, on the contrary, governments tend to move their interests to the detriment of the integration process, it will be nothing more than an experiment with a view to failure (Gortaire, 2022).

Under this scenario, I could conclude by saying that Ecuador is a country very capable of achieving great objectives, following a clear strategy, with political will and under the political awareness of civil society, the integration process would be beneficial in several areas. By establishing a commitment on the part of the political actors, which establishes the aspirations of the Ecuadorian people, setting out clearly the role that we will play in the integration that is most convenient.

In my opinion, one of the greatest challenges for Ecuador is to join the Pacific Alliance, which has currently proven to be a bloc that is positively boosting the economy of Latin America, and could also be an opportunity to strengthen the ties we already have with neighboring countries (Peru and Colombia). Even though the CAN has been weakened, this could be the perfect opportunity to reach an agreement between the CAN and the Pacific Alliance. This has turned out to be a possibility within this research, as well as the fact of entering the Pacific Alliance would mean that Ecuador could improve its technological, research and industrial innovation knowledge, as this would be essential when entering into competition with markets as large as those of Mexico and Chile, in order to strengthen a more outward orientation with an Asia-Pacific focus, as the benefits of negotiating as a bloc would be more satisfactory than doing so unilaterally.

To close this article, Ecuador could take this opportunity to improve its productive matrix, its technological development, trade relations, education and to strengthen relations with the CAN countries. Personally, I do not think it would be beneficial to join Mercosur, as I believe that Brazil will not allow the change of focus that Ecuador needs; on the contrary, it could become more complicated, as Brazil produces a lot of fruit, meat, dairy products and sugar cane, and could eliminate the national industry. In this way, Ecuador should work the private and political sector anchored to technology and the service sector, encouraging innovation and modernization, as this way the Ecuadorian economy could take an unexpected turn.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1.

Entrevista a Adrián Alvarado

Fecha: 29 de abril del 2022

Lugar: Universidad del Azuay

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Existe un debate entre el proteccionismo y el aperturismo, además de que la región está geográficamente dividida entre el océano atlántico y el pacífico. Donde se ve una tendencia más proteccionista hacia el atlántico y aperturismo hacia el pacífico.

Hay que diferenciar su tiempo y trayectoria, ya que esta podría ser una variable relevante. Por parte del Mercosur tiene como ventaja una amplia institucionalidad donde todos sus miembros han unido fuerza para tener un aparato entre muchas instituciones que lo ayudan a dirigir de mejor manera el bloque. En cambio, en la alianza del pacífico al ser una iniciativa muy reciente existen muchas expectativas, y no se ven resultados tangibles en materia de cooperación. Existe cooperación en el ámbito de negocios y comercio, falta mucha institucionalidad. La institucionalidad de la unión europea, ha sido fundamental para su desarrollo.

En el lado económico existen dos grandes pesos, en el lado del Mercosur está Brasil y la AP México siendo los países más industrializados de la región, los más poblados y más grandes económicamente. El problema está en que el Mercosur se ha quedado con una tendencia a no crecer, por la tendencia al crecimiento económico de Brasil y al ser un grupo que intercambia se ha generado dependencia en su comercio intrarregional. Frente al ámbito internacional, no se busca integrarse, lo que ha generado trabas para países que si quieren hacerlo como es el caso de Uruguay que ha tenido trabas al querer tener relaciones internacionales comerciales por estar dentro del Mercosur. Otro peso es Venezuela, los cuales están suspendidos, esto hace que no surja económicamente, los demás países dependan de Brasil y que Brasil a pesar de ser industrializado siga dependiendo. Por eso se ha quedado como una unión aduanera híbrida ya que a veces no se respeta y existe abuso de poder por parte de Argentina y Brasil sobre el resto.

En la parte política el Mercosur es muy ideológico y político, lo que causa que sea un problema.

Por parte de la AP existen más países que muestran índices más altos de inversión extranjera directa mayor registro de patentes, innovación, inversión par a inversión. También destaca que no es político ni ideológico, lo que es atractivo para la comunidad internacional.

Su mayor objetivo comercial es el sudeste asiático, Brunéi, singapur, indonesia que son países que están tomando posición en la economía mundial.

Un problema es que tal vez no se pueda controlar el crecimiento económico, quien será el que lidere la AP. Ya que, si se vuelve a cometer el mismo error que el MERCOSUR puede existir problemas políticos, y separación por lo que es establecer reglas y orden.

2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

El Mercosur si es sólida y representativa en la región opaco totalmente a la CAN mostrando a los países del cono sur mucho más ordenados y con objetivos más claros. La integración no le permite comercializar unilateralmente. Deberían ser más laxos y evitar tantas trabas. Necesitan una apertura comercial y dejar de lado las ideologías de lado para poder abrirse al externo.

Bajar la ideología e Inter versión política izquierdista, ya que esto hace que los países que tiene otro punto de vista ven al MERCOSUR no como un bloque de integración latinoamericana, sino como un bloque de integración de izquierda. Un ejemplo es el ASEAN, que dejo de lado la ideología y solo piensa en su crecimiento como grupo

3. La Alianza del Pacifico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

Se ha manejado bien, ya que son 4 miembros más o menos homogéneos. Puede haber un problema si es que entrar países que no comparten sus objetivos.

Se debería arman ya política interna e institucionalidad para que funcione, y que otros miembros no impongan sino se acoplen. Así las negociaciones no se harán más lentas.

Crear entes reguladores que puedan administrar el bloque, con una legislación pertinente.

Si se ve solo como una plataforma de comercio, no podrá avanzar, los países se cansarán y se irán. Se muestra como una alternativa muy beneficiosa para América latina, pero debería empezar a construir su política interna. El poder político y económico puede sobre pasar a la integración, ya que países desarrollados están a la espera de entrar.

4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

Ha tenido un creciente en los últimos anos, pero se ha visto limitada por la dependencia a las materias primas.

Hemos reducido la dependencia del petróleo, pero su lista de canasta de exportación no ha cambiado, exportamos manufacturas de buena calidad, pero no se comprar en cantidad con las materias primas y el valor agregado es casi nulo.

Se necesita cambiar la matriz productiva, ya que tenemos dependencia del precio de materias primas, del petróleo, ya que nos hace poco competitivos con frente a países más industrializados y que manejan su propia moneda. Terminamos siendo caros y costos, no invierten.

La economía ecuatoriana no es la mejor pero tampoco es la peor, pero se necesita voluntad ayuda política, apoyo estatal. Para mejorar se necesita tener alianzas publico privadas académicas legalizadas e institucionalizadas, inversión en educación e investigación. Ya que esto es la puerta para poder exportar capital humano. Unir el campo publico privado y académico, y evitar la corrupción, esto no es bueno frente a la comunidad internacional. Muestra un país desordenado, y eso afecta a la calidad de vida.

5. ¿Cuáles considera usted fueron los principales motivos por los que Ecuador decidió no entrar en el Mercosur?

Ecuador no entro al MERCOSUR ya que tenía un avance lento, que discutía mucho entre intereses propios e individuales, no estaba llegando a los principales mercados internacionales

Sus productos eran muy similares, y nosotros al tener dólares seríamos el producto más caro. Nos hubiéramos convertido en compradores. El unilateralismo es mejor, a esta en un grupo con lideres que son muy dominantes.

El Ecuador decidió abrirse a mercados como la UE EFTA donde las manufacturas se venden mucho mejor, son más apetecidas y valoradas. Obtenemos más beneficios. Además, ya existe un apego al MERCOSUR mediante la CAN. No hacía falta entrar ya que los beneficios no aumentaban, pero los compromisos sí. Compromiso ideológico del gobierno en turno. No nos convenía y se pudo tomar mejores decisiones

6. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacifico?

Si un país no tiene las condiciones para atraerse a ingresar en un bloque, debería considerarlo. Ecuador si tiene las posibilidades económicas y administrativas, ya que Colombia y Perú nos están dejando atrás y no por miedo debemos quedarnos esperando. Tener la voluntad e intención de trabajar, tenemos que sumar todos los esfuerzos.

7. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

La AP porque su naturaleza es más participativa y menos comprometida y va hacia mercados en los que el Ecuador tiene altas posibilidades de intercambio. El mero sur tiene problemas internos graves, muy ideológico ya que existe más de manera honoraria.

Annex 2.

Entrevista Felipe Muñoz

Fecha: 27 de abril del 2022

Lugar: Reunión de zoom

1. ¿Qué opina usted sobre la integración antiamericana?

Es un proceso de difíciles logros, más allá de los patrones comunes, el objetivo de lograr un proceso exitoso ha sido un fracaso. Ya que por ejemplo el CAN se ha intentado, pero no se ha logrado una implementación real, que no ha terminado siendo efectivos.

2. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Son dos modelos diferentes que responde a objetivo si países diferentes, el Mercosur está enfocado en la productividad interna y su aspiración ha sido la de construir un regionalismo desde su capacidad productiva fortaleciendo del mercado interno. Ha fracasado en el mediano plazo ya que BR Y AR siguen siendo chicos a nivel global y no se le ve al Mercosur como competitivo en otros mercados,

La AP representa economías más pequeñas pero industrializadas que enfocan su dependencia a al comercio exterior, no ha generado ningún cambio efectivo en los países que la componen en. No ha tenido la capacidad de generar mayores cambios sigue siendo la suma de más partes, más que algo en su mismo.

3. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

Es una integración solida desde un punto de vista discursivo, ya que no ha alcanzado una unión aduanera, no ha avanzado en otras partes de integración como se quería pensando en el modelo de la EU como referente. El Mercosur deja bastante que desear en relación a lo que se planteó como objetivos.

4. La Alianza del Pacífico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

Es interesante y tiene mucho futuro en la incorporación de la agenda comercial y en la integración latina y es importante para sostener el crecimiento tiene que ampliar su membresía hacia países de la cuenca de pacifico par a poder fortalecer el proceso de integración productiva, sigue siendo una suma de 4 países, pero no un conjunto ya que no tiene una política como bloque, a la que le hace falta un trabajo más concomitad.

5. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

Inestabilidad política, se ha acercado más al grupo de los países de la alianza del pacifico.

6. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

Sería más conveniente para el acuerdo entrar a la AP para así poder reforzar sus relaciones con países vecino y con miras hacia el Asia del pacifico, y luego fortalecer una orientación más hacia afuera, ya que no tiene un mercado amplio para que se alcance acometividad frente a Brasil o argentina

Annex 3.

Entrevista Bernardo Gortaire

Fecha: 10 de mayo del 2022

Lugar: Reunión de zoom

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Hay que dividir que son dos procesos que comparten algunos elementos. Mercosur es un proceso más clásico ya que cumple con los pasos tradicionales de la integración regional y en ciertas etapas se le ha visto como una integración política, ya que más allá de liberalizar el comercio y servicios también cuenta con algunas instancias de discusión, la Alianza del Pacífico nace de un proceso más liberal en el que tiene un enfoque más comercial, y no está hacia dentro sino hacia fuera su objetivo si es integrar las cadenas de producción pero su enfoque principal es conectarse con el Asia pacífico entonces los países no terminan de tener un intercambio interno.

Ambos son procesos que tiene debilidades estructurales, ya que no termina de conectarse con lo más importante que es la sociedad civil. Ambos modelos pueden traer beneficio desde la lógica de aumento de inversión, pero al final lo que se ve de ambos este proceso termina siendo un proceso de integración de élites, rivalidades políticas internas. Son sumamente volátiles y vulnerables a quienes están en el cargo en ese momento. El Mercosur tiene un poco más de bancas aspiran a tener un equilibrio entre sus legislaciones. En la Alianza del Pacífico se ha enfocado más a cámaras de producción y los ciudadanos no ha terminado de entender.

2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

Sólida no. El problema que tiene América latina dentro de la integración regional es que es una integración en ciclos es decir, por ejemplo el Mercosur, ha venido atravesando muchos problemas a lo largo de los años, por lo que se crea el UNASUR el prosur, y aun no se concreta las negociaciones con la UE, por lo que están buscando las negociaciones de manera independiente, también enfrenta una cuestión importante en el sentido de la desigualdad entre sus miembros no se puede comparar lo que representan Brasil y Argentina con lo que representa Uruguay y Paraguay. El rato de incluir a Venezuela se entró en un tema político que ha sido muy vulnerable a los personalismos políticos, América latina se ve particularmente afectado por este péndulo político que ha atravesado el siglo 21, esta transición de los gobiernos neoliberales al progresismo luego un retorno de los gobiernos más tradicionales, Argentina y Brasil juegan entre volver al progresismo, y esto si afecta en la manera en la cual se lleva el proceso. A diferencia de la unión europea donde existe más supranacionalidad. Mercosur y la Comunidad Andina, que son de los procesos más tradicionales no terminan de tener una incidencia e incluso las personas que son electas para liderar el proceso de integración están bajo el poder político de turno, lo que significa que si quiere integración los funcionarios pondrán su esfuerzo para que esto suceda, y si el gobierno no quiere integración entonces se restará interés se frenan los recursos y capacidades. Y es válido ya que existen procesos de integración que no buscan una supranacionalidad, ni ir más allá de un estado nación, simplemente se cumplen con objetivos e intereses comunes específicos.

3. La Alianza del Pacífico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

La AP personalmente le recuerda lo que era la ALAC tradición abierta liberalización del comercio y el establecimiento de América latina como actor que participa en el comercio global, depende de las capacidades de sus estados miembros, en la página de la AP aparecen muchas cantidades

exitosas, pero realmente esos mercados productivos están la integrados o es algo simbólico en la que no hay una complementariedad empresas, si es que escucháramos que ciertas empresas colombianas se están estableciendo en México o normalizando en Perú podríamos hablar de eso pero se termina convirtiendo en el conjunto de amigos productores en las que sus productos se vuelven más baratos pero no se integran ni se normalizan las cadenas de producción entre ellos, lo que no sucede con la unión europea en la que se encuentran productos que no solían estar en ciertos países, los carros alemanes de esparcen por Europa, el jamón ibérico de España los vinos de franceses, lo que se empieza a volver una cuestión normal una especie de europeización, en América latina más allá de pequeñas comunidades migrantes, no termina por haber esta rotación completa no termina una evolución hacia un mercado complemente integrado, ya que no se trata solo de bajar aranceles o liberalizar el comercio, sino de normalizar el consumo de estos productos. La Cepal ha incentivado mucho a que veamos la productividad como una cadena global de comercio y crear cadenas de valor. Ahora, si se empiezan a ver si están logrando conectarse con mercados del Asia pacifico ya por ahí empiezan haber objetivos, ya que existen intercambio de experiencia, cocimiento inclusive tiene este tema de las embajadas. Lo que permite a las empresas y sectores empresariales abrirse campo en áreas importantes a las siguientes generaciones. Ahora la pregunta es si de verdad el cerrar estos acuerdos tendrá un impacto en la calidad de vida de sus países miembros, porque hoy en día Colombia atraviesa una crisis, Perú tiene inestabilidad política, el gobierno de borich inclusive podría reformar la iniciativa en la alianza del pacifico en México del narco estado. ¿Es realmente beneficioso entrar en este tipo de integración porque si bien es cierto, si estamos sería beneficioso para ciertos sectores productivos y su dinamización, pero es realmente lo que necesitamos para alcanzar un desarrollo? ¿O el bien estar de su población? O simplemente será facilitarles el camino a ciertos sectores de mundo empresarial bancario, o de servicios. Esto es muy necesario analizar en los procesos de integración, ya que América latina es muy buena para firmar acuerdos de integración, ecuador específicamente pero el objetivo o la visión estratégica que para que se está haciendo es donde se reflejan las fallas.

4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

Como funciona el sector productivo ecuatoriano, históricamente tiene una falencia que no ha tenido integración económica. Existen focos de productividad en algunas ciudades o regiones específicas y eso atrae migración interna, pero no termina de ser una explotación de las capacidades productivas. Discursivamente con el gobierno de Rafael correa, se intentó cambiar esta matriz productiva dependiente de los cultivos, de ciertos productos como banano, cacao, café, camarones, y llevarlo a una industrialización. Los primeros procesos de integración apuntaban a eso, a industrialización. Y el ecuador a través de los años no lo ha logrado, dentro del gobierno de Rafael correa no paso del discurso, hubo ciertas reformas en la economía de servicios e inclusive el sector bancario y se dinamizaron y fortalecieron, pero no se logró la industrialización. Un ejemplo de esto es el conflicto de rusia y ucrania que han debilitado el acceso a los productos tradicionales, ya sea de rosas o banano lo que nos pone en alerta inmediatamente y no sabemos a dónde vender. Otro problema es que nuestras economías con nuestros países vecinos son competitivas y no complementarias. La CEPAL ha insistido mucho en como equilibrar las cosas, pero no se logra hacer eso, y esos son de los aspectos que inhiben el integrarnos responsablemente a las cadenas de valor. Entrar en Colombia o Perú son países que son mucho más baratos, no solo en término de su moneda ya que el dólar si bien es cierto ha traído estabilidad también ha encarecido su producción, también su mano de obra es más extensa, mucho más espacio de cultivo muchas más ventajas comparativas frente a ecuador, y te plantea la pregunta de cómo insertarnos en este sistema sin afectar los sectores productivos de nuestro país. Esto también ha servido de ancla ya que nuestra economía es muy oligopólica estamos hablando de una economía muy concentrada y muy vulnerable a lo extremo. Si el objetivo es dinamizar el sector producto mejorar las tasas de empleo, atraer la industria exterior es una adopción valida la integración, pero hay que preguntarnos qué tan rápido será hasta que seamos más atractivos, si tengo un mercado de 50 millones de personas, porque me voy a ir al mercado de 18 millones. Hay que analizar el pensamiento de los inversores extranjeros y la industria externa. Los productores locales una vez

que les das la puerta abierta al externo, es posible que saque lo que existe aquí y lo acomode en un mercado más cómodo y es lo que ha pasado con la CAN por ejemplo pinto, se fue a Perú en cuanto pudo, porque es más barato mercado más amplio, hay que pensar que tan factible será para tu industria asentarse en estos mercados y que tan interesante va a ser para el Ecuador para la industria global. Y como último factor tiene que ver el sector legal y político, ya que nuestro país se a caracterizado por tener una política muy inestable que tiene que ver en algunos aspectos con cuestiones de la interconexión de nuestra producción obviamente si tu producción está aislada en la costa y está aislada en la sierra. No hay factores que te integren políticamente tú vas a luchar por tu propio espacio y esto también se vuelve una amenaza para la integración desde una lógica que un país nos abra las puertas para que no integremos a su modelo, pero va a pasar de que en 5 años llegara otro gobierno y pondrá travas, cambiará el acuerdo, no se cumplirá con lo dicho y luego en otros 5 años volveremos a estar rogando por entrar, esos son factores que te inhiben participar en una integración. Y también hay que volver al tema de la gente, que tan consciente están de la cultura política ecuatoriana para reconocer la importancia de un proceso de integración regional. Nosotros formamos parte de la comunidad andina desde el 69 y hasta ahora seguimos enfrentado problemas como la xenofobia rechazo a la producción externa, viene muy barata la papa de Colombia, o la cebolla de Perú o hay mucha migración de tal lado y la gente se molesta comienzan a tener reacciones xenófobas el mercado no quiere contratar a personas del exterior y estos son factores que en ambos procesos ya sea proteccionista o aperturista te van a representar travas muy serias en el cumplimiento del proceso de integración por lo que hay que pensar cómo funciona nuestra economía, que le falta a nuestra economía, que de cierta forma le faltan cadenas más ampliadas.

5. ¿Cuáles considera usted fueron los principales motivos por los que Ecuador decidió no entrar en el Mercosur?

Los principales motivos fueron políticos, simplemente no era de interés político en ese momento y de las cosas que siempre pasan en América latina en los procesos de integración, se una con los que se llevan bien ese rato. Es un what if, ya que no hay una respuesta certera de que es lo que se debió hacer o no porque viendo como se ha desarrollado la evolución del Mercosur. A nivel interno que tan listos estamos para entrar en estos sectores, a pesar del discurso político de mucho líderes especialmente desde la época de Una sur que había toda la buena voluntad y esperanza, realmente la integración termina siendo algo muy elitista porque en economías donde la desigualdad, pobreza, es alta y la cultura política es baja. No todos están pendientes de lo que pasa. Y desde la perspectivas económica hay que pensarlo desde la lógica inventarte en nuevo mercado no solo es que se bajen aranceles, necesitas tener por lo menos la idea de un proyecto o plan de acción hace el país donde nos vamos a insertar, países grandes siempre están buscando entrar en nuevos mercados, nuestros acuerdos vienen con la buena voluntad pero cuando se requiere inversión el estado ya no participa, y esto no pasa en Perú y Colombia ya que aquí se fortalece la capacidad de las empresas para llegar a otros mercados pero también hay que ver que tan útil le resulta al resto de miembros que no forman parte de estas cadenas logísticas de valor y cadenas productivas, hay países que si tiene muchos acuerdos internacionales pero aun así tiene altos índices de pobreza desde esa lógica insertarse o no en el Mercosur hay que pensar que nos representa, la complementariedad de los productos últimamente, el debate de memes diciendo que Lasso dijo que importaríamos carne de Uruguay. El café de Brasil como vamos a insertar banano en un país donde se produce lo mismo. Después de la firma que viene, como lo vamos a desarrollar porque la política a coroto plazo con la que ha funcionado Ecuador, salen en la foto y el siguiente no le interesa, no le parece la integración o se enfrenta a otros problemas de carácter interno y hasta ahí llega el proceso y no se hace nada.

6. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacifico?

No y si, el cree que en su contexto actual no está lista para desafiar las condiciones materiales políticas e incluso sociales del resto de países miembros de la AP, si hacemos un a comparación

interino de recurso naturales, complejidad económica, formación de la población, modo de producción, estabilidad jurídica educador está muy rezagado. Le va a costar mucho al Ecuador o al menos a algunos sectores ya que les tocara enfrentarse a algunas nociones. Ahora el sí es cuando el acudir va a estar listo para enfrentarse a estos países, si se mantiene todo este oligopolio, ya que los cambiantes ciclos políticos en el Ecuador han sido tan fluctuantes que hacen que te cierres te avaras y viceversa y así no se da un cambio de las estructuras, y tal vez el insertarte a esto tan desafiant3e les va a forzar a cambiar el sector productiva más moderno y dinámico. En este sentido tal vez es una oportunidad, pero viendo los resultados actuales, como no tiene institucionalidad más allá de intercambio de dialogo no es esa chispa que permita entrar a Ecuador y sea un intento más.

7. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

Depende el compromiso que vayan a tener los actores políticos, faltan que los políticos establezcan cual es la aspiración que tenemos como Ecuador y ahí UE pensar cual es el rol que vamos a cumplir dentro de cualquiera de estas integraciones. Es importante mencionar que en términos de población y de dimensión es Ecuador es pequeño, sin embargo en términos globales no es tan pequeño y se debe tomar en cuanto ya que tal vez a nivel interno no somos un líder regional pero tal vez la inserción hacia el Atlántico si facilite a competir con otros actores e aplicar las capacidades económicas, y de plazas de trabajo con economías que si son complementarias con enfoque hacia Europa principalmente pero volvemos a que Mercosur no esa funcionando es una máquina oxidada que necesita un empujón para su funcionamiento y esto depende del vínculo Brasil Argentina ya que los otros dos pueden tener todas las ganas del mundo pero si eje no funciona enojos Mercosur no funciona, por el lado de la AP Ecuador ya tiene la CAN y sabe cuál es la relación con esos dos actores y que son capaces de salirse de sus acuerdos con el fin de proteger intereses personales es por eso que la CAN se ve debilitada ya que tanto Perú y Colombia buscan establecer relaciones con EE.UU. o la UE de manera independiente. En este mismo sentido se puede cumplir ciertos intereses. Al Ecuador si le conviene están en un grupo, pero tenemos que tener en cuenta que al estar dentro de gigantes probablemente seamos la rueda más pequeña del coche y tenemos que estar alineados a economías como México y Chile lo que ellos opten, mientras no haya una claridad en lo objetivos económicos políticos e inclusive sociales, los experimentos integrativos puede que circunstancialmente nos ayuden en cierto momento. Pero al final siempre se queda en espacios reducidos de la población, por ejemplo, entrando dentro de la AP los Ecuatorianos tendrán mayor facilidad para acceder a la Educación Mexicana, sin embargo, cuantos Ecuatorianos pueden permitirse vivir y estudiar en otro país y que sacrificio implica. Objetivos estratégicos del estado o la nación, América Latina siempre estiran rezagada mientras sus países no terminen de conectarse.

Annex 4.

Entrevista Juan Francisco Camino

Fecha: 6 de mayo del 2022

Lugar: Reunión de zoom

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Son distintos en el sentido de las motivaciones y porque obedecieron a dos modelos diferentes, el MERCOSUR comenzó con una visión de regionalismo abierto, que inventivo la Cepal que promovía la dinamización del comercio interregional fue lo que motivos. En el MERCOSUR están presentes dos de las 3 economía más grandes de América latina. Esto le daba un plus y le permitía tener otro tipo de producción. Últimamente se ha visto un cambio de política, que e mezo con Uruguay que quiere alejarse y tomar una política de comercio individual. Uruguay busca un tratado con china, ya que si le das más autonomía a un país le quitas fuerza como bloque. Movilidad laboral reconociendo de títulos universitarios, tiene un proceso de integración mas profundo. Parla sur.

La AP nace en medio de una visión de un regionalismo post liberal, que antepone la visión política y una fortaleza de la misma frente a la comercial. En pleno auge de convergencia de la UNASUR, irrumpe en ese momento como una respuesta del regionalismo post hegemónico con énfasis en la parte comercial. Se aleja del regionalismo abierto ya que tienes que tener un tic con sus países miembros. Optan por mantener tratados con mercados donde compiten, por ejemplo, que tiene tratado con EEUU que nos les permite tanto converger, sino que competirán. A excepción de México la producción sigue siendo primaria, los demás no son potencias industrializadas. No profundiza tanto la integración, comparándola con la UE. No existe una institucionalidad sólida, salvo el consejo de presidentes y ministros de comercio exterior, no hay intenciones de hacerlo algo más profundo.

2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

Es de los más sólidos, pero cae en el mismo prevela de otro proceso en americe a latina que es no llegar a espacio de supranacionalidad, la parla sur no tiene daciones vinculantes o por lo menos no se percibe así. El caso de Venezuela que fue suspendido, se le aplico el protocolo de Ushuaia, que paso con Bolivia que estaba más lanzado en su entrada, pero existe un tema político que esta antes de integración, el ecuador le falta voluntad política para entrar en el MERCOSUR. No se avanza la integración económica ya que es mucho más complejo por la estructura económica de nuestros países, por ejemplo, con los países vecinos con economías similares. Lo que nos ciencia del modelo europeo es encontrar economías complementarias. Incluso dentro de este espacio se debía promover economías complementarias. Y desarrollar ciertos sectores que fortalezcan la interdependencia. Esto ha generado que siempre se creen más iniciativas, que termina siendo lo mismo.

3. La Alianza del Pacifico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

Si tiene futuro, ya que hay un elemento muy importante del neofuncionalismo que es el spill over, en el sentido de priorizar y dinamizar la integración económica, ahora hasta qué punto vamos a darle chance a que crezca, En unos años podemos tener a muchos países como miembros y nos quedaremos como mercado común o solo es necesario un tic entre países miembros, cuando comenzara su institucionalidad. No se avanza para definir una unión aduanera, hay que analizar la profundización de la integración ya que la estructura productiva de América latina es tan similar

no tiene sentido quietar aranceles si se está produciendo lo mismo. Establecer espacios supranacionales y que política debe existir, que permita generar mercado y economías complementarias si no hay eso solo se quedara en discurso.

4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

No ha superado la estructura que tiene desde hace siglos, en cuento a política ay cultura también, no superamos el modelo agroexportador. Debemos dar el paso al sector servicios o a la tecnología, desde hace 50 años dependemos del petróleo u tenemos exactamente los mismos problemas, si es que lo analizamos desde los booms, se vive de la renta el sector privado no se arriesga a dinamizar potros escotes, se pide al estado que lo haga, pero no tiene presupuesto. Se necesita un cambio de la matriz productiva, pero sin el sector privado esto no es posible. No se supera este modelo, ahora ya no se piensa en mayor tecnificación, sino a la extracción de metales, no es solo responsabilidad de estado sino del sector privado ya que no hay intención de pasar a otro tipo de producción lo que afecta al estado y la gente. En termino de educación, se prioriza esas carreras, y eso no va a cambiar si es que se mantiene este tipo de estructura económica. Cuando se acabe los booms dejaremos de ser el puma y pasaremos a ser el gatito, es un comportamiento estacional de la política y la democracia. El país tiene estabilidad democrática cuando hay booms, seguramente el escenario se repite y es un incentivo para mantenernos así, con la enfermedad holandesa la maldición de las materias primas. Actualmente las tasas de empleo y desempleo, recién hemos incrementado ciertos índices desde el 2019. Apenas el 0,4. En el 2020 el PIB cayo 0.8 y en el 2021 se recuperó 0.4. el proyecto del PIB, analiza que la cuarta parte de América latina se quedaron sin alimento, el ecuador fue del 44% de la población no tenía alimento, el ecuador está muy comprometido el tema de la delincuencia tiene que ver con la pobreza, cuantas familias tuvieron que acudir a ellos para poder llevarse algo a la boca, son consecuencias evidentes, y a nivel económica hay estos resultados.

5. ¿Cuáles considera usted fueron los principales motivos por los que Ecuador decidió no entrar en el Mercosur?

No era lo mejor para ciertos sectores, ya que no era el escenario más adecuado ya que entrabamos en un mercado donde cometías con Brasil y argentina lo que sería complicado, ya que nosotros en temas de nuestra estructura productiva íbamos a estar mucho más complicados, pero el ecuador no toma las sesiones o políticas de estado como para que si queremos ingresar a estos tratados no estamos preparados. El ecuador mantiene esta lógica de que siempre va a querer un escenario más desfavorable frente a estos acuerdos.

6. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacífico?

No, la economía no esta lista sobre todo por el tratado que se está negociando con México ya que hay temas muy sensibles que afectan a nuestra economía. El acuerdo debió haberse cerrado en diciembre lo que no paso ya que México es el principal exportador de manufacturas. México quería dejar fuera al camarón ya cacao con arancel cero, fuera del desgravamen, lo que complica mucho a los productores ecuatorianos y había resistencia por parte de México. Y se pidió un desgravamen de 10 años, y esto denota que en no estamos listo en capacidad de negociación y también si es que entramos cual sería el costo de entrar a este tratado. Siempre hay ciertos sectores que ganan más, si es que se logra un proceso de desgravamen la negociación estaría caso cerrada, el sector se vería afectado, pero es parte del proceso, sin embargo, el problema es que, si así estamos con México que pasar cuando lo hagamos con china, hay un diferencia política y financiera grande.

7. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

A la AP, ya que el más grande sería MEXICO, en cambio en el Mercosur está Brasil y Argentina, el tema de la producción se podría complicar mucho más, ya que Brasil produce muchas frutas y lácteos, piñas, caña de azúcar, y se podría eliminar la industria nacional. Por eso el más beneficio podría ser la AP. Pero más allá de eso, deberían trabajar el sector privado y político anclado a la tecnología y al sector de servicios. De qué manera se puede incentivar los servicios en función a la tecnología.

Annex 5.

Entrevista Antonio Torres

Fecha: 4 de mayo del 2022

Lugar: Universidad del Azuay

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Ambos modelos de desarrollo son importantes en la región ya que las cantidades de comercio intracomunitario y volúmenes internacionales son grandes.

Ambos bloques tienen en común el tener potencias económicas de América Latina, México y Brasil. Los modelos de desarrollo son diferentes en el uno caso al más proteccionismo por la debilitada economía argentina en otro caso tiene socios que son muy aperturistas como Chile y Colombia.

2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

El MERCOSUR tiene ciertas ventajas y desventajas política y económicas, lo que se refleja en la economía argentina. La economía brasileña es muy dispar el nivel de producción sigue siendo muy alto, lo que no sucede en Argentina.

Uno de los problemas en Brasil es que comienza el periodo electoral por lo que empieza la especulación. El MERCOSUR se ha estancado, ya que debería estar entrando hacia una libre circulación de capitales ya que ha sido un mercado común solo se ha quedado en mercancías, y en cierto modo circulación avanzada de personas.

3. La Alianza del Pacífico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. ¿Cree usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

Las proyecciones son la integración hacia el lado pacífico, con miras a sur asiático ya sea el Asean, dentro de sus miembros están los más importantes y estratégicos, ya que los países centroamericanos tienen ventaja geográfica, pero sus economías no son las más desarrolladas o aporte. Mayor proyección a la AP que al MERCOSUR.

4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

Tenemos la zona de confort del petróleo lo que está cambiando, y nos vamos adaptando, el problema es la complejidad de su estructura legal, el tema de corrupción, y la baja competitividad.

Somos de los países que menos inversión extranjera atrae de la zona, se debe batallar en una corrección profunda en cuanto a corrupción y formular un plan de mejoramiento de competitividad. Que el sistema financiero productivo innovación y desarrollo es bajísimo en el país, ya que las exportaciones de petróleo nos han dejado en una zona de confort. Estamos anclados al petróleo, si baja es una maldición par el gobierno para su presupuesto, pero la subida tampoco es una bendición, ya que sube el subsidio. Depender de uno o dos comoditas como el ganado camarón flores ya que son con escaso valor agregado y no podemos poderes nosotros el precio. Se debería mejorar le valor agregado y conectividad de los productos,

5. ¿Cuáles considera usted fueron los principales motivos por los que Ecuador decidió no entrar en el Mercosur?

Fue una decisión apropiada, ya que la integración latinoamericana, ya que estos bloques nos han quedado debiendo en cuanto a integración económica productiva y de desarrollo. No estancamos en lirica, la dilatación de la integración de es al Mercosur es un tema que no nos está beneficiando por temas productivos, la mejor forma de mejorar es la competencia y necesitamos que se nos presione para salir de la zona de confort. Es importante la integración económica, para poder atraer dólares y exportar.

6. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacífico?

La economía ecuatoriana ha experimentado muy pocos cambios en cuando a integraciones de bloques internacionales, pero si espera a estar listo, nunca vamos a estarlo y nunca nos integraremos es impórtate ir mejorando sobre la marcha. A pesar de que nuestro nivel de competitividad no es el mejor, tenemos dependencia de productos y no es la economía interna es restringida el mundo no espera el mundo no espera, y no podemos irnos a la política proteccionista. Se debería mostrar menos desesperación y tratar de negociar de una manera más independencia.

7. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

A la Alianza del Pacífico es más progresista, nos impulsaría aun mayor grado de progreso y proyección.

Annex 6.

Entrevista Diana García

Fecha: 4 de mayo del 2022

Lugar: Universidad del Azuay

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Los dos se basan en una integración económica en la que el Mer sour tiene mayor experiencia. Es uno de los referentes proteccionistas, en los que es ecuador no era dentro. Brasil no acepta camarón ecuatoriano.

Ambos se enfocan en una mejor organización del comercio y expansión de sus mercados, sigue corrientes de neoliberalismo. SE DIFERENCIAN entre tiempo y modelo de desarrollo.

- 2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?**

Uno de los más fuertes dentro de integración es MERCOSUR, ya que los intentos de integración en América latina han sido muy deficitarios, ya que las ideologías de los gobernantes son muy cambiantes. Por ejemplo, el ALBA, Una SUR, pérdida de tiempo y dinero. El MERCOSUR es un referente, pero no uno de los mejores. El ASEAN donde por más diferencias culturales religión, idioma, tiene un bloque fuerte con países sólidos. El MERCOSUR podría hacer un MERCOSUR más 3 con EE.UU. CN y china, esto fortalecería más, algo más estructurado tomando temas más de fondo como narcotráfico, violencia e inseguridad.

- 3. La Alianza del Pacífico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?**

Por ahora está bien, las intenciones que se han dado en integración. Pero se tiene discrepancias por el ingreso de banano y camarón ecuatoriano. Para ser una organización reciente el primer pilar es los económico, esto a la final puede resultar una organización obsoleta, el conflicto de productos debe ser primordial. Si vamos a estar así mejor reforzamos la CAN ya que sería una pérdida de dinero tiempo y funcionarios. Si ingresamos al último tenemos menores beneficios, si no se liman asperezas a tiempo será más difíciles

- 4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?**

El Ecuador siempre ha tenido un círculo vicioso en el que nos alzamos y tan dependientes del petróleo para que la economía este bien, debido a la mala gestión, e inversión se cae en la falta de institucionalidad. Y al no haberla queda fragilidad en el país, el ciclo económico no refleja la alzada del petróleo. Actualmente el petróleo está en auge por la guerra pero no se refleja en inversión pública, ya que no hay una reactivación económica interna, o la inauguración de hospitales. Aunque el petróleo este alto, suban impuestos, los subdivididos se hayan quitado no reflejan en el país no hay mejora en el Ecuador. Se vuelve a la época donde había golpe de estado todo el tiempo, sin una estabilidad política, o continuidad política. El 44% de los ecuatorianos prefieren un golpe de estado en el que se cubran sus necesidades básicas, la democracia se debilita. Se necesita dinamizar la economía interna, al reducir la inversión estatal también se reduce el número de guardias, miembros de policías militares, 250 despidos del IESS.

- 5. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacífico?**

Entrar puede hacer que las relaciones asimétricas que tenemos con china se fortalezcan.

6. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

Esta como actor asociado en la Alianza del Pacífico. Debido a la continuidad, trayectoria, largos acuerdos del Mercosur si es que hubiera un trato preferencial el Mercosur sería la mejor idea, sin embargo, Brasil no permitiría el crecimiento de Ecuador, tal vez sería mejor aprovechar la Alianza del Pacífico que está iniciando y podamos ser miembros desde el inicio. Lo mejor sería entrar en el Mercosur, pero no es el tiempo. Pero en la actualidad la AP puede ayudarnos muchísimo. Preferiría reforzar la Can ya que somos parecidos y con muchos años de trayectoria y volvemos a caer en los mismos errores.

7. ¿Cree usted que existe cooperación en estos bloques fuera de lo económico?

Existe más en la Alianza del Pacífico, si bien es cierto las bases de la integración se tornaron en economía la cooperación, es primordial. El Mercosur se ha estancado y no muestra desarrollo en cuanto a seguridad nacional, temas medioambientales ya que Brasil los omite al tener muchos bosques. A los que apunta en el futuro es tener soberanía alimentaria y reservas ecológicas, al tener la gran mayoría de bosques ellos deberían ser el repunte, mitigación seguridad, y que esto complemente al comercio.

Annex 7.

Entrevista Michelle Levi

Fecha: 22 de mayo del 2022

Lugar: Universidad del Azuay

1. ¿Qué opina usted del modelo de desarrollo económico del MERCOSUR y la Alianza del Pacífico?

Son diferentes, objetivos diferentes, tiempos diferentes. El Mercosur viene de los años 90 lo que corresponde a regionalismo viejo clásico y responde a una realidad que en su momento buscaba una estructura más consolidada del bloque. En el caso del Mercosur siempre estuvo orientada al tema de comercio como otros como la comunidad andina y los padres fundadores se enfocaron en que esta estructura este orientada en esa dinámica y que se tratara de parecer lo menos posible a la unión europea. Andrés Malamud evidencio que los fundadores del Mercosur lo que menos querían es que el poder se salga de los estados parte. Entonces aquí ya tienes una estructura más parecida a la alianza del Pacífico que lo que uno se imagina. Esta orientada al mercado común, hoy por hoy es una unión aduanera imperfecta tienen un código aduanero que no está bien orientado ni aplicado, pero existe y ellos están muy contentos por eso, pero la realidad es una zona de libre comercio paradójicamente. Su lógica de acción que tu dices esta dentro del proteccionismo comercial se basa en el hecho de que buscan los estados es tener el poder frente al otro, es más un proteccionismo de estado ya que es la decisión 32 del mercado común ellos decidieron que cualquier tipo de acuerdo de comercio se negocie en bloque con toda la libertad de los estados para hacerlo de forma bilateral como en la comunidad andina, por ejemplo. Esta estructura se oriento más que nada para proteger los intereses de los socios principales del Mercosur Argentina y Brasil, ellos no querían que países como Uruguay o Paraguay les digan cómo y con quien negociar. Uno de los acuerdos que paso por este filtro fue el acuerdo de complementación con la unión europea cuya negociación termino en el 2020 y es el único que ha pasado el filtro de los 4 estados parte. Solo han determinado las condiciones del bloque, pero con mucha limitación de hecho el

acuerdo no está ratificado y seguramente no lo ratificarán en buen tiempo. Aquí se ve un acuerdo de un regionalismo abierto y en la alianza del pacífico se ve un regionalismo abierto repotenciado y quien lo denomina así Cinthya kiliconi y Raúl Salgado se refieren así al regionalismo de la alianza del pacífico, porque a diferencia del Mercosur no busca generar vínculos burocráticos o definiciones del comercio de acuerdo a los intereses de los países. Pero se diferencia que los estados participan en mayor igualdad de condiciones. No hay un Brasil o Argentina sino todos tienen la misma capacidad de interacción. Es un mecanismo muy parecido al CAN, ya que al momento de negociar los estados se juntan, pero también mantienen sus capacidades de negociación individual. Como lo hace si los estados se juntan y buscan un negociador, en función de los intereses de la Alianza. No tiene una estructura de bloque como tal. Pero es interesante ya que crearon este mecanismo de estado asociado en el cual ellos vincula a la estructura un socio potencia como Singapur que quieren que sea miembro para negociar a través de esa dinámica, y se acogen a la normativa para negociar acuerdos más profundos y niveles de apertura.

2. A lo largo de los años el Mercosur ha demostrado ser una integración sólida, dentro de la región. ¿Considera usted que esto es así? ¿Sugiere algún cambio o discrepa con sus objetivos o institucionalidad?

Si es sólido y si ha demostrado básicamente porque tiene dos ejes grandes como Brasil y Argentina. Es un bloque más estructurado tienes ciertos niveles de institucionalización que me permiten tener esa noción de bloque a pesar de que en la práctica no se ve tan reflejado, pero en la teoría está bien estructurado. Es un bloque que no quiere parecerse a la Unión Europea en especial en el carácter supranacional o instituciones fuertes fuera de ellos estado so cortos que les vayan a dictar sentencias fuera de los estados. Es un bloque bien determinado, pero es un bloque donde la legislación no funciona si es que todos los estados no la internalizan en la legislación nacional normalmente eso no se va aplicar si los 4 estados parte no la vinculan a diferencia de la CAN o la UE donde las normas tienen efecto directo en toda la región y básicamente ya son obligatorias para los estados. En la teoría es mucho mejor que en la práctica.

3. La Alianza del Pacífico considerada una de las iniciativas de integración económica más recientes en Latinoamérica. crees usted que tiene futuro? ¿Deberían ampliar más su número de miembros?

Tiene 11 años ya la alianza entonces como iniciativa joven ya no se muestra, si tiene 11 años ya tiene una trayectoria y sigue trabajando en función de desarrollar más sus objetivos que son sobre todo vinculados a la cooperación y comercio, entonces vaciamente esta estructura va a seguir caminando mientras los estados tengan interés en que la estructura siga viva es decir si los gobiernos o los estados parte pierden el interés puede perder mucho sentido de acción. Sobre la inclusión de nuevos estados yo no creo que se vaya ampliar. De hecho, el Ecuador lo que está negociando es un estatuto de estado asociado y no creo que pase de eso no creo que le dejen ser estado parte. Una colega hablo la semana pasada con la secretaria de comercio de México le dijo que el tema del Ecuador es que sea asociado no estado parte y los miembros no quieren más.

4. ¿Qué opina usted de la economía ecuatoriana a través de los años y actualmente?

Es una economía inestable que en todo caso se ha fortalecido en materia de exportaciones y ha mejorado notablemente los índices es decir que ahora tiene mayor capacidad exportadora sobre todo en algunos bienes a lo que fue años atrás que estaba muy concentrado. Depende mucho de la globalización y una guerra como Rusia y Ucrania nos afecta mucho porque son grandes clientes. Entonces por ejemplo una lesión política alienando a EE.UU. que guerra un bloqueo para los rusos políticamente sería lo correcto, pero para la economía sería catastrófica. La política comercial no les dejaría vender a

rusia y la ética de las relaciones internacionales son función igual, es por ello que EE.UU. está negociando con Venezuela o los países de la UE a pesar de que saben que Qatar no cumple con las condiciones básicas de un estado de derecho están negociando con ellos. Es la economía nacional es una economía que depende mucho del petróleo y de pocos bienes exportables, debería ampliar más el marco de exportación con mayor capacidad de centro al ingreso de las divisas por exportación ya que muchas se quedan en medio camino.

5. ¿Cuáles considera usted fueron los principales motivos por los que Ecuador decidió no entrar en el Mercosur?

Porque no era conveniente si es Mercosur no es un mercado al que se le pueda establecer una dinámica de compra venta en buenas condiciones. El gobierno en esa época quería tener una dedición política ya que corra quería vincular a toda costa al país a un mecanismo natural a la comunidad andina y quiera ir al Mercosur por razones personales ya que ahí estaban sus amigos y tuvimos la suerte de que la gente que estaba en ese entonces encargada de la política exterior fue bastante profesional y lograron convencerle que ir aun a pésima idea ir al Mercosur ya que no era un medio complementario sino era un medio competitivo. Lo que íbamos a lograr es que Brasil y Argentina años invadan con carne con leche con todo, era solamente ilógico. Justamente no es lógico ya que hasta ahora no se ha logrado una convergencia del CAN y el Mercosur en materia de comercio que sería lo natural, mientras tengan intereses diferentes y no complementarios no se puede ir a un sitio por política y perjudicarse en materia de comercio. Hubiera abierto una brecha con países grandes del Mercosur que dominan a sus países más pequeños.

6. ¿Considera usted que la economía ecuatoriana está lista para su ingreso a la Alianza del Pacífico?

Bueno de facto el Ecuador ya es casi miembro de la Alianza del Pacífico ya que tiene un acuerdo con Colombia y con Perú en el marco de la comandancia andina que la alianza a sabido aprovechar muchos de los acuerdos generados por la CAN. Lo que ha hecho es mejorar la estructura con Chile que es un país con el que nos complementamos bien, lo que se ha hecho bajo el marco de acuerdo de la ALADI es formar un acuerdo de complementación económica y ya este negociado con los chilenos y es una buena negociación. Con México se está negociando ahora y con ellos es un tema complejo ya que ellos tienen que dominar las estructuras económicas y Ecuador no tiene la capacidad de gestión que tienen los mexicanos. Creo que he sumado cuestión que si no se la sabe manejar bien perjudicaría muchísimo a la industria nacional. A cuestas le perjudicaría a muchísimo en el tema de la producción que tiene ahí frente a la de los mexicanos que lo hacen en escalas mucho más grandes entonces es una relación de vinculación en la que la idea original es negociar con Asia Pacífico, pero hasta el momento no veo ni un solo acuerdo, tiene uno con Singapur, pero fuera de esto no se que tan relevante pueda ser. Casi todos tienen acuerdos con China, México no estoy seguro, Colombia tampoco estoy seguro, pero en todo caso están orientados a esa dinámica. Y lo quieren orientar a ese regionalismo asiático, pero este se basa en cadenas de valor y complementación es decir todos se complementan y generan cadenas. Entonces ahí se van complementando, lo ideal sería que la alianza tenga una capacidad similar. Pero México es demasiado fuerte frente a países como el Ecuador, pero la ventaja que se ve ahí es que es una puerta de entrada al estado sumiso, pero fuera de eso no le veo que vaya aportar mucho más a lo que ya se tiene ahora.

7. ¿En su opinión, a qué bloque considera que debería ingresar el Ecuador?

Al Mercosur definitivamente no, bajo ningún concepto. A la alianza del pacífico ya es parte y que le den es estatuto de asociado, a menos que los cuatro países no lo quieran. Tampoco es que sea algo extremadamente relevante se estado parte.

Pero el Ecuador pertenece a la comunidad andina, y con Chile ya tiene una buena relación entonces no se necesita nada más. No hay que reforzar el can sino utilizarla mejor y darle mayor visibilidad. Tiene que ser realista y fortalecer sus objetivos.