

## Theories and trends

## Characteristics and influencing factors of Latin American regionalism\*

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Abstract: There have been various regionalist propositions and actions in Latin America and the Caribbean for a long time. The actual results vary from person to person. This article believes that the characteristics of Latin American regionalism are that it is "weak but not inexhaustible" and "ups and downs": The characteristics of Latin American regionalism Development is a process that continuously oscillates within a relatively fixed interval with a low upper limit. It is both stable and oscillatory. To explain this situation, this article relies on Braudel's historical theory of time as an analytical framework and believes that the medium and long term Time-period factors have shaped the stable side of Latin American regionalism, while short-term factors have caused oscillations in the development of Latin American regionalism. Medium- and long-term factors include geographical factors, human factors and economic factors. These factors have two-sided impact on Latin American regionalism. Generally speaking, geographical factors and humanistic factors have promoted the development of regionalism, while economic factors are the main factors that hinder regionalism from achieving further results, keeping its activities at a low level for a long time. Short-term factors refer to government policy factors. Dependent on changes in government power and ideology, these factors change rapidly in the short term, causing the instability of Latin American regionalism. This article takes South American regionalism as an example, combined with the development of the Union of South American Nations and the South American Progress Forum in recent years. Situation, illustrate the role of different factors in

the practice of Latin American regionalism. Keywords: regionalism, integration, South America, Union of South American Nations,

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Since independence, Latin American countries have never lacked a variety of regionalist aspirations and actions, but the actual results are often very complicated. From a process perspective, the direction of Latin American regionalism is often wavering, and the overall process often has ups and downs. From a results perspective, it is relatively Compared with European integration, Latin American regionalism is more limited in terms of depth and achievements. However, scholar Oliver Dabbene proposed that Latin American regionalism is "unstable but continuous, with crises and resilience". In his view, although There are many problems, but the resilience of Latin American regionalism is also quite impressive. This article agrees with Dabenet's point of view and believes that Latin American regionalism has been in a state of "ups and downs, weak but inexhaustible" for a long time. It is both oscillatory and at the same time. This kind of oscillation is carried out in a relatively stable range, and will neither tend to die out nor achieve major breakthroughs. This article will mainly discuss the reasons why Latin American regionalism exhibits these characteristics at the same time, and combine it with the development of South American regionalism in recent years. The rise and fall of representatives of the Union of South American Nations (Unasur) and the South American Progress Forum (Prosur) illustrate this point.

### 1. The overall situation of Latin American regionalism

This part will first clarify the specific meaning of "Latin American regionalism" discussed in this article, and then combine the development history of Latin American regionalism to illustrate that Latin American regionalism as a whole has the characteristics of "ups and downs" and "weak but inexhaustible" .

(1) The meaning of "regionalism"/"integration" In this article,

"regionalism" (Regionalism, also translated as "regionalism") and "integration" (Integration) are used as synonyms and sometimes used interchangeably. Dabenet Defining regional integration as "a historical process of increasing interaction among (sub-national, national, trans-national) political units" . This article's understanding of regionalism/integration is roughly the same. This article defines these two concepts more broadly, arguing that They involve different fields such as politics, economy, society, and culture. At the same time, they believe that existing regional organizations and systems, attempts to build regional organizations and systems, and even the practice of strengthening cooperation among regional countries are all part of regionalism/integration. However, this article The main research is also on the practice at the government level. It does not discuss the thoughts and activities on Latin American regionalism at the social level.

It should be noted that this article and some scholars have different understandings of Latin American regionalism/integration. Some scholars have a narrower definition of integration. Scholars who study European integration tend to understand integration only from the perspective of sovereignty transfer. Viewed in this way, integration is actually an advanced form of regionalism, and is much more advanced than ordinary regionalism.

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Regional cooperation is deeper. In other words, regional cooperation is "intergovernmental", while integration is "supranational" (supranational). In the view of scholars who hold this view, many regional organizations in Latin America should only embody It is cooperation rather than integration. However, since many scholars quoted in this article do not strictly distinguish between integration and regionalism, and even the official expressions of Latin American regional organizations will use the term "integration / integración", so this article no longer uses the term "integration" in the text. Distinguishing between the two terms, integration is also understood in its broadest sense, equating it with regionalism.

From a time perspective, this article believes that regionalism/integration in Latin America can be traced back to the early days of Latin American countries' independence. However, some scholars believe that Latin American regionalism originated after World War II and basically started at the same time as the European integration process. This is actually different from the concept. It is related to the way it is defined. For example, the "Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism" understands regionalism as "a process of establishing and maintaining formal institutions and organizations among at least three countries, mainly led by states." According to this strict definition, Latin American integration can only be counted after World War II. The early efforts of Latin American regionalism did not form formal systems and organizations with more modern significance, but attempts to unite national-level activities among Latin American countries did exist objectively. Therefore, in the view of this article Latin American regionalism is a long-term historical phenomenon that lasts for about 200 years. This article extends the length of time to observe Latin American integration in order to consider some influencing factors that act in the

medium and long term, such as geography, culture and other factors. At the geographical level, "Latin America" as the research object of this article generally refers to Latin America and the Caribbean. Regionalism in the Caribbean is also occasionally touched on in this article. However, Caribbean countries are all small countries, and they basically only became independent from the 1960s to the 1980s. The influence of regionalism in the Caribbean is weaker and its history is shorter. Regionalist groups integrating Latin American and Caribbean countries

See also Oliver Dabéne The Policies of Integration in Latin America: Theoretical and Comparative Analysis New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2009 p 10 Zhang Fan: "National basis, complementarity and competition of regional cooperation and integration in Latin America", in "Latin American Studies", Issue 5, 2017, Page 93.

Tanja A Börzel and Thomas Risse "Introduction : Framework of the Handbook and Conceptual Clarification" A Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016 p 7

Many scholars also tend to regard Latin America as

The origins of regionalism can be traced back to the early days of Latin American independence, see Salvador Rivera: A History of Political and Economic Integration Efforts Rivera Jefferson NC: MacFarland 2014 pp 34 - 83 José Briceño-Ruiz and Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano "Resiliency and Acquisition" in Latin American REGIONALISM in JOSÉ BRICEÑO-RUIZ and Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano (EDS) REGIONALISM IN LATIN AMERICA: Agents of Systems and Resilience OXON AND News

The organization - "Community of Latin American and Caribbean States" (CELAC) did not appear until the 21st century. For these reasons, the Latin American regionalism discussed in this article actually involves more regionalism among Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries.

The Latin America referred to in this article Regionalism does not include regionalism involving the United States and Canada. Some regionalism practices initiated by North American countries do involve Latin American countries. However, due to the huge size of the United States, Latin American countries are inevitably on the margins when participating in such regionalist activities. In addition, the original intention of many Latin American integration activities was to differentiate from and compete with the United States. Therefore, this article combines the "Pan Americanism" international organization system created by the United States in the Western Hemisphere and the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), and other regional organizations as competitors of Latin American regionalism rather than as some form of Latin American integration.

(2) The "ups and downs" and "weakness but inexhaustibility" of Latin American integration.

In the 19th century, Latin American integration initiatives and actions mainly appeared among Spanish-speaking countries. Different Spanish-speaking countries initiated a series of meetings to discuss alliances with each other. These conferences include the Panama conference initiated by Bolivar in 1826, 1847-1848 The Lima Conference initiated by Peru, which was introduced to European monarchs for Ecuador Curidro, the San Diego Conference initiated by the Chile in 1856-1857, and 1864-1865 The Second Lima Conference triggered by the conflict between Peru and Spain in 2008, etc. These conferences often resulted in political and military alliance treaties, but all treaties were not unanimously ratified by the corresponding Latin American governments. Although there were some Latin American treaties in the 19th century. There are divisive trends that are opposite to integration, such as the disintegration of the Republic of Gran Colombia and the Central American Federation, and the emergence of wars among Latin American countries. But generally speaking, in the 19th century, new regional joint proposals were produced every once in a while. From the 19th century onwards, From the end of the 20th century to before World War II, regionalism in Latin American countries was at a relatively low ebb. Only in the early 20th century did Brazil, Argentina, and Chile make partial attempts to establish an alliance or conclude some kind of peace and friendship treaty. During this period, the United States achieved great success in the Americas.

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José Briceño Ruiz Pensamiento Integracionista Latinoamericano o" riano y Ángel M Casas Gragea (eds ) Integración L Atinoamericana y Caribeña: Política y Economía Madrid: FCE 2012 pp 29 - 33 Salvador Rivera Latín American Unification: A History of Political and Economic Integration Efforts Rivera Jefferson NC: MacFarland 2014 pp 34 - 83 This article mainly discusses regionalism at the government level. At this level, the late 19th century and the first half of

the 20th century were the low point of regionalism activities in Latin America . Period. But in the field of thought, José Enrique Rodó, Manuel Ugarte and Salvador Mendieta Thinkers such as Alvador Mendieta elaborated on their ideas extensively during this period. The ideas of unity and integration in Latin America (or some sub-regions of Latin America). Peru's APRA Party (also known as the Popular Revolutionary Union of the Americas), Augusto Cesar Sandino (Augusto Cesar Sandino) Wait for this Political forces and figures who were active during that period also had opinions on Latin American integration.



It was also gradually revealed that organizations such as the Latin American Free Trade Association failed to achieve their original intention of eliminating intra-regional trade barriers, and were eventually reorganized into the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA) in the early 1980s. It can be said that Latin American regionalism activities presented a The volatility of development has its highs

and lows, peaks and troughs. The fragility ("weakness") of Latin American regionalism lies in its limited achievements. The overall achievements of Latin American regionalism are not satisfactory and have always been There are problems of insufficient depth and superficiality. The development level of many regional organizations is still far from their original vision, and cannot be compared with the more successful European integration. Some scholars use "symbolic regionalism" to describe Latin America and East Asia. The regional integration process is believed to be essentially "consolidating sovereignty in the name of regional cooperation." Regardless of the motivation for Latin American integration practices, the term "symbolic regionalism" does express the Latin American integration process. At the same time, Latin American integration is also highly fragmented. From the beginning, integration activities aimed at covering all Latin American countries and only covering a certain sub-region have coexisted, and often overlap in function. In recent decades, integration activities have In the process, organizations with opposing guiding ideologies compete with each other, causing internal friction in integration forces. As scholars have said, "The existence of differentiated and overlapping regional projects is not a reflection of successful integration, but reflects the exhaustion of potential."

3. Different The mutual strife

between regional organizations often leads to stagnation and regression of the overall integration process. But on the other hand, the numerous problems of Latin American regionalism have not brought it to a complete stagnation. This is why it has resilience or is "weak but inexhaustible". A wave of regionalism may be denied or replaced by new forms and propositions of regionalism, but the fundamental goal of achieving regional unity and integration is rarely questioned. What is denied is only the specific appearance of regionalism. In terms of form, although its core spirit is vague and weak, there is no danger of disappearing. In this sense, Latin American regionalism also stands in a certain invincible position. Many times, even elements that have been denied will make a comeback. For example, the "open regionalism" of the 1990s was criticized in the Latin American left-wing renaissance trend in the early 21st century and tended to decline. However, the Pacific Alliance (PA) established in 2011 has somewhat resurrected its free trade and foreign policy orientation. Open spirit

Chen Shaoying, Wang Heng: «Symbolic regionalism and its mechanism of occurrence—a case study of East Asia and Latin America», published in «International Forum» Issue 1, 2021, Page 117.

Symbolic regionalism and its mechanism of occurrence—a case study of East Asia and Latin America

In short, Latin American regionalism can be seen as a process of constant change and oscillation within a specific range: Latin American regionalism is difficult to achieve breakthrough progress and cannot match the level of European integration development, but at the same time it will not disappear in history. Such a situation will not disappear in history. In the past, Latin American regionalism has also shown some constant stability amid oscillating changes: its existence is stable, and its development level has been roughly defined. Therefore, this article believes that Latin American regionalism also has "ups and downs". The complex face of "weak but inexhaustible"

## 2. Explanation of the Characteristics of Latin American Regionalism

Based on the existing explanations of the development characteristics of Latin American regionalism, this part uses Fernando Braudel's theory to classify the factors that influence the development of Latin American regionalism. After that, this article proposes that Latin American regionalism "ebbs and flows." "The characteristic of "weak but inexhaustible" is the result of the joint action of medium and long-term factors such as geography, humanities, and economy, and short-term factors such as government material power and government ideology. (1) Basic

framework Some

researchers who study European integration Classic theories such as functionalism, neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, social constructivism, etc. pay attention to the impact of factors such as functional spillover in the low political field, the role of government (political elites), and social identity on integration. Although many scholars are studying Latin America The above theories may not be consciously used when studying regionalism, but the variables focused on by these theories are also involved in related research on regionalism in Latin America.

More or less combined with the observation angle proposed by European integration theory, a large number of scholars engaged in Latin American regional studies have made detailed summaries of the factors affecting the success or failure of Latin American regionalism based on history and reality. Among them, most scholars are mainly concerned about It is the relatively failed side of Latin American regionalism. It is believed that the latter can be attributed to the nationalist sentiments of Latin American countries, over-reliance on presidential diplomacy, low levels of intra-regional trade, external interference, lack of leaders within the region, ideological differences, and territorial disputes. and other factors. Scholars who are concerned about the resilience of regionalism in Latin America have proposed that political autonomy

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See Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez European Integration and Regionalism University Press 2009 pp 6 - 11 See Carlos Malamud "Regional Integration and Cooperation in Latin America: Diagnosis

and Proposals" in Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies Vol 7 No 2 2015 pp 95-97 Salvador Rivera Latin America Unification: A History of Political and Economic Integration Efforts Rivera Jefferson NC: MacFarland 2014 pp 11-22 Wen Dalin: "Main constraints in the current Latin American integration process", published in "Latin American Studies" Issue 3, 2013, Pages 22-26, Zhou Zhiwei: "Current Situation of Latin American Integration and Reasons for Dilemma", Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 5, 2007, Pages 42-46,

The pursuit of and economic development, common culture and identity are the basic driving forces for the long-term integration of Latin American regionalism. Element 2

This article believes that the above analysis has some truth, but these factors often overlap with each other, or belong to different levels and dimensions, making it difficult to simply juxtapose. Moreover, existing research tends to focus more on explaining the success or failure of Latin American integration. Single aspect, but in fact, the characteristics of Latin American regionalism are "ups and downs" and "weak but not inexhaustible" and exist dialectically and interrelated at the same time, requiring a unified explanation. This article hopes to further abstract and refine the various variables proposed by predecessors. 2 Propose a relatively concise analytical framework to help clarify the connections between different variables, explaining the "ups and downs" and "weakness" of Latin American integration. The reason for "exhaustion"

French historian Braudel used a method that combines "long time period", "medium time period" and "short time period" when analyzing history. It is also called "long time period theory" or "three time period theory". This view of history This article draws inspiration from. In the book "The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II", Braudel explains the above three time periods as geographical time, social time and personal time, corresponding to "the relationship between man and his surrounding environment". "History", "History of Groups and Groups" (economy, country, society, civilization, etc.) and "History of Events". 2 Braudel's division of historical periods helps to clarify the level and role of different influencing factors in Latin American regionalism. Braudel also proposed that the long-term history is "almost static", the medium-term history is "slow-paced", and the short-term event history is "short, rapid and turbulent". 2 In "History" and Social Sciences», Braudel further proposed that "every 'current event' aggregates movements with different origins and different rhythms: today's time originates from yesterday, the day before yesterday, and the previous time." 2 Braudel I believe that different historical periods have different rhythms, and different rhythms affect current events at the same time. This is helpful for understanding the "change" and "unchangedness" of Latin American regionalism.

This article believes that the simultaneous stability and instability of Latin American regionalism are the result of relatively constant factors and changing factors respectively. The former is a relatively static mid- to long-term factor as Braudel said, while the latter is a dynamic factor. Changes in short-term factors. Specifically, medium- and long-term factors frame the

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2 Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano and José Briceño - Ruiz "Introduction:Regional Integration - Lin King Paste and Present" in Andrés Rivarola Puntigliano and José Briceño - Ruiz (eds) Resiliency of Regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean: Develop and Autonomy 2 Houndmills 2 Basingstoke 2 Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013 pp 8 - 9 2 [French] Fernand Braudel 2 Translated by Tang Jialong,

Zeng Peigeng and others: «The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Era of Philip II » (Volume 1) 2 Beijing: Business Press, 1996, pp. 8-10.

2 [France] Fernand Braudel, translated by Liu Beicheng and Zhou Lihong: "On History" (Part 1), Beijing: Peking University Press, 2021, page 42



The upper and lower limits of Latin American regionalism give it the characteristics of "weak but inexhaustible", that is, the highest achievements that Latin American regionalism can achieve are limited, but it will not die out even in the worst case, and some short-term factors make it Regionalism in Latin America fluctuates. This article's definition of medium- and long-term factors and short-term factors is similar to Braudel's. However, this article no longer distinguishes between long-term factors and medium-term factors. Instead, it combines the geographical conditions, humanistic background, and cultural background of Latin America or the Western Hemisphere. The economic structure (position in the global system) is generally regarded as a "medium and long-term" factor. The distribution of power within Latin America and the dominant ideological trends and ideologies of various countries are often greatly affected by individuals and single governments, which belong to Brodet. What I call short-term factors.

## (2) Medium and long-term factors and their influence

As Braudel said, geographical factors are almost static from a time perspective. And during the period studied in this article (from the independence of Latin America to the present), the cultural landscapes of Latin American countries are generally the same. Stable: From independence to the present, at least the official languages carrying the cultures of various countries have not changed significantly, and this was largely established during the colonial period. ¶ The two mid- and long-term factors, geographical factors and humanistic factors, have actually become one Latin America. They are the main driving force of globalization. Together they gave birth to the identity of Latin America. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans separate the entire American continent from other regions of the world. Due to the vast land of the entire American continent, many Latin American countries, especially South American countries, are separated from the United States and Canada. There is also a long distance. At the cultural level, the major countries in Latin America have all experienced the colonial rule of Spain and Portugal from the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, they have cultural commonalities and have a psychological distance from Anglo-Saxon America. Even though many countries The Caribbean island countries were mainly colonized by the British in history. However, the historical tradition of the plantation economy and the presence of a large number of Africans also made them culturally very different from the two North American countries. It is the combined effect of geographical factors and cultural factors that constructed "Latin America (and The concept and identity of "Caribbean" makes the pursuit of Latin American unity a natural appeal of the people of the region.

Of course, geographical factors and humanistic factors also have a certain negative impact on Latin American integration. Geographically, Mexico and countries in Central America and the Caribbean are indeed close to the United States, and it is difficult to escape the influence of the United States. However, there are some natural differences within Latin America. Barriers such as the Andes, the Amazon rainforest, the Caribbean, etc. also increase the difficulty of connecting countries with each other, dividing Latin America into different sub-regions, thus distracting the power of regionalism. Similarly, many English-speaking and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries

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¶ There are some exceptions. For example, after the independence of Mexico, due to the implementation of the policy of Spanish as the official language, Spanish gradually replaced the native Indian language in the past as the dominant language. However, this is actually a continuation of the traditional trend during the colonial period. See Cao Jia: « Research on the National Identity of Indians in the Process of Mexican National Integration », Published in "Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)", Issue 4, 2016, Page 2. Nowadays, in some countries, the status of Indian native languages is relatively low. It has risen in the past, but it has not been able to replace the dominant position of European languages.

There are also large cultural differences between China and Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. The cultural identity between the two types of countries is weak. This can also explain why the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which includes all countries in the Western Hemisphere except the United States and Canada, has had to wait until 2011 to be born. Even Portuguese-speaking Brazil once had a distant attitude towards other Spanish-speaking countries. Brazil did not always actively support integration and embrace its neighbors as it did at the beginning of the 21st century. The famous scholar Lai Leslie Bethell even believes that Brazil becoming part of "Latin America" is more of a problem after the 1930s. Economic factors are also factors that remain relatively stable in the medium and long term, and their impact

on Latin American regionalism is also fundamental. The economic factor here refers to this situation: since independence, Latin America as a whole has been in a backward, marginal, and dependent position in the world economic system. It should be acknowledged that the economic development process of Latin American countries after independence has also been slow. It is full of ups and downs, with many short-term and local bright spots. However, from a long-term and overall perspective, Latin America has not been able to narrow the gap in development level with Western countries in the past 200 years. Data shows that the overall per capita GDP of Latin America has been from the beginning of independence. Already far behind the United States. In the following period, the specific situations of Latin American countries were different, but their effectiveness in narrowing the gap with the United States was limited. Many countries were gradually pulled further apart by the United States. After the 20th century, the per capita GDP of Latin America as a whole (referring to Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries only) is lower than 25% of that of the United States. Since 1960, the per capita GDP of Latin America's richest countries has also been less than half of that of the United States.

Behind the long-term sluggish economic performance, Latin American countries have been unable to achieve industrial and technological upgrading, and have been unable to engage in production activities with "large windows of opportunity for innovation, increasing returns and strong synergy effects", and have been locked in a global economy. A relatively disadvantaged position. This situation has not fundamentally changed since the independence of Latin American countries. Neither export-oriented nor import-substituting industrialization attempts have been able to find a path to achieve rapid and stable economic development.

This situation is also the main obstacle to the development of regionalism in Latin America. The role of economic factors is fundamental. The disadvantages of integration concluded by many scholars also stem from Latin America's weak position in the world economy.

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Leslie Bethell: «Looking at the relationship between Brazil and Latin America from the perspective of the history of ideas and international relations», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 3, 2017, page 115. There is also a view that although Brazil is really The recognition of the specific concept of "Latin America" comes later, but the exchanges with neighboring countries are closer and more active than Leslie Bethell's judgment. See José Briceño - Ruiz and Andrés Riv Arola Puntigliano: Brazil and Latin America: Between the separate and integration paths. Lanham Boulder New York London: Lexington Books, 2017

[English] Written by Victor Bulmer-Thomas, translated by Zhang Sengen and Wang Ping: "Economic History of Latin America since Independence" (Third Edition), Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 2020, pp. 485-490, pp. 534- Page 535. Wang Xiaoyun: «The Development

Dilemmas and Solutions of Latin American Countries—The Perspective of Evolutionary Development Economics», Chinese Academy of Social Sciences University (Graduate School) Doctoral Thesis, May 2020, Page 147.

It is precisely because Latin American countries as a whole have economic difficulties that they are unable to produce leaders who are capable of providing stable public goods for integration. Since Latin American countries are generally in a weak economic position, complementarity between each other is also very limited. According to data from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, since 1962, intra-regional goods exports in Latin America have rarely accounted for more than 20% of all goods exports. As a result, Latin American regionalism cannot be gradually deepened through progress in the low political field like Europe. Latin American countries Protectionism and economic nationalism also stem from the fragility of each country's economy. Such thoughts and actions will also hinder the deepening of integration.

Of course, economic backwardness has also given Latin American regionalism impetus to a certain extent. This is because people believe that regional solidarity may be a means to change economic disadvantages. In the mid-20th century, advocates of Latin American regionalism such as Prebisch Some scholars and technical experts believe that the market of a single Latin American country is small, and they hope to provide a larger market through regionalism to support the import substitution strategy generally pursued by Latin American countries at that time.

In short, the three medium- and long-term factors of geography, culture, and economy have led to the long-term "weak but inexhaustible" fate of Latin American regional integration. The specific effects of these three factors are complex and two-sided, but generally speaking, geography, cultural factors shape the identity of Latin America, thus providing the main driving force for Latin American regionalism, while economic disadvantage is the main source of obstacles faced by the development of Latin American regionalism. The interaction between these three factors This allows the motivation and resistance of Latin American regionalism to achieve a dynamic balance, limiting the fluctuations of Latin American regionalism to a specific level. It will neither fall below the lower limit nor exceed the upper limit, falling into the fate of "weak but inexhaustible" (3) Short-term factors and their influence

Short-term factors, as Braudel said, are more contingency and changeable. Braudel believes that short-term factors are more "personal" and short-term factors that affect Latin American regionalism. The time factor is a series of policies of a single government, including the policies of Latin American governments and the policies of some regional external powers. Government policies can be observed from two levels: material and conceptual: The material level refers to the materiality of a single government when it implements a certain policy. Power. The government's ideology, as a concept, determines the government's attitude towards regionalism, that is, it determines the direction in which material power is used.

From the perspective of material power, the position of Latin American countries in the international system has generally not changed since independence. They have always been in a relatively marginal and secondary position. However, in the short term, the national power of each country changes very frequently. The resources that the government can mobilize are limited. The price will rise and fall accordingly. Some lucky countries may

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“The transition to a new stage of regionalization is a complex process that involves the interaction of various factors. This process is not linear and is subject to external influences. The main driving force is the economic development of the region, which is supported by the political and social changes taking place. The transition to a new stage of regionalization is a complex process that involves the interaction of various factors. This process is not linear and is subject to external influences. The main driving force is the economic development of the region, which is supported by the political and social changes taking place.”



Salvador Rivera also mentioned that opposition to integration was rare in literature in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, in fact, there do exist ideas and ideologies that are inconsistent with Latin American regionalization, emphasizing national sovereignty and interests. A nationalist or pragmatic stance will undoubtedly hinder the advancement of regionalism. It can be said that there are different levels of nationalism in Latin America. Latin American regionalism and nationalism that regards Latin America as a whole as a "Patria Grande" are relatively different. Coincidence When nationalism centered on the home country rises, frictions between regional countries will often increase, and the cause of regionalism will be weakened. Different ideologies supporting integration also have conceptual

opposition to each other. As mentioned above As described, different trends in Latin American regionalism have different focuses. Some are focused on the security field, some are developmentalist, which are closely linked to the import substitution strategy, and some are biased toward opening up, etc. Regionalist activities dominated by different ideologies have completely different goals and objectives. Paths are not compatible with each other.

In this case, the development trend of regionalism largely depends on whether there is an ideological consensus among regional countries to support regionalism. If the governments of regional countries all have strong nationalist overtones, regionalism will be difficult to advance. For example, in 19 In the 20th century, wars among Latin American countries brought regionalism to a standstill. In the 1970s, some military governments in Latin America were influenced by geopolitical trends. Many neighboring countries (such as Brazil and Argentina) had strong hostility. Regionalism is also difficult to make progress. Preferences for different regionalist paths or other ideological contradictions can also tear apart group cooperation. For example, the contradiction between democratic and non-democratic regimes caused the Pinochet regime in Chile to withdraw from the then-political regime in 1976. Andean Treaty Organization. In 2006, the Venezuelan Chavez government withdrew from the Andean Community because it was dissatisfied with the free trade treaty concluded between other member states and the United States.

Extra-regional powers represented by the United States have a strong influence on the development of regionalism in Latin America. The United States If we directly occupy and control some Latin American countries, these countries will undoubtedly no longer be able to participate in the Latin American level.

Rivera Jefferson NC; MacFarland 2014 p 13 Some forces, such as the Pacific

Alliance, have proposed to be more proactive in the process of regionalism, pragmatism and weakening ideology, but this attitude itself can also be regarded as an ideological proposition. The pragmatic stance sometimes tends to weaken Latin America The impact of emotional identification between countries on foreign policy, and advocating strengthening ties with countries outside the region that can better enhance their own trade interests, will undoubtedly weaken Latin American regionalism.

Some scholars call it "regional nationalism". This kind of nationalism is somewhat similar to some supranational pan-nationalisms. See Li Ziyang: "The Historical Evolution of Regional Nationalism in Latin America: National Identity and Diverse Expressions", in "World Nations" » Issue 4, 2016,

in pp. 22-28. Sometimes, regionalism and nationalism of a country also overlap. Many theorists believe that regional cooperation is the interest of every Latin American country. This is generally true. However, in specific practice, there are always issues such as regionalist benefit distribution and

cost sharing that cause dissatisfaction among nationalists. History of Political and Integration Efforts



## Summary of Table 1

Table 1 Characteristics and influencing factors of Latin American regionalism

Influencing factors		Influence period	Influence direction	affect the result	
economically disadvantaged position		Medium and long term	Generally weaken the practice of regionalism, but stimulate the desire for regionalism	Mainly leaving Latin American regionalism in a weak state	Making Latin American regionalism "weak but inexhaustible"
geography, culture			Generally promotes regionalism, but also has a divisive effect on regionalism	Mainly to keep Latin American regionalism flowing	
Government policies within and outside Latin America	Government material strength and power factors	short term	Uncertain direction	Making Latin American regionalism "up and down"	
	government ideological factors		Uncertain direction		

Source: Drawn by the author

## Analysis of three cases: Taking South American regionalism in recent years as an example

Regionalism at the South American level is a relatively new phenomenon in the history of Latin American regionalism. Entering the 21st century, an important regional organization, the Union of South American Nations, was born at the South American level. The Union experienced a very dramatic fate after its birth. It prospered and declined until it was on the verge of collapse, but in recent years it has shown some signs of a comeback. When the Union of South American Nations was declining, the South American Progress Forum came into being. But now it seems that this new organization wants to completely replace South American Nations. The Union of American Nations is also unable to do what it can. The current situation of South American regionalism is chaotic and lacks certainty. It is difficult to simply evaluate it as "good" or "bad". It is called "ups and downs" and "weak but inexhaustible". This is very appropriate. This section hopes to use South American regionalism represented by the Union of South American Nations and the Forum for the Progress of South America as examples to specifically explain the analytical framework of Latin American regionalism proposed previously in this article.

## (1) Changes in South American regionalism in the 21st

century. In the 21st century, the Latin American regionalism model began to focus more on the political and social fields, while highlighting the role of the state. It was very different from the neoliberalism and the "Washington Consensus" that were popular in the region in the 1990s. Resistance. In this context, a series of new regional organizations were born, including the Union of South American Nations.

Initially, the Community of South American States (CSN) was established in Peru in 2004. In April 2008, at the South American Energy Conference held in Venezuela, the heads of state decided to rename the organization "CSN".

"Union of South American Nations". The goals of the Union of South American Nations are lofty and broad, ranging from promoting integration, establishing South American identity, establishing South American citizenship, to protecting ecological diversity, eradicating illiteracy, etc. In addition, in the organizational structure The ambition of the Union of South American Nations can also be seen in the arrangement: the Union has its own parliament, banks, and has established institutions in many fields such as society, public health, infrastructure, economics and finance, etc. Council. It is worth emphasizing that the alliance also established the first regional defense mechanism in South America - South America. U.S. Defense Council (SADC)

During the heyday of the Union of South American Nations, it could be seen in many major events in South America and even Central and North America: the Union participated in and helped resolve the political crisis in 2008 when some provinces in Bolivia demanded autonomy, and the 2010 police riots in Ecuador. The political crisis caused by the conflict in South America provided support to the two governments, which played an important role in maintaining the political stability of the two countries at the time. In terms of maintaining democracy, the Union of South American Nations criticized the coup in Honduras in 2009 and criticized the coup in Honduras in 2012. Paraguay imposed sanctions that suspended its membership due to the coup. The Union of South American Nations is also committed to maintaining regional peace and mediating the conflicts between Colombia and Venezuela in 2010. In opposing the establishment of a military base by the United States in Colombia and supporting the post-disaster reconstruction of Haiti, etc. On this issue, the Union of South American Nations has also taken positive actions.

However, the activity of the Union of South American Nations was mainly concentrated in the few years after its establishment, and its fields of activity were concentrated in the above-mentioned political fields. As the regionalism model that once flourished at the beginning of the 21st century encountered challenges as a whole, the Union of South American Nations The Union has not been spared. The Union has long had a crisis in terms of organizational personnel. According to the constitutional Treaty of the Organization of the Union of South American Nations, the Committee of Heads of State and Heads of Government, as the highest decision-making body of the organization, should hold a regular meeting every year. The rotating presidency of the country is Special summits can also be convened with the consent of all member states. The Secretary-General of the Alliance is appointed by the Committee of Heads of State and Government on the nomination of the Committee of Foreign Ministers. The Secretary-General serves a two-year term and can only be reappointed once. However, the last term of the Alliance is The summit was held in December 2014 and has never been held since. The selection of the Secretary-General has also been delayed: the previous Secretary-General (and former President of Colombia) Enes

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“Unión de Naciones Suramericanas” y sus objetivos: // [www.unasursg.org](#) / [Unión de Naciones Suramericanas] y sus objetivos  
 “Unión de Naciones Suramericanas” y sus objetivos: // [www.unasursg.org](#) / [Unión de Naciones Suramericanas] y sus objetivos  
 Edgar Romero Liderazgo en América Latina? y 20 de abril 2018 [http://Actualidad.rt.com/Actualidad/269152-unasur-perdido-liderazgo-america-latina-2020-01-19](#) y Li Ziyang: «The Evolution of Argentina's Foreign Policy and the Development of Regional Integration in South America», published in «International Economic Cooperation», Issue 2, 2012, page 80. e la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas y Unasur y Artículo 6, Artículo 10 2010 [https://www.unasursg.org/images/descargas/2020-01-21](#)



Ernesto Samper served from August 2014 to January 2017, that is, he worked for an additional five months after completing his term. Since then, there has been no new secretary-general. Argentina, Paraguay and Peru expressed opposition to Samper's continued re-election, but the candidate recommended by Argentina, the then rotating presidency (from April 2017 to April 2018), José Octavio Bordón (José Octavio Bordón) was rejected by Venezuela, and Bolivia and Suriname also supported Venezuela's opinion. The reason given by the then Bolivian Foreign Minister Fernando Huanacuni Mamani (Fernando Huanacuni Mamani) was that the Secretary-General had always been appointed by former heads of state or foreign ministers of member states. The candidate recommended by Argentina does not meet this requirement. As a condition, he also accused Argentina, as the previous rotating presidency, of leaving unresolved issues. The deadlock on the selection of the Secretary-General led to the 6 foreign ministers of Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Peru and Paraguay submitting their proposals to Bolivia, the rotating presidency (April 2018). Until April 2019, submit a letter stating that you will temporarily withdraw from the organization's activities, and will not participate again until the organization is operating normally.

Afterwards, the internal crisis in Venezuela and the differences in the attitudes of the members of the Union of South American Nations towards the situation in Venezuela directly caused the alliance to be on the verge of paralysis. Since the late period of President Chavez's administration, Venezuela's domestic economic situation has continued to deteriorate, and after Maduro took over as president, the economic situation in Venezuela has continued to deteriorate. The political struggle between the government and the opposition has intensified, and the country has gradually fallen into a comprehensive crisis in the economic, political, and social fields. In August 2017, some American countries that opposed the Maduro government held a meeting in Lima to form the "Lima Lima Group" (Lima Group), which includes Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay and Peru, members of the Union of South American Nations. Guyana and Bolivia later joined this group. These countries believe that the Venezuelan government violates democracy and human rights, and Negating the legitimacy of the Venezuelan Constituent Assembly and the 2018 Venezuelan presidential election. In January 2019, Juan Guaidó, the new president of Venezuela's National Assembly, declared himself the president of Venezuela and received support from all Lima Group members at the time except Mexico.

recognized by the members. Some member states were dissatisfied with the failure of the Union of South American Nations to impose sanctions on the Venezuelan government and took actions that were detrimental to the Union. In August 2018, Colombian President Iván Duque Márquez announced that Colombia would formally withdraw from the South American country. Alliance, which opened the door for member states to withdraw one after another.

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“The Lima Group is a platform for democratic countries in Latin America to coordinate their positions and actions in response to the Venezuelan crisis. It is not a new organization, but a renewed effort to address the crisis. The group was formed in August 2017, with the participation of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay and Peru. It has since been joined by Guyana and Bolivia. The group's main objective is to support democratic institutions and processes in Venezuela, and to oppose the authoritarianism and human rights violations of the Maduro government. The group has issued several statements and resolutions, and has coordinated diplomatic efforts to address the crisis. It has also provided support for the Venezuelan National Assembly and other democratic actors. The group's actions have been widely praised by international observers, and it has played a key role in shaping the international response to the crisis. The group's formation and activities have also had significant implications for the regional and international political landscape. It has demonstrated the importance of regional cooperation and solidarity in addressing global challenges, and has provided a platform for democratic countries to voice their concerns and coordinate their actions. The group's success in addressing the Venezuelan crisis will depend on the continued support and cooperation of its member states, and on the willingness of the international community to take effective action against the Maduro government.”

"Huanacuni Minimiza Crisis de la Usanur y Convoca a un Congreso Constituyente / 2018 / 23 / huanacuni-imiza-crisis-de-la-usanur-convoca-cancer-eres-177612.html [2020-01-24] With the change of regime, as of October 2021, the governments of Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru have no longer expressed their support for the Maduro government.

They have a negative attitude towards its legality, and some governments have even withdrawn from this organization.

Prologue. Duque said bluntly: "We cannot continue to be a member of an organization that has become the biggest accomplice of the Venezuelan dictatorship." In January 2019, Duque proposed negotiating with Chile and other countries to establish a new organization to replace the South American Alliance of Nations. On March 23 of the same year, South American countries except Venezuela held a meeting in Santiago, Chile. Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, and Peru signed a statement announcing the start of preparations for the South American Progress Forum. As an alternative to the Union of South American Nations, before and after the meeting, Paraguay (March 2019), Argentina (March 2019), Ecuador (March 2019), Brazil (April 2019), Chile (2019) June and Uruguay (March 2020) also successively announced their formal withdrawal from the Union of South American Nations. Brazil even withdrew when Bolivia handed over its rotating chairmanship to it, while Ecuador requested the withdrawal of the Union's headquarters in Ecuador when it withdrew. Secretariat Building

However, there have been some recent developments that are favorable to the Union of South American Nations, making it difficult for people to declare its "death". In 2019, after President Morales was forced to resign, Bolivia's new interim government changed course and stated that it would consider withdrawing from South America. National Alliance However, in October 2020, with the election of Luis Arce, the candidate of the left-wing Movement for Socialism Party, Bolivia's foreign policy has undergone fundamental changes. The new government stated that it will resume a series of left-wing Activities in regional organizations of different colors. In addition, Argentine President Fernandez and Peruvian President Castillo also expressed their intention to return to the Union of South American Nations after taking office. These situations also mean that the Union of South American Nations is indeed "weak and weak." "Exhausted", there is vitality in paralysis.

Corresponding to the Union of South American Nations, the South American Progress Forum also has cross-field goals. However, due to the background of its creation, the organization focuses more on democratic politics and market economy, and itself reflects the integration preferences of the Latin American right wing. 4. South America The fate of the Progressive Forum is also quite dramatic. It had 8 member states when it was born, but it has been difficult to expand since then, and differences among member states have gradually increased. Fernandez

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After taking office as the president of Argentina, Argentina's participation was no longer seen in some high-level joint declarations and high-level meetings recorded on the official website of the South American Progress Forum. Although when it was new, the South American Progress Forum seemed to have the momentum to replace the Union of South American Nations, but nowadays, apart from its normal operation, the South American Progress Forum has very limited achievements in all aspects. Under this circumstance, the integration of South America as a whole can be seen as divided and chaotic, but it is difficult to say that it has not achieved anything

at all. Hope for further development. (2) Macro factors and the "weak but

inexhaustible" nature of South American regionalism. It was previously argued that macro mid- and long-term factors such as geography, culture, and economy determine that Latin American regionalism is "weak but inexhaustible." The South American region As a part of Latin American regionalism, doctrine is also weak but inexhaustible,

and this is mainly caused by the above-mentioned macro factors. Compared with other Latin American sub-regions, South American regionalism was born later. Relatively speaking, In the construction process of the concept of "South America", geographical factors play a greater role than cultural factors. From a historical and cultural point of view, Guyana and Suriname, located in the South American continent, gained independence from the United Kingdom and the Netherlands respectively in the 1970s. The main domestic population is Indians and Africans are very different from other Latin American countries. They are more regarded as Caribbean countries in a political sense. The differences in language and culture between Brazil and other Latin American countries do exist. Therefore, "South America" is not a tradition. It is a historical and cultural entity, and as scholars say, it is largely a "geopolitical project" or "invention" demarcated by Brazil in order to project its own influence. However, from a geographical point of view, the borders of South America are very clear. It is separated from Central America by the Panama Canal. Compared with Central America and Mexico, South America as a whole is further away from the United States. Therefore, it is relatively independent from the influence of the United States, allowing the South American region as a political group to gain independence. In addition, Brazil's territory accounts for nearly half of the total area of South America, and it borders 9 of the remaining 11 countries in South America except Chile and Ecuador. It is naturally the center of South America. Overall, geographical factors allow South America to It has become a relatively independent political group with (potential) core countries. Therefore, once the integration of South America occurs, it will not easily fade away from the stage of history. Countries that criticize the Union of South American Nations still want to build a region with South America as a region. The Forum for the Progress of South America within the framework of Communism illustrates the vitality that geographical factors give to South American regionalism.

Geographic factors also partly determine the weak status of South American regionalism. The countries in northern South America are close to Central and North America, and the differences between the east and west coasts of South America are weakening South American regionalism and causing internal divisions. In other words, The influence of the United States and even Mexico easily extends to northern South America.

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"South American countries usually enter the primary stage of global value chains by virtue of primary product specialization". Although many South American countries experienced rapid economic growth in the first decade of the 21st century, this also occurred in the late 1990s and 2000s. After the initial series of economic crises, and the duration was relatively short-lived, under such circumstances, it was difficult for South American countries to truly break through the shackles of being a "developing country" and achieve rapid development. The complementarity of each other's economies was inevitably insufficient. The weak economic status of South America made it difficult for South American countries to achieve rapid development. Countries are very sensitive to short-term economic gains and losses. Large South American countries such as Brazil have limited domestic economic development levels. Foreign aid is opposed by public opinion and cannot provide public goods in large quantities. Each small country also has strong economic nationalism. On the one hand, it looks forward to foreign assistance; on the other hand, it, on the other hand, they are worried about being exploited by foreign capital. In 2008, the year when the Union of South American Nations was established, the President of Ecuador refused to repay Brazilian loans due to a dispute with Brazilian construction giant Odebrecht, triggering a dispute between the two countries. Disputes. The economic weakness of South American countries makes these countries unable and unwilling to pay the upfront costs of regionalism activities, and thus they cannot promote regionalism

to a higher level. (3) Material power factors and the "ups and downs" of South American regionalism.

Previous article It is mentioned that short-term changes in the political enjoyment of material power will lead to the ups and downs of regionalism. This section will explain that changes in the material power of the governments of South American regional countries (especially the big countries) are indeed closely related to the rise and fall of the Union of South

American Nations and the South American Progress Forum. During the period that this article focuses on, in the entire South America, Brazil's comprehensive strength is far ahead. Its population (2017), territory area, economic aggregate (2017) and other data are at least three times that of the second-placed country in South America. Above. In addition to Brazil, some scholars pointed out that there are also some "secondary powers" in South America, including Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, and Chile. Generally speaking, although the above four countries have larger territory, population, economic aggregate and other data, it cannot be compared with Brazil, and it is far superior to other small South American countries. These four countries each have advantages in different aspects, and their overall strength is basically at the same level. It can be said that Brazil and the

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Y Zhang Yong, Shi Peiran: « Opportunities for Sino-Latin America economic and trade cooperation in the context of the "Belt and Road Initiative": a global value chain perspective », Published in "Journal of the Pacific", December 2018, pp. 37-38, [English] Victor Bulmer-Thomas Author, Translated by Zhang Sengen and Wang Ping: "Economic History of Latin America since Independence" (Third Edition), Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, 2020, pp. 422-424.

Y Janina Onuki Fernando Mouron and Francisco Urdinez "Latin American Perceptions of Regional Identity and Leadership in Comparative Perspective" in Contexto Internacional Vol 38 No 1 January / April 2016 pp 433 - 465 The above information is calculated based on relevant data from the World Bank. See <https://data.worldbank.org/cn/> [2020 - 04 - 14]

worldbank.org/cn/ [2020 - 04 - 14]

See also Javier Luciano Quispe Robles "La Eficacia de Unasur parasol la Solución de Crisis Políticas en "Sudamérica (2008 - 2013)" in Política: Revista de Ciencia Política Vol 8 No 14 2017 p 104 Daniel J. S. and Leslie Wehner "Drivers of Strategic Contention: The Case of South America" in German Institute of Technology Te of Global and Area Studies Working Papers No 207, 2012, pp 163 - 164 In fact, Peru ranks relatively high in terms of territory, population and other data, but due to its economic aggregate and military expenditure The expenditure is lower than that of the aforementioned countries and is not included in the discussion in this article.

The United States is the most important player in South American geopolitics. After entering the 21st century, these countries have become more active in the development of regional diplomacy and military power. In particular, Venezuela was particularly active in the early 21st century. During the administration of President Chavez, During the period, favorable oil prices greatly enhanced Venezuela's economic strength at that time, allowing it to invest a large amount of resources in the integration of the South American subregion and Latin America. As scholars have said, "Brazil, Venezuela, and Argentina led the regional ambitions "It has spawned various regional integration organizations, and the Union of South American Nations is one of them." In other words, among the "Big Five" in South America, three support the Union of South American Nations, including Brazil, which is far more powerful than other countries. Their combined force is enough to overcome other opposition forces in the region. Although the other two sub-powers, Chile and Colombia, have limited enthusiasm for the Union of South American Nations or even have objections, the development of the Union is also basically guaranteed.

Brazil is largely the initiator of the Union of South American Nations. In the 1990s, Brazil had the idea of integrating the two regional organizations, Mercosur and the Andean Community. Since 2000, President Cardoso of Brazil (1995- After taking office in 2002, he initiated a series of South American summits and began to discuss the establishment of an integration organization among South American countries. After this series of meetings, the Community of South American States was finally born in 2004. Since then, with the Venezuelan Chavez government With the consolidation of ruling power, its role in promoting the Union of South American Nations has become increasingly obvious, prompting the transformation of the Community of South American Nations into the Union of South American Nations. The name "United Nations of South American Nations" comes from Venezuelan President Chavez's Proposal. Venezuela and its allies made the Union of South American Nations more focused on political and social issues than the past Community of South American Nations, and expanded the goals of the Union. Although the Union was not completely consistent with Brazil's original design, Brazil has since continued to attach great importance to it. Maintaining enthusiasm, the establishment of the South American Defense Council originated from Brazil's proposal. Brazil and Venezuela have different visions of the alliance, and the two countries also compete in the alliance. However, "despite these differences, Venezuela and Brazil prefer private agreement

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For the development of military forces in various countries, please refer to the database on military expenditures of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), <https://www.sipri.org/databases/milex> [2020-04-14]. However, some scholars pointed out that this data is too underestimated. Venezuela's military expenditure. In recent years, Venezuela has also greatly enhanced its military strength. See Jeff Colgan, "Venezuela and Military," *Latin American Research Review* Vol 48 Issue 4 2013 pp 547 - 556

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"We must negotiate and show unity in public". On many issues, the Union of South American Nations combines the will of Venezuela and Brazil, reflecting the joint strength of the two countries. In addition, Argentina also made changes to the Union during the Kirchner couple's administration. Néstor Kirchner became the first Secretary-General of the League after he resigned as President of Argentina (his wife was elected as the new President of Argentina). During his tenure in this position, he participated in the disputes between Colombia and Venezuela. His mediation and good offices helped to promote the final reconciliation between the two countries, and his efforts were recognized by the countries concerned. The secretariat building of the alliance's headquarters in Ecuador was also named "Nesto Kirchner Building". This It also reflects Argentina's support and influence on this organization at that time.

However, in the second decade of the 21st century, major changes have taken place in Brazil, Venezuela, and Argentina. Even before the center-right governments of Brazil and Argentina came to power, the support of left-wing governments for regional integration had declined.

On the whole, after the economic crisis in 2008, the overall economic situation of these three countries is not as good as before. From 2010 to 2016, all three countries experienced economic recession in some years. To make matters worse, Brazil and Venezuela also suffered from economic recession. Conflicts in domestic affairs further distracted energy. In the late period of President Rousseff's administration, Brazil's domestic anti-corruption case triggered a series of political crises. Eventually Rousseff was impeached and resigned. Since 2014, Venezuela's economy has begun to seriously deteriorate and decline. Social and political turmoil also occurred in the country. On the one hand, the opposition used the Congress it led to fight against the government; on the other hand, it continued to demonstrate and attack the government. The Venezuelan government's ruling foundation was weakened and it had no time to invest in the outside world. The Venezuelan government's own legitimacy issues also attracted criticism and interference from right-wing governments in the region. As a result, Venezuela became the focus of controversy in the Union of South American Nations, which directly led to the collapse of the Union.

The South American Progress Forum was originally initiated by Chile and Colombia. This is not an accident, but a reflection of subtle changes in the regional power structure. Before 2019, when the proposal was launched, although the economic growth rates of these two countries were not the most outstanding in Latin America, However, the overall performance is much better than that of Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela, and both had excellent economic performance in 2018. The two countries do have optimism about their own strength. For example, Colombia has been seeking to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and finally He got his wish in 2020. In October 2019, Chilean leader Piñera proudly declared that Chile was the leader of Latin America.

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“The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) was created in 2008, with the aim of promoting regional integration and cooperation among Latin American countries. Its main objective is to strengthen the ties between member states and to address common challenges in the region.”

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During this period, only the right-wing governments of Colombia and Paraguay had frictions with the left-wing governments from time to time. After President Santos took office in 2010, Colombia also adjusted its policies, eased relations with Venezuela and Ecuador, and tried to establish cooperation with South American countries. play a more active role in the alliance. Undoubtedly, when there are competing regionalism models, consensus among regional countries can avoid the internal friction of the regionalism movement and promote

regional integration. Especially among regional powers, ideological Consensus also plays a role as a glue. As mentioned above, the three countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, which mainly promote South American regionalism, also have differences in competition and development goals: Brazil regards South America as one that it can impose on itself. It hopes to become the leading country in South America. In addition to the Union of South American Nations, Venezuela is also promoting the construction of regional organizations such as the Bolivarian Alliance of Americas that are centered on itself and are not limited to South American countries. Venezuela hopes to become the leading country in Latin America. As the leader of a left-wing country, Argentina will choose to check and balance Brazil on some issues, such as pushing for the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which includes Mexico and other Central and North American countries, in order to dilute Brazil's influence. At this time, it can be in power It is the ideological consistency of the leaders of the three countries that mediates the relations between countries in the competition. This consistency helps to dilute the color of competition among major powers. Many scholars believe that when

left-wing leaders such as Lula and Rousseff were in power, Brazil's power in South America is a kind of "consensus hegemony" or "soft power", which also illustrates the importance of ideology in maintaining regional stability. However, the distribution of ideologies conducive to regionalism changed in the following years. Changes have occurred rapidly. First, left-wing parties in Latin America lost power one after another. This happened in Argentina in 2015, Peru and Brazil (2016), and Chile (2018). In addition, in 2017, the new left-wing president of Ecuador took office. Lennín Boltaire Moeno also separated from the domestic left-wing forces after being elected. Many policies are closer to the right wing and above the situation. The weakening of strength is particularly serious.

Under such circumstances, some issues that could have been settled smoothly before have turned into a crisis for regional organizations. In 2012, the left-wing regime in Paraguay was impeached and removed from power in a controversial manner. Regional powers such as Brazil and Argentina, which are governed by left-wing governments, are reaching a consensus. Paraguay's membership in the Union of South American Nations was later suspended, which did not have a great impact on the development of regionalism itself. However, as the left-wing consensus no longer existed, issues such as the 2017 Honduras election controversy and the 2018 Nicaragua political crisis All have triggered fierce disputes among South American countries, and the crisis in Venezuela, an important member of the Union of South American Nations, has become the focus of the struggle, triggering the collapse of the Union of South American Nations. When member states withdraw from the Union of South American Nations, they often It is also directly based on ideology. For example, Argentina's

The reasons it gave for its final withdrawal from the alliance, in addition to the two-year vacancy in the position of secretary-general and the chaos in the alliance's administrative management in recent years, also included that the alliance's agenda "contains highly ideological content and is biased towards  
The rapid paralysis of the Union of South American Nations is a reflection of the regional ideological situation in recent years .

Contrasting the results of

changes, although the South American Progress Forum emerged in the short term, its subsequent development was slightly mediocre. Instead, the Union of South American Nations was revived. This is also related to the accelerated ideological change of regional governments. In addition to Guyana, Among the 10 Latin American countries except Suriname, in March 2019, when the South American Progress Forum was established, 7 countries were governed by center-right governments. The only major left-wing geopolitical player in power was Venezuela. In 2020, the center-right government was in power. The number of countries has even reached 8. As of October 2021, although there are still 6 countries where the center-right is in power, the left has gained power in two important countries, Venezuela and Argentina. The right-wing's advantage over the left has been No longer prominent. In less than two years, the regional ideological landscape has undergone tremendous changes. This has also caused the South American Progress Forum to be far less powerful today than when it was first founded. The Union of South American Nations unexpectedly regained its Hope

During the time period that this article focuses on, the balance of power between South American countries and the United States has not changed qualitatively. At this time, the factors affecting the impact of the United States on South American regionalism are mainly the United States' specific Latin American policies. Generally speaking, the United States' attention to South America The degree is limited, which also created certain conditions for the rise of the Union of South American Nations. However, in the later years of the Obama administration, especially during the Trump period, the U.S. government gradually deepened its hostility towards Venezuela and adopted a series of measures hostile to Venezuela and other left-wing regimes. policy. The attitude of the United States undoubtedly encourages regional right-wing forces, and also creates conditions for the activity of the South American Progress Forum. The regional policies of the United States and other foreign powers towards South America are often adjusted as the situation in South America changes. This also provides The development of South American regionalism in the short term will increase variables.

#### Four Conclusions and Outlook

In short, the overall trend of the development of regionalism in Latin America is shaped by some relatively stable situations in history.

"La Argentina Se Retira de la UNASUR" y 12 de abril 2019 <https://www.cinco.com.ar/politica/la-argentina-se-retira-de-la-unasur> [2020-04-14] However There are also rifts in the attitudes of different regional left-wing regimes

towards the governments of Venezuela, Cuba and other countries. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether the resurgence of regional left-wing regimes means the revival of the Union of South American Nations. Rigorous: «The

Trump Administration The adjustment and impact of the US policy on Latin America since then», published in "Latin American Studies", No. 2020 Issue 2, page 32, page 36.

However, it is easily affected by unstable factors and changes in the short term. From this point of view, it is relatively difficult to predict the development trend and direction of Latin American regionalism in the short term, because this requires predicting the transformation and change of the governing powers of each Latin American country. Its strength development in the short term. Of course, since the factors of the COVID-19 epidemic are difficult to eliminate in the short term, this is likely to put Latin American governments in a difficult situation in the short term. Therefore, it will be difficult for Latin American regionalism to make major progress in the short term.

Looking at the longer-term future, Latin American regionalism will generally maintain the status quo. The geographical and humanistic conditions of Latin American countries are basically constant, and it is not easy for Latin American countries, especially regional powers, to truly break through their marginal status in the international arena in the economic field. For a long time, Latin American regionalism will remain an important theme in the field of Latin American international relations, but it will still be difficult to achieve a qualitative leap. At the same time, although it is difficult to accurately predict the changes in governments and changes in power of different factions in Latin America, it is important to consider With the cyclical nature of elections, at least regime changes will still be a common phenomenon, and the "ups and downs" of Latin American regionalism will probably continue for a long time.

This article mainly explains the reasons for the long-term "weakness and inexhaustibility" of Latin American regionalism and the "ups and downs" in specific periods. However, the specific time points of the "ups and downs" of regionalism are not something that this article can solve. This involves the government policy. A detailed analysis of factors in a short period of time requires exploring the specific reasons for the rise and fall of government power and ideology and the interaction between the two. This is a direction for future research.

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)