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**Ecuador's influence within the Union of South American Nations before,
during and after its Pro Tempore Presidency**

***Thesis work prior to obtaining Bachelor's degree in International Studies
with a bilingual minor in Foreign Trade***

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This thesis paper is dedicated to my family, whom I love and appreciate infinitely for the support they have given me. And to all South Americans, especially Ecuadorians who know that unity is strength, by combining all efforts the target set is achieved and that every day we are closer to what we want.

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ABSTRACT

This work is mainly based on the participatory role of Ecuador before, during, and after the president pro tempore of the Union of South American Nations and its influence as an active player in the process of integration of this model. This investigation has as its objective to learn the steps of this integration, the main role of Ecuador in this, and the possible scenarios of UNASUR for long-term viability based on the theoretical framework of the new model of integration and South - South post liberal or heterodox model. Throughout the investigation we can see that Ecuador's participation is interesting and is significant contribution to the continuity of this integration model is appreciated.

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Introduction

The integration of a State with a certain number of other States results in joining forces, the convergence of ideals, the symmetry of will and efforts, the sum of resources and energy and is the space for political dialogue that has as a goal to take the countries to an optimal level of development and social welfare for their inhabitants, the same that were unachievable without the adoption of integration as a means for development. In the case of the Union of South American Nations, it is the result of a long process of integration where Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Suriname and Guyana opted to form this space of consultation and political dialogue to encourage the union between these countries in cultural, political, social and economic parts through specific regional policies in areas such as health, energy, infrastructure, democracy, science and technology and regional defense in order to reduce social gaps: poverty, inequity and inequality which are very common in our societies. Throughout any integration process, whether this happens in any region of the planet, there is always a country or active countries that are boosters of the process and that are the ones who take the lead during the project. This thesis is about the participation of a member of the USAN, Ecuador that as a South American country had to make a valuable and significant contribution for the continuity of USAN.

This paper attempts to delve more into Ecuador's participation within USAN, from its beginnings to its consolidation, what are the contributions of Ecuador at each meeting, which President focused more on promoting the integration process, which challenges and goals were fulfilled during Ecuador's pro tempore presidency, aims to analyze the presence of both inside and outside Ecuador USAN assumed office after the influence of Ecuador in the formative stages of USAN, the world's perception about the country, potential actors in the region contesting the leadership both in South America and USAN as predict possible scenarios for the South American organization for long-term viability .

This paper consists of three chapters. The first, is the story of all the integration processes that have taken place since before the Great Colombia up to today. The theories and fundamentals that shaped these processes are analyzed, also the different integration models from each time are considered, the principles on which the USAN was formed and its consolidation processes are deeply studied, and Ecuador is examined from the constitutional point of view to confirm whether its internal rules adapt to the new South American model and vice versa. In the second chapter, Ecuadorian participation in the integration process is more specific, from the first Meeting of Presidents of South America until Ecuador took over as President pro tempore. After this development how Ecuador is seen as a sovereign, independent and autonomous country within international relations with other countries. Also, the degree of participation and influence of the Ecuadorian State is confirmed throughout the process, which can be viewed with surprise and even disbelief. Finally, the third chapter mentions the new regional and trans regional actors and the interaction of these with USAN and with Ecuador in a multipolar globalized world. The Venezuelan post Chavist situation and the leadership of Brazil as an emerging power is analyzed with emphasis made on the new changes that have occurred in the region: long-term viability of the USAN and how Ecuador together with the government of Rafael Correa is seen from the outside.

The methodology used was a documentary analysis and description of the steps and the Treaty that established USAN by collecting information and theory from primary and secondary sources. Also, the analysis of the different positions of Ecuador during the creation of the USAN, the research and analysis of every decision and statement given by Ecuador during their pre - tempore presidency, containing data collection monitors any decision taken by Ecuador during and after the pre - tempore by monitoring the latest relevant actors of USAN: Venezuela and Brazil through regional news bulletins. An interview tool was used by the Ecuadorian ambassador Foreign Service, Carlos Abad Ortiz, former Director of Regional Integration in the Foreign Ministry department and current president of the Foreign Service Association of Officials and Employees (AFESE).

CHAPTER I

South America and its integration attempts

The notion of strengthening political, economic and geographical integration between countries with asymmetric affinities has been an ongoing attempt to bring it to reality from the time of heroic deeds until today. For this reason, the Ecuadorian Ambassador, Luis Valencia Rodríguez, emphasizes that the idea of integration originated even before the Great Colombia was formed claiming that "the idea of South American political integration is as old as the process of independence... in 1790 Francisco de Miranda¹ proposed the creation of a large Hispanic state expanding from the Mississippi river to Cape Horn" (Valencia Rodríguez, 2011, p. 37). All attempts over the years can be considered as a set of integration processes between countries, but then can also be considered as the accumulation of different experiences, whether commercial, economic, political or otherwise, that helped as a convergence and agreement point between different ideological cuts, discrepancies and political, commercial and economic disparities among the South American countries along the integration processes.

This first chapter aims to determine every process and South American experiences that helped to create a new alternative integration model within the region. This is made by showing each step and its predecessor stages to the great South American project of integration in order to analyze Ecuador's entrance to this model.

Gran Colombia as a starting point

It is of great importance that the strength of our nation is able to withstand... the attacks that this European ambition might try and this jealous power..., cannot be formed from the union of all South America, under one nation body ... that...brings us... to the summit of power and prosperity

Simón Bolívar

¹ Venezuelan politician, military, diplomatic, writer, humanist and ideologist.

Very close to reaching the bicentenary of such an ambitious regional political project, the fact that the Great Colombia has remained present, was the first of its kind and was to unify several Latin American countries in order to form a Hispanic superpower to serve as a counterweight to the Spanish crown and get its independence from it, as well as the empires of the United States and Britain. On December 17, 1819 the Great Colombia was established with Venezuela, New Granada (now Colombia) and Quito as members under the auspice of the Supreme Congress in Angostura (Ameliach, 2007). Bolivar was known as the hero of the freedom of Hispanic peoples, but also as a precursor and leader of the great consolidation project from a scheme of political integration within the region. However, Bolívar took the idea of integration from the Venezuelan Fernando Miranda, an idea that was born during the Spanish American wars of independence.

The idea of the union of nations as a means to reach a common welfare was raised from the time that Simon Bolivar visualized that any external threat Hispanic countries should not act individually, based on three fundamental pillars for this purpose:

- Create a security system and defense against any attack or foreign colonization.
- Ensure conditions for the establishment of republican institutions and the process to ensure welfare of the South American peoples.
- Provide assistance in the process of independence of those countries that still held a colonial system in the region.

The first pillar mentioned sustained the other two because the Gran Colombia promised to be a coercive and militarily competitive force in that period of decolonization, giving as a response expulsion of the Spanish empire in Latin America (Boscan Lombardi, 2011). Additionally, it ensured the creation and respect for the republican institutions that met the needs of emancipated peoples. It should be noted that this idea was applied more recently by the South American Defense Council (CSD) raised by former Brazilian President Luis Ignacio Lula Da Silva in 2008.

In spite of Bolivar's attempts, the project had a cycle of 10 years of life after its creation. By 1830 both the Great Colombia and Simon Bolivar reached the end of their journey due to the independence of Venezuela and Ecuador from the Great Colombia, and the death of the Libertador meant the disappointment of the Great Colombia. The end of this project was evident in the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama in 1824, which aimed to create "an assembly as a council in great conflicts, a point of contact in the common danger, faithful interpreter of their public treaties and judge, mediator and facilitator in disputes and differences" (Simón Bolívar) between countries of the Great Colombia (Venezuela, Nueva Granada and Quito), Mexico, The United Provinces of Río de la Plata (Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay), Chile and Central America as plenipotentiary members and The United States, Great Britain and Brazil as neutral members (de la Reza, 2010, p. 12-13). The shortcomings were the absence of several countries in this encounter and the divergence of interests and strategies between them. On one hand, the absence of the United States, Brazil, Chile and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata symbolized a turning point in the integration, since the absence of a set of binding agreement meant that responsibilities and obligations between States would not continue to pursue the possibility of this integration Project. On the other hand, the clash of interests between States with different doctrines and ideologies such as the Monroe doctrine and the Great Colombia counterbalanced this.

The Monroe² doctrine as "America for Americans", devised by John Quincy Adams³, stated that any intervention of European states in America would be seen as an act of aggression requiring U.S. intervention (de la Reza , p. 42 - . 43) . From the point of view this would be a South American imperialist hegemony not only for Europe and its empires but also for the Gran Colombia, as well, "America had the unilateral right to impose its imperial designs on the entire continent, from New York was attributed to Patagonia" (Lombardi Boscan, 2011). Therefore, the consequences of the Amphictyonic Panama Congress are proof of the failed attempt to continue the Gran Colombia as a long-term power causing the disintegration of their territory. Ecuador, Venezuela seceded from Gran Colombia through their independence, and finally, Brazil and Argentina over territorial disputes create Uruguay. On the other hand, Mexico suffered the Spanish conquest in 1829 and the separation and annexation of Texas to the United States in 1836, Central America went to an internal civil war that resulted in the creation of new republics: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica (de la Reza, 2010, p. 75-76).

Latin American Integration Attempts

Mid-twentieth century theories arise within the region as modified Americanism; theory born in the nineteenth century as successor to the theory of Monroe and predecessor of OAS, which focuses on the political, economic and social integration with the purpose to create, promote and manage relationships, partnership and cooperation between member countries pointing to common goals. However, the theoretical background may differ from practice since Pan Americanism was not born as a South American initiative but as a North American initiative due to the constant threat of Europe and its attempts to recolonize to expand their markets and extend their influence in the continent. This indissoluble fact caused no more than a policy toward Latin America addressed to U.S. interests, giving assistance, associative economic, trade and military policy thus delimiting Hispanic American vision of Bolivar Americanism until the end of the Cold War (Oliva Campos, p . 267). American hegemony was instituted within the region, and as a result of

² Predecessor doctrine of pan Americanism and from what is now the Organization of American States (OAS).

³ United States diplomatic and politician, 6th president of the United States.

Pan and the different Pan-American conferences Organization of American States was created in 1948; oldest organization in the world as a political scheme of structural integration which currently has 34 countries members with the exception of Cuba (Valencia Rodríguez , p. 38). Quintessential American organization with clearly defined focus on peace, security, democracy, cooperative, equitable development of all peoples, poverty eradication objectives, among others (Organization of American States). However, is not a purely South American regional integration but an attempt to consolidate several countries with pronounced geographic, economic, geopolitical, social, cultural and trade imbalances that are not compatible to create a focal point and proper coordination to achieve common goals.

After World War II, Latin American countries tried to find that point of development and self-determination that allows them to create their own models of economic and political development, and from these attempts several regional integrations of different kinds were fertilized that served under several bilateral and multilateral agreements. From this point the need for group efforts and group resources available to all countries as a means and motive force for national development was created. These efforts can be summarized by the term sustainable systematic stability covering the joint efforts of a country or several countries within an institutional framework (institutions and processes, rules, policies) rooted in prevailing values and preferences in a society and accepted by them, that allows competition of power, resources and markets (Peña, p. 23). Sustainable systematic stability welcomes four edges that must be taken into account as driving forces for unity and integration of the region:

1. Development of a regional platform for joint production patterns to help the competitive integration of each country into the global market.
2. Reducing conflicting trends between neighboring countries and cooperation with any external threat.
3. Improving the bargaining capacity between countries in the trade sector.
4. Common historical heritage with a desire to rebuild.

The essence of a *sustainable systematic stability* within the integration processes of the past 50 years is evident in the trade issue as an objective to create different integration groups or trade blocs in order to create an institutional and operational framework that encourages both the industrial development and strategic productive sectors. Also, free exchange of goods and resources as a release of their economies to the global market in an effective and efficient manner. The first models of economic integration:

Latin American Regional Blocs			
Free Trade Latin American Association (ALALC)	Latin American Association of Integration (ALADI)	Treaties of Montevideo in 1960 and 1980	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Panama, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela
Andean Group	Andean Community of Nations	Cartagena Agreement 1969	Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia
Central American Common Market (CARICOM)	Treaty of Chaguaramas 1973		Caribbean and Central America
Treaty of Amazon Cooperation	Brasilia, Brazil 1978		Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Surinam, Venezuela
Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR)	Asunción, Paraguay 1991		Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)	1993		Canada, the United States, México
G-3	Cartagena de Indias, Colombia 1994		Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela
Free Trade Area of the Americas (ALCA)	Miami, United States 1994		Every American continent country except Cuba
Bolivarian Alternative of the Americas (ALBA)	Habana, Cuba 2004		Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Rep. Dominicana, Ecuador, Nicaragua, S. Vicente and Granadinas, Venezuela

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Source: Luis Valencia Rodriguez - USAN: Regional Political Integration

Then in the 90s an orthodox liberal economic and political, a trend advocating the indiscriminate opening of the economy and the development of certain productive sectors with comparative advantages for more and better market penetration occur internationally, and on the other hand, in political terms, the preferential liberal vision of the United States as the largest trading partner for Latin American markets as in the cases of Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Argentina (Gomes Saraiva, 2012, p. 89-90). In the case of the FTAA, it took an unexpected and ideological counterpart twist as former Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez collected the initiative of his counterpart Fidel Castro and promotes the modification of the FTAA to the Bolivian Alternative of the Americas (ALBA) (Valencia Rodríguez, 2011, pgs. 39-40-41). It was a more ideological bloc rather than economic in nature as it was made based on doctrines of left and post-liberal promoting greater autonomy for the region without focusing much on the orbit of the United States (Sanahuja, 2010, p. 79), in order fight against poverty, social exclusion, promote human rights and the environment, combating protectionist policies and subsidies in industrialized countries and create cooperative mechanisms compensating asymmetries of member countries.

The various efforts of the countries of the Americas led to several regional blocs to free up their economies to international trade and the free movement of people, goods and services. However, trade and economic issues were not strategic starting points since the political party of that time significantly influenced leftist countries that did not accept U.S. hegemony and decided to take a liberal and neoliberal shift to a post-liberal court.

⁴ Advantage that a country has over another when producing at a lower cost

A new model of South-South integration: Union of South American Nations

The emergence of several regional blocs and groups over the past 50 years has shown little progress and stagnation in the integration processes, CAN, FTAA, ALBA cases and the impact on their effectiveness due to:

- The quality and capacity of institutions and methods of joint working to generate rules, networks and common symbols to sustain over time an associative link.
- Lack of simultaneity or economic cycles according to each partner country.
- Inequality in political agendas of governments of member countries, and reduction or elimination generator policies and actions in the medium and long term to help build an integration space required.
- The concentration of interests and transnational networks with the ability to generate strategies that involve several countries aspiring to integration.
- Lack of a culture of legality among partner countries characterized by a lack of norms and a social structure that provides each individual what is necessary to achieve their goals in society.
- Different interests of partner countries lacking synchrony.

Similarly, neoliberal trends posed a new regionalism that was presented as a strategy to enhance international integration in a world regionalized and globalized whose economic orbit not only turned around dominant economies like U.S., Europe and East Asia (Sanahuja, p. 89), but a new model that takes the potential of each country in the region to form a dominant group capable of acting as an influential bloc within the regional and global stage. In addition to this, the CAN and MERCOSUR results respectively were unsatisfactory due to the clash of economic and commercial interests of the member countries, financial crises in the sub-questions of leadership models and rigidity, lack of efficacy, and political commitments unfulfilled structural fractures. Simultaneously the failure of these processes relies on nationalism and the protection of national sovereignty of each of the actors in the region as noted by Professor José Antonio Sanahuja in his article "Building a South American region: USAN and post liberal regionalism."

The weakness and lack of effectiveness of regional institutions is more a symptom than a cause: relates to marking or traditional nationalism and Westphalian conception of sovereignty that characterizes Latin American politics ... which explains the need to preserve some leeway in national politics and the defense of national interests against its neighbors, especially when there are marked asymmetries in size, power and wealth. (Sanahuja, 2010, p. 92)

The need for new regional blocs or try to converge the existing with a new model of integration stagnated due to the common denominator of all these experiences, which is to primarily address the business and economic issue with the creation of common markets, elimination tariff or free trade barriers, ignoring political, social, institutional issues, civil participation, energy, health, regional infrastructure, science and technology.

The creation of the USAN is a response to different factors such as the absence of northern countries, both Mexico and the United States, resulting in the change of the influential elements within the region, meaning the continental board changed revealing new players such as Brazil and leaving aside old actors like the aforementioned. In the U.S. case, the last administrations (including Obama) have been characterized by downplaying Latin and South American affairs due to the concentration of efforts and resources for the global war on terrorism, and in the case of Mexico, just as their efforts were directed to the Caribbean, its main partner to the north and the fight against drug trafficking within its borders. Additionally, we add new emerging regionalist positions such as post-liberal regionalism⁴ that serve as a guide for South-South integration. In the case of Brazil, as an emerging player in the region it takes center stage in the creation of UNASUR since it was the government of former president Fernando Enrique Cardoso, then the government of Ignacio Lula Da Silva which began to convene and propose meetings with Heads of State and Government of South America under the loading plan agendas with political issues in the First South American Summit in Brasilia held on August 31 and September 1, 2000 (C. Cardona, The USAN: A convergence mechanism in South America?, 2012, p 286; Sanahuja, 2010, p 103.)

⁵ This trend points to the departure of U.S. neoliberal doctrines (WB-IMF) and in response to certain processes of globalization which not allow the development of a state and that this serves as a means to improve their internal governance and proactive regional policy framework that optimize the development of each country through a more moderate view of globalization (Sanahuja, pág. 96).

The viability of a new South American model lies in the content of the agendas of each member country, focusing on the South American infrastructure, energy policy, creating a space for dialogue and gradual transparency on the issue of regional defense, among others. However, the approach of a single schedule for all does not guarantee the perfect understanding between different actors belonging to this model as the UNASUR can also be considered as a process of learning the different currents and asymmetries within the region as explained Cardona, asymmetries and currents as:

- Current realities shaped by historical differences of each actor, meaning 9 countries were Spanish colonies until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, one Portuguese colony until the last quarter of the century, one English colony and a Dutch that obtained their independence respectively already into the twentieth century.
- Differences and geographic disparities, population, economic, energy, agricultural, industrial, technological, scientific, development and in relation to the international agenda in each country.
- Geographical position as a relevant factor within the region there are countries with access to the Caribbean, the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Amazon and transcontinental output (Colombia case).
- Different political and economic systems, governments in the region are emphasizing liberal political rights and civil liberties, there are governments with participatory democracies that give more importance to economic and social rights, and there, facing social democratic governments.
- Different perceptions in relation to the world, meaning countries in the region with a view of the world as a set of opportunities prioritizing international trade resulting in different associations with various countries around the world, and there are countries that see competition as somewhat uneven and problematic leading to isolation and protectionism and even to more concentrated markets by state administration.

The USAN may be considered as a point of agreement with various ideological, political, economic and social edges that wander across the region of South America, as well as a point of creating a South American identity as the European Union (EU), including the foundations and projection of the USAN which are equated with the EU. The USAN as a point of coordination and convergence in which a field action and greater participation compared to their predecessors, despite its short existence has great potential to be extended to exert dominance in the region and the world. Notably, the CSN / USAN is recognized at the interregional level as an intergovernmental body representing 12 countries in South America. For example, the first summit of the South- Arab countries was held in Brasilia America on May 11, 2005 22. More Palestinian Arab countries attended with the aim of expanding the South American international projection field and markets. After the November 30, 2006 a meeting was held in Abuja - Nigeria African Union Summit CSN- reaching agreements on cooperation for UN reform and the resumption of WTO negotiations. Both summits held by Brazilian initiative (Sanahuja, 2010, p 105.) Similarly, the European Union and made a reconnaissance of the UNASUR through European policy establishing the importance of talks to begin to establish EU- USAN (Gomes Saraiva, 2012, p. 95.)

Process of creation of the Union of South American Nations

A region like ours has had a number of significant changes over the past 20 years due to the change of the established world order and adjustments of power in it, resulting in a multipolar world where the hegemony of one state is affected by the other states. As established by the Secretary General of FLACSO, Francisco Rojas Aravena, changes that the region are political, economic, military, social, cultural and integration nature, and are forging the conditions for a new model of integration.

- An emerging regional power, Brazil, belonging to the intercontinental bloc (BRICSA⁵) and its presence as an influential player in response to the loss of hegemony and U.S. interest in the region.
- Countries such as China and India are interested stakeholders in the region in matters of trade, diplomacy and economic terms.

⁵ Brazil. Russia, India, China, South Africa

- Enabling conditions for democracy; several countries in the region emphasize the absolute respect for democracy in each clause, democratically in each multilateral or bilateral treaty (Rojas Aravena, 2012, p. 42).
- The transition from a neoliberal model to a post-liberal model, which allowed the global financial crisis not to have an effect on the region.
- Greater emphasis on protecting weak and vulnerable social sectors through public policy.
- Importance of regional financial institutions, Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF) and the South Bank.
- Greater autonomy for the region and country to celebrate and be part of and be treated as sub- blocks, macro-regional and trans-regional.
- Axis of integration and cooperation again, a North - South axis to a South-South axis.
- Increased political weight in the South focused on the creation of a Latin American point of convergence that serves as a voice to the other regions.
- Territory of peace, mutual trust and confidence.
- Region with less military spending in the world, nuclear-free and signer of major international treaties that control or restrict the military capabilities of countries in the region (Rojas Aravena, 2012, p. 46).
- Increased willingness of countries to resolve their differences and disputes under international legal frameworks.
- Increase the role of the military in response to the high rate of violence and insecurity caused by drug trafficking, organized crime in the countries of the region.
- Excessive population growth and unplanned rural to urban growth causing social inequality, poverty and low social mobility.
- New non-state actors generating a culture of information through telecommunications.

These changes have shaped the foundations of the principles on which USAN, acts so that it provides a space or a much wider margin in the region of action due to its systematic and institutional infrastructure that acts in strategic sectors. Similarly, if we consider these changes as a series of processes and experiences, as mentioned above, they are divided into three stages: the initial stage, and the early consolidation stage.

I N I C I A L S T A G E	Brasilia - Brazil 2000	1 Septiembre	I Presidencial Meeting of de South America (RPAS)	Declaration of Brasilia	Understanding asymmetries.
					Consolidation of democratic institutions.
					Respect of representative democracy and its processes.
					Bases for physical interconnectivity of the region through the Initiative for Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA), currently under the leadership of the South American Infrastructure and Planning Council (COSIPLAN).
	Guayaquil - Ecuador 2002	July 26-27	II RPAS (Consensus of Guayaquil)	Declaration on Peace un South America	Geo-economics, social sustainability, economic efficiency, environmental sustainability and institutional development.
					Expansion and coordination of actions aimed at the creation of a South American common space.
	Cusco - Perú 2004	December 8-9	III RPAS	Declaration of Cusco	The South American Community of Nations (CSN) Surge
					<u>Conformation:</u> It involves the development of the inner regions of South America as well as the sense of shared values and interests.
					<u>Union:</u> Develop a coordinated position point to the political and diplomatic consultation and coordination, evolution to higher stages of economic, social and institutional integration as well as physical, energy and communications, promote rural and agricultural development and enable technology transfer and cooperation horizontal and the interaction of business and civil society with corporate social responsibility.
					<u>Acción:</u> Promoción de la convergencia sobre la base de la institucionalidad existente.
	Brasilia - Brazil 2005	September 30	First Summit of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations	Declaration on Security in South America	Reduction of asymmetries in the processes of regional integration
				Declaration on Integration in the Infrastructure Area	Development of better relations between other regions (African Union, Arab countries and EU).
	Montevideo - Uruguay 2005	December 9	First Special Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations	Document on the creation of the Strategic Committee of Reflection on the Integration Process	Strengthen policy coordination, convergence of existing mechanisms and accelerating efforts to unify infrastructure.
				Free movement of people in the region	
	Cochabamba - Bolivia 2006	December 9	Second Summit of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations	Declaration of Cochabamba	Documento final de la Comisión Estratégica de Reflexión
					Solidarity and cooperation for greater regional equity.
					Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and self-determination.
					Peace and peaceful resolution of disputes.
					Democracy and pluralism to prevent dictatorships and no respect for human rights.
					The universality, interdependence and indivisibility of them.
					Sustainable development.
	Margarita - Venezuela 2007	April 16	II Special Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations	Creation of the Union of South American Nations (USAN)	Designating of Ecuador (Quito) as the permanent headquarters of the General Secretariat.
					Strategic Reflection Committee is molded to the Council of Delegates in charge of drawing up the treaty establishing the UNASUR.
					I South American Energy Summit due to the increase in oil prices internationally.

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Source: Proceso de Consolidación UNASUR (Memoria Anual 2011-2012) - Rodrigo Alvarez Valdés "UNASUR desde la perspectiva subregional a la regional"

E A R L Y S T A G E	Santiago de Chile - Chile 2008	September 15	First Special Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Union of South American Nations	Declaration of la Moneda	Internal crisis in Bolivia because of fighting between the government and autonomy movements.
					Chile gets the Pre-Tampere Presidency (Michelle Bachelet)
					Enters into force the Treaty of the USAN
					The South American Defense Council (CSD) and the South American Health Council (CSS) were created.
	Quito - Ecuador 2009	August 10	III Regular Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the USAN	The president pro tempore of Chile goes to Ecuador under President Rafael Correa..	The South American Council of struggle against drug trafficking are created (now the South American Council on the World Drug Problem), the South American Council of Infrastructure and planning (COSIPLAN / IIRSA), the South American Council of Social Development (CSDS), the South American Council of education. Culture, Science and Technology and Innovation (COSECTI).
	Bariloche - Argentina 2009	August 29	Special Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of the USAN	Declaration of Bariloche	Strengthen South America as a zone of peace, and point to the withdrawal of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity.
					Reaffirm the commitment to strengthen the fight against terrorism, transnational organized crime and related elites.
					To establish that the presence of foreign military bases can not threaten peace and integrity of the (case: U.S. military bases in Colombia) region.
	Quito - Ecuador 2010	February 9	Extraordinary Meeting of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR	Declaration of Solidarity for Haiti	Reiterates the commitment of each member to attend comprehensively to the injured and homeless, and the reconstruction of the country taking into account the needs and priorities expressed by the Haitian government.
	Los Cardales - Argentina 2010	may-04	Special Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR	Former Argentine president is appointed; Néstor Kirchner as first secretary general, to create the USAN-Haiti Technical Secretariat, to address issues such as internal infrastructure, food security and institutional strengthening.	Reaffirm the priority interest of UNASUR to promote the integration process in the most urgent human development aspects of their populations
	Buenos Aires - Argentina 2010	October 1	Special Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR		Reaffirm the commitment of democratic institutions, the rule of law, constitutional order, social peace and full respect for human rights in the region as essential conditions to be carried out effectively the integration process.
					Condemn the attempted coup in Ecuador that would set September 30, energetically reject any new challenge to institutional authority or attempt to hit the legitimately elected civilian power and warns that if new institutional order breaks were taken concrete and immediate measures.
	Georgetown - Guyana 2010	November 26	IV Regular Meeting of the Board of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR	Transfer of Pre-Tempore Presidency of Ecuador to Guyana	The South American Council of Economics and Finance (CSEF) is created)
					The Additional Protocol to the Treaty establishing the UNASUR on commitment to democracy in the region was adopted.

Made by: Felipe Pesántez

Source: Proceso de Consolidación UNASUR (Memoria Anual 2011-2012)

C O N S O L I D A T I O N S T A G E	Quito - Ecuador 2011	March 11	First Ordinary Meeting of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USAN	Entra en vigencia el Tratado Constitutivo del UNASUR tras la ratificación de Brasil, Paraguay y Colombia		
				Designación de las secretarías generales de la UNASUR; Dra María Emma Mejía, para los periodos 2011-2012 y 2012-2013		
	Quito - Ecuador 2011	June 16	The headquarters of the General Secretariat of the USAN opens			
			The headquarters agreement between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Integration of Ecuador, Ricardo Patiño and general secretary of UNASUR, María Emma Mejía is signed, giving the start of the activities therein.			
	Lima - Perú 2011	July 26	Special Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of the USAN	Commitment against inequality, relevant to the integration process as a tool for poverty reduction and social inclusion element to set an agenda of priority social programs that emphasize reducing asymmetries and structural gaps that contribute to intergenerational inequality and their spread within region.		
	Buenos Aires - Argentina 2011	August 24	Special Meeting of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USAN	Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs	The extension of the mandate of the Technical Secretariat of UNASUR-Haiti and its owner, Ambassador Rodolfo Mattarollo.	
					Adoption of the guidelines of the structure and provisional operating budget of the General Secretariat valid until May 31, 2012.	
					Recommendations to Pre Tempore Presidency to intervene with the UN Secretary General on the situation in the Falklands in order to know the progress.	
					Ratification of the signing of the Headquarters Agreement of UNASUR and the Argentine government for the operation of the Centre for Strategic Studies of Defense (CEED) based in Buenos Aires.	
					Adoption of the Statute of the South American Institute of Government Health (ISAGS).	
	Asunción - Paraguay 2011	October 29	V Regular Meeting of Council of Heads of State and Government of the USAN	Declaration of Asunción	Support for the holding of a meeting of Ministers of Defence, Justice and Home Affairs to analyze the threats of transnational organized crime, among others.	
					Pre Tempore Presidency Leasehold to Paraguay	
					The creation of an Electoral Council of the USAN is recommended.	
Asunción - Paraguay 2012	March 17	V Reunión Ordinaria del Consejo de Jefes y Jefas de Estado y de Gobierno del UNASUR	Statement by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USAN	The UN General Assembly declared UNASUR as an observer member of the same through Resolution A/RES/66/109.		
				Approval of Budget UNASUR (2011-2012) and Secretary General (2012-2013), and distribution fees		
				The importance of strengthening cooperation with third countries and regional organizations in order to deepen South-South dialogue.		
				The creation of a working group to study a proposal on the treatment and promotion of Human Rights in the USAN.		
			Extension of the extension of the mandate of UNASUR-Haiti Technical Secretariat until 31 December 2012.			
Declaration of the Falkland Islands	The operation of the mechanism of regular consultations judicial, police, financial, customs and drug bodies combat.					
	Emphasize diplomatic and peaceful means to the situation of the Falkland Islands with the UK government to resume peace talks to end the dispute over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.					
Cartagenas de Indias - Colombia 2012	May 2 and 4	Meeting of Ministers of Defense, Interior, Justice and Foreign Affairs	Declaration of Cartagenas	The creation of a Council on citizen security, justice and coordination of actions against transnational organized crime is recommended.		

Made by: Felipe Pesántez

Source: Proceso de Consolidación UNASUR (Memoria Anual 2011-2012)

It is notable that the Union of South American Nations has possessed a strong foundation since its inception because during the initial stage collective values and principles that point to a moral structural order and sustainable development of the entire region without violating the constitutional order as both are secured democratically by each member country. What is reflected equally in the following two steps is the intention to reinforce South American integration reflected in the subsidiary USAN Advice and the degree of involvement of the same in the peaceful settlement of the crisis within because the region has served as a point of dispute settlement, disputes and asymmetries between the countries involved. Similarly, the stability and effectiveness of USAN long-term can highlight the simple fact of the ratification of the Treaty of all countries, affirming their political will to continue with this regional intergovernmental body.

So the twelve countries in South America confirmed their political will in one integration project as a point of coordination and convergence between them and betting on the long-term with a model of social, political, cultural, environmental, infrastructure and energy, claiming the construction of a South American identity and citizenship. Thus, the Republic of Argentina, the Republic of Bolivia, the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Republic of Colombia, the Republic of Chile, the Republic of Ecuador, the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, the Republic of Paraguay, Republic of Peru, the Republic Suriname, the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela signed the Treaty of the Union of South American Nations in Brazil. Their determination is reflected in the main objective of the USAN:

... build an integration and unity in the cultural, social, economic and political affairs of their people, prioritizing political dialogue, social policies, education, energy, infrastructure, finance and the environment... with a view to eliminate socioeconomic inequality, achieving social inclusion and citizen participation, strengthen democracy and reduce asymmetries within the framework of strengthening the sovereignty and independence of States ... (USAN)

And it is important to consider the structure of the Union of South American Nations and its operation, as established in the Constitutive Treaty ⁶ is divided as:

- The Council of Heads of State and Government⁷: made by democratically elected presidents of the twelve member countries, the same that has the authority to establish policy guidelines, action plans, programs and projects of the South American integration process and deciding priorities for implementation, convening sectorial ministerial meetings, create ministerial councils decide on the proposals submitted by the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and adopt policy guidelines for relations with third parties.
- The Council of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers⁸: made by the prime ministers of foreign affairs of each member country, and it is attributed to adopt resolutions to implement the decisions of the Council of Heads of State and Government, to propose draft decisions and prepare the meetings of the Council of Heads of State and Government, coordinate positions on central issues of South American integration, develop and promote political dialogue and cooperation on issues of regional and international interest, track and evaluation of the integration process as a whole, approve the annual program of activities and the annual operating budget of the USAN, approve public financing initiatives of the USAN, implement the policy guidelines on relations with third parties, approve resolutions and regulations of character institutional or other matters within its competence, and create working groups within the priorities set by the Council of Heads of State and Government.
- The Council of Delegates and Delegates⁹: comprised senior officials from each member country, who attributed implemented by adopting the relevant provisions, the decisions of the Council of Heads of State and Government, and Council resolutions of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, with the support of the President Pro Tempore and the General Secretariat to prepare the meetings of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, develop draft decisions, resolutions and regulations for consideration by the Council of Ministers and Foreign Ministers, reconcile and coordinate the initiatives of the USAN with other regional integration processes and sub-numbers, in order to promote the complementarity of efforts, establish, coordinate and monitor the Working Groups, track political dialogue and dialogue on issues of regional and international interest, promote opportunities for dialogue that facilitate citizen participation in the process of South American integration and propose to the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs the draft standard annual operating budget for consideration and approval.
- General Secretary¹⁰: organ that executes all the commands of the organs of the USAN and self-representation their request, and attributes support the Council of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Council of Delegates and the president pro tempore in the performance of their duties, propose initiatives and the implementation of the directives of the organs of the USAN, participate with voice and exercise the secretariat at meetings of bodies of the USAN, prepare and submit the Annual Report and the respective reports to

⁶ Article 4 of the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations.

⁷ Article 6 of the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations.

⁸ Article 8 of the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations.

⁹ Article 9 of the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations.

¹⁰ Article 10 of the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations.

the appropriate bodies of the USAN, serve as depository of the agreements in the field of the USAN and arrange for their respective publication, prepare the draft annual budget for Council consideration of Delegates and adopt the measures necessary for its proper management and execution, prepare draft regulations for the operation of the General Secretariat, and the consideration and approval of the relevant bodies , coordinating with other entities integration and cooperation Latin America and the Caribbean for the development of activities requested by the bodies of UNASUR and celebrate, according to the regulations, all acts necessary for the proper administration and management of the General Secretariat.

- The various subsidiary councils that have been created since the beginning of the UNASUR until today as the South American Energy Council, South American Defense Council, South American Health Council, South American Council of Social Development, South American Infrastructure and Planning Council, South American Council Education, Culture, Science, Technology and Innovation, South American Council on the World Drug Problem, the South American Council of Economics and Finance, South American Electoral Council, and the South American Council on Citizen Security, Justice and Coordination Actions against Transnational Organized Crime.

Based on the aforementioned principles and values and the processes described, USAN's task is to cover all the expectations placed on this idea and go a long way to cover all the objectives in the Constitutive Treaty in an efficient and effective manner, objectives which should combine to reach the following goals¹¹:

- A new social contract for South American integration with a human face.
- Regional energy security.
- Physical infrastructure, connectivity and communications.
- Industrial and productive integration shares of common industrial policy and innovation.
- South American Financial Integration.
- Cultural identity on the basis of recognition and appreciation of the South American common cultural heritage.
- Citizen participation for civil society in the definition of major political integration.
- Coordination in the area of defense and development of a regional defense doctrine.
- Promotion of a South American immigration policy that ensures the free movement of persons and the full integration of migrants in destination countries.
- Integration at the constitutional level to promote integration at local and regional level, particularly in border areas.
- Combating corruption and coordination to defeat the South American drug trade
- South American policy information.
- Science and Technology Policy for the development of regional innovation programs and the generation of excellence in strategic areas such as renewable and non- renewable energy, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology and information technology and communication.
- Coordination of environmental policies, particularly in the field of biodiversity and disaster prevention.

¹¹ The issues were extracted from a publication of the USAN on November 2010, the summary issued by Ecuador on the period of his presidency Pro Tempore (2009-2010).

Ecuador as a member of this integration model and its constitutionality

Ecuador was the second country to ratify the Treaty of the USAN, on July 15, 2009, accompanied by Bolivia that were the first South American countries to become members of this organization. However, the constitutional conditions under which Ecuador reaffirmed its adherence must be taken into account because at that time the country was already included in a new constitution accepted by Ecuadorian referendum, which was very different and new in foreign policy from the constitution of 1998.

It is of great importance to emphasize the advantages of the current 2008 constitution with the disadvantages of the prior constitution of Ecuador, which disclosed the change that the country's international relations have taken.

- The previous constitution did not provide detailed information on the position of Ecuador with the international community; example of this, in chapter 6 poorly or not contemplated the guidelines of the country with their peers, a fact that does not happen with the constitution of 2008 is a whole section that refers to the foreign policy broken down into 3 full chapters. (Title VIII of the International Relations).
- Small forms of expression of the 1998 Constitution are poorly reflected in Article 161 (Title VI of Legislative Branch) that makes a subtle reference to the powers of the former National Congress, such as approving and disapproving international conventions and agreements, powers the current National Assembly has.
- The development of guidelines for foreign policy and international relations rested on the discretion and direction of the president in the constitution of 1998 (Title VII, article 171), implying that any international convention or treaty was based solely on the discretion and in the interest of the agent in turn and related to this person, and not in the interest of the Ecuadorian people as dictated by current constitution in which all connection with another country or countries is in favor of the people of Ecuador. The individual is the main component of the State and through this act jointly with other states to achieve development of the individual.
- The guidelines of Ecuador in its foreign policy are very clear in the constitution of 2008 as it explicitly sets priority to boost political, cultural and economic integration of the Andean region of South America and Latin America (Article 416, paragraph 10 and chapter VIII 3rd title)
- In the 1998 constitution proper legal hierarchy that favors international conventions within the constitutional order of the state, different from what determines the constitution of Montecristi, that any agreement with third countries is over all internal regulations (Articles 424-425) but not the supreme law is in the Constitution except in cases where treaties place emphasis on the care and protection of human rights. From my point of view, treaties or international agreements are ignoring the will of the contracting states or hold them implying that these lack a superior legal order to be applied to the internal regulations are overrated.

- The foreign policy of Ecuador rests on principles, like the USAN, which are not shown in the above constitution but in the current guidelines and actions of the Ecuadorian state. These principles are created by the state and they do not subordinate to this based on the sovereignty and interests of the people, independence and legal equality of states, peaceful coexistence, solidarity, cooperation, free integration self-determination, legal sovereignty and reject any form of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.
- Unprecedented recognition of international law as a rule of conduct among states and international organizations in the constitution of 2008. Ecuador as a sovereign country encourages bonding and willingness of countries to free association and cooperation between them provided a concentration of power in one or a few states powers that undermines free will and interests of the smaller states does not exist. This means that a multipolar world is better because there is a more equitable sharing amongst the states within the international community participation.

In other words, our Constitution provides a tool for Ecuador to act and build productive relationships with South America, giving a constitutional framework for action on the goal of creating a real economic, political and social integration in the natural area which is USAN. In my view, the principles of legality and legitimacy of a rule, law or treaty is not simply based on if they are not contrary to or not stipulated in the constitution but yes also in the interest and approval of this legislation that affects individuals, meaning the constitutionality of a treaty responds to the welfare of individuals within a State. And what better welfare than economic growth, increased investment, increased job openings, expansion of regional trade, mobilizing human and financial capital, among others. As explained by professor Washington Herrera in his article: *Regional integration: Andean Community and Union of Nations of the South*¹², he highlights the advantages that Ecuador has to belong to integration model.

1. Inter South American Trade
2. Infrastructure works
3. Integration of Financial Resources
4. Productive Transformation with Innovation
5. Energetic Integration
6. External Economical Relations

¹² Article published jointly by the National Development Plan 2007-2010 by the Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador in 2010.

CHAPTER II

Ecuador's participatory role in the Union of South American Nations

Ecuador as a country over the Southern Cone has been involved in various processes of integration to the present, including the newest is the CELAC¹³, becoming known as a state that has chosen South American integration and not its insulation. As detailed in the previous chapter constitutional changes in our country means it has to give way to shape its relations with its Latin American equal in order to promote a new participation in both regional and international geopolitics called USAN. However, Ecuador's participation in this relatively new entity does not guarantee it has been more or less influential than other member countries and that in any integration process interaction between members is varied according to the degree of participation of each one. An example of this is the initiative's former presidents of Brazil, Fernando Enrique Cardoso and Lula Ignacio da Silva who molded the lead of his predecessor and urged his peers to be part of the South American integration in order to reach a collective regional development system similar to the European Union without its current shortcomings. Yet the share of each country has a mandatory sense of fulfillment as this process is nothing more than a sum of the experiences provided by each country and each integration process in the region, MERCOSUR and CAN, that "to the extent what viability people find assume the leading role they deserve in this process "(Cusco Declaration, 2004) and in the course of this ambitious project application it must be "flexible and gradual in its implementation, ensuring that each State commits by reality" (Constitutive Treaty of the USAN).

This chapter aims to analyze all participatory roles of Ecuador, either before, during and after its presidency pro tempore through their actions, statements and positions relative to USAN and the South American region.

¹³ Community of Latin American and Caribbean States

Ecuador as a member of USAN

First, it should be clear that from the first meeting of the Presidents of South America (RPAS) in 2000 until 2009 when Ecuador took the pro-tempore presidency, the executive function of our country has been played by 4 different statesmen in various time periods and years. These are: Gustavo Noboa Bejarano (2000-2003), Lucio Gutiérrez (2003-2005), Alfredo Palacio (2005-2007) and Rafael Correa Delgado (2007- up to now¹⁴), which means that the proposed integration of South America and Ecuador's immersion in this were in the hands of these authorities and thus with equal or multiple, and different outcomes of this process. Next, the start of the meetings of heads of state gave a pattern of regular continuity of these, meaning from the beginning of this millennium the political agenda of South America has focused on request to all presidents for conversation and political dialogue in one location to help converge asymmetries of various kinds and ideologies of different cuts to begin a process of macro regional integration. Until Ecuador had chaired the pre tempore presidency 3 meetings of the Presidents of South America were held, 2 summits of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations, and 2 special meetings of Heads of State and Government of the South American Community of Nations, also, 1 extraordinary meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Union of South American Nations¹⁵. From these concentrations of statesmen resulted 8 statements of great importance, 3 of these relevant that formed the basis for this model of integration; Communicate of Brasilia (2000), the Declaration of Cuzco (2004) and the Declaration of Cochabamba (2006).

¹⁴ Referring to the present time is the third constitutional mandate of the economist Rafael Correa (2013-2017).

¹⁵ Both RPAS, the extraordinary meetings of the South American Community of Nations (CSN) and the Union of South American Nations (USAN) are regional opportunities for political coordination of the same entity.

The Brasilia Declaration first document on the one hand marked a significant milestone in all the attempts at integration of South America, from my point of view because Ecuador participated in the roundtable with former President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano; Jamil Mahuad's¹⁶ successor as constitutional representative of Ecuador, sat down to talk with the first 12 presidents of the 12 countries of the Southern Cone in a context where the concepts of democracy, human rights, international law and sustainable development were being refurbished and taken into account in the new millennium. Thus the ideas, realities, interests, sharing common goals and objectives were discussed. This achievement was orchestrated by the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who with all the South American counterparts and representatives of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Andean Development Corporation (CAF) was talking about the direction the region should take to lead it in a new, multipolar and globalized world at a single time of space. Similarly former President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano and his South American peers stressed the need for political geographic proximity between their nations, meaning, they realized that the closeness of their territorial constituencies, the historical heritage shared and power the region represents to the world were and are binding factors for South American integration and construction.

On the other hand, the equally important document, the Cuzco Declaration, in which the will to continue with the integration process and give it a shape and a name to this was reaffirmed; Community of South American Nations, under the precepts and values that identify the 12 countries of the region as a set of sister nations with equal historical past under the "political and philosophical thought born of this tradition, recognizing the primacy of human beings, their dignity and rights, the plurality of peoples and cultures, has established a shared South American identity and common values, such as: democracy, solidarity, human rights, freedom, social justice, respect for the territorial integrity, diversity, non- discrimination and affirmation of their independence, sovereign equality of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes ... its determination to develop an integrated political, social , economic, environmental and infrastructural South American area, to strengthen

¹⁶Former Ecuadorian president who was overthrown and exiled in 2000 by an Indian, military and political coalition because of the crisis caused by the recession and financial and economic crisis, bank freezing (bank holiday) and induction of a foreign currency (U.S. dollar) within the domestic economy and devaluing replacing the sucre 80% against the U.S. dollar. Leading to high inflation (60%), unemployment (17%), poverty (62%).(Centro de Información y Documentación Internacionales en Barcelona, 2011)

the identity of South America " (Community of South American Nations, 2004). It should be noted that at the third meeting of the Presidents of South America, which Peru hosted with former President Alejandro Toledo, but absent were the presidents of Argentina, Nestor Kirchner, Lucio Gutierrez of Ecuador, Nicanor Duarte of Paraguay and Jorge Batlle of Uruguay. In the case of Ecuador, the absence of former President Lucio Gutierrez¹⁷ had two specific reasons: 1) the approach of these anti-terrorist policies and the fight against drug trafficking former President George W. Bush referring to "Ecuador wants to become the best friend and ally of the U.S. in the ongoing struggle for peace in the world, to strengthen democracy, reduce poverty, to combat drug trafficking and to end another human scourge such as terrorism " (Diario Hoy, HoyOnline) and 2) under President Lucio Gutiérrez in Ecuador's 1998 constitution there was no article or chapter that addresses the country's politics and integration as an approach much less South American Latin, hence there was no constitutional support gear to serve as a politically strong outside.

However, both the Declaration of Cusco contributed to specific principles that would serve as a starter for the creation of UNASUR. Therefore, these meetings are given with the approval of the new millennium which gave birth to these two statements that emphasize:

- Peace and regional trust as collateral for the creation of a zone of South American integration.
- Respect and strength to democracy, rule of law and representative democracy in the region.
- Regional integration as a political goal.
- Infrastructure integration as key to sustainable, equitable and egalitarian economic development.

Peace and regional trust are integration conditions that are the result of the last military conflict between South American nations, Ecuador and Peru, conditions that promoted and reaffirmed the principle of international law with regard to the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and disputes as opposed to use of force against any State, and took as pillars of peace declarations Galapagos (1989) and Ushuaia (1998) that show the creation of a peace zone free of weapons of mass destruction among the MERCOSUR

¹⁷ Lucio Gutierrez was removed from office as president of Ecuador because democratic fracture caused when you resign 27 of the 31 judges of the Supreme and to aim substitute judges who belong to the government. This caused unrest among civil society and produced a coalition government and the indigenous sector, corruption in government areas and economic crisis. (USAN, South American Integration Process: elements for a sindical strategy, 2010)

countries, CAN, Chile and Bolivia, and hence the South American presidents agreed to begin the creation of a South American Peace Zone (Communicate of Brasilia, 2000). However, one should not overestimate peace as the only way of understanding or international behavior that is not always the case due to the volatile degree of sovereignty that each country is prone, that is, every nation by its nature is sufficiently sovereign to defend their interests and their territory to any threat and independent to acquire or supply weapons to any country as long as it does not violate international law. Without underestimating this peace initiative by the nations it is necessary to clarify a free zone of peace or war includes policies and agreements that emphasize gradual reduction of military spending, integral control of the production, transport and use of any type of weaponry, military cooperation and comprehensive intelligence or reduction of all national and foreign military activity within each country except for a necessary quota to respond to the defense and interests of the region.

While in reality there are not any international or regional treaties establishing these control parameters, there is the sum of each countries wishes to address this issue gradually until full transparency and security in sharing arms information. The general secretary of the USAN developed jointly with the South American Security Council and the Center for Strategic Studies of Defense (CEED) a report¹⁸ in 2012 to focus exclusively on the military expenditure of each country in the region. For example, our region represents 3.8% of global military spending relative to North America (42%) and Europe (23%) leading this area, our region and within countries with high indices weapons are Brazil (43%), Colombia (17%) and Venezuela (10%) while countries such as Ecuador represents only 4.5% of the regional military spending (A look out to the Military Expenses in South America, 2012). Similarly it should be stressed that the countries of the region doubled their military spending (2006-2010) 18,000 million to 34,000 million but not a huge increase or security risk in the region since the average military spending in GDP of each country varies by 0.91% as reported by the Center for Strategic Defense Studies of the USAN (InfobaeAmérica, 2012). Clearly the South Free Zone is an arms race between

¹⁸ This report was issued by the South American Defense Council (CDS) and the Center for Strategic Studies of Defense (CEED) which is based on the period 2006-2010 taking into account expenses related to external security and defense ministries and all its agencies, that is, armed forces, central governments and all other public sector body whose function is to defend the country against external challenges. (Redacción Justicia, 2012)

states and lacks a warlike tendency among regions worldwide despite the winds of war that some experts predicted due to territorial friction between Colombia and Venezuela. So it is not necessary that the South American states contract agreements to establish regional military parameters towards a Peace Zone by existing statements like Brasilia (2000), Guayaquil (2002), Bariloche (2009) and Lima and the Protocol of Peace, Security and Cooperation (2012) covering these parameters reaffirming the commitment to cooperate with each other so that all information is consolidated to be shared with each other in future years.

Respect and strength to democracy and all its representative forms is another factor which enhances the consolidation of the USAN, framing democratic principles within the South American integration process as a guarantee to achieve the welfare of the region and to legitimize the integration process through governments elected by popular vote where people express their desire to be in USAN to ensure both social welfare and economic development through the will of its representatives. That is why both the declaration of Brasilia like Cusco's emphasis was on respect for democratic institutions, promoting citizen participation, renewal of political parties, respect for the rule of law, maintenance and updating of electoral processes and promoting open discussion between civil society and governments that emphasize the inclusion of these in the development of public policies (Communicate of Brasilia, 2000). These concepts of representative democracy were unimaginable for Ecuador because of the long process of constitutional maturation has gone through Ecuador's democratic history has been characterized by overthrows and dismissals, social unrest, financial and economic crisis, various elaborate and discard constitutions and, untying governments with civil society in politics and social welfare. However, by 2007, Rafael Correa Delgado was elected as president in a post democratic transition, meaning a restructuring of the political and democratic system of Ecuador. This change was mainly based on the drafting of a new constitution, the Montecristi in 2008, embracing new rights and fairer governance principles that reflect the interests of the people and empower civil society with new rights of participation and control of all public issue related to state institutions being based on principles of equality, autonomy, public deliberation, respect indifference, popular control, solidarity and intercultural (Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, 2008).

The emphasis of USAN is dedicated to democracy and founded on the principle that every country should be governed legitimately by government that is accepted by the people and for this to be recognized by the international community as a state of law capable of maintaining relations with other equal states, in this case the South American countries. Proof of total respect for democracy in the region is the Additional Protocol to the USAN Constitutive Treaty establishing a democratic clause to any breakdown of constitutional order of any member country by imposing specific measures such as border closures, suspension of trade, air traffic and the provision of energy services and other supplies (Pro Tempore Presidency Ecuador 2009-2010).

The political will for regional integration is the key factor in South American integration because it was the seed that germinated in the various attempts and integrative processes that have occurred since the time of the Great Colombia and Simon Bolivar. The ideal of this is uniting South America into one strong and united nation where so far the leaders of each country claim its policy of continuing the USAN betting on the total integration of the region through reduction asymmetries in each state will, and convergence of common interests and issues, to achieve that goal. Thus, any statement that is made at each regular or special meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government contains policy guidelines, action plans, programs and projects that strengthen integration as a means of exerting political influence in a region on the world and stop relying on other non-South American political systems. So much so that within the USAN Constitutive Treaty Article 3, paragraph v) sets the "strengthening policy dialogue among Member States to ensure a space for consultation to reinforce South American integration and participation of UNASUR in the international arena."

Integration infrastructure as key to South American integration and sustainable, equitable and egalitarian economic development elements are based on the premise that the proximity and closeness of overseas countries are benefits that help reduce the symmetries between them to have regional infrastructure of land, sea, river and air border where optimal gaps are reduced and promote both peoples' circulation abroad and economic and financial assets such as economic, energy , social and cultural development of the different countries of the USAN, but mostly drives the building of a South American

identity. Thus within the Brasilia Declaration Plan of Action for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA) containing "suggestions and proposals, with a horizon of ten years for the expansion and modernization of the physical infrastructure in South America, especially in the areas of energy, transport and communications in order to configure axes of integration and economic and social development for the future enlarged economic space in the region" (Communicate of Brasilia, 2000). This action plan is called IIRSA was supported and expanded in the second meeting of the Presidents of South America in the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, taking into account more criteria for execution as the geo-economic perspective, social sustainability, economic efficiency, environmental sustainability and institutional development. This same meeting also raised funding guidelines IIRSA projects, taking into account the cooperation of several South American and international financial institutions like the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Andean Development Corporation (CAF), the Financial Fund for Development of the River Plate Basin (FONPLATA) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), in order to establish state and private funding mechanisms that fit the reality of each country, its affordability and its borrowing limit (Declaration of Guayaquil, 2002)

IIRSA is the second most important factor for integration, followed by the political factor, as it has the most direct responsibility for integration in twelve countries united in a multimodal transport and mobility mechanism. Today this action plan has already borne fruit since it was launched in 2000 until 2010 when it merged the Council of Infrastructure and Planning the USAN, 571 occurred within the Portfolio of Projects IIRSA.

Cartera de Proyectos IIRSA						
Projects				Estimated Investment		
Hubs	Nº of Groups	Nº	%	Millons of US\$	%	
Amazon Hub	8	91	15.9	26,461.50	17.3	
Andean Hub	10	64	11.2	9,077.30	5.9	
Capricorn Hub	5	80	14	13,974.60	9.2	
Escudo Guayanés Hub	4	18	3.1	4,523.40	3	
Hidrovia Paraguay-Paraná Hub	5	94	16.4	7,829.10	5.1	
nteroceánico Central Hub	5	61	10.6	6,642.90	4.4	
MERCOSUR-Chile Hub	6	113	19.7	52,312.10	34.3	
Peru-Brazil-Bolivia Hub	3	25	4.4	28,980.90	19	
Southern Hub	2	27	4.7	2,762.00	1.8	
Total	48	571	100	152,193.10	100	

Source: Portal Web IIRSA

Made by: Felipe Pesántez

In Project Portfolio IIRSA can be seen that the 571 projects in South America are divided into groups and projects depending on the country, region and terrestrial interconnectivity, just as investment provided for each project can be seen and the total amount that was used for the implementation of each. Of these 571 projects only 79 are completed, 174 running, 155 in pre-foreclosure and 163 are provided in the review of their profiles. In the case of Ecuador, 7 projects are completed, 12 are in progress, 8 in pre-foreclosure and 18 in reviewing their profiles (IIRSA, 2012).

The Brasilia Declaration and Cusco were important documents because the process of South American integration through political cooperation between states and the prioritization of issues of common regional interest began. In the Cochabamba Declaration (2006) the principles, objectives and assumptions currently governing the Union of South

American Nations was established, the same that were based on the report of the Strategic Committee of Reflection¹⁹ in Bolivia.

In addition, the Strategic Plan for South American Integration deepened the focus on institutional strengthening of USAN, in policy dialogue among member countries, in the external dialogue with countries in other regions and in coordination with international financial agency was created as WTO (Community of South American Nations, 2006). According to the Declaration of Cochabamba the Union of South American Nations operates under the principles of:

- Solidarity and Cooperation
- Sovereignty, respect for territorial integrity and self-determination.
- Peace
- Democracy and Pluralism
- Respect for Human Rights and the development thereof
- Harmony with nature

This year the president of Ecuador was in charge but former Vice President Alfredo Palacio Moreno took the job because of the exile and removal of Lucio Gutiérrez. In the government Palacios fully disavowed South America and more focused on bringing out free trade agreements with the United States and domestic public policy. So much so that for the Second Summit of Heads of State of the South American Community of Nations in Cochabamba he did not attend as delegate but sent his Vice President Alejandro Serrano Aguilar and other administration officials, including economist and current President Rafael Correa to fulfill the role of Finance Minister. Despite the assistance of the vice president as the main representative of the government of Alfredo Palacio, it was Rafael Correa who dazzled at this summit because of his participation and the relationships cultivated through dialogue with the various leaders of the region, with the former Chilean president Michelle Bachelet to build social and economic issues, with Bolivian President Evo Morales, the former Uruguayan president Tavaré Vasquez, the president of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega

¹⁹ Commission established under the framework of the First Special Meeting of the South American Community of Nations in Montevideo, Uruguay on December 9, 2005. It was created by senior representatives of the South American countries in order to discuss the future of South American integration (Secretaria General de UNASUR, 2011). Today is what comprises the Council of Delegates and Delegates of the USAN.

and former Peruvian President Alan Garcia shared the plane with the president of his country to go to Lima together and discuss collateral aspects on issues of commonwealth (Viera, 2006).

The participation of Ecuador during the onset of the USAN was important because of the role it played during the rule of President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano due to 3 reasons: 1) his participation and willingness to attend and contribute to the Brasilia Declaration, 2) his call made to rally his counterparts to the Second Meeting of Presidents of South America in the city of Guayaquil in 2002, and 3) his leading role to host the Second Meeting of Presidents of South America and to urge their build and integrate counterparts by strengthening the physical connections and harmonization of institutional, policy and regulatory frameworks. Lucio Gutiérrez did not appear anywhere in the name of Ecuador meetings of presidents of the Southern Cone and gave much less importance to the South American mountains. The government of Alfredo Palacio likewise, not Ecuador, had much prominence due to the implementation of domestic public policy and approach to free trade treaty with the U.S. but despite this decoupling with the integration strategy Ecuador had to return to this through diplomatic ties, political and that allied the Eco friendly Rafael Correa with various regional leaders as Minister of Finance in the Government Palace in turn, and after this, Correa became president on November 26, 2006.

Ecuador becomes in charge of the pro-tempore presidency

Officially, Ecuador, with economist Rafael Correa became president pro tempore on August 10, 2009 at the Palais des Carandolet, exactly one year after the financial crisis in the U.S. in 2008. The direction of the pro-tempore presidency passed to Ecuador after the performance of the former Chilean president Michelle Bachelet in the same office, the same being exercised successively by each member country for a period of one year. The pro tempore presidency of USAN is another instance that differs from those mentioned in the previous chapter where the authority of internal notice and international legal image can take agreements and commitments with other countries and entities, and has the following functions:

1. Prepare, convene and preside at meetings of the bodies of the USAN.

2. Submit to the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Council of Delegates annual program of the USAN.
3. Represent the USAN in international events, the prior authorization by Member States.
4. Assume commitments and sign statements to third parties, prior consent of the relevant bodies of the USAN.

Apart from these functions, pro - tempore presidency together with the council delegates, and the general secretary constructed on the initiatives and agreements of both regional cooperation and international integration of USAN conducted with third countries. These functions provide essential responsibility to the country and the person who exercises it means carrying the South American integration process to its maximum development and fulfillment or at least a major part of this, or in other words the president pro tempore may be regarded as the guide of USAN under the guidelines of this organ. The date that Ecuador chaired the pro - tempore presidency was a memorial day for two obvious reason, to 1) the transfer day commemorated the 200th anniversary of the heroic deeds of Latin America and 2) it was the first time Ecuador and Ecuadorian president creditors had the major burden of a supranational organization like the president pro tempore of the Union of South American Nations.

On his first day as president pro tempore, Rafael Correa, started with a very warm speech, dedicating words to praise the heroism and heroic deeds of heroes Simón Bolívar, San Martín and O'Higgins, Carabobo, Boyacá, Pichincha, Junín. Ayacucho and Maipú, to emphasize that the joint efforts of these characters not be forgotten and serve as an example and as much political as philosophical basis of the integration process going through South America. Since the USAN is the splitting image, but maximized, of what he tried to do with the Great Bolivar Colombia. In 2009, convinced that the integration and South American union was the way to reach a level of sustainable development and an acceptable level of welfare for Ecuador and the twelve countries of the South Belt, he began his term by urging other countries which had not ratified the Treaty to deposit their instruments of ratification (Article 26 of the Treaty of USAN) upon prior approval of their constitutional conference at the headquarters of the General Secretariat in Ecuador. The need for ratification of the Treaty of USAN was to strengthen the legal and institutional framework of their bodies, sectorial working groups and above all translate into a legal

framework for action by the sum of the political will of member countries. A third point in the speech was to urge all South Americans to condemn the coup that happened in Honduras in 2009 as a grind to democracy for Latin America, and agree with the community restitution of Manuel Zelaya. Countries did not achieve the expected target, pointed to the strengthening of the South American identity, elimination of discrimination, creating 4 new sector councils and 3 working groups, and other topics focused on addressing issues of common regional interest were discussed.

But it must be mentioned that within Rafael Correa's speech was a regional political background and the need to distance himself from in a partial and total way from the financial and monetary institutions of Bretton Woods, IMF, World Bank, due to the mistrust that was generated in response to the financial crisis in the U.S. a year ago. Among the objectives of the USAN is to create a traditionally different financial system that responds only to the interests of the South American nations and not others, and that this objective is met with South American capital that must be invested, worked and multiplied in the institutions of the region. Similarly Correa made an emphasis on the creation of an arbitration and mediation of regional conflicts as an alternative to replace traditional institutions such as the International Arbitration and Mediation Center (CIAM), or the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), as they are categorized as imperialist and colonialist agencies responding to the interests of countries in the northern hemisphere. This dimension reflects also what is stated in the Constitution of Ecuador in section 416 in differences which condemn all forms of colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism, revealing the Ecuadorian national vision as to the South American community as typical of the region (Ceremonia de Traspaso de la Presidencia Pro Tempore, 2010). In this statement Rafael Correa filed their counterparts with a plan that involves a new South American regional financial architecture, which consists of 4 points:

1. The creation of the South Bank regional financial institution that fosters the development of South America with a system of regional payments complementation.
2. The creation of a regional common reserve fund as a kind of communal account administered by all member countries that serve to finance the development of the region and to resolve any financial crisis.

3. The consolidation of a common monetary system that serves as an electronic currency like having the ALBA with Single System of Regional Compensation (SUCRE).
4. The negotiation of a regional monetary agreement and coordinates including the monetary policies of the member countries.

On February 9, 2010, Rafael Correa stated in his second speech at the extraordinary meeting of heads of State and Government of the USAN in Quito, a meeting that was born as a rapid response to natural disaster that happened in Haiti 30 January of that year and led to the immediate convocation of origin all member countries by the pro - tempore presidency. The product of this meeting was a declaration of solidarity with Haiti, where fragments of the speech focused on not only South American but international cooperation in order to help resolve the humanitarian crisis and promote economic development that is flexible with the reality of the Haitian republic. This humanitarian aid led Rafael Correa and the consensus of the other members to coordinate with other international agencies to solve the reconstruction of the roads, physical, human and financial infrastructure in the country, strengthening the democratic institutions of the state and deepening peace and security among citizens, to promote sustainable social and economic development, debt forgiveness, temporary elimination of all tariffs Haitian domestic product in any market member countries and the migratory regularization for any Haitian to enter or leave any country or region when required. It should be noted that these guidelines were agreed as humanitarian action under the criteria and needs of the Haitian people expressed by the authorities of that country (Sesión de Trabajo en Solidaridad a Haití, UNASUR, 2010).

In the following speeches by Rafael Correa said at the Summit of parliaments and judiciaries Summit of the Union of South American Nations, the 14 and 23 June 2010 respectively. Rafael Correa focused purely on total and comprehensive consolidation of South America through coordination and complementarity of the various institutions of government of the member countries meaning the creation, convergence and implementation of regional policies covering all aspects and interests in common in the twelve countries of the southern continent, and expedite the South American integration process to consolidate as one strong and united bloc capable of becoming the fourth world power. Thus, a counterweight could be created as a new multipolar world that only serves the interests of the region and to serve as a spokesman, with a voice of a region within the

international arena. As in the speech of August 10, 2009, Correa stated that South America does not need neither guardians nor "money capitalists overbear on the human" that through their institutions create policies for the region that are strange to reality, an inflexible production system, indifferent to social necessities, intolerant to domestic economic systems, and rigid at the time of their application. This allusion is complemented by the "hunger for justice" that Rafael Correa emphasized at the Judicial Summit of USAN, where he raised a structural legal change across the region which allows a better distribution of justice for citizens and for countries and the interests they represent.

This refers to the Chevron case and the complaint filed by Ecuador ICSID for actual damages to the Ecuadorian Amazon and indigenous peoples, the same that ruled in favor of the oil company. The facts that the ICSID is an arbitration center created from the Bretton Woods institutions, has yields in Washington, and that this represents and defends the economic interests of developed country firms with overseas investments and is a cause for suspicion, and opportunity to raise an arbitration system and regional mediation. A regional court system has its own values and principles to solve social problems and reform a neoliberal model to a regional model that prioritizes post liberal and South American interests, but for this we need the political commitment to structural change by administrators, the judicial system of the member countries so that in this way the legislative and judicial systems of the twelve countries are coordinated to achieve a common legislation allowing combat organized, coordinated and effective way many serious problems, organized crime case in (IV Cumbre de Poderes Judiciales de Países UNASUR, 2010).

These speeches certainly contain politically charged content since Rafael Correa proposed guidelines for creating financial institutions and arbitration, the defense of the region and its democratic institutions, regulation of media and a South American justice council. These assumptions Correa said in his speeches are born from a fundamental source of law that is the 2008 Constitution of Ecuador and the organic laws that originate from this. The constitution of Ecuador, as we established in the first chapter, rescues several principles of international law that are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, and also align with the principles and values of the Union of South American Nations. Rafael Correa therefore chose the right in the pro tempore presidency to project Ecuador's guidelines in international relations to their presidential counterparts and to the international community guidelines based on the integration and South- South cooperation space and time. The most redeemable of the discourses of pre tempore is the call made to South America to further promote Latin American thought and calm the crisis caused by the absence of this in the region. This thesis is founded on the need for USAN and the region as such to outweigh its principles and values of cooperation and integration for development and unity of all economic, geographic, social, cultural, political and historical of the twelve countries in a single power advantages, as well as the U.S. did, with the idea of being the guardian of peace, democracy and freedom after World War I and II.

Main challenges and achievements for Ecuador during the pre-tempore stage

Economist Rafael Correa faced challenges upon assuming the presidency of the Union of South American Nations which were domestic and external. On one hand, the domestic risk was that since he had taken office after one year in Ecuador was honored with a new constitution. It was approved and accepted by the Ecuadorian people in 2008 through a popular referendum. The new constitution enshrines new principles and guidelines for action both within the territorial boundaries and outside them. The challenge arises from the projection of the new constitution in the international arena, and the reaction of other countries to Ecuador because there are articles focused exclusively on South-South and the creation of a new economic, political and social comprehensive system integration where several edges embrace action on culture, science and technology, energy, education, civic participation, environment, among others. Another domestic challenge facing Correa was the way the new constitution of the country, focused on the integration

of South America, Latin America and the Caribbean, were aligned with the reality of the country, its interests and its inhabitants to lead a new foreign policy that attempts to demarcate political interests that can cause economic problems in the trade balance, especially if you unlink traditional countries like the U.S. and Europe who are important trading partners for the Ecuadorian economy . On the other hand, the external challenges were the main problem. The response was of immediate action and solutions to resolve and soften the financial and economic havoc in the region caused by the crisis originated in the United States in 2008 that reverberated throughout the world. The challenge was to avoid the collapse of the financial system not only for Ecuador but throughout the South American region, and prevent the ravages of the crisis that came with such force as to cause economic recessions in the USA and England or financial crisis for Spain, Greece, Portugal, and Ireland at the time. Also, that no economic impact would cause as much unrest as happened in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt.

Ecuador took over the position and after fifteen months of staying in it, it was handed over to the Government of Guyana. It can be said that during the presidency of Rafael Correa his role was significant because within the period several goals were achieved. They summarized concrete actions of solidarity, consolidation of democracy in the region, peaceful settlement of disputes and political dialogue, politic agreement in order to create new regional financial consulting and institutional strengthening. In the same way, relevant advances in the development of goals and action edged USAN through ministerial councils and working groups. These achievements can be presented as:

1. Ratification of the Treaty - . During the presidency of Ecuador 's ratification of the treaty establishing Agilito by the countries of Argentina, Chile, Guyana, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia adding to the path of integration South American.

2. South American Peace Zone - . Bariloche 's statement of August 28, 2009, established a trust mechanism in defense and regional security the same stable that the presence of foreign military forces cannot, with their means and resources linked to themselves, threaten the sovereignty and integrity of any South American nation and thus peace and security objectives in the region . The declaration of Bariloche is complementary to the Brasilia Declaration (2000), the Declaration of Guayaquil (2002) and the Declaration of Lima (2012) on South American peace.

3. Diplomatic Crisis Colombia - Venezuela - . Both the pro tempore presidency as the general secretary called to arrange the twelve member countries to give a quick solution to the diplomatic crisis between Colombia and Venezuela both caused by the presence of military bases were taken Americans in Colombia as the presence of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and National Liberation Army (ELN) in Venezuela.

4. Attempted coup in Ecuador - . Timely and quick special meeting of the Council of State Heads of State and Government on September 30, 2010 enabled a timely solution to the presidential crisis in Ecuador caused by adjournment of the armed forces and police in the country. The meeting made it clear that before any breakdown of constitutional order in any Member State concrete and immediate measures such as border closures, suspension of trade, air traffic and the provision of energy services and other supplies will choose. Consequently this case led to the signing of the Protocol to the Treaty establishing the Democratic Clause under the framework of the Fourth Regular Meeting of Council of Heads of State and Government on November 26, 2010.

5. Solidarity with Haiti - . Given the humanitarian crisis in Haiti caused by an earthquake and then a tsunami UNASUR act quickly and under the framework of the special meeting of Council Heads of State and Government decided to create a fund of 100 million dollars to respond to immediate and priority needs , infrastructure and energy, agriculture and health, raised by President René Prével. Additionally, the Council decided to establish a new fund for \$ 200 million to support Haiti's reconstruction at the discretion of SSC and Plan of Action under the UNASUR - Haiti focused on reducing vulnerability in flood-prone areas and hurricanes, initial support in livestock and agricultural activities, and strengthening local, national capacities and democratic institutions. Additionally, the Technical Secretary of the USAN - Haiti, Rodolfo Mattarolo, responsible for implementing the Plan of Action was appointed.

6. Appointment of First Secretary General - . Consensus of the twelve member countries, 4 May 2010 named former Argentine President Nestor Kirchner as Secretary General of South American Nations which represented a decisive step which contributes to the institutional consolidation of USAN and strengthening this to the international community.

7. Institutional Strengthening - . The pro tempore presidency of Ecuador played a leading role with respect to the performance of its duties to convene in regular and special meetings of its bodies to solve several problems during the prejudicial period to the security and stability of the region, and is an example of the crisis between Venezuela and Colombia, and Ecuador's constitutional crisis. Similarly, the architecture of USAN was further strengthened with the creation four sectorial councils: South American Council of Social Development, South American Council of Education, Culture, Science, Technology and Innovation (COSECCTI), South American Infrastructure and Planning Council (COSIPLAN) and the South American Council on the World Drug Problem, and working groups on financial integration and on the settlement of investment issues.

However, the greatest contribution of President Rafael Correa as pro tempore president of the USAN was to give long-term continuation to the idea of integration as a vision of the success and development of this process, as well as pursue the interests of South America in a single effort. For Ecuador, it was like giving a change of vision, a change of mindset, new goals to adhere in USAN.

Ecuador after taking office

In the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Council of Heads of State and Government of USAN, on November 26, 2010, Ecuador officially handed over the presidency pro tempore to the government of Georgetown for the South American integration process to continue. After bravely held office for one year, 3 months and 16 days, Ecuador and its presence outside its territorial jurisdiction was more significant not only in the region but also continental and international level. For this reason, the role in international relations should be taken into consideration from various angles, so to speak, such as the necessity to take into account the presence of Ecuador from the perspective of the Union of South American Nations, the region, the continent and internationally.

Similarly, if Ecuador's participation is taken into consideration within these scenarios, the time period should be also considered. In this thesis, the events were analyzed since the pro tempore presidency was handed over until the first semester of this year. Ecuador's participation can be seen at venues such as:

. • USAN - The headquarters of both the General Secretary as the entity itself is located in Ecuador, as established in article 10 of the treaty, representing the 12 countries in the region. Both the infrastructure and logistics are in charge of Ecuador as a political commitment to South American integration. In the same year, the Attorney General of Ecuador developed a proposal to create a sort of Regional Criminal Court, so to speak, to criminalize and set criteria for criminal jointly combat crimes such as drug trafficking, money laundering, trafficking and cybercrime. In 2012, there were 3 events : 1) in May, the Deputy Foreign Minister and Political Integration of Ecuador, Marco Albuja, introduced in Quito the proposal to all the foreign ministers of USAN to create a body of human rights

clearly belonging to the regional entity promote, protect and coordinate public policies of each country in the region for the protection of human rights in order to replace the current observation agency thereof, the Inter-American Commission on Human rights (IACHR) of the OAS, 2) Ecuador participated and was a diligent engagement in the framework of the USAN²⁰ to support the state of democracy in the region as parliamentary rejection of the coup to oust Paraguay Fernando Lugo at the presidential office, and 3) Ecuador generates a trend of regional support, USAN, ALBA, OAS, against any violation in the Embassy of Ecuador in the United Kingdom by the host country due to political asylum given by WikiLeaks' founder, Jullian Assange. In early 2013, Ecuador again entered the USAN's scene after being hurt by the suspension of judgment against Chevron²¹ transnational and urged all countries that are party to reject and condemn any attempt to threaten the sovereignty of another country member for a transnational, a request that was picked up and supported by the Union of South American Nations, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of the Americas and the Organization of American States. The last event of the first half of 2013 falls within the auspice of the Conference of States Parties to the American Convention on Human Rights in San José on 11 March this year, and called by the twelve USAN countries to issue the Declaration of Guayaquil recognizing that the Inter-American Human Rights (ISHR) requires to evolve according to the new democratic reality, political, social and institutional development of the region, whereupon the responsibility of the States to direct mechanisms for this purpose (Countries of the Pact of San Joseph, 2013).

• Regional - . Ecuador was equally active in the regional scene , reaching the eyes attention of several regional bodies such as MERCOSUR, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC²²) and ALBA , thus becoming known the interests of the government of Rafael Correa to strengthen these agencies for Latin American integration and political participation within them, also, Ecuador seeks convergence of both MERCOSUR and the CAN under the umbrella of the UNASUR and CELAC order expand its edges action but under one front. For example, in 2011 the XLII

²⁰ International body rejected the coup suffered in Paraguay in 2012, jointly with the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Market of the South (MERCOSUR).

²¹ Transnational American oil that extracted oil of eastern Ecuador from 1964 to 1990 and caused several injuries to both the Ecuadorian Amazon and to the existing indigenous population in the area. The judgment against Chevron ruled in favor of the plaintiffs Amazonian groups and the Ecuadorian government, however, the UN court ordered him to the Ecuadorian courts to suspend the judgment against transnational 18,000 million (Redacción Actualidad, 2013).

²² Regional successor entity of the Rio Group.

Summit of Heads of State of Mercosur and Associated States to be held in Uruguay, Ecuador emphasized the convergence of these blocks under one guideline, and the presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and host country stressed the importance of having to Ecuador as part of the Southern Market potential for being a member of the Pacific. In the same year, Ecuador was part of the new regional policy initiative that captures the concentration of 33 countries on the continent, except U.S. and Canada, call Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) which is a response to the need for an entity distinctly Latin American regional without intervention or influence of Western powers, including Correa said that " you have to make a profound change in the current system and build a Latin American model, we discuss our problems in the region and not in Washington, according to our own realities " (The Telegraph, 2011). In 2012, the government of Ecuador represented by Foreign Minister Ricardo Patiño attended the XI Summit of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of America (ALBA) which participated effusively referring to sanctions against Britain and the United States for cases of the Falklands and the historic lock Cuba respectively, similarly, Patiño raised the importance of peace, security and total disarmament citing South America it is the first and only region in the world entirely free of weapons of mass destruction mass, and also urged all member countries to continue with the Unified Regional Compensation System (SUCRE). In the same year, Ecuador managed to get the huge political support of the Bolivarian axis support the proposal at stake Correa American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), and additionally, in 2013 together with the ALBA Argentina declare that this must be reformed organisms belonging to the Inter-American System of Human Rights (ISHR) of the OAS .

- Continental - . Ecuador starred in several chapters within the continent as it was the focus of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) for several setbacks between Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa and the Ecuadorian press that have occurred from 2011 to the present , trips that have cost harsh criticism from the international community , mainly the United States, by international agencies; Commission, UNESCO, OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and by civilian agencies; Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Human Rights Watch , Reporters Without Borders, among others. The criticism of the Ecuadorian government is due to the breakdown potential of democracy and therefore the freedom of expression that predict these actors within Ecuador, because although Rafael Correa

began a campaign against the country's press release calling it corrupt²³ and ink assassins manipulate information according to the interests at stake in order to make a lucrative business that benefits only the owners of the media, proof of this is the new communications Law, which is to regulate order, control both information and the means to the issue, and to punish those in the case so warrants. This struggle began in 2011 when the president launched a civil lawsuit against the former editor of the Daily Universe²⁴ review, Emilio Palacio, against the two journalists and authors of Big Brother²⁵, Carlos Calderón and Christian Zuñiga, and because of this the OAS entered the scenario applied for an injunction to suspend the sentence of 3 years imprisonment and a fine of \$40 million against the latter. After the OAS addressed the ruling in favor of President Correa, described this threat that undermines the sovereignty of the country to interfere in the internal affairs of the State in 2012 thus began a political campaign to collect wills and support among countries in the region to raise the ISHR reform, especially the IACHR special rapporteur on freedom of the press and its financing. The countries that heeded the call of Ecuador was the Bolivarian axis, Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and countries like Argentina, Brazil and Guatemala, all under the premise that the Commission is operating in deceduous times and its jurisdiction is far outside the purpose for which it was created; reset and observe human rights in Latin America during and after Operation Condor, and therefore should be reformed to engage the current geopolitical reality. On the proposal of Ecuador countries like the United States, Colombia, Costa Rica and France²⁶ gave their manifest failure to reform the Commission, and to end against any attempt at reform, thus giving a schism between countries aligned with the United States and the Bolivarian axis. However, these efforts failed because the reform initiative was truncated in the discussions at the extraordinary meeting of the OAS on March 22, 2013, in which the reform plan but was ruled also stated that should continue the dialogue on the fundamental aspects for strengthening the ISHR (Saiz, 2013). This pseudo victory Bolivarian axis meant an accomplished tiny for Ecuador in the continent because its

²³ This term is repeatedly used by President Rafael Correa in their sabatina chains, and refers to one newspaper industry is manipulated by families always going against the interests of the State to misinform the Ecuadorian population and manipulate this to achieve particular purposes and discredit the Ecuadorian government and its management (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Movilidad Humana, 2011).

²⁴ Civil demand caused by an opinion of Emilio Palacio in appointing Rafael Correa as responsible for what happened in the coup on September 30, 2010, accusing him of gonocist.

²⁵ Book in which contractors' links between the government of Rafael Correa and the company of his brother, Fabricio Correa, is shown.

²⁶ France, the only European country joined the U.S. position of not making any changes to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

proposal was taken as a precedent, as an attempt to check but not a proposal for rapid implementation , and besides, this is summed up in two subsequent events: 1) bias or political marginalization before the application of the National Human Rights Director, Erick Roberts, to occupy one of seven positions within the Commission²⁷ while applicants from the U.S., Mexico and Brazil were selected, and 2) Ecuador was drawn attention by second time by the OAS by the Communications Law adopted because of their legal forms of censorship and media lynching, and creating control entity; Superintendent of Information and Communication.

• International - . Ecuador not only participated in the continental area if it were not for this , the more energy it served on a sovereignty basis for integrity of the country, in respect of international treaties, equality between states, and in the promotion and respect of human rights. In 2011, the government of Rafael Correa took a different stance and political position before the Iberoamericans when international bodies to classify them blackmailers²⁸ and subjective, Ecuador took the position not attend any other Summit while Cuba is not included within the geopolitical current and while the case of the Malvinas is not treated responsibly and diligently position based on the new Latin American reality and need to stop relying on powers countries both within international relations and within these areas of agreement to be distinctly Latin. In the same year Ecuador becomes seen by the international community through the former vice president, with Lenin Moreno, as an example to the world in terms of human disability issues. Through the Foundation Manuela Espejo Ecuador promoted a social policy based on providing medical, psychological and social assistance to human Ecuadorians suffering from some physical and intellectual disabilities in order to promote their fundamental rights, inclusion in society as productive individuals and the equity and equality, so much so that today Ecuador Lenin Moreno postulated to be the special envoy of people with disabilities and the UN development. In 2012 President Rafael Correa visited his counterpart Mariano Rajoy in Spain, check in which was expressed about the European crisis, the housing crisis and the Spanish mortgage law which affected thousands of Ecuadorian countrymen leaving them homeless, based on this Rajoy Correa criticized for letting the prime capital over human and stated that this case was going to bring to the European Court of human Rights and in effect took him to court in early 2013. However, the most emblematic cases that caused diplomatic tensions between Ecuador with third

²⁷ Competition within the U.S. applicants, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Mexico and Brazil were presented.

²⁸ Ex contractor Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Agency (NSA).

countries are for Jullian Assange and Joseph Snowden²⁹. On the one hand, the case of Julian Assange took place in 2012 when the government of Ecuador to request political asylum which was granted at its embassy in London after being pursued by the U.S. courts, for leaking military information classified by WikiLeaks³⁰, and on the other hand, in 2013 Joseph Snowden does the same to ask Ecuador asylum after revealing the Washington Post and New York Times the spy system of the United States for most countries. While these cases are similar so are not very different from the pragmatic point of view; example of this is what made Ecuador to rally the support of the OAS, UNASUR and ALBA before attempting to UK of violating the sovereignty of the Ecuadorian embassy to get Jullian Assange, as a result of this tension the joint statement³¹ of the continent emerged , within the OAS, to repel any threat to the sovereignty of Ecuador and its embassy in Britain covered in Article 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations which states that the facilities of the sending State shall be inviolable. In the case Snowden did not because it was not granted political asylum and why Russia was the country that agreed to consider his request. But in both cases brought implications for countries such as diplomatic tensions with the United States, United Kingdom, the Kingdom of Switzerland, Australia and deteriorating the diplomatic relations with the United States and of thus canceling the economic agreement with Ecuador ATPDA.

Although the participation of Ecuador has been a little controversial and offensive to some countries and institutions; that does not mean that will drastically affect diplomatic relations or foreign policy. The impact may be minimal but the benefits are even greater. The political will to respect the sovereignty of a country and therefore of the whole region if a country is assaulted, means that the related countries will back up that country, especially if there are interests of certain powers that care about the disintegration of these areas of political agreement for the simple fact that countries like the U.S. are excluded from Latin American affairs. Ecuador is still a middle-income country with great potential for development as a guarantee that is on a good path and should continue the integration process because only then it can become a more influential country than it is now. As said

²⁹ Ex contractor Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Agency (NSA).

³⁰ Jullian Assange is the founder.

³¹ Declaration signed by all OAS members except the United States, Canada and Trinidad and Tobago.

by the Ambassador Carlos Abad Ortiz " We stay in the integration or we die ... the integration process is the only way of survival and development."

A participatory or passive Ecuador

The participatory role of Ecuador can be taken as the activity carried out since 2000, the year in which he began with the integrative and cooperative project called USAN until the first half of 2013. To understand the impact of the activity of Ecuador, we must start from the point of view of one of the most influential thinkers of the twentieth century, the German psychoanalyst Erich Fromm, the same activity that defines the action as an expenditure of energy by produces a change, whether positive or negative, in the existing situation. This definition fits neatly with the reality of the country and set of actions performed in that period of time to produce a change in your current reality, in this case a moderate action status to a state of no action and this, to a state of active participatory action in the process of regional integration.

These three stages, characterized by being under the tutelage of various Ecuadorian presidents, as specified earlier in this chapter, which by its actions as representatives of the country had their impact. In the first stage or the state of the initial moderate action initiative Ecuador belong to USAN shown by the statements and involvement of former President Gustavo Noboa Bejarano within meetings of presidents of South America with their counterparts. In the second stage or state of no action is the most depressing and disappointing for Ecuador in the South American integration process due to lack of geopolitical and ideological vision American history by former president Lucio Gutierrez and former President Alfredo Palacios for his approach to U.S. initiatives weakened both the Brasilia Declaration (2000) and the Declaration of Guayaquil (2002), and as the name suggests the incidence of Ecuador had no effect within the region. However, already in the third stage or state action activates Ecuador retakes what started Gustavo Noboa Bejarano under the guidance of the economist Rafael Correa.

The state of participatory action Ecuador started since Rafael Correa took the administration of the country, projecting the same as a new political actor in the region and

because of the world it has also featured in several events mentioned above, and will be labeled as positive or improper, and becoming known one as a sovereign and independent figure able to excel in a globalized, competitive and unequal world. So in the third stage of participation Ecuador or your state of participatory action can be seen that during and after his presidency pro tempore the country's influence has grown substantially exceed that of Brazil, because it was an essential gear for constitutional consolidation of the Union of South American Nations to ensure that Argentina, Chile, Guyana, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela ratify the Treaty of the USAN. As mentioned the former president of Peru, Alan Garcia, who just before Correa the USAN process was simply a "good purpose, an agreement, an annual meeting... he has been achieving others ratified by their management and personal efforts as fundamental in this process." Ecuador's influence within the USAN summarizes not only to urge the ratification of the treaty establishing the above or achievements but also the dynamism in international relations with member states and third countries since after his presidency pro tempore managed to create and grow a regional trend of mutual support against any threat of any kind from any foreign state, and political support to any initiative that involves the interests of each country in the region. Using these achievements projected an internal policy for the region and from the region, policy based on cooperation, integration and sovereignty.

CHAPTER III

The USAN, likely to be sustained over time or fail

The Union of South American Nations is a reality today, it ceased to be a mere proposal of a political will embodied in the Treaty, on 5 supranational bodies³² and in 12 industry groups, all working in mutual coordination with member countries in order to achieve the objectives set out in Article 2 and 3 of the Treaty of the USAN, and carry them out as long as potentializing new South-South model that is taking hold in the region. If it is true and as mentioned in the first chapter, since the Second World War, and particularly since the late 90s, regional blocs grew rapidly leading to several opportunities for consensus and economic, commercial and political integration social. However, some of these gave positive results; NAFTA, but others were not so lucky and stopped in the process of maturation; CAN case. Similarly starting the new millennium other intergovernmental bodies came into play such as ALBA, CELAC, the Pacific Alliance and the same the USAN, without mentioning other important regional players such as Brazil, with natural leadership, Venezuela, a country post Chavez and China in the People's Republic of China who is the attentive investor within the region. Note that both the emergence of these new spaces for political and economic dialogue as new actors interacting with each other are related to the geopolitical, geo-economic, and demographic in South America have occurred in recent years as I already mentioned in chapter, including authors such as Francisco Rojas Aravana³³ speak about the period 2010-2020 is the Latin American decade due to the series of transformations that are occurring in the region.

Given the magnitude of this post liberal this dynamism must be the way of USAN, meaning it is necessary to consider the question whether these changes produce a reaction or change within the lifetime of this intergovernmental body. That is why this chapter is exclusively possible scenarios within the region with the different actors already mentioned; even the position of Ecuador will be analyzed taking into account what has already been discussed in previous chapters.

³² These supranational bodies are: the President Pro Tempore, the General Secretariat, the Council of Heads of State and Heads of Government, the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Council of Delegates and Delegates.

³³ Secretary General of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO).

The current political paradigm in Venezuela

Clearly today's Venezuela led by Hugo Chavez late commander is very different to that which is led by Nicolás Maduro right now, for Chavez's death meant a political schism for both the country and the region. On the one hand, within the country won the presidential Nicolas Maduro last April before the Venezuelan opposition candidate Enrique Capriles for a minimum percentage difference of 50.66 % and 49.07 % respectively, but lost Maduro plebiscite for ceded land 11 points to the opposition in relation to the election last October where Hugo Chavez before his death also won with a small margin of difference but the loss of election meant doubt the electorate to continue supporting Chavez, meaning part population the vast majority joined opposition. The division between Chavez and opposition in Venezuela is very marked, even more so today with the social and economic discontent with annual inflation touches 50%, an economy in a tailspin (four points collapse in six months), lack of currency, commodity shortages, corruption, high rates and criminal rolling blackouts (El País, 2013). While Nicolas Maduro won, does not mean that Chavez continues his political trail blazed by his predecessor with him as leader, much less a "madurista" current arising from that half of the Venezuelan population, if it is no longer, is unhappy with the regime of Maduro and that it can cause internal conflicts as already occurred in the later months of his victory. It should be mentioned that in maneuvers Maduro as president are irrational, based on a media and symbolic populism taking the legacy , work and figure of Hugo Chávez as a political tool to further coapt people to retain them within the Chavez; example is the national days of Chavez decreed on national days such as July 28, President commander birthday, August 8, date of admission to the Military Academy, and on February 4, when placed long with the coup against Carlos Andrés Pérez, December 8 as the day of loyalty to Chavez's legacy and love of country (Meza, Maduro decreta un día de lealtad con Chávez, 2013). While Nicolas Maduro boasts beautify the figure of Chavez holidays to sanctify his legacy, the economy is going through bad times due to price inflation and foreign exchange shortages that occur due to implanted structural policies ten years ago, and to add to this problem there are contradictions within the current government; between Finance Minister Nelson Merentes, and the owner of Planning Jorge Giordani, where each of them refers to different solutions to the economic problem but contradictory to each other. Merentes While we aim at easing access to foreign exchange and establish a system that allows

more freedom to entrepreneurs to import, without this meaning to the controls, and Giordani aims to further deepen the self-styled Bolivarian revolution reserving to the State and individuals supervised and regulated the importation of priority items by the arbitrary allocation of foreign currency at preferential prices, which would only serve to marginalize certain economic sectors and other (Meza, 2013). The impact of these discrepancies the Venezuelan population suffer but especially the social sector with limited financial resources, especially popular Chavist strongholds, which serve to cushion the weight of inflation and this can lead to social unrest, reflected outbursts less militant protests and Chavez. However, the government of Venezuela to be one of the largest oil producing country in the region and the world GDP should be high considering the oil revenue, enough to afford to meet their domestic economic problems through public policies that emphasize one increased public spending in areas such as health, food, infrastructure, domestic industry, foreign exchange settlement, public investment with private management and priority areas for population and development of the country in general, as is the case of Ecuador fail oil prices to stabilize and improve its economy. If that Venezuela has been no concrete, structural changes and correct, and is likely to stagnate economy with the economic model being applied, making the opportunities high and rising oil prices is wasted.

And on the other hand, regional Chavez's death meant the loss of a South American leader as several left-wing and socialist governments ³⁴ be supported and relied on him in his politics and his way of governing to simulate and dock within their own governance guidelines, Hugo Chavez was one of the main drivers of integration processes such as the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) in order to help Cuba, of geopolitical influence in the Caribbean and control a bloc of countries that exert influence in international bodies . Also with the direction Ignacio Lula da Silva, Chavez helped drive the creation of the South American Community of Nations (2004) and in 2011 in Caracas, was the architect and founder of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). The Venezuelan foreign policy took shape and strength since Chavez won the referendum in 2004, this was a political and ideological point of inflection that gave rise to

³⁴ For socialists and leftist governments refers to Nestor Kirchner in 2003, Evo Morales and Manuel Zelaya in 2006, Rafael Correa and Daniel Ortega in 2007, Fernando Lugo in 2008. Similarly Hugo Chavez helped to turn the region to the left with Ricardo Lagos in 2000, Lula da Silva in 2003, Leonel Fernández in 2004, Vazquez in 2005, Álvaro Colom Mauricio Funes in 2008 and in 2009 (Mesa Gisbert, 2013) (Mesa Gisbert, 2013).

a Bolivarian purely political matrix which coincided with upward cycles of high oil prices, similarly, a policy based on Petrocaribe oil strategy was developed (Sanahuja, 2010) This project Bolivarian foreign policy was based on three pillars:

1. Building a new international geopolitics based on a multipolar world.
2. Construct a block of American power based on the principle of sovereignty, to establish South-South relations.
3. Promote alternative integration that is able to transcend the neoliberal conception of functional integration to the interest of countries and transnational powers.

And its political influence came not only within South America but also reached remote regions of the continent since Chavez began to engage with countries opposed to the United States in the period 2004-2008 regimes like Iran, to Libya Gaddafi, the regime of Bashar Al Assad, broke relations with Israel signed military agreements with Russia and received with open arms to China.

Saying this in other way, former Chavez tried to make Venezuela a leading power and energy in the region through its foreign policy focused on movement of U.S. power in South America to reach out to reach South-South model given this context is a response ALBA the December 14, 2004 as an integrative political project capable of promoting fair trade eliminating asymmetries and searching for the balance between the parties based on the guiding principles of cooperation, complementarity, solidarity, reciprocity and sovereignty peoples. However, this integration does not contain commercial or economic objectives on the agenda because of ALBA have been treated as political issues was the conflict between Colombia and Venezuela, social and health issues as Cuban doctors in Venezuela and Bolivia through the mission Barrio Adentro and Operation Miracle respectively. Also literacy initiatives, cultural and sports cooperation in energy infrastructure issues between Cuba and Venezuela, communication issues through Telesur and Cuba - Venezuela Cable, and financial issues as the Fund and the Bank of ALBA. Regarding the economic field ALBA only focuses on promoting economic complementarity through compensation trade, the creation of joint enterprises and large national companies³⁵. In other words, the ALBA Chavez is nothing more than a political

³⁵ The large national companies are those driven with bipartisan capital, meaning as two countries with mutual interests. In the case of large national companies ALBA are those companies engaged in the extraction of minerals and

body responsible for projecting the presence of Venezuela within the member countries through various forms of cooperation, a key element of this was the access to preferential terms Venezuelan oil, such as the bilateral agreement between Cuba - Venezuela June 2005 and the ALBA Energy Treaty and this sum are bilateral agreements with Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay from the perspective of creating PetroAmérica even a utopic reality. One of the main objectives of ALBA as UNASUR is looking for ways to converge with other intergovernmental bodies to act in the same conduct but nevertheless the anti - hegemonic political bias (USA) having not allow you to receipt other government agencies under your breast because both members of the Andean Community, MERCOSUR and other countries in the region maintain free trade agreements with the U.S. and EU. Given its ambivalence, the government of Hugo Chavez sought adherents in Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Honduras and Ecuador to allow provide the ideological and political ALBA mixed support; socialist and leftists.

Brazil's influence as a power in South America

The leading role of Brazil as a leader in the South American integration process is evident in their efforts to create a South American Defense Council (CSD) on March 4, 2008 due to 4 factors (Sanahuja, 2010, págs. 111-112):

1. Protect its 17,000 km. of border to any threat (drug traffickers, guerrilla and organized crime).
2. Potential instability in the Andean region and seeking a more active role as mediator.
3. Strategy as an emerging power due to the possible admission of Brazil in the Security Council of the UN and to be the main producer and exporter of weapons in the region.
4. Weakening of the leading U.S. role in the region and institutions such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty).

hydrocarbons Venezuelan capital and capital of another member. For example, Petroandina, which Bolivian YPFB state has 60% and Venezuela's PDVSA, 40%.

Brazil's presence in the region should not only for its territorial expansion, which in itself is more than half of South America, but for what it represents both economically and politically for the Southern Cone. Examining the macro indicators of the Brazilian economy we stumbled representing 47.7% of the GDP of the South a total of 5,154,334 billion USD, with a population of 194,795,000 million people the same America that contributes to 107,100 million USD for GDP (the highest in the region), with one of the lowest unemployment rates of 6.2% (followed by Ecuador and Uruguay), with annual GDP growth of 2.7% and a surplus of 29,800 million USD registered in 2012 (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe). Even Brazil is catapulting to be the fourth world power, after China, USA and India, with a growth of 70.66% of GDP per decade until 2050 according to the World Ranking of Goldman Sachs, just as this Amazon is a potential candidate country to be part and a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN as an official representative of South America as proposal by Brazil and supported by UK, and supported by other countries in the region, and similarly, should not be left for Brazil is an important trading partner for the member countries of MERCOSUR, a founding member of UNASUR, CELAC and is part of a strong intercontinental block of emerging powers is the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa).

The situation in Brazil is due to several reasons such as increased exports of raw materials China made new hydrocarbon deposits off the coast of Brazil, growth in the manufacturing sector, among others, but one of the main reasons were the policies neodevelopmentalist, progressive and autonomous that were applied since the 2000s in Brazil by governments of Enrique Cardoso of Ignacio Lula Da Silva as the government of Dilma Rousseff. These policies proposed and implemented at the time leave from the perspective of the regional leadership of Brazil in South America as a primary objective and goal, but especially as the political will of the Brazilian presidency and the country itself. And fusing the neodevelopmentalist vision, seeking economic integration as a mechanism for access to foreign markets and the projection of domestic enterprises in international commercial dynamism, the autonomist view, that a more autonomous and active projection of Brazil focuses on international and Brazilian leading role in South American politics, and the developmental view, proposing an integration process is the basis of common identity, participation of civil society and strengthening its institutionalization (Gomes Saraiva, 2012). The diplomacy of Brazil to lead the region was

and is a priority for the current government, it opened a range of Brazilian initiatives outward example of this was the attraction of the other countries in the region to form the Union of Nations South American as a means to wellness and common development and create proposition Brazil Defense Council, financial cooperation and investment in the region for the IIRSA infrastructure through the National Economic and Social development Bank (BNDES) and technical cooperation implemented in sectors like education, agriculture, health, science and technology. Other initiatives by the participation of Brazil was to bear the costs and expenses of the South American integration process that began in 2000 in response to the demands and criticism from neighboring governments as a way to allow Brazil to be leader, meaning the cost of leadership, as a consequence, the Lula government took an important step in the country that was to give civil society a space for citizen participation in which the leading role of Brazil was debated and as a result was the formation of a coalition in favor of the country to assume some of the costs of South American integration (Gomes Saraiva, 2012).

Given the undisputed leadership potential and Brazil within the region is difficult to imagine that a South American country would or could snatch even the oil power and regional political arm of Venezuela's ALBA could cope with the emerging power of Brazil even in the process of creation of USAN had ideological disputes with Venezuela in which the leadership of the region entered a discussion because Chavez wanted to catapult his country as a power through its regional cooperation policy, but these disputes will Brazil served as a diplomatic tool to achieve regional organization, political coordination and institutional structuring process through summit diplomacy. Similarly, if we take the name of Ecuador as a possible primary or secondary leader in the region may be utopian if you look at the macroeconomic figures for each country but if you take into account the political presence of Rafael Correa in South America can appreciate that it is a South American leader comparable with the figure of the late Hugo Chavez, Evo Morales greater than and Fernanda Kirchnner and other presidents combined, including that of Rousseff. However it is an exaggeration to say that Ecuador can snatch the leadership to Brazil by the simple fact is Ecuador and Brazil is Brazil, and not a policy goal for our country to be a leader in the region or not yet (Abad Ortiz, 2013). It is also necessary to emphasize that bilateral economic relations between Ecuador and Brazil are productive and likely to become strong alliances through bilateral trade agreements that produce intra South American,

objective achieved by the Amazon river corridor (Manta-Manaos) connecting Ecuador with Brazil to become the gateway to Asia to South America, it is important to note that trade between Ecuador and Brazil has grown 638% in the last decade the amount of generating billion USD between exports and imports.

Long Term USAN

The Union of South American Nations is an entity that comprises the 12 countries of the Southern Cone , with a land area of 17.6 million miles with 377 million inhabitants and more than 5 billion USD GDP, making this block strong regional and great growth potential in the long term as long as the member countries align their interests in joint efforts reflected in a regional action agenda and will fail if the opportunities in the changes and transformations occurring either internationally as regionally because undoubtedly all local phenomenon becomes international. Of these changes and transformations can be seen both from the geo-economic, demographic and geopolitical points and from the integrative perspective as noted by the Secretary General of FLACSO, Francisco Rojas Aravena. The geo-economic changes revolve around the new emerging powers and their contribution to the global economy after the economic weight ceased to be representative of the countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to focus on emerging markets such as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South America (BRICS), which by 2030 would represent 57% of global economic weight (Centro de Desarrollo OCDE , 2011), which has led to greater commercial impetus to increase the demand for raw materials from South America and an increase in the price of these; example of this is the increase in soybean prices, copper and oil, which helps the region to grow economically thanks to the relationship you have with the Asia-Pacific region, especially China whose growth brings to the region with a 0.4% for each percentage point that the Asian giant grows as former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos and this in turn benefits the growth of the middle class in the region (50% of the population of Latin America is for the middle class).

Demographic changes are very pronounced due to the high population density of the world's population, there are now 7 billion people and is projected to grow to 8 billion a

course of 15 years of which 65 % will focus on Africa and Asia, according to UN estimates, and this in turn can cause a long-term problem because the population growth is proportional to the level of energy that this city needs, and the greater demand for energy and resources without available supply can cause economic and climatic damage. In the case of Latin American and Caribbean population of children and youth represents 9.5 % of the world's youth population (48 %) and growing according to the Youth Programme of the United Nations. However, this population growth is not being exploited as most of these young people neither work nor study, social phenomenon known as NINI according to the United Nations Program for Development in Latin America, and this in turn leads to social problems such as discomfort unmet needs, inequality and social inequity, migration and crime. Geopolitical changes revolve around the emergence and interaction of new actors with traditional, meaning, the state is no longer the only political actor but already share the international stage with different authorities; whether other governments, civil NGOs governmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, inter-blocs, emerging transnational countries, among others. In the case of South America, as stated in the first chapter, was formerly under the political influence of the U.S. in the region it reflected in the neoliberal economic model imposed on the Washington Consensus for America which caused a decrease in state capacities and gaps widened inequality increasing poverty and the greatest concentration of wealth in few hands. But this model ceased to have effect when not yield the expected results and changed by a post-liberal model that emphasizes a relationship South-South. In addition, while the United States ceased to be a great political influence and left the region since the terrorist attacks of 11-S to start an anti-terrorism international politics, and advantageously as a result of this decoupling in the American agenda an emerging South American power, Brazil, took his place as an influential and strong both economically and politically for the region country, it exerted a sphere multiplier influence its neighbors, meaning their presence generates economic dynamism with neighbors through MERCOSUR and policy through consultation UNASUR

These changes occurred in intermestic transformations of various types in the region, economic, social and cultural transformations policies, but especially military transformations of regional integration. A main feature of the integration process of the region is the autonomy of each country to do so, but because it has been emphasized in previous chapters, the autonomy of the talk is caused by most of the countries of South America was outside the U.S. and its political influence, leading to substantial new

opportunity spaces for integration and association are created. These new areas of integration were forged through summit diplomacy between states, creating spaces or continuous dialogue meetings and to align policy issues, goals, and problems common phenomena in a single regional agenda consultation. Examples of this autonomy and summit diplomacy can be seen in trans regional spaces, the Summit of the Americas, the Summit of the European Union - Latin America, Africa Summit, the summit with Arab countries, the Ibero-American Summit and Forum Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the regional summits, the Rio Group Summit, the Summit of Latin America and the Caribbean on Integration and Development (CALC) and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), and the macro-regional summits , the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) , the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA), the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), Petrocaribe and ALBA derivative , the Pacific Rim, the Pacific Alliance and Mesoamerica Project. A clear demonstration of these transformations integrations are treated sub regional summits and carried out from 2000 until 2011, the same which includes a number of 2,800 (Rojas Aravena, 2012).

With this number of summits, agreements between countries and blocks can understand that there is a sufficient level so that all participants can cooperate and associate with each other to achieve an optimal level of economic development and social welfare societies worthy for their integration, but there is a marked tendency among these blocks because some are cutting economic, others political bias but few focus on integration, cooperation and political consultation; USAN and CELAC case, leaving aside the economic factor in a second plane order due to the experiences of the CAN, MERCOSUR or NAFTA. The political weight rests on the South while the weight of the commercial infrastructure in the North causing an asymmetrical untying their interests and leaving an institutional vacuum devoid of communication between the South with the North and vice versa. From same difference between commercial and political, and the number of existing agreements and regional blocks the unknown born about the validity of the long-term future of the UNASUR. Some experts support the thesis of the failure of this entity because their functions do not have a greater impact on the region as happened with CAN but others defend the idea that UNASUR is a South American entity able to resemble the EU in the long term, even achieve a supranational space or a perfect union.

In an interview on Thursday 03 October this year, the Ecuadorian ambassador, former director of Regional Integration in the Foreign Ministry and current president of the Association of Professional Employer Foreign Service (AFESE) Ortiz Carlos Abad, about South American integration (if USAN and Ecuador as a leading country) may have a more clear and specific about the future vision of USAN. According to Ambassador Carlos Abad future depends purely on USAN's member countries. Thereof, they should continue to promote the establishment and continuation of a minimum platform of matches (in areas such as poverty reduction, human rights, inequality and inequity, regional defense, health, education, science and technology) where the South American agenda can be identified to develop together. If countries do not take on the challenge of further aligning their interests in common is very possible that there are contradictions between members, democratic, commercial, and economic policies that can lead to partial or total disintegration as what happened to the Great Colombia at the time.

Another factor influencing the success of the USAN is the absence of the business side as the main element of integration, meaning the key to South-South cooperation lies on the table UNASUR with all areas of action that has under the breast as the theme of defense, energy, health, social development, infrastructure, drugs, economy, finance, democracy, culture, education, civic participation, fight against crime, science, technology and innovation. Regarding proposals exist in the commercial market mechanisms to converge both the CAN and MERCOSUR under the umbrella of the USAN without marginalizing the progress of these projects and commercial blocks but continue them under the guidance of the same.

However, some South American authors argue the question of converging CAN and MERCOSUR within the Union of South American Nations, because of the compelling mystery of what to do with these if it's going to be a higher entity full extent, however, is not possible due to 3 reasons raised by Professor Diego Cardona in his article " USAN: A convergence mechanism in South America? "

1. MERCOSUR's common external tariff in its current legislation incompatible with Andean law, much less to Colombia and Chile because it would be contrary to its economic development model and vice versa.
2. Venezuela Opposition (non-member country or CAN), with disagreements about Andean law reforms and approaches MERCOSUR.
3. Four of the twelve current members of USAN (Chile, Venezuela, Suriname and Guyana) have no system Economic Compensation Agreements (ACE) and sub-regional agreements especially ACE's 59 and 60, which would help them complete convergence.

The progress and achievements in all these areas of action in good faith testify that this model of integration will prevail long, and that not only tells only the ambassador but also the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) predicts even USAN reach most raised their goals and reaching the millennium goals to broad sectors of the population in member countries.

During the interview, the ambassador mentioned two very important aspects which bodes well for the success of the South American long-term integration: 1) the essence of thinking within the South American integration from the perspective of the South American citizenship, taking into account not only the free movement of persons or identification but also in terms of labor contracts in any member country, free labor movement and professional, social, political, cultural, human rights and a sense of belonging to this region as such, and 2) the social contract that promises USAN for all sectors of the South American population, the social contract is the creation of regional public and social policies to decrease socioeconomic gaps in the region. This social contract is a reason which is to create a system of democracy and justice in the medium and long term that starts from the premise that capital cannot be on the human factor, allowing for a more equitable distribution of wealth and that helps large social conglomerates to achieve good living or living well .

However, USAN is not yet ready to create or promote a common foreign policy, as did the CAN in 1997, according to Ambassador Carlos Abad that has not reached a level of maturity because it is still structuring institutional level. This appreciation of the ambassador is corroborated by the fact that at the institutional level the USAN does not embrace all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to add all political wills, experiences and internal assessments of each country in one voice as does the CELAC 33 countries outside the USA and Canada. Despite this marked difference, objectives and actions of the CELAC were not compromised to USAN in any field because the South American gradual integration and coordination will continue to be under the framework of UNASUR will end up hosting the CAN and MERCOSUR, and the Latin American and Caribbean consultation as a whole will continue to make satellite CELAC (Cardona C., La Unasur: ¿Un mecanismo de convergencia en América del Sur?, 2012).

Ecuador seen from an extreme point of view

Ecuador's image has been compromised by various actions and events of different types that have impacted positively and negatively, if we take the year 1996, just as a reference point, until 2006 it can be seen that during this period disastrous for our country and even he can be seen as a period of darkness that has been immersed in an environment of uncertainty due to the banking crisis that led to dollarization, coups, economic crises, populist governments, corruption, succession failures of governments, drug trafficking and among other discredited phenomena that have undermined the credibility of Ecuador and this in turn has projected an image towards the outside as a country underdeveloped, with little to offer and unimportant on the world stage. However this picture has been partially changed from 2006 to today.

When the economist Rafael Correa was named president of Ecuador in 2006 took over the country with new guidelines based on the constitution of Montecristi 2008 and the National Development Plan (2007-2010) and between one of its objectives of fostering the strategic insertion of Ecuador in the world and Latin American integration through policies that strengthen the sovereignty, territorial integrity, the exercise of sovereign rights, supporting the rule of international law (human rights and nature) that promote the rights of

Ecuadorians abroad, which aligned foreign policy to domestic, international cooperation to adapt to complement the social, productive and environmental investment, and potentializing the presence and image of the country in the international economy. All these policies began with the famous citizen revolution promised and implemented Rafael Correa's government, a revolution if not violent but with major social implications for this political phenomenon welcomed as its first ally to the electorate at large electorate comprising all the podiums social (especially to less favored) who saw hope in the social and economic policies that ensure welfare and development for the entire population. No doubt President Rafael Correa gave a fresh new image to the country with winds of change, progress and development, this thesis is supported by several characters, newspapers, documentaries and opinion in general around the world that gives credit to policies to indict the country's development.

From Latin America to the Indian subcontinent and hear the name of Ecuador is referenced to catalog the word progressive development of a country. The Mexican Roy Campos³⁶ highlighted the acceptability and credibility of Rafael Correa eying a performance index of world presidents conducted by its consultant, taking a 71% -81% acceptance of the Ecuadorian population, even higher than that of Barack Obama himself, and or if you want the crisis of 2008 it shrank popularity or credibility to the government of Correa. Another version that feeds the image of Ecuador is the Greek economist and co-director of the documentary Debtocracy; Leonidas Vatikias who emphasized action and position of Ecuador to the unlawful and unconstitutional debt with the IMF also emphasized the work of the Commission debt Audit (CAIC) created by Correa in 2007 to give the problem solution of this debt and as a result both journalists and political wondered about this action of the government and its policies for more information. In this documentary Rafael Correa appears arguing that "no national commitments and we will put national commitments on international... first life before debt". Reason for this policy position of not paying the debt as the IMF's request, Ecuador is saved only USD 7,000 million of interest had to be paid in the period 2010-2030, and these savings could invest in education, health, growth in work places and improving infrastructure. According to the executive director of ECLAC, Alicia Barquera in a 2011 study highlights the economic growth of 8% Ecuador above Peru, Chile and Brazil and Ecuador debt levels as the lowest

³⁶ Consultant Mitofky President, Mexican leader in public research and respected internationally.

level in its history and regional with 22% causing great dynamism in regard to public investment which simultaneously produces greater equality in society.

In France and some European countries the social development model wants to be simulated in the words of Ignacio Ramonet³⁷ which argues that European experts advise learning from the experiences of Latin America to overcome the crisis and especially the welfare state of Ecuador to establish a system of pension payments to people who previously did not, raising the minimum wage and policies promoting free education in schools, colleges and universities. Also sociologist, anthropologist, researcher and writer of the book *Via for the future of humanity*, Edgar Morin, where the work of Rafael Correa is mentioned and the Good Life as a "symbiosis of the best aspects of each culture to make a single culture the good life... should take the good Life of Rafael Correa to make its own policy of good living and is valid for all the continents of the world." Also the executive director of *Latinobarometro*³⁸; Marta Lagos, who also stressed the process of structural change experienced by Ecuador from its new constitution and changes in domestic legislation which has produced a better perception of the people regarding their government, where people placed the government of Rafael Strap with 64% acceptance over Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Chile and Colombia only surpassed by. In this topic, Ecuador and its people have a better perception of their government than other countries to keep in mind that worked for the interests of the majority of the population, too, Ecuador is moving faster than the average of other countries in relation to improved and even distribution within the region.

In the economic issue perception towards Ecuador is viewed with approval and curiosity as the system of economic development is appreciated as one of the most interesting planet ensures as one of the most prestigious economists in the world; Jayati Ghosh³⁹, who in an interview for the news network The Real News Network cheered performance Rafael Correa government on economic matters, particularly the way their policies

³⁷ Social scientist, expert in geopolitics and former director of the influential French daily *Le Monde Diplomatic* in Spanish.

³⁸ Chilean organization that measures the evolution of societies through surveys around 18 countries in Latin America since 1997.

³⁹ Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi, India.

invigorate the domestic economy adapted to the needs of society and nature, as examples Jayati Ghosh mentions policies on oil contracts with large multinationals to make the most income falling per barrel between the Ecuadorian economy, meaning that 87% of oil revenues remain in the Ecuador and 13% goes to transnational and not vice versa as was the case before 2009. Another example that stands out is the new tax culture is being promoted within Ecuadorian society to make both rich and poor pay taxes proportionately; making the payment of taxes is the second highest non-traditional income in the trade balance after shrimp exports, cocoa and flowers, and the fourth level in Latin America (Redacción Guayaquil, 2011). In the same way, economist Mark Weisbrot⁴⁰ University of Michigan also praised President Rafael Correa have doubled public spending on education, health, infrastructure and housing loans by 50%.

Similarly, Ecuador has become known as a future tourist power in the region and the world as explained by journalist of international tourism magazine International Living; Suzan Hiskis emphasizes above all to Ecuador Cuenca are the main tourist destinations in the world carrying this southern city as the first list of 149 countries over the rationale for this destination primarily as a favorite place for retirees is cost affordable life care inexpensive health, security and infrastructure. Another version that supports this fact is Eying the Tourist Operators Association of America, Terry Dale, who discovered to Ecuador as a tourist power over Mexico, Spain and New Zealand and testifies that "Ecuador is a destination where our members see great potential as a key to the global travel industry" Ecuador is also well seen in Malaga, Spain as one of the pioneering countries in the world as an innovator in the field of technology by taking a free software , with a technological and social concept, priority status by decree 10-14/2011 as government policy, so says the founder of *Focus Initiative* Spokesperson⁴¹; Ramón Sanchez .Correa's government stresses to highlighting the science and knowledge and information technology (ICT) at the level of civil society, public and private sector as a priority of state sovereignty to achieve technological development and as a means of society.

⁴⁰ Co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research in Washington, influential columnist in several newspapers as *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*.

⁴¹ It is an open society and group particularly concerned about its development involved and organizes numerous events designed to promote free knowledge and new technologies.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

- Since the late eighteenth century to the present our integration of a region, especially South America, is nothing more than a diverse set of integrative experiences shared (economic, political, cultural, social, etc.) that have been accumulated over these years, and have helped countries to engage and link together to create a space for dialogue both converge any asymmetry as to solve common problems.
- The idea of assembling a large territory under a single national identity Hispanic comes long before the integration project of Simon Bolivar, the Gran Colombia, which recognized the United States (from the Mississippi River) to southern Patagonia (Cabo de Hornos) .
- The Bolivar Gran Colombia emerged as precarious objectives but adequate for the time, to create a system of regional security in the region own republican institutions and to provide support to countries under Spanish rule.
- The reasons for failure and disappointment of the Great Colombia are mired in discord and lack of agendas with common issues in the region to encourage the integration process, and the clash of interests between the United States (Monroe Doctrine) with Simon Bolivar's Gran Colombia.
- The Monroe Doctrine served as justification for political influence in the region posing as a mechanism of trade and economic partnership, but from the perspective of defending the entire American continent to any threat or invasion of Britain in any case.
- After World War II Latin American countries began to become more autonomous in conducting regional blocs and conclude bilateral and multilateral agreements, marking a growth pattern in the North and the South from 1960 to the present.
- In the first models of integration, the autonomy of integration between states based on sustainable systematic stability focusing on the trade issue; example LAFTA and LAIA CAN.
- Models of trade integration as NAFTA and ALALC with orthodox liberal approach to create a productive matrix of certain strategic sectors, indiscriminate liberalization of the economy and the influence of U.S. policy on Latin America.
- In the period 1960-2000 the trade blocs not paid enough to perform a full integration due to commercial factors as the main element, the poor quality and capacity of these institutions and their working methods to generate rules and symbols common than linking, inconsistency of economic cycles between countries, the asymmetry in

the agendas of governments, transnational concentration in the region, other non-aligned interests and nationalism that existed in each country were factors that have stopped and have hindered the integration processes in Latin America and South America.

- The changes that have been Latin and South America in the last 20 years have shaped the region to carry out the creation of institutions such as the USAN and CELAC, causing a change in the power play and creating a multipolar world order.
- Since 2000 a transition model is given liberal -neoliberal orthodox to the heterodox post-liberal model. This new model was implemented in South America as the new regionalism or as it is also called, South-South model, and proposes a strategy to insert the region into globalized and competitive world without the presence and influence of the United States.
- The USAN is a response to the absence of the United States and Mexico in South American affairs, allowing Brazil to position itself as a power in the region. Brazil emerges as a pioneer and mentalist architect process of South American integration.
- The USAN project started since 2000 with the 1st Meeting of Presidents of South America with the aim of creating a South American themed agenda for charging infrastructure, energy policy, health, education, science and technology, democracy, regional defense and among other topics of regional interest.
- The USAN besides being seen as a set of experiences accumulated is also seen as a continuous process of learning between countries with different histories that have shaped their realities, political, democratic and economic systems including different worldviews, asymmetric differences.
- The USAN is born with the promise of creating a South American identity identified by Arab countries, African countries and global organizations like the United Nations.
- The integration of USAN is divided into three stages: 1) the initial stage that goes from the 1st Meeting of Presidents of South America in 2000 to the birth of the USAN in 2007, and is characterized by the foundation ideological in its creation, meaning in this this the guidelines, principles and values governing body is established, 2) the early going since Chile took the chair pre tempore in 2008 until Ecuador transfers the charge to Guyana in 2010, and is characterized by the structuring of the institutional framework of UNASUR with the Treaty, creating 7 tips,

commitment to democracy, security and peace of the entire region and the immediate response to the disaster in Haiti and the coup in Ecuador, and 3) the consolidation phase going from Brazil, Paraguay and Colombia to ratify the Treaty in 2011 to the Declaration of Cartagena in 2012, and is characterized by the establishment of specific mechanisms to solve large social gaps, the proposed development and peaceful solutions to the case of the Falklands, by the approach to other regions of the world and strengthening dialogue and South-South cooperation.

- The Union of South American Nations is made for 5 supra national instances, the Council of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, the Council of Delegates and Delegates, Secretary General and the President Pro Tempore . Also includes 12 sectorial councils.
- The main objective of the USAN is to build an integration and unity in the cultural, social, economic and political through the creation of regional policies focused on social issues, education, infrastructure, finance, environment, science and technology, regional defense, energy, and other edges between strategic actions.
- At the time Ecuador became a member of the USAN in 2009 by ratifying the Treaty did so in a context and reality renewed and different from before 2006, and which came with a new government in power and a new constitution in which the guidelines of the same Ecuadorian foreign policy that focused on the Latin American integration and South-South relations were established.
- The leading role of Ecuador in the process of integration was based on their level of participation in this and the flexibility of the process for implementation within the country.
- The integration process for Ecuador within the USAN was compromised by 4 different presidents, which influenced little or a lot to be carried out this process.
- The performance of this process in Ecuador Rafael Correa first took office as president in 2006 was null, except for the performance of former President Gustavo Noboa.
- Former President Gustavo Noboa took part in the drafting of the Declaration of Brasilia in 2000 and the Declaration of Guayaquil in 2002, where his contribution was political in highlighting the need for a political rapprochement between South American states because of their geographical proximity, common historical heritage and the economic power that represents the union of the 12 countries. Who was also urged its 12 South American counterparts by building an integrated

physical connection, harmonization of constitutional, legal and regulatory frameworks space.

- Declarations of Brasilia (2000), Cusco (2004) and Cochabamba (2006) were instrumental in the integration process of South America. The Brasilia and pointed out key elements of Cuzco as regional peace and trust, respect and strength of democracy, regional integration as a political goal and regional infrastructure (IIRSA). In the Cochabamba Declaration objectives, guiding principles and values of the institutional framework of UNASUR raised.
- The economist Rafael Correa before becoming president of the Republic, was Minister of Economy in the Government of Alfredo Palacio, began to develop diplomatic relations and friendship with various leaders in the region.
- Within the South American integration process different financial institutions like the Inter-American Development Bank, Andean Development Corporation (CAF), Financial Fund for the Development of the River Plate (FONPLATA) and the International Bando for Reconstruction and Development began to join to this cause through financial support in order to establish state and private funding mechanisms that fit the reality of each country, its ability to pay its debt limit.
- Pro Tempore presidency is the fifth stay of the USAN and the authority of internal notice and the legal and international image can take agreements and commitments with third countries or other intergovernmental bodies. This charge is special and unique to the individual and the country that assume, in the case of Ecuador and Ecuadorian president in the first time to assume a position of this magnitude, because it means taking the responsibility to continue the integration process maximum compliance and route guidance the USAN. Functions ranging from pre tempore prepare, convene and chair meetings of the South American entity instances as to follow up on the initiatives and agreements of cooperation and integration.
- Rafael Correa took the pre tempore presidency on August 9, 2009 until November 26, 2010, and in his inaugural speech mentioned the importance of South American integration as the only path to development and prosperity for all countries region.
- President Rafael Correa began pre tempore position in order to bring the region to the decoupling of the Bretton Woods financial institutions (WB, IMF) for three reasons: 1) distrust of the crisis of 2008 and its financial havoc 2) the creation of the USAN demand a different traditional financial system, and 3) the South American

capital should be invested, worked and multiplied in own institutions. He also noted the proposal to create a system of regional arbitration different from existing ones (CIAM ICSID)

- For the new regional financial architecture Rafael Correa proposed the creation of the South Bank, the creation of a regional common reserve fund, to consolidate a common monetary system as electronic currency like the SUCRE, and implement and coordinate a regional monetary policy.
- In response to the call for Rafael Correa immediate response and action of USAN, the 12 member countries met to discuss the natural disaster and the humanitarian crisis in Haiti and resulted in the Declaración de Solidaridad is based on concrete with Haiti road reconstruction, physical, human and financial, to strengthen democratic institutions and deepening peace and security in the country infrastructure.
- On the summits of parliaments and Legal Powers of USAN turned to focus on the full consolidation of South America through the coordination and complementarity of the various institutions of Government of each country and the creation, convergence and policy implementation regional covering all areas of the USAN.
- Rafael Correa proposed the structure of the justice systems in each country to allow a better distribution of justice for citizens to South American interests. For this to take place you need the political commitment to structural change by the administrators of justice to the justice or legal systems of the 12 member countries to create a common coordinate legislation allowing combat traffic problems drug, micro traffic, trafficking, money laundering, among others.
- The Ecuadorian president also rescued and urged his counterparts to create and promote Latin American thought. The USAN and its 12 member countries must design their own South American values, principles of integration and cooperation as a means to achieve the expected development and the union of all its economic, geographical, commercial, technological and cultural benefits as a single bloc.
- All initiatives, proposals and statements made by Rafael Correa during his pre tempore presidency had their base or constitutional backing, meaning the guidelines of the constitution on Ecuador's foreign policy are taken into consideration to be coupled to the president's speech Ecuador.
- The challenges that the Ecuadorian president faced were treating the values and concepts of the new constitution was projected outwards with a neutral and not arrogant image that does not detract credibility to the new ideal of South-South

integration and the new model development outside the traditional, align the ideals, principles and values of South American integration with the interests of the country and its inhabitants and to soften the ravages of the financial crisis in 2008 for not does cause disastrous consequences for the region, the same that was least affected and responded better during the crisis in Spain, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Egypt, Tunisia and Libya.

- The participatory role of Ecuador and Rafael Correa pro tempore president of the USAN was outstanding and very important for the region.
- The goals achieved during the pre tempore was the ratification of the Treaty establishing the USAN by Argentina, Chile, Guyana, Peru , Surinam and Venezuela, strengthening the region as a zone of peace, diplomatic solution to the crisis between Colombia and Venezuela, immediately to the humanitarian crisis in Haiti before the coup in Ecuador, appointment of the first Secretary- General answer, Nestor Kirchner, and the strengthening of the institution through the creation of 4 sectorial councils and two working groups.
- The greatest contribution that Rafael Correa during the pre tempore was continuity and to prosecute the interests of the region to the South American integration process, a process that has been developing since long before the conception of USAN and all known forms of integration, long term as a means to achieve the purpose of a development and optimal wellness.
- For Ecuador, Rafael Correa's performance within the USAN member as well as former president pro tempore was to change the vision of the country, to renew the collective mentality, with new national targets which are crystallized in the USAN.
- Ecuador after unfolded in the field of the USAN started getting noticed outside its territory since the government of Rafael Correa invigorated the country's image and its presence both within and outside the region.
- The presence of Ecuador can be seen from the level of the USAN, regional, continental and intercontinental. A USAN level, Ecuador was active as presented several interesting to the body such as the creation of a Regional Criminal Court able to establish criteria and provide criminal projects to combat drug trafficking, trafficking, money laundering and even computer crimes, creating a regional human rights organization, participated in the framework of the USAN and its presence was strong in rejecting the constitutional coup of former Paraguayan President Fernando Lugo, Ecuador and like generated trend line support (USAN, ALBA, OAS) against

any violation or aggression against Ecuador's embassy in London. Regionally Ecuador had a special presence in the heart of MERCOSUR as proposed convergence of this entity and the CAN under the guidance of USAN and was recognized potential partner Pacific MERCOSUR within the CELAC to demonstrate the importance and necessity having an area of Latin American political coordination without the presence of U.S. and Canada, and within the ALBA to ask to be imposed sanctions in the UK and the U.S. for the case of the Falklands and the blockade of Cuba, also mentioned the importance of a region of peace and free of weapons of mass destruction and was able to capture the support of the Bolivarian axis and Argentina to support Ecuador's proposal to reform the American Council of Human Rights. A continental level Ecuador was the center of attention and criticism from the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Human Rights Council because of the struggle between the government of Rafael Correa against the Ecuadorian press producing a series of clashes between state and civil society and the Ecuadorian State to the OAS IACHR and even Ecuador formed a coalition against the United States and the Bolivarian axis formed by Brazil, Argentina and Guatemala. Internationally Ecuador's performance was based on the integrity of national sovereignty, respect of international law, in equal between states and the promotion and protection of human rights, such as Ecuador took the position of solidarity with Cuba and Argentina by refusing to attend any Iberoamerican while Cuba is not accepted and the case of the Malvinas is not treated with responsibility and diligence, and cases of Julian Assange and Joseph Snowden.

- The image of Ecuador was also positively projected by the Vice President Lenin Moreno's example, who during his tenure worked for less population served, the disabled and people with special abilities, through public policies focused on the promotion and projection of their rights. Also his name is among one of the candidates for the special envoy of the disabled and UN development.
- The position of Ecuador against the OAS and Reform Commission was not well received by these institutions which caused a political and ideological bias against the country; example of this was the rejection of the candidate Erick Roberts for a position within the Commission while applicants from the U.S., Mexico and Brazil itself were admitted.
- Some events may be seen as negative for large producers of international relations of Ecuador but it does not impact the benefits and many more. Cooperation and

providing support to Ecuador in difficult times and support provided to its neighbors Ecuador show that the region is beginning to integrate and strengthen their ties through South- South cooperation as a member that is threatened in any way other countries come to their aid meaning all pitch in forward.

- The participatory role of Ecuador can be evidenced from 2000 to mid-2013, and the degree of participation during this period can be seen from the moderate state action, no state action and a state of participatory action.
- The state of participatory action during the government of Ecuador Rafael Correa gave an image of a new political actor in the region, a major player with a sharp, sovereign and independent political presence. Ecuador's influence was as significant during the early stage of USAN as Brazil was the initial stage.
- The USAN is a product of the geopolitical, geo-economic and geographic factors that have occurred in the region, changes have also caused the emergence of new actors and the removal of other traditional players that have left the fertile soil and suitable for interaction and South-South cooperation is given.
- The USAN is a political reality and is a new player in the region as well as other actors in the international arena as Brazil, China, Venezuela, ALBA, CELAC, and Pacific Alliance.
- Venezuela as a major player in the region whose leadership was clearly evident in the government of the late Hugo Chavez for his Bolivarian foreign policy but Nicolas Maduro Bolivarian country is losing ground due to internal economic and political instability.
- The Venezuelan population is fragmented between Chavez under the regime of Madura and the opposition coalition formed by Enrique Capriles, and the economy hit by high inflation, currency failure, corruption, shortage of commodities and high rates of crime.
- Venezuela should take advantage of the prices and oil revenues to invest more in the public sector.
- Furthermore, Chávez's foreign policy was based on building a new geopolitics based on a multipolar world, forming a power bloc that emphasizes South American South-South relationship and form a model of integration that transcends the neoliberal model.
- Hugo Chavez was one of the architects of USAAN, ALBA and CELAC.

- The mode of influence in the region that had Chavez was through the ALBA-Petrocaribe, a model that was not a commercial but political approach. The relationship of this block is with countries cutting - socialist left, especially with Cuba, with which it has a bilateral relationship of cooperation in health, oil, culture, education, sport, energy, communications and financial .
- Both the CAN and MERCOSUR cannot converge under the guidelines of ALBA due to political and ideological bias you have. Just as there can be converged within the USAN for the common external tariff is inconsistent with the law over the Andes of Chile and Colombia, but the only way to converge them under the umbrella of USAN is that Chile, Suriname, Guyana and Venezuela have schemes of regional Economic Compensation Agreements 59 and 60 (ACE 59 -60).
- Brazil is the country with the highest GDP in the region with a highly economically active population, with an economic growth of 2.8 % per year, the potential for a permanent seat in the Security Council of the UN, trading partner candidate for the MERCOSUR, architect and founder of the USAN and CELAC member block emerging powers, BRICS is a net power in the region and be aimed at the 4th world power by 2050.
- Brazil with his presence as a leader and major player in Latin America is evident from the first meeting of the Presidents of South America, throughout the South American integration process , particularly the initial stage and the creation of the South American Defense Council in 2008.
- Current situation in Brazil is due to neodevelopers, autonomous and development policies that were implemented over a decade ago based on the simple but important goal of making Brazil a regional and international power.
- The influence and presence in Brazil brought a number of initiatives for the region as the attraction of the other country to be part of the USAN, the creation of the South American Defense Council, investment by the National Development Bank (BNDES) IIRSA for financing and technical cooperation in education, agriculture, science and technology.
- Brazil assumed the costs of South American integration and took the lead from Venezuela through summit diplomacy.
- Between Brazil and Ecuador Brazilian leadership is only if you look at the economics, but if we analyze the presence of Ecuador is known that it is taken into account because of its political influence in the region. Rafael Correa is considered

a South American lead with great political weight only after Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales, Cristina Kirchner and others together. Also among the goals of Ecuador does not appear to be a leader or regional power.

- Bilateral relations between Ecuador and Brazil have greatly improved in the last decade, especially in terms of foreign trade and will potentiate the Manta- Manaus river project that will serve as a gateway to the Amazon and to the Asian giant.
- The USAN is likely to continue long-term regional bloc, taking into account its territorial extension is inside the riches of South America, the number of inhabitants in total GDP generated in the 12 countries and all interests aligned.
- The economy revolved around trade with emerging powers, the economic burden will fall on the influence of BRICS and will be higher than the OECD member countries with 57 % in 2030 and China as a new trading partner in Latin America where demand more and more material is caused by a rise in price of raw material (soybean oil and copper) and on investment in air and mineral oil.
- For each percentage point to grow China, Latin America will grow 0.4%.
- Young people in Latin America are 9.5% of 48% of total global youth population is being wasted and its potential is being wasted and mapping it to serious social problems such as migration, social discomfort, economic, labor and professional with unmet need, inequality and inequity.
- The radius of influence of the United States is no longer in Latin America or South America.
- At the level of regional integration there is greater autonomy treaty countries and perform integration processes because these processes were treated with Summit Diplomacy.
- Despite increased block and bilateral and multilateral agreements there are marked differences between each of these, the majority focuses on business and political issues but not all, USAN and CELAC case, concentrate on consultation, integration and South-South. That is, the political weight rests on the structures of the South and the North in the commercial weight which causes an asymmetry of interests.
- The durability of the USAN depends on further promoting the creation and continuation of a minimum matching platform, identify the South American agenda to develop, promote strategic and equally all areas of action and USAN empower them all, the essence thought and South American citizenship, the social contract that promises that USAN is to implement regional public and social policies to help

reduce the gaps and work with CELAC for this serve in the international spokeswoman.

- The objectives of the USAN with the CELAC will not be committed to each other because both are different instances of political coordination.
- Before Rafael Correa is president of the Republic of Ecuador, the country's image was compromised by its full of setbacks and mishaps political past, but after this dark period President Correa began his term with new guidelines based on the Constitution of Montecristi and in the National Development Plan (2007-2010).
- Under the new guidelines came the Citizen Revolution which is basically welfare and civil empowerment, implementation of public policies aimed at sustainable social and economic development, and catapult and insert to Ecuador in an interconnected, globalized world.
- The image of Ecuador has improved enough to the world in the sense that the country is presented as a sovereign entity that refused to pay the debt to the IMF and debt invested in social spending, President Correa with greater acceptance than others the mainland by the performance of his government, Ecuador with the highest level of growth and the lowest level of debt in history, the state's welfare Ecuador has seen as an example for other countries, the Good Life of Rafael Correa wants be emulated as an example to other governments, a better perception of Ecuadorians to his government work being played by most of the population and their interests to reduce inequality and social inequity, Ecuador is also seen as a country with one models most interesting development of the planet to adapt to the needs of the population with those of nature, just as Ecuador is considered as an important tourist destination and is a pioneer in the world to establish a presidential decree and government that allows production, distribution, purchase and sale of free software and encourage a culture of not only technology but knowledge .

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