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**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE**

Disertační práce

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Anotace

Disertační práce se zabývá politickou a hospodářskou integrací na Západní polokouli. V první části porovnává dvě nejvýznamnější regionální obchodní uskupení v oblasti, Severoamerickou zónu volného obchodu a Mercosur. Prostřednictvím diskurzivní analýzy a rozboru metafor ukazuje rozdíly mezi jednotlivými bloky a jejich směřování. Druhá část se zabývá zahraniční politikou USA v historických souvislostech vzhledem k ostatním zemím kontinentu a transformací tohoto vztahu do nynější podoby dvojstranných smluv o volném obchodu. Diskurzivní analýzou klíčových textů těchto smluv ukazuje, že metafory dominance přetrvávají a snaha o kontrolu regionu se manifestuje právě jejich prostřednictvím.

Annotation

The dissertation thesis focuses on political and economic integration in the Western Hemisphere. In the first part the paper compares two major regional trading blocs, North American Free Trade Agreement and Mercosur. Through the discourse and metaphor analysis shows differences between the respective blocs, as well as their objectives. Second part deals with US foreign policy in its historical context in relation to other nations within the region, and transformation of this relationship into current policy of bilateral

free trade agreements. Discourse analysis of the key texts and revealed dominance metaphors suggest that the United States uses bilateral free trade agreements to maintain control over the region.

Klíčová slova

USA, Mexico, Latinská Amerika, Západní polokoule, NAFTA, Mercosur, bilaterální smlouvy o volném obchodu, diskurzivní analýza, metafora, zahraniční politika, zjevný úděl, integrace

Keywords

USA, Mexico, Latin America, Western Hemisphere, NAFTA, Mercosur, bilateral free trade agreements, discourse analysis, metaphors, foreign policy, manifest destiny, integration

Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedené prameny a literaturu. Současně dávám svolení k tomu, aby tato práce byla zpřístupněna v příslušné knihovně UK a prostřednictvím elektronické databáze vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací v repozitáři Univerzity Karlovy a používána ke studijním účelům v souladu s autorským právem.

V Praze dne 20. června 2011

Renata Escobar

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PREFACE

With an example of Europe, and due to its increasing economic importance both worrying and impressive for the rest of the world, other regional blocs were established. First APEC in Asia-Pacific region (therefore also related to the countries of both Americas), then Mercosur in the south and NAFTA in the north, (then still) with the perspective of a Free Trade Area of Americas to be created. Although related to the emergence of the European Union, each of the blocs has tried to reach different objectives through different means with a common goal of increasing the economic prosperity.

The task I would like to fulfil here is to compare the two most important regional blocs of the Western Hemisphere with the European Union and consider both strong points and drawbacks of each of them in relation to their objectives. Through the metaphor analysis of NAFTA and Mercosur discourses to show different objectives of not only the respective regional blocs but those of individual member countries as well. In Chapter One on NAFTA the thesis is that the United States entered NAFTA for strategic reasons while Mexico for economic ones. The discourse analysis of the relevant texts, NAFTA and presidential discourses of Bill Clinton and Carlos Salinas gives evidence of this. In Chapter Two, for Mercosur, distinctive metaphor of WEIGHT was found as significant for Brazil mainly, but at the same time unifying for the whole bloc.

Another part of this text focuses on the shift in US policy towards Latin America, and shows how exercising control has transformed from military

and covert actions to economic area where perspective of multilateral blocs shifted to the creation of more easily controlled bilateral free trade agreements and setting rules in them from the part of the United States. The paper focuses on definitions of the US interest, where it comes from and how it is incorporated in the current US policy towards Latin American region, and on different perceptions of such an interest by both sides. The thesis is that the United States, despite the end of worries that communist regimes might spread in the Western Hemisphere, and therefore necessity to maintain extremely rightist regimes there, behaves as a hegemon and instead of prompting economic growth and prosperity in Latin America, it follows own strategic interests and seeks to maintain and foster the position in the region.

Since its origin, the United States has seen itself as an example for other countries in the world and has considered itself superior due to its democratic principles and system of governance. With different means and results, it has always tried to extend its own system into the rest of the world. However, such approach might be and has frequently been counterproductive, and the underlying feeling of superiority from the part of the US is perceived by the other side as patronising, at the very least. The evidence of this has been the attitude of Latin American countries throughout the history, especially of the US closest southern neighbour. Mexican nationalism can be accounted to a great extent for US dealings with this country, in the past as well as currently.

Despite its proclaimed objectives, and to the detriment of both sides, the United States in its efforts to stay the most prosperous country in the world and to maintain the ability to lead and set the rules, does not want to help Latin American nations as much as it seeks to strengthen its own position vis-a-vis growing European Union and other important regional blocs in the world. Currently, the US strives to exercise its hegemonic power not through military control but via setting economic rules and maintaining control in bilateral free trade agreements, not giving enough space to Latin American countries with respect to their feeling of inferiority and economic underdevelopment.

PAPER OBJECTIVES

The paper focuses on political and economic integration in the Western Hemisphere through a free trade development, as well as on economic, political and ideological motives of major participants of this process, their expectations confronted with the reality, challenges of further free trade development on the hemispheric level, and it tries to explore motives for growing prioritization of bilateral free trade agreements from the part of the United States, and different trajectories in free trade development by individual states. Through the description, analysis and comparison of major regional trading blocs, both implemented and intended, NAFTA, Mercosur and FTAA, it explores how individual states manifest themselves in free trade development on the regional level. Due to the huge differences among the countries, extent of which is unique even among the regions of the world,

their motives and expectations are necessarily varied and diverse. Therefore, the projected nature of economic governance in the hemisphere has aroused expectations both fulfilled and failed. The thesis explores whether these expectations were met and how challenges were dealt with in the context of North and South American regions' different cultures, changing nature of Latin American nations and individual nations' requirements. It also explores, in the context of huge political and economic changes undergone by the whole region, development and changing self-presentation of Latin American states as well as changing nature of the special role of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, which the United States has accounted for at least since the Monroe Doctrine.

For the most of the 20th century, with few exceptions, Latin America had authoritarian, mostly military regimes. Fight against communism and play of forces during the existence of the Soviet bloc determined US foreign policy for several decades. It affected a relation to Latin America where United States, as well as in other parts of the world, led by the fight against communism (containment policy) strived to primarily maintain stability, and supported regimes whose legitimacy was sometimes disputable. In the 1990s, the United States started to build a new consistent foreign policy concept without a 'unifying element' of the outer enemy. After the disintegration of the Soviet bloc, it seemed that quantitatively new bonds could be established in the world without a substantial force element, emphasizing trade relations and embodying faith that global relations would eventually bring stability.

In the Latin American region itself, since the 1980s, elected civilian governments have come to power, mostly due to huge debts caused by oil crisis of the 1970s and discontent with current situation by the general public. Along with the political changes, objectives of privatization, open economies and free trade development were set under neoliberal practices of the so called Washington consensus. The expectations were high and many achievements were reached, although some problems persisted.

Therefore, the Western Hemisphere represents a laboratory of international problems, market driven global economic opportunities as well as necessity to diminish the gap between economic and political structures of globalization and to address challenges arising from economic growth and regional disparities. The possibility of regional structures integrated in the hemispheric system may represent a chance for unprecedented growth of the whole region and an alternative to European form of integration, enlarged and deepened cooperation between the two and mutual enrichment in terms of different forms of integration.

At the turn of the century, with different opinions on the war against terrorism arising on both sides of the Atlantic, and with enlargement of the European Union and its tendencies to somewhat differentiate itself from the US, it seemed likely that Europe might lose its importance for the United States and the latter would enforce its bonds in other regions, of which Latin America seemed naturally to be the closest, not only for its geographical proximity in the Western Hemisphere. However, unlike Mexico, which, entering the free trade agreement with the United States, changed the

direction of its long-standing policy of keeping distance from its northern neighbour, some South American countries, especially those of the Southern Cone, decided not to participate in a regional free trade agreement with the United States.

Regional blocs and free trade agreements in the Western Hemisphere have been formed under the influence of the ideas of economic liberalization and neoliberal restructuring spreading in the region during the 1990s. The establishment of NAFTA, Mercosur, Andean Group, CAFTA and various free trade agreements across the region was based on the idea of open regionalism.

Another step which seemed likely to be taken at the turn of the century, and whose driving forces were mainly US business circles, was a creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas, which was intended to be modelled on NAFTA. However, by enlarging NAFTA, its rules would have been spread all over the continent, and especially Brazil was worried about advancing US influence and a loss of own regional influence. Furthermore, Mercosur was created on a different basis than NAFTA, and in the case of FTAA admission, possibility of an alternative development would have been lost. Therefore, there had never been a uniform concept of FTAA creation, the United States preferred bilateral agreements with individual states, while Mercosur countries preferred dealings about the whole bloc at once.

Apart from facilitating trade liberalization, open regionalism directs to attract foreign direct investment in countries. Regional integration therefore represents a specific strategy adopted by governments and business

interests to ensure a political economy ideologically and strategically hospitable to the rules they set and desire. The US government has been the driving force, and its hegemony since the early 1970s has been formed to gradually spread both neoliberalism and democracy. The hemispheric project thus constitutes an attempt to further reinforce the global and the regional hegemony of the US itself. It can be seen in US attempts to set and control the negotiating agenda.¹

Moreover, certain efforts from the part of the European Union to form stronger bonds with Latin America are met with favourable responses of most Latin American nations. United States' tendency to look at the rest of the world through the prism of own traditional values and its proclivity to make other countries follow US rules, is not always accepted with understanding. In bilateral negotiations the United States has bigger opportunity to model the economic regime according its own views. Latin American countries have never gone through such a class conflict as Europe, middle class is emerging but is still weak in most countries and democracy exists only formally. Most countries had years of autocratic governments and military regimes, therefore, identification with democratic values might take time. It is a question which approach prevails, whether Americas select bloc rivalry or their cooperation and mutual interconnection.

¹ Phillips, Nicola: Hemispheric Integration and Subregionalism in the Americas. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 79, No. 2 (March 2003), pp. 327 - 349

METHODOLOGY

Being aware that in political science and international relations no approach is totally nonpersonal and unbiased, a choice of method is a difficult task. Although there are many aspects of international integration which can be measured by instruments of solely economic analysis, such as increase in trade, GDP etc., any integration is both political and economic matter, and an interdisciplinary approach is necessary. It seems necessary to combine economic analysis with the instruments of political science and look for a theory common for both international economic as well as political relations. International political economy could be such a discipline, as its point of interest is the interaction of markets and states as two different but interdependent ways of organizing human activity. Whereas market entities strive for maximization of their benefit, states follow a wide range of objectives, most important of which are security procurement and power enforcement. International political economy studies interaction of wealth and power.

Robert Gilpin defines three approaches in international political economy, liberalism, mercantilism and marxism. They differ in the view of relation of politics and economy. Marxism considers economy primary and politics secondary, for realism politics is primary, and liberalism sees the two as independent spheres.² Although a relation between interests of power of the state and market efficiency is frequently ambivalent, states' economic

² Drulák, Petr: *Teorie Mezinárodních vztahů*. Portál, Praha 2003, p. 68

interests are concordant, if not disturbed by games of power. Increased intensity of economic relations has peace-making effects because it is beneficial for all participants. Market mechanism leads to interdependency which enforces peace. International relations are not a zero-sum game, everybody can gain as well as lose. The problem is how much individual countries can gain or lose.

Mercantilism considers economic sphere inferior to the political one, and in the long term, they are not ambivalent, unlike interstate relations. Increase in power of one state happens on the expense of another one. Mercantilism agrees that anybody gains from trade but the benefits are not distributed evenly. A state which gains bigger part, increases its power at the cost of the other state. Whereas liberalism sees total gains from trade, mercantilism focuses on relative gains. A state is also dependent on economic relations with the outer world, and such dependency may lead as far as to threats to international security. International relations are therefore a zero-sum game, i.e. benefits can be gained only on the expense of others.³

Economic liberalism introduces comparative advantages theory, formulated by David Ricardo. It believes that any country gains from participation in international trade, irrespective of how disadvantageous its domestic conditions may be. The theory is therefore an important argument in favour of international integration, represented by removing barriers among national markets of services and trade.

However, it is the integration of politics which makes the difference. Mere

³ Drulák, Petr: Funkcionalismus a institucionalismus v mezinárodní integraci. Mezinárodní vztahy, 2/1998, p. 83

removal of barriers is, according to Tinbergen, negative integration where setting up integrational institutions does not make sense. On the other hand, integration of the countries' economic policies initiates deeper integration, as coordination of all members' policies is necessary.

Furthemore, considering any integration, the matter of European integration cannot be avoided as a model and sometimes a mould for other integration processes and/or analyses of the proceedings. Functionalism, institutionalism and intergovernmentalism are the prevailing approaches used to explain the process. Therefore, their ability to explain integration processes in the Western Hemisphere is considered and questioned here as well. Functionalistic integration is described by Machlup in two meanings: as a gradual integration moving from one sector to another, and as an integration acting through price stimuluses in the open market, in this sense it is often called liberal integration.

Institutional integration has two meanings as well: integration through administrative directives, in this sense it is placed as opposite to the functionalistic integration; and integration via adaptation of national or international institutions, this meaning is more common.⁴

Apart from that, discourse and metaphor analysis is used for text research and revealing hidden contexts and differences in both English and Spanish documents.

Discourse has two meanings. Primarily, it is the language, nonverbal and visual communications and means which are used to express something;

⁴ Machlup, F.: A History of Thought on Economic Integration. Columbia University Press 1977, p. 33

secondly it can be a specific presentation of a certain area of the social world (for example neoliberal concept of global economy).⁵

Therefore, a discourse can be perceived either as an utterance or a semantic structure. Firstly, inner structure and linguistic means of the text is analyzed, then the text is considered in its outer relations, i.e. contextual bonds and nontextual outer social practices.

However, there is also a third dimension of analysis playing a key role, as it is connected to power and ideology. It focuses on the rules of text creation. Discourse rules affect relations of power among people, ways of communication and their approach to the world and other people. At the same time, discourse is affected by people, asymmetry of power is manifested by the fact that the extent to which people are able to influence creation of rules differs. Discourse semantical activity is therefore perceived as essential in creation of an ideological project (a neoliberal one) eventuating in imbalance of power among people.⁶

In critical discourse analysis, there is an underlying belief that there is no neutral and unbiased science and a scientist always contributes to a certain ideological objective. The only solution is a declaration of objectives the research makes for. The principal aim of such research is to understand functioning of the society and means it uses to reach its goals. Consecutively, instruments are sought to alleviate negative effects

⁵ Fairclough, N.: *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. New York, Routledge 2003. In: Drulák, Petr: *Jak zkoumat politiku*. Portál, Praha 2008, p. 102

⁶ Drulák, Petr: *Jak zkoumat politiku*. Portál, Praha 2008

(exclusion, imbalance etc.).⁷

A study of particular importance and relevance to this paper is David Campbell's work on the US identity, threats and foreign policy. Country's borders and identity, in his explanation, are maintained by defining a danger outside the borders threatening existence or principles of a particular country. He describes the US foreign policy as a process of creating, forming and maintaining American identity. He analyses the construct of a national identity and threats to it, dealing with otherness, and how it is used to enforce the identity again. Originally, Medieval Christians' notion of geography and people affected deeply conduct to Native Americans and interpretation of their otherness as savages or barbarians and pagans. It was this experience which later affected dealing with other real or imaginary threats, such as communism or terrorism which are depicted as barbarian (or pagan). Campbell reveals tendency to use military means and create borders via the construct of superiority and inferiority.⁸ Certain notions of threats as well as patterns of excluding the otherness have persisted throughout the history. No threat is therefore 'new' in his view. He analyses a great variety of texts, from diaries by Columbus and his followers, newspaper articles and immigration questionnaires, to National Security Council's classified documents. Surprisingly enough, instead of encountering a 'dry' language of facts, he finds emotional and colourful descriptions of dangers.

A specific part of a discourse analysis is a metaphor analysis. Metaphor is a

⁷ Wodak, Ruth et al.: *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press 1999

⁸ Campbell, David: *Writing Security*. 2nd ed. Manchester University Press 1998. In: Drulák, Petr a kol.: *Jak zkoumat politiku*. Portál, Praha 2008, p. 117

linguistic means connecting two different meanings. Metaphors enable us to understand one area (target) on the basis of our knowledge of the second area (source). Such a connection creates conceptual metaphors which form our conceptual systems and the way we understand the world.⁹ Metaphor is not incidental, it expresses a similarity between two different areas of our experience, the source and the target. One example Lakoff and Johnson give is that 'argumentation is a war' and metaphors used are: to defeat the opponent, win the discussion, defend the position, give ground etc.

Metaphor is usually unidirectional, it projects our physical experience into something abstract and hard to capture. Metaphor analysis does not represent an independent methodology, nor can it be associated with a single method. There are several methods used in discourse analysis in political science, sociology or cultural anthropology.

This paper uses the method of metaphor analysis in texts of free trade agreements and relevant presidential discourses, both in English and Spanish. In such a way it seeks to reveal the authors' hidden connections, opinions and ideas, based on the premise that "There is no area without metaphors. They are crucial devices in framing discourse, in maintaining and shifting political ideas. Metaphors instantly create new contexts and establish new relationships. Metaphors connect two different areas of our experience. As forms of language, they are significant rhetoric tools that affect political behaviour and recognition."¹⁰

⁹ Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark: *Metafory, kterými žijeme*. Host, Brno 2002, p. 15

¹⁰ Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ'l, eds: *Metaphorical World Politics*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 6

Apart from the above mentioned books *Metaphors We Live By* and *Metaphorical World Politics*, Petr Drulák's study on European Union is important for this thesis. The study elaborates European political elites' ideas of further development of the EU. The author reveals metaphors of a 'CONTAINER', 'EQUILIBRIUM', 'MOTION' and 'CORPORATION'. Prevailing metaphor is 'MOTION' and the interpretation is that European states representatives expect that EU's functioning will not be changed substantially in the future. There are no huge differences between the old and the new member states, apart from the fact that the new members are less prepared to perceive the EU as a 'CONTAINER' implying establishing state structures on the European level, and more inclined to use the metaphor 'EQUILIBRIUM' implying maintaining interstate character of the European Union.¹¹

This paper concentrates on metaphors around integration processes in the Western Hemisphere. First it is brief definition of the world regions and comparison with the European integration. I looked at the sources of metaphors in European integration, i.e. theories behind and metaphors connected to them. Source of this were primarily Petr Drulák's paper *Motion, Container and Equilibrium and Theories of European Integration* by Petr Kratochvíl. Another inspiration was the book *Metaphorical World Politics*, edited and partly written by Francis A. Beer and Christl De Landtsheer, especially parts on metaphors of power and the concept of Otherness.

Regarding the general meaning of metaphors, Beer and De Landtsheer state

¹¹ Drulák, Petr a kol.: *Jak zkoumat politiku: kvalitativní metodologie v politologii a mezinárodních vztazích*. Portál, Praha 2008, pp. 136 - 141

that, for politics, primary metaphorical sources are BODY, DISEASE, PERFORMANCE, WORK OF ART, CATASTROPHY, VIOLENCE, SOCIETY, TECHNOLOGY, NATURE, EVERYDAY LIFE, FAMILY. Although NATURE and EVERYDAY LIFE normally describe non-conflict situations, SPORT, BODY and DEATH reflect conflict ones.

Primary source of metaphors is BODY as a global root metaphor, the source here is archetypal. Historical and political theorists constructed their metaphors of politics using bodily metaphors, e.g. body politics is the state. Another political metaphor with bodily association is FAMILY, including daily life, birth, death, care, discipline¹² etc. In all treaties FAMILY metaphor is strongly represented to foster a feeling of connection. Other direct body referents, such as disease, medicine (germs, viruses) and other living organisms (microbes, rats), related to crises and extreme ideology are not present in any of the analysed discourses.

TECHNOLOGICAL metaphors (e.g. melting pot) and the ones from the NATURAL ENVIRONMENT are also powerful for interpreting political life. However, analysed discourses' primary purpose is not to comment on political life in general and, although TECHNOLOGY and NATURE metaphors do occur, they are not significant for the analysis.

CONTAINER METAPHORS refer to autonomous units rather than tendencied for further integration. They are rather complex metaphors as we are all physical beings, we see the rest of the world not as a part of ourselves but as

¹² Conservative metaphorical models are paternal, hierarchical, disciplining; liberal ones are maternal, caring. Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ'1 (eds.): *Metaphorical World Politics*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 16

an outer space. Therefore, we are all containers, our bodies are containers and we see other objects through the same inner – outer prism. Houses, rooms, woods, fields are CONTAINERS. We put up borders even where they are not, this is our instinct of territoriality. Eye sights are also CONTAINERS (he is in sight /out of sight) as well as mental states (be in trouble, be out of problems, be in shape etc.) TIME is a MOVING OBJECT heading towards us, TIME is a CONTAINER (I'll be finished in 10 minutes.) as well as SOCIAL GROUPS and CLUBS.

Any political process draws upon those metaphors and has to consider their interpretation. Metaphors can also be instruments of political change or signal such changes, such as the creation of European Union or a change in Mexico's attitude to a trade agreement with the United States.

North American integration, however, differs from the European one. It is modelled on strategies of economic liberalization and neoliberal restructuring, beginning in the region in the early 1990s, as a free trade area solely, with no intentions from the US side for further integration. Mercosur, in the South America, however, aims at monetary union, similarly to the European Union. Both major blocs “were premised on the notion of open regionalism and articulated directly as strategic responses to the policy imperatives generated by globalization processes.”¹³ Though never connected in a single free trade area, I argue that the United States, through its integration processes, aim for establishment of ideological and strategical

¹³ Phillips, Nicola: Hemispheric integration and subregionalism in the Americas. In: International Affairs (Royal institute of International Affairs 1944-), Vol. 79, No. 2, March 2003, p. 329

conditions in the region in which neoliberalism would prosper and reinforce the dominance of a political economy favourable to US interests. The North American integration thus represents a strategy to enforce both regional and global hegemony of the United States. Therefore, I looked also at metaphors of power revealed in the US rhetoric concerning conflicts during the Cold War and after. Also metaphors describing the US relationship towards Latin America were considered. For example, the metaphor of BACKYARD is also a metaphor of power as it suggests ownership as well immaturity (backyard is usually a place where children play while watched by the adults). Then, based on reading the texts on integration in the Western Hemisphere and looking at reasons for the integration from the part of the United States, I established new metaphors, such as GRID or CELL, and tried to find evidence of them in the selected text.

The process of establishing metaphors is a complex one based on perpetual study of selected discourses and a large area of texts dealing with the issue. For the metaphor of GRID intending to express the US dominance in the area, the notion of the map of the Western Hemisphere with the grid on it as a net or rails which unify, set the rules, harness or limit. Examples of GRID metaphor were found in the US discourses and the text of NAFTA.

Regarding the texts selected for analysis, they were primarily the text of NAFTA and for MERCOSUR, the Treaty of Asunción and the Treaty of Ouro Preto texts. As for the longer text of NAFTA, only the first parts not dealing yet with technical matters were chosen. Another set of analyzed texts were presidential speeches based on the notion that “metaphors are powerful

means used in political discourses /which/ identify and constitute not only the identity of power but also related structures of hierarchy and authority“ and its political leaders who determine which metaphors are “acceptable or taboo, strong or weak“¹⁴. For NAFTA it was Bill Clinton’s speech on the day of signing NAFTA and a part of Carlos Salinas’s Fifth and Sixth Presidential Speeches concerning NAFTA. Canada was left out as I primarily concentrate on relation of the United States and Latin American countries. Nowadays, NAFTA is put aside partly in the United States, therefore, to mark the difference, Barack Obama’s discourses on free trade extracted from various speeches were added.

For MERCOSUR, presidential speeches made at MERCOSUR summits were selected and analysed for metaphors and relevant linguistic expressions. First I looked for possible metaphors under the headings selected from above mentioned books and studies, second counted frequency of metaphors in individual discourses, and then compared them with other texts within the same treaty. I also looked at the discourses and treaties as a whole and took into account the background of individual texts and situation in which they were made as well as the speakers they were made by.

Finally, the two treaties were compared for metaphors and linguistic means and differences and similarities were looked for with respect to different aims and objectives of the two treaties.

¹⁴ Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ’l: *Metaphorical World Politics*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, pp. 14 and 24

For outcomes of the analysis, general metaphorical meanings were considered as well as specific ones resulting from relevant contexts of geopolitics and individual integration processes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources for this thesis were partly sought on the internet through www.jstor.org and www.proquest.umi.com as well as through open sources, organizations sites and journals. To obtain selected book I asked for inter-librarian loans both national and international. To give examples of current political events, daily newspapers internet sites were utilized, especially those of the BBC, The Economist and some Latin American periodicals. Authors concentrating on the region (Sidney Weintraub, Daniel Drache, Nora Lustig, Stephen D. Morris, Susan Kaufman Purcell, Stephanie R. Golob, Edward J. Chambers, Peter H. Smith) and/or topic of regional integration (Nicola Phillips, Richard Harris, Luisa Arnisani, Rafael Lecuona, Mario E. Carranza) were, among many others, of particular utility as a source literature for the thesis. For discourse and metaphor analysis, blocs' establishing documents, policymakers' speeches and media commentaries were used both in English and Spanish. Full list of literature and sources used is at the end of the thesis.

For understanding US foreign policy and the concept of national interest, books by former politicians and high ranking officials (among others) were particularly useful. Henry Kissinger's *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?*

explains specific features of individual world regions from the US perspective and evolution of the concept of national policy. He is a typical representative of Hamiltonian¹⁵ tradition (as he himself calls it) in the US foreign policy, related from land owners and businessmen who had international interests. For them participating in the world game of political interests and trying to maintain the balance of powers to protect the United States was natural. Richard Nixon, together with Henry Kissinger tried to return US foreign policy to its Hamiltonian roots and restore the concept of national interest. Madeleine Albright, on the other hand, represents Wilsonian tradition in the foreign policy concept.¹⁶ Woodrow Wilson entered the First World War not to maintain the balance of powers but to destroy it, together with Treaty of Westphalia the United States had been criticizing for over a century. The United States refused to be another state following just its own interests. For Ms. Albright the role of the United States in the world is to follow its moral principles and protect and defend them anywhere in the world.

Sidney Weitraub, Simon Chair in Political Economy, and his essays on the US – LA policy were of special importance to me. Defining and Refocusing US Policy Toward Latin America where he analyses US foreign policy during the Cold War when the US, according to him, prevented positive changes within societies in the name of war against communism. Sidney Weintraub's monthly Issues in International Political Economy headed by Center of

¹⁵ Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) - US politician and lawyer, one of the representatives of natural rights theory. The idea is developed in the Proclamation of Independence of 1776.

¹⁶ Woodrow Wilson – 1856 – 1924

Strategic and International Studies kept me informed about US and Latin American up-to-date issues. Writings on FTAA and Brazil's aspects, NAFTA and Mexico and a study *The Energy Situation in the Western Hemisphere* were also extremely helpful.

Robert A. Pastor's book *Toward a North American Community* shows perspectives and possibilities of further integration. He criticizes NAFTA from the other side for not exploiting its full potential. He suggests establishing new institutions in order to enable constituting a real community and learn from the European Union experience.

In focus on political and economic integration another Pastor's book written together with later Mexican Foreign Minister and opponent of NAFTA Jorge Castaneda *Limits to Friendship* was important in understanding deep-rooted differences in thinking of the respective countries and their mutual very different perceptions. Castaneda shows that Mexicans are generally still distrustful of US deeds. This anxiety is in some way complemented by Mexican nationalism. Stephen D. Morris in his essay *Refoming the Nation: Mexican Nationalism in Context* maps various aspects of Mexican nationalism and debates related to the topic in post-NAFTA Mexico.

For overall view on NAFTA, its origins and achievements, two anthologies were special. *NAFTA in the New Millenium* edited by Edward J. Chambers and Peter H. Smith contains contributions ranging from economic and political aspects of the agreement to dispute settlements (important issue but out of my focus) and regional development prospects leading from NAFTA to (then hoped for) FTAA by authors from all three countries. The

other one is NAFTA Revisited by Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Jeffrey J. Schott. The authors evaluate NAFTA's achievements during its the first seven years in effect and consider both pros and cons of NAFTA.

Nicola Phillips in *Hemispheric Integration and Subregionalism in the Americas* and *U.S. Power and the Politics of Economic Governance in the Americas* focuses again on integration processes in the Western Hemisphere but from a different perspective. The articles were written before the FTAA failure, but the author points out to a change in US trade strategies and tendency to sign bilateral free trade agreements with Latin American nations. She argues that these newly negotiated agreements are not just WTO compatible (they are called WTO-plus or new generation agreements) but that the United States makes efforts to shape its own rules and tries to bring the rest of the region in line with existing US trade laws and strategies. Nicola Phillips shows how the neoliberal project is 'locked' in a political economy and organizations in the region and how the US government "as a principle driving force, and the exercise of its hegemonic power since the early 1970s has been molded systematically to the purpose of disseminating the twin values of neoliberalism and democracy."¹⁷

On neoliberalism various articles, such as *Neoliberalism in Latin America: Good, Bad, or Incomplete* by Michael Walton of World Bank occur. The author gives definitions of neoliberalism and assesses its applications in Latin America. The paper looks at economic and social effects of market-oriented

¹⁷ Phillips, Nicola: *U.S. Power and the Politics of Economic Governance in the Americas*. *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol 47, No. 4 (Winter 2005), p. 4

policies with respect to growth, economic volatility and social conditions and concludes that although a minimum state might be desirable, radical retreat to it is bad for development. Another one is *Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism* by Evelyne Huber and Fred Solt.

With respect to Mercosur, various articles lead into and analyze the topic, such as *On the Road to Southern Cone Economic Integration* by Jeffrey Cason, who focuses on origins of Mercosur and compares the bloc with NAFTA.

Another one is *Presidential Diplomacy and the Institutional Underpinnings of Mercosur: An Empirical Examination* by Andrés Malamud. He writes about institutional mechanisms and Mercosur's dispute solving mechanism which is led directly through presidential negotiations. The article argues that such practice is insufficient for the bloc's performance.

In *Does Democracy Promote Interstate Cooperation? Lessons from the Mercosur Region* Karren L. Remmer verifies a hypothesis on the case of Mercosur nations between 1947 – 1985 that democratic countries are likely to sign more agreements than authoritarian ones.

Chile is a good example of a country successfully incorporated in a dense net of free trade agreements. General Directorate for International Economic Affairs and Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs have recently published a book *Chile: 20 Years of Trade Negotiations* describing both history and achievements of Chile's path to economic liberalization. The so-called neo-liberalism under which Latin American nations started to liberalize their

economies in the 1980s and 1990s seems to be least controversial and works best in Chile. The country has achieved impressive results under these policies and had the most varied economy of the whole region. Very interesting is a chapter on evolution of Chilean institutions in the course of entanglement into more and more free trade agreements. Apart from DIRECON (Dirección General de Relaciones Económicas Internacionales, General Directorate of Economic Affairs), the central agency of Chilean trade policy implementation, collaborating with a range of ministries and state agencies as well as with a private sector. The agency itself has undergone some changes, nearly any ministry or other state institutions have departments dealing with related issues in individual agreements. This is a valuable experience compared to NAFTA, which, in the US, has hardly any institutions responsible for dealing with NAFTA issues. There are just some low-rank officers in the Trade Ministry. "Instead of trying to establish an institution to negotiate the reduction or harmonization of policies, as the European Union had done, NAFTA selected a few sectors and harmonized the policies in the agreement."¹⁸

For theoretical background and methodology following books and studies were helpful: *Teorie mezinárodních vztahů* and *Jak zkoumat politiku* by Petr Drulák, *International Theory, Critical Investigations*, edited by James Der Derian, and Stefano Guzzini's *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy. The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold*. In the latter, the author devotes a chapter to analyze Henry Kissinger's

¹⁸ Pastor, Robert A.: *Towards a North American Community, Lessons from the Old World for the New*. Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC, 2001

notion and approach to foreign relations and diplomacy, how he failed to reinstall the 19th century balance of powers including the Soviet Union and the limits to attempts to apply realism as diplomatic practice.¹⁹ The United States had always considered Latin America as an immediate sphere of influence, and this tradition was further enforced during Nixon – Kissinger years.

Background for the discourse analysis was found in books by Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Beer and De Landtsheer's *Metaphorical World Politics* and Drulák's study *Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration*.

For the comparison of European Union with NAFTA, and possible Latin American integration, closer look on processes of European integration is taken. Neofunctionalism, as a theory behind the European integration is dealt with in Keohane's works and Petr Drulák's *Neofunctionalism and institutionalism*.

For overall view and historical background of the region histories of individual states exist, for example *History of Mexico*, *History of the USA* by Josef Opatrný, *History of Peru* by B. Roedl, and *Histories of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile* by Jiří Chalupa, all of these in Czech language. Apart from that there are numerous articles and essays on parts of the countries' histories.

¹⁹ Guzzini, Stefano: *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy. The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold*. Barrister and Principal, 2004, p. 113 - 127

An interview with a current Mexican ambassador, His Excellence José Luis Barroso, who used to be a part of NAFTA negotiating team, brought a feeling of immediate experience.

Also Chilean embassy were very helpful in providing information and materials on free trade.

Various other studies and articles gave insight into specific aspects of this work, such as Stephanie R. Golob's *Beyond the policy frontier: Canada, Mexico and the ideological origins of NAFTA*, Susan Kaufman Purcell's *The U.S. and Latin America in the New Millennium: Outlook and Priorities*, Davis, Charles L.: *Mass Support for Regional Economic Integration: The Case of NAFTA and the Mexican Public* by Charles L. Davis etc.

Apart from some background books by Czech authors, most relevant materials were found in English. Unfortunately, despite my efforts to search for relevant materials in Spanish as well, very few were eventually used, due to the feeling that Spanish-speaking authors wrote from the point of view of inferiority, and materials, in my opinion, could not be considered as independent.²⁰ English texts seemed more appropriate to the topic. On the other hand, such situation gives a notion of real atmosphere in the region.

Another source for me, though not a very scientific one, are my Latin American husband's ideas and opinions on trade and political practices of the developed world towards a developing one, corresponding mostly with the tenor of those Spanish texts.

²⁰ With the exception of some excellent and unbiased studies, mostly provided or recommended by Latin American governments, e.g. reports *México, Las Américas y el mundo* accessible at mexicoyelmundo.cide.edu.

PART I: INTEGRATION PROCESSES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

TRADE REGIONS

As early as during the Second World War the United States and Great Britain had disputes over the future organization of the world trade. Unlike Churchill, President Roosevelt was persuaded that imperialism should be dissembled and world trade should be free of its influence. In 1947, 22 countries met in Geneva to decide on lowering trade barriers and creating a framework for global trading system. Despite its uniform rules, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade created at least three main regions, North America, European Union and East Asia, which dominate the world production and trade. Although the countries within the region trade with others as well, it is trade within the region that grows the fastest.

The three trading regions are the largest but they are not the only ones. From 1990 to 1999, the World Bank reported nearly 100 new regional integration agreements. Most of these agreements were with the European Union but there was also a number of agreements in Latin America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Mostly, the countries associated in one agreement are at more or less the same level, with two exceptions, however, NAFTA and APEC.²¹ Yet, together with the European

²¹ World Bank, *Trade Blocs: A Policy Research Report*. OUP, New York 2001, ix, 1. In:

Pastor, Robert A.: *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New*. Institute for International Economics, Washington 2001

Union they still represent three the most important trading schemes, with the United States in the centre of two of them. For purposes of this thesis, Mercosur's description is added to the three largest blocs.

Each region has specific features "reflected in its regional trade agreement – in the agreement's origin and timing, its objectives and policies on internal disparities."²²

EUROPEAN UNION

Each regional model is as attractive as it is successful in terms of economic performance. The European Union has reached the highest degree of integration due to the free movement of goods, services, capital and labour within its common market. It began with an idea that Europe could prosper only if it is peaceful. And remain peaceful was possible only through a new framework of cooperation. In the preamble of the European Coal and Steel Community the expressed goal was to avoid any further "bloody conflicts" and to form "the basis for a broader community". With further development of European Communities, the integration deepened from the determination "to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe"²³ and intention "to speak with one voice... and act with consistency and solidarity in order more effectively to protect its common interests"²⁴ to

²² Pastor, Robert A.: *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New*. Institute for International Economics, Washington 2001, Chapter 2

²³ Preamble to the Treaty of Rome, 1958

²⁴ Single European Act, 1986

the objective of single currency, common citizenship, and united foreign and security policies²⁵.

There was another reason for the European integration, though, to reverse the decline of the whole continent. “Europe, which once had the monopoly of manufacturing industries ... today sees its external positions weakened, its influence declining, and its capacity to progress lost in its divisions.”²⁶

Since its beginning, the European Community has recognized a need for diminishing the disparities between individual regions. First, there is a support from the part of more developed countries and second, future members are expected to meet exact requirements concerning economy, social policy and human rights. The countries of the European Union have delegated powers to the EU’s supranational organizations to the extent that is unique among other regional groupings. The question of sovereignty is always a sensitive issue and obstacle to both economic and political integrations. But the European economic integration led to the creation of some major free trade blocs in the Western Hemisphere although the example of a common market in the United States was also forceful for previous integration attempts, especially in Latin America.

²⁵ Maastricht Treaty, 1992

²⁶ Spaak, Paul Henri – a report urging the establishment of a Common Market, 1956. In: Pastor, Robert A.: Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New. Institute for International Economics, Washington 2001, Chapter 2

NAFTA

NAFTA arose from different reasons. First, it was the reaction to a globalizing world and origins of other huge trading blocs, second, the United States, after unsuccessful negotiations during the Uruguay Round of GATT, looked for another lever to the Third World, and third, Mexico and Canada feared the US protectionism and impact on their economies. It was formed as an agreement through which goods, capital and services would be traded freely. Labour, unlike in the EU, was excluded. NAFTA has no political ambitions in terms of political unity, creating 'a North American community' and no steps have been taken in this direction. NAFTA has no arrangements on disparity alleviation, either, although the differences are much wider than within Europe. As most regional blocs have accepted the idea that economic growth depends on trade, promoting the prosperity is not mentioned in the Preamble. It only talks about "strengthening the special bonds of friendship and cooperation among their nations".²⁷ It is written more like a business contract. The goals are to reduce trade and investment barriers, establish a framework for resolving disputes, liberalize the continental market, regulate sectors nationally but not to discriminate the other countries. What makes NAFTA unique is the integration of a developing country with two advanced economies. It is particularly important if trade is associated with prosperity because then success and prosperity of the Third World countries, at least partly, depend on whether they are allowed to enter any such free trade blocs.

²⁷ NAFTA, the Preamble

Regarding NAFTA, however, it was written with no vision of a North American relationship for the future. But these things take time. North American society is changing, making the United States and Canada more multinational, and, in some ways, similar to Mexico. People of the three countries travel more within the region than visit any other country outside. There are partnerships between cities and regions, and common projects as well. "Society, not the government is in the lead."²⁸

ASIA – PACIFIC REGION

Asia – Pacific region is one of the most rapidly growing areas in the world, with a number of contacts across the ocean. APEC, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, founded in 1989 and consisting of 21 states, aims to establish a free trade area by 2020. There are doubts, however, that this target is feasible as there is no institution to implement it. On the other hand, with the United States, Canada, Russia, China, Japan and Mexico as its members, it reaches 42% of the world trade.²⁹ It is the least institutionalized of the three and encourages individual actions. APEC does not have a regional vision, either. Similarly to NAFTA, Asian countries needed access to the US market but it has not reached the EU or NAFTA's level "in regional coherence, rules and institutions".³⁰ China, South Korea and Japan worried that they are the only major industrial powers not anchored in some form of

²⁸ Pastor, Robert A.: *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New*. Institute for International Economics, Washington 2001, p. 97

²⁹ www.apecsec.org

³⁰ Pastor, Robert A.: *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New*. Institute for International Economics, Washington 2001, *Reconfiguring the World: Three Regional Models*, p. 33

a regional trading bloc. In the early 1990s, Japanese leaders began warning that NAFTA could become a 'fortress North America', diverting trade away from Asia. A 1999 Asian Development Bank study concluded that those fears had come true and that NAFTA was costing Asia hundreds of millions of dollars in trade with Mexico alone.³¹

MERCOSUR

Mercosur was founded in 1991 by the Treaty of Asunción, but later was amended and updated by the 1994 Treaty of Ouro Preto, creating a new phase of mutual cooperation and institutional structure modelled on the European Union. The bloc was established with the aim to to balance the strengths of powerful trade groups in other regions, especially NAFTA and the European Union. "The organization could also potentially pre-empt the Free Trade Area of Americas, however, so far, the bloc has played a key role in the failure of the negotiations as over half of the current Mercosur member countries and then-autonomous Venezuela rejected the FTAA proposal at the IV Summit of the Americas in Argentina in 2005 over concerns that it would lead to increased inequality in the region. Proponents of the FTAA have not been able to make any significant progress in forging that deal since."³² However, continuing integration processes in Latin America and the development of the Union of South American Nations

³¹ Emerson, Tony: The Great Walls; The United States and Europe are Leading the Race to Carve up the Trading World. In: Newsweek (International ed.), New York, April 23, 2001, p. 40

³² Harris, Paul: Rioters shatter Bush's hopes of forging free trade coup, Paul Harris, The Observer, 6 November 2005, guardian.co.uk

suggest that the countries of South America are not opposed to regional integration but only avoid the United States-backed FTAA.

Mercosur was weakened by the collapse of the Argentine economy in 2001 and it has still seen internal conflicts over trade policy, between Brazil and Argentina, Argentina and Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil, etc. The free movement of people has been a matter of practical controversy. In addition, many obstacles are to be addressed before the development of a common currency. The population of Mercosur countries totals a population of more than 263 million people, and the combined GDP of the full-member nations is in excess of US\$2.78 trillion a year,³³ making Mercosur the fourth largest trading bloc in the world after the European Union, NAFTA, and the Association of South East Asian Nations. Venezuela applied for membership, but its entry hasn't been ratified by Paraguay.

³³ www.imf.org

1 FREE TRADE IN NORTH AMERICA

1.1 NAFTA

NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, as a product of a trilateral agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States of America, became effective in the three countries on 1st January, 1994. It formed the world's second largest free-trade zone of 365 million consumers. NAFTA was based on a 1989 trade agreement between the US and Canada which eliminated and reduced many tariffs. The new agreement eliminated, among the three countries, all tariffs on trade, duties on 50% of goods imported to Mexico immediately and removed other restrictions within the following 5, 10 or 14 years. These included motor vehicles, computers, textiles and agriculture. It protected intellectual property rights, patents, copyrights and trademarks. Some additional issues dealing with investment restrictions and the protection of intellectual property rights were included. Environmental issues were added later as a result of supplemental agreements signed in 1993.

Although NAFTA's 22 chapters reflect basic agreements between Mexico, Canada and the US, some chapters deal with special arrangements between the United States and Mexico, Canada and Mexico.

NAFTA itself was signed in December 1992 by the leaders of the three countries – Brian Mulroney of Canada, Carlos Salinas of Mexico and George Bush of the United States. After a long debate, the legislatures in all three countries approved NAFTA in 1993. In the US, the discussions over the

treaty divided members of both the Republican and Democratic Parties and brought about strong protests from environmental and labour groups. Fear of the loss of jobs arose with concern that many US production plants would be moved to Mexico because of cheap workforce and lack of environmental and workers' rights laws. Therefore, two agreements on labour and environmental issues were added to the treaty and NAFTA was narrowly approved by the Congress of the United States in November 1993.

It was estimated that NAFTA's impact would cause increase in Mexico's GDP from 0.1 to 11.4%, while in Canada it would grow from 0.1 to 0.4% and in the US from 0.02 to 0.5%. And five years later each of the NAFTA members had already experienced a relatively large growth of their respective economic output. However, from 1991 to 1994, Mexico's GDP slumped. Yet a year later, the country was able to recuperate thanks to the economic support found in NAFTA. Studies show that the employment has increased in NAFTA countries since the implementation of the agreement.³⁴

Formal negotiations to expand NAFTA and include Chile started in 1995, but President Clinton's administration was unable to conclude them. Shortly after assuming office in January 2001, President George W. Bush announced his support for the creation of a Free Trade Area of Americas that would include nearly all countries in the Western Hemisphere.

³⁴ Lecuona, Rafael A.: NAFTA and MERCOSUR, a comparative analysis. In: International Journal on World Peace, New York, December 1999, Vol. 16, Iss. 4, p. 27, 23 pgs.

1.1.1. UNITED STATES

NAFTA started a unique process of a regional economic integration between a less-developed country (Mexico) and two industrial powers (US and Canada). In the late 1980s and early 1990s the global economy seemed to be evolving towards formation of regional trading blocs, seeking advantage in finance, trade, technology and manufacturing. NAFTA was an important shift in the US trade policy. In the early 1990s, the slow progress in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations made the regional option attractive. It was the first regional economic agreement to include several forms of deep integration in financial services, government procurement, foreign investment, and intellectual property rights. First regional agreement which would go beyond then slowed global trade negotiations at the Uruguay Round.

Mexico and the United States did not reach more cooperative stage until the late 1980s when new administrations both in Mexico and the US took office. In the United States, Ronald Reagan was succeeded by George Bush, a moderate Republican, who continued to change foreign policy toward Central America, most notably by ending the US aid to the contras in Nicaragua. Thereby, a key irritant in the bilateral relationship was removed. The Bush administration also included unusually high number of key officials who had lived and worked in Texas, on the Mexican border. This experience had given them a greater understanding of Mexico's importance and made them comfortable working with Mexican officials. The incoming president of Mexico, Carlos Salinas, who supported deepening Mexico's integration into

the global economy, had initially hoped to broaden commercial and financial ties with Western Europe and Japan, rather than with the United States. However, he quickly understood that Europe was more concerned with its emerging Single European Market and East European newly independent countries, and that Japan was focused on its neighbours in Southeast Asia. Therefore, President Salinas reversed the course and asked for a free trade agreement with the United States. He was also impressed by the success of the 1988 US – Canada Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) in stimulating bilateral trade and attracting investors to Canada. Salinas's decision coincided with President Bush coming to a similar conclusion with respect to Mexico. The US President understood that, for the American economy to remain competitive in the new global environment, the United States had to reinforce its economic ties with the Western Hemisphere, where it had a comparative advantage, and that it made sense to begin with Mexico. Salinas had already introduced economic reforms, and signing a free trade agreement with the United States would consolidate the reforms, which Bush regarded as beneficial for both countries. Some people were concerned, though, that NAFTA would delay completion of the Uruguay Round, the eighth set of multilateral trade talks under GATT. The negotiations commenced in the Uruguayan city of Punta del Este in 1986 with the agenda intending to address obstructions to trade in financial services and agricultural items as well as protecting intellectual property. A conflict over price supports and export subsidies between EC members and a US – led

coalition of agricultural experts paralyzed the global talks. Hopes were then shifted on NAFTA.³⁵

Proponents of North American integration hoped NAFTA would reinforce certain US healthy economic trends.

Second, they hoped, it would stimulate trade and investment while creating new job opportunities throughout North America. Exports to Mexico at that time had already supported 600, 000 American jobs. The figure was to increase to over a million after NAFTA's implementation.

Third, by raising Mexico's wages and living standard, the agreement aimed to decrease illegal immigration across the border.

Fourth, it was to make US exports more competitive on the world market, giving American producers access to cheap labour in Mexico just as the Germans benefited from low wages in Eastern Europe and the Japanese from those of majority of East Asian countries.

Fifth, NAFTA was hoped to spur economic development and therefore increase stability in the country with which the United States shares a long boundary.

Sixth, Mexico was hoped to serve as a bridge to closer US ties with other Latin American countries through the Enterprise for American Initiative,

³⁵ Wall, Howard J.: NAFTA and the geography of North American trade. In: Review - Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, March / April 2003, Vol. 85, Iss. 2, p. 13, 14 pgs., source proquest.umi.com, 17 December 2003

proposed by President Bush on June 27, 1990, which addressed trade, investment and debt.

Seventh, Mexico's development was to rise the size of its middle class and generate more political pressure on pollution control and environmental issues.

Finally, the United States wanted to consolidate diplomatic support from Mexico on foreign policy in general. With NAFTA in place, Mexico became unlikely to express serious disagreement with the United States on major issues of international diplomacy.

1.1.2. SOURCES OF METAPHORS

Looking at the United States' reasons for initiating integration process in North America, comparison with the European Union is first at hand. The questions arises if any of the theories of European integration could be valid for integration processes not only in North America but in the Western Hemisphere as a whole.

Drulák examines discourses of European integration and says that intergovernmental approaches (realism, liberal intergovernmentalism) see the European Union as an EQUILIBRIUM OF CONTAINERS, whereas supranational approaches (federalism, constitutionalism, comparative politics, etc.) correspond with the metaphor of CONTAINER. Neofunctionalism, contrary to its supranational nature, imagines the EU rather as MOTION than CONTAINER. Also, theories drawing upon neofunctionalism (European governance, institutionalist approaches and

constructivism) have the MOTION metaphor in their core. “EQUILIBRIUM OF CONTAINERS makes us understand the EU as an interaction between fixed units which continuously seek mutual trade-offs. It embeds among others a powerful realist metaphorical expression the balance of power, which has shaped international thinking since the 16th century. In contrast, the conceptual metaphor of the EU as a CONTAINER implies that the EU as a whole is a fixed unit which functions very much like a state. It assumes a fundamental similarity or even an identity between the domestic order of the state and the internal order of the EU.”³⁶

Are these metaphors applicable to integration processes in the Western Hemisphere? Principal reason for the European integration was the intention to prevent another war in the continent through entangling the states in strong bonds of cooperation and mutual interests, as well as the long tradition of idealism. Four liberties have been characterizing the European integration since the late 1950s, free movement of people, services, goods and capital. However, there are still some restrictive measures in effect, and the common market came into effect as late as in 1993.

NAFTA, on the other hand, was signed on the basis of Washington consensus and neoliberal practices. The United States, dissatisfied with the Uruguay Round of GATT, sought to gain through Mexico another powerful lever to Latin American and, possibly, other Third World countries. Also, in the reality of uniting Europe, and origins of APEC and Mercosur, it feared

³⁶ Drulák, Petr: Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration. In: European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 12(4), pp. 499 – 531, Quotation p. 512

losing its dominant economic position in the world and ability to use this primacy for strategic purposes and for implementing domestic principles in the world. Maintaining own economic dominance has, for many years, been crucial for the way the United States sees the world and their own global role in it. In 1941, President Roosevelt proclaimed four objectives of the US policy, freedom of speech, belief, freedom from destitution and fear anywhere in the world.³⁷ Moreover, after the end of the Cold War, the United States was persuaded that it had reached optimal political and economic system, and other countries had the only option – to follow the example of the United States. This mixture of mesianism and inability to accept a different perspective has through centuries created the US specific foreign practice and notion that to protect human rights, the US needs to maintain its cutting edge economic position and influence. Another thing is that since the Monroe Doctrine at the latest, the United States has seen the Western Hemisphere as an area of its influence and own country attributed with a special role there. Therefore, my thesis is that the United States entered a free trade agreement with Mexico for primarily strategic purposes and through raising economic prosperity wanted to consolidate its position in the Western Hemisphere as well as worldwide. By increasing prosperity and lowering immigration, the United States went on promoting its goal of stability, peace and democracy. It sought to maintain pace with Germany and Japan through access to cheap labour in the decolonized world. And, lastly, through closer cooperation with Mexico, and possibly other Latin

³⁷ Kissinger, Henry: *Potřebuje Amerika zahraniční politiku?* BB art, Praha 2002, p. 200.

Translation Michael Žantovský

American countries, the United States hoped to secure its position and increase leverage worldwide through support of those countries in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Moreover, notion of an FTAA from the US part, was firstly NAFTA plus – other Latin American countries joining the agreement and conforming with its rules. Later, when NAFTA plus was proven inaccessible, in an FTAA the United States wanted to set the rules throughout the continent. Nicola Phillips states that the US governments serve “the purpose of disseminating the twin values of neoliberalism and democracy“ and that through the free trade agreements the United States aims to “reinforce the framework of a neoliberal (and democratic) political economy in the Americas, but also an entrenchment of both the global and the regional hegemony of the US itself.”³⁸

Therefore, I argue that the metaphor of GRID can be an expression of the US strive for dominance and setting the rules throughout the continent.

It is frequently mentioned that the integration initiated by the United States is carried out under neoliberal practices.

Neoliberalism, as a part of neoclassicism, opposes state interventionism on one hand and monopolies on the other. The name originated in the 1970s when the states strived for the free market through eliminating regulations. The theory does accept the role of the states in some areas such as existence of central banks, protection of law and security. In other areas privatization,

³⁸ Phillips, Nicola: Hemispheric Integration and Subregionalism in the Americas. In: International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944 -), Vol. 79, No. 2, p. 330

deregulation, free market etc. are recommended. Neoliberalism comes from liberalism, a philosophy, where liberty is the essential value (contrary to conservatism and socialism). Neoliberalism, on the other hand, does not necessarily deal with personal freedom, morals and ethics, and therefore it is used by authoritarian regimes as well: Chile during Pinochet's rule, China's economic opening etc. However, it is connected with democratic regimes as well, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, for example, promoted neoliberalism. For the first time, it was applied in the post-war Germany where it became the core of the economic policy. Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek, F. Machlup, Milton Friedman are the main supporters.

Washington consensus is based on neoliberalism and contains a number of recommendations based on neoliberalism for governments willing to increase prosperity. The metaphor for neoliberalism may therefore be FLOW or MOTION, similarly to neofunctionalism.

In his article *The Power of Metaphors and the Metaphors of Power*, Shimko says that, "How we behave in the world depends on how we think the world works and how we envisage our role in it.", and wonders whether metaphors "ever influence, shape or determine policy" and argues that "metaphors themselves must be influencing how people think". In his study he concentrates on the metaphors of power, namely in the United States during the Cold War and after. He quotes Linda Schiebinger: "Metaphors are not innocent literary devices used to spice up the texts. Analogies and metaphors ... function to construct as well as describe." The ones applied to Latin America are linked with RESISTANCE to communism and worries

whether this DISEASE would not SPREAD. Another powerful metaphor during the Cold War was FALLING DOMINOES. The question is whether it could be applicable for post-Cold War period in Latin America to countries where democracy is shaky, or where corruption and populism are common. DISEASE metaphor provides grounding for the fear of internal enemy which, however, has external origin. Populism, ethnical conflicts, drug trafficking and violence might come in mind, all factors endangering democracy. Those are dynamic metaphors, they suggest a certain process that is likely to happen in the future. Another type are relational metaphors of FAMILY, which may imply both equality (cooperation among the family of nations) and inequality and privilege as some relations in the family, between parents and children, are of such nature. One of the metaphors revealed in Mexican discourses on NAFTA is a GROW UP which is definitely unequal. Interestingly enough, it is the President of Mexico who operates with this metaphor.

US relations with Latin American countries offer a number of other metaphors. NEIGHBOUR metaphor contains substantial features of equality while others, such as AMERICAN FAMILY or BACKYARD do not. The latter is particularly strong, as referring to ownership. Also, a backyard is primarily a place for children, not adults, the place where children play and are watched by adults. In old cartoons, Uncle Sam often supervises “the children of Latin America, frequently becoming annoyed when they fail to behave themselves.” Besides being the metaphor of power towards Latin America, it also determines the relationship with the rest of the world as depicting the region as ‘owned’ by the United States. DOORSTEP metaphor was used by Ronald

Reagan when he spoke about Central America. Shimko further states that these metaphors have not disappeared with the end of the Cold War. That is why they are mentioned here and checked for in NAFTA discourses as well.

Ivie shows how democracy in the US context is related to war. Democracy is depicted as fragile and endangered by both internal and external factors. Connection of democracy to peace is so common in the US discourses that countries with different forms of government are as a matter of fact considered hostile to the United States. It may cause “misunderstandings and gross exaggerations of international and domestic dangers by treating global democratization as the measure of US security in a world fragmented by nationalism, tribalism, and economic disparity. Thus, the nations perception of threat is constructed rhetorically and interpreted primarily as a challenge to democracy’s global reach and well-being.”³⁹ Historically, the outer danger has been depicted as savageous and dehumanized OTHERS, whether it concerned Native Americans, Japanese in the Second World War, the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Vietnam, Saddam Hussein or Milosevic. The language means used to reach this objective are e.g. PRIMITIVES, NATURAL MENACE, SATANIC, INANIMATE MACHINES, CRIMINALS, ANIMALS OR INSECTS and they “create rather than discover likeness”.⁴⁰

³⁹ Gaddis, John Lewis: *The United States and the end of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations*. New York, Oxford University Press 1992, pp. 13 – 14. In: Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ’l (eds.): *Metaphorical World Politics*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 76

⁴⁰ Ivie, Robert L.: *Democracy, War, and Decivilizing Metaphors of American Insecurity*. In: Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ’l (eds.): *Metaphorical World Politics*, East

Ivie further argues that Bill Clinton's discourse is similar to the Cold War presidents in a way that he links desire for democracy to the notion of world capitalism and justifies it by the US exceptionalism. "In a world that had become 'more free but less stable ... shape change, lest it engulfs us'. Control, not change or even democratic give and take, was Clinton's measure of national security."⁴¹ Shaping change conotates with the metaphor of GRID, the control of rules and measures applied throughout the region, just as the US attempt in FTAA negotiations. The US problematic attitude to difference serves as a motive for war or domination of the OTHER. In this part, therefore, I examine whether the integrationist attempt was truly an offer of cooperation among nations or an attempt to strenghten and maintain the US influence in the Western Hemisphere either by extending NAFTA or using it as a mould for further integration processes. I argue that the United States entered NAFTA for primarily strategic purposes and see which of the above mentioned metaphors is found in analyzed discourse. These disocurses include the text of NAFTA (Preamble and Chapter One, Parts One to Three as the rest of the text is very specific), Bill Clinton's discourse on the day of signing NAFTA for the US side, and parts of Carlos Salinas's Fifth and Sixth Presidential Speeches for the Mexican part. The analysis also includes Barack Obama's remarks on NAFTA and free trade, and a shift in attitudes.

Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 76

⁴¹ Ivie, p. 84

1.1.3. MEXICO

Mexico looked for a way out from its difficult economic situation. It hoped that NAFTA would attract investment, increase employment and decrease poverty. After a long period of a 'one-party system' (still in power at that time) and mounting debts, the government wanted to solve this difficult economic situation by opening itself to the world. After examining the situation, President Salinas found out that Europe's primary focus are its post-communist countries, and he made an unprecedented step and asked the United States to create a free-trade zone with Mexico. Therefore, contrary to Europe's situation, the impulse for cooperation did not arise from traumatizing war experience. Until then, Mexico's experience arising from the war with the United States had been to avoid contacts as much as possible. So a free trade agreement with its northern neighbour was an unexpected shift in the long-standing Mexico's foreign policy.

The policy of Mexico was historically created to resist the economic integration in North America. It defined national identity in opposition to the United States as a consequence of the fact that the United States had taken one third of Mexico's territory in the past.⁴² Ideologically, economic sovereignty became equated with political sovereignty. For a long time, Mexico had feared being absorbed through the trade and such barrier made it impossible to consider bilateral free trade with the United States⁴³ and free

⁴² Goff, Patricia M.: *Invisible Borders: Economic Liberalization and National Identity*, In: *International Studies Quarterly* 44, December 2000

⁴³ Golob, Stephanie R.: *Beyond the policy frontier: Canada, Mexico and the ideological origins of NAFTA*. In: *World Politics*, Baltimore, April 2003, Vol. 55, p. 361

trade was the policy option not permitted to be spoken about. There was no open debate on the issue for decades, and any initiatives towards greater integration coming from the United States were dismissed. Moreover, as in other areas of policy making, nobody could take the initiative until the President himself either indicated he would be open to the idea or actually decided in its favour. The private sector, apart from being very protectionist, could not openly promote any politics leading to free trade.⁴⁴

However, the oil crisis of the 1980s and early 1990s made Mexican state elites change the direction towards the integration policy. A shock, such as a war or an international economic crisis often leads to a similar shift. Security and identity, until then associated with the resistance to the United States, became consistent with integration, and free trade started to be perceived as the only chance of the nation's future prosperity and survival.⁴⁵ However, it took Mexico nearly a decade to make this change. Even as late as in February 1990, Mexican president Carlos Salinas publicly insisted that free trade with the United States was not still a realistic option for Mexico.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Purcell, John, F.H. and Kaufman Purcell, Susan: Mexican Business and Public Policy. In: Malloy, James M., ed.: *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977, p. 194-96

⁴⁵ Lustig, Nora: *The Remaking of an Economy*, Washington D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1992, p. 14

⁴⁶ In his keynote address Salinas stated: "The marked differences in level of development between Mexico and the United States make a common market inadvisable in the foreseeable future. Because of this, efforts on bilateral negotiations would be limited to sectoral agreements, and diversification of trade relations with Europe and the Pacific Rim would accelerate." *Intervention del presidente Carlos Salinas de Gortari en la ceremonia inaugural del Foro Economico Mundial, Davos, 1 February 1990, Document No. 18.* In: Arriola, Carlos, ed.: *Documentos basicos sobre el Tratado de Libre Comercio de America del Norte*, Mexico City, SECOFI, 1994, p. 129

During his first year in office he did pursue a more cordial relationship with the United States, but put equal energy into diversifying Mexico's sources of foreign investment, travelling to Europe and Japan and meeting twenty-nine heads of state or government. "Finally, Salinas's already unrealistic expectations regarding diversification were raised by his invitation to give the keynote address at the 1990 World Economic Forum in Switzerland. While the Mexican delegation received an overwhelmingly positive response, the president's meetings with European heads of states before the forum made it clear that their interest was in emerging Eastern European markets, away from Mexico."⁴⁷

Salinas's political survival, however, depended on the success of his strategy. The ideas he and the people around him supported not only included mechanisms for transfer to a free market economy, they also embraced a potential bridge ideology enabling this transfer in public opinion. The definition of national interest was no longer equated with economic and political sovereignty but with the open economy.⁴⁸ Therefore, NAFTA offered the president an opportunity to institutionalize and preserve his neoliberal economic reforms. Also, Mexico was seeking support for its not-quite-democratic political regime and diplomatic influence in the rest of Latin America and the whole developing world.

⁴⁷ Golob, Stephanie R.: Beyond the Policy Frontier: Canada, Mexico and the ideological origins of NAFTA. In: World Politics, Baltimore, April 2003, Vol. 55, Iss. 3, p. 361

⁴⁸ Statement by the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Canadian Institute for International Affairs, Toronto, 4 October 1985. In: Statement/Discourse 85/58 (1985), p. 12-13

Salinas's speeches focused on sovereignty, talked about openness, change and dynamism as sources of national strength. Nevertheless, he had to connect this new ideology with the Mexican Revolution his party, the PRI, came from. In the first annual address to the nation in late 1989, he claimed that "modernization is the means ... by which we fulfill the Revolution's mandate," because "there is nothing more revolutionary than making Mexico stronger and more respected in the world."⁴⁹ The strength through integration was also based on the perception that the rules had changed internationally and in this new environment, characterized by intensifying globalization and interdependence, states express their viability by opening their markets.

Mexico also wanted to strengthen its position "between the Atlantic and the Pacific"⁵⁰ through intensified contacts with both Europe and Japan. After Davos, however, Salinas came to a conclusion that as the world trade tends to concentrate in three huge blocs, Mexico either gains access to at least one of them or is condemned to lag behind. Free trade with the United States, once a threat to national security, became not only 'normal' option, but the very core of Mexico's new strategy for its future survival.

Although Mexico sought an opportunity to join prosperous economies of its northern neighbours, in reality the agreement was more than extension of

⁴⁹ Mensaje del Quinto Informe de gobierno de Carlos Salinas de Gortari, presidente de los Unidos Mexicanos, Noviembre 1, 1993

⁵⁰ Gil Villegas: Mexico entre el Pacifico y el Atlantico, Foro internacional 29, October – December 1988

the 1988 Canada – US Free Trade Agreement. As a weaker party, Mexico was forced to make greater compromises and there are quite big asymmetries of power among the three states.

1.1.4. SOURCES OF METAPHORS

I argue that Mexico's reasons for entering a free trade agreement with the United States were primarily economic. Thinking of metaphors for Mexico's joining a free trade agreement with the United States, it can be either TREE, branches growing from a stem and the whole tree becomes stronger, the more roots and branches (interconnections) it has, the stronger it gets; or a CELL connected with the other cells through a number of 'sprouts' and together creating an organism. It might also imply a GROW UP of a child which is no longer protected by its family and separated from the outer world, to grow up means to become more independent and stronger with more contacts outside the family. Another family metaphor, if only two countries are in question, is MARRIAGE.⁵¹ However, analysing parts of Salinas's 5th and 6th Informes del Gobierno, metaphors of TREE, CELL nor MARRIAGE were confirmed. GROW UP, however, is a strong metaphor in the discourse.

The convergence of those interests between the countries⁵² was thus a driving force behind the conception of NAFTA. Maintenance of a political consensus was also essential for continuing support of the agreement and

⁵¹ NAFTA of course consists of three countries but rather than tripartity, the reality are bilateral relations between the three countries.

⁵² Canada is intentionally left out of this analysis.

its possible modification.⁵³ NAFTA has been controversial since the very beginning and arose a lot of debates. In his *Memoirs: 1939 - 1993*, Brian Mulroney⁵⁴, Canada's former prime minister and promoter of the 1984 Canada-US free trade agreement, recounts how little enthusiasm there was in the Ronald Reagan's administration for signing the Canadian - US free trade agreement – supported highly by Canadian conservatives at that time - which opened the road to NAFTA five years later. Mulroney argues that no one in the Reagan administration seemed to care very much if negotiations succeeded. NAFTA deal with Mexico, on the other hand, involved strong arguments in the US Senate and Congress, led in part by billionaire Ross Perot, a populist supported by blue-collar workers who warned against the loss of hundreds of thousands of US jobs to the maquiladora industries south of the border.

Nevertheless, academic and research communities across the member countries failed to reach agreement on NAFTA's accomplishments and impacts. What is clear is that trade among member countries has increased substantially since the accord became effective. On the other hand, up to the present at least, NAFTA has not created a truly trilateral economic

⁵³ Chambers, Edward J. and Smith, Peter, H.: NAFTA in the New Millenium: Questions and Contexts, p. 10 - 11. In: Chambers, Edward J. and Smith, Peter, H. (eds.): NAFTA in the New illenium, Center for U.S.–Mexican Studies, University of California, CA, USA and the University of Alberta Press, Alberta, Canada, 2002

⁵⁴ Mulroney, Brian: *Memoirs: 1939 – 1993*. Douglas Gibson Books 2007

community. Instead it incorporates two bilateral relationships – one between Canada and the United States, the other between Mexico and the United States. The Canada – Mexico relationship is still underdeveloped. It is so partly because the two countries’ economic performance is highly dependent upon the performance of the US economy. Moreover, the two countries unite in the worries that the United States are becoming more protectionist.

1.1.5. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

*TEXT OF NAFTA*⁵⁵

Table 1 – TEXT OF NAFTA

<p>GRID (6)</p>		<p>PREAMBLE contribute to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade and provide a catalyst to broader international cooperation, establish clear and mutually advantageous rules governing their trade, ensure a predictable commercial framework for business planning and investment</p> <p>PART ONE, CHAPTER ONE: provide adequate and effective protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights in each Party's territory, promote conditions of fair competition in the free trade area, establish a framework for further trilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement</p>
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⁵⁵ accessible at: <http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/north-american-free-trade-agreement-nafta>

<p style="text-align: center;">STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (5)</p>		<p>PREAMBLE the government of Canada resolved to</p> <p>PART ONE</p> <p>CHAPTER ONE the Parties to this Agreement ... establish a free trade area, the Parties may agree in writing to modify ... to include any amendment, the Parties shall ensure that all necessary measures are taken in order to</p> <p>CHAPTER THREE present an application to another Party</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MOTION IN TOTAL (12)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MOTION (9)</p>	<p>PREAMBLE preserve the flexibility to safeguard the public welfare, strengthen the development and enforcement</p> <p>PART ONE</p> <p>CHAPTER ONE eliminate barriers, facilitate the cross-border movement, promote conditions, expand and enhance benefits of this agreement, entry into force</p> <p>CHAPTER THREE the continuation or prompt renewal, adopt or maintain prohibitions or restrictions</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">PATH (2)</p>	<p>PART ONE</p> <p>CHAPTER ONE the alternative that is the least inconsistent with, except as otherwise provided in this Agreement by state and provisional Governments</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">CHANGE (1)</p>	<p>PREAMBLE reduce distortions to trade</p>
		<p>PREAMBLE in their territories, in a manner</p>

CONTAINER IN TOTAL (21)	CONTAINER (16)	<p>consistent with environmental protection and conservation, protect ... basic workers' rights</p> <p>PART ONE</p> <p>CHAPTER ONE between the territories of the Parties, in the free trade area</p> <p>CHAPTER TWO in the territory, in accordance with 3x,</p> <p>CHAPTER THREE form part of, result in a substantial change in value, in the territory of 3x, in accordance with, to the extent they are not inconsistent with</p>
	BUILDING (4)	<p>PREAMBLE create an expanded and secure market</p> <p>CHAPTER THREE pursuant to 3x</p>
	TIME (1)	<p>CHAPTER THREE temporary importations under bond</p>
HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (8)		<p>PREAMBLE</p> <p>strengthen the special bonds of friendship and cooperation among their nations</p> <p>PART ONE</p> <p>CHAPTER ONE in accordance with, obligations shall prevail</p> <p>CHAPTER THREE a waiver of, shall not apply to, comply with, with respect to, give full consideration to</p>
TECHNOLOGY		<p>PREAMBLE ensure a ... framework for business planning and investment, provide a catalyst to broader international cooperation</p> <p>PART ONE</p>

(4)		CHAPTER ONE establish a framework, apply the provisions ... in the light of its objectives
CORPORATION (7)		PREAMBLE enhance competitiveness of their firms, foster creativity and innovation, promote trade, create new employment opportunities, promote sustainable development PART ONE CHAPTER ONE fair competition, create effective procedures
EQUILIBRIUM (8)		PREAMBLE contribute to the harmonious development, establish clean and mutually advantageous rules of governing, build on their respective rights, mutual and bilateral instruments of cooperation PART ONE CHAPTER ONE provide adequate and effective protection ... each Party's territory, with respect to each other, equally effective and reasonably available means CHAPTER THREE importation commensurate with the cost of services rendered

Source: Author

The text of NAFTA is different from the Treaty of Asunción. Apart from its length, it is rather specific and oriented on technical and trade provisions, unlike other Western Hemispheric free trade agreements focusing more on unity of the nations involved. Although in NAFTA in the Preamble, there is a part on strenghtening the bonds of friendship, the rest is highly specific. Therefore, only Preamble and Chapters One to Three in Part One were

analysed. For the same reason, in the language of law there is less metaphorical expressions altogether, and some may seem non-metaphorical but considering the metaphors behind, I am convinced that they are relevant to individual headings. GRID metaphor, as a significant for the US hegemony, was revealed in the text as well as in President Clinton's speech on signing NAFTA. No other power metaphors, such as DISEASE or PARENT was found evidence of. CONTAINER is the strongest metaphor, stressing the territory and area within special boundaries. Quite significant metaphor here is EQUILIBRIUM, surprisingly enough, as much has been written on asymmetries between Mexico and the United States. On the other hand, it is this equal treatment which does more harm to the less-developed country. Compared to other treaties and discourses, including Bill Clinton's Remarks on NAFTA, HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY metaphor is weak. It may be caused by primary technical nature of the text of the agreement but also by prevailing economic purposes of the agreement, as a contrast to Mercosur's political ambitions.

BILL CLINTON'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF SIGNING NAFTA⁵⁶

The speech differs from other analyzed discourses because it is not as formal as the rest of them. For our purposes, however, it serves well since informal texts may reveal hidden patterns better than formal ones.

⁵⁶ Clinton, Bill: Remarks on the Signing of NAFTA (December 8, 1993). Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, accessible at: www.millercenter.org

This transcript contains the published text of the speech, not the actual words spoken. There may be some differences between the transcript and the audio/video content.

Table 2 - BILL CLINTON'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF SIGNING NAFTA

GRID (14)		<p>gifted leaders of both political parties built a new order based on collective security and expanded trade, they created a foundation of stability, we can only harness the energy to our benefit, nations of this hemisphere will gather in an economic summit that will plan how to extend the benefits of trade to the emerging market democracies of all the Americas, we are prepared to make our contributions to the success of this /GATT/ negotiation, but we insist that other nations do their part as well, the United States must seek nothing less than a new trading system that benefits all nations through robust commerce but that protects our middle class and gives other nations a chance to grow one, we will seek new institutional arrangements to ensure that trade leaves the world cleaner than before, we will press for workers in all countries to secure rights that we now take for granted, we will insist that expanded trade be fair to our businesses and to our regions, no country should use cartels, subsidies, or rules of entry to keep our products off its shelves, we must see to it that our citizens have the personal security to confidently participate in this new era, we seek a new and more open global trading system not for its own sake but for our</p>
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		<p>own sake, good jobs, rewarding careers, broadened horizons for the middle class Americans can only be secured by expanding exports and global growth</p>
<p>STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (2)</p>		<p>bipartisan spirit that encaptured the Congress ... the country, institutions built by ... have accomplished their task</p>
	<p>FLOW (9 + 7)</p>	<p>tear down trade barriers, create the world's largest zone, force for social progress, progress toward a worldwide free trade agreement, we reached outward, the only way for a wealthy nation to grow richer is to export, to simply find new customers for the products and services it makes, for too long our step has been unsteady as the ground has shifted beneath our feet, today, as I sign the North American Free Trade Agreement into law and call for further progress on GATT, I believe we have found our footing</p> <p>NEGATIVE After World War I we turned inward, building walls of protectionism, result was a Great Depression and ultimately another horrible World War, winds of change have worn away at file basis of their security, seemingly secure jobs have been lost, America once again is the most productive nation on Earth, this productivity itself holds the seeds of further insecurity, we cannot stop global change, we cannot repeal the international</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">MOTION IN TOTAL (69 + 16N)</p>		<p>economic competition that is everywhere, dynamic trade cannot lead to environmental despoliation</p>
	<p>MOTION (26)</p>	<p>the rest of our efforts, the work they did, our partners in the future that we are trying to make together, the experience of the world of the lost several decades, helping to mobilize this effort, more than that in the days and months and years ahead, how we would approach this very difficult and rapidly changing world, the world that will promote more growth, greater possibility of the world peace, global economic expansion, make this agreement a force for social progress as well as economic growth, we are making real progress towards, created in the process the conditions which led to the explosion of the great American middle class, get on with the real business of Government and society, grow richer, bit by bit all these things are creating the conditions of, to create the world's best worker training and retraining system, broadened horizons, call for further progress on, there is no turning back from the world of today and tomorrow, show the confidence that all of us need to face tomorrow, we cannot stop global change, spur a global economic boom, a sustained global expansion, we seek a new and more open global trading system, expanded</p>

		<p>trade benefited all of us</p> <p>NEGATIVE in spite of, I have not always seen, I can't help but noting, were not permitted, dealing with our considerable challenges here at home, our national security will be determined, exuberant uncertainty of international economic competition, found in their opposition to NAFTA an expression of their fear, face the challenges, secure jobs have been lost</p>
	<p>PATH (5)</p>	<p>the only way for a wealthy nation, there is no other way, take a different course, ensure security ... at a time when change is the only constant, have our internal economic policies work for the benefit of our people</p>
	<p>CHANGE (18)</p>	<p>make a lot of difference, we decided to come out for NAFTA, in the cause to change, we have made a decision now, the United States lit this critical moment, the opportunity to remake the world, it has enriched the lives, find new customers for the products and services it markets, bring the deficit down, keep interest rates down, getting housing start, new jobs going upwards, permit productivity, we have the opportunity to secure the biggest breakthrough, transform our unemployment system into, go on to a new and different ... more secure and more rewarding way of work, the ground has shifted beneath our feet, far</p>

		too long our step has been unsteady
	EFFORT (11)	is within our grasp, conclude negotiations of the new round of, we are prepared to make our contributions, we must not squander this opportunity, seize this moment, laborious effort on NAFTA, goals must be more ambitious, seek nothing less than a new trading system, press for workers in all countries to secure rights, ready to compete, we can win
CONTAINER IN TOTAL (28)	CONTAINER (14)	on the verge of, NAFTA will tear down trade barriers between our three nations, it will create the world's largest trade zone, a worldwide trade agreement, we have been forced to define our role in the world, building walls of protectionism, we turned inward, we are leading, reach outward, global economy with all its promise and perils, wear away at file basis of their security, we cannot repeal the international economic competition that is everywhere, agenda must be far reaching, secured by expanding export and global growth
	BUILDING (7)	constructive involvement in the world, that will permit us to create (economic order), it will create, they created a foundation of stability, we have found our footing, I ask all of you to be steady, build a new world based on collective security and expanded trade
	BODY (1)	they have in their bones

	<p>CLUB (6)</p>	<p>America is ...in the lead, setting the pace, we could not afford to turn away from our leadership responsibilities, America once again is the most productive nation on Earth, when we lead, we build security, we build prosperity for our own people</p>
<p>HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY IN TOTAL (18)</p>	<p>GROW UP (3)</p>	<p>we've learned this lesson the hard way, twice before in this century, we have been forced to define our role in the world, for decades, working men and women and their representatives supported policies that brought us prosperity and security</p>
	<p>HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (15)</p>	<p>make together, work together on all the things that we all care about, take a lot of personal time and business time, as a group ... the most intensely supportive, I was profoundly personally moved, the confidence we've displayed, we are rediscovering fundamental truths about ourselves, fuller and happier life for our citizens, embrace them with confidence, deal with the problems honestly and openly, a strong supporter of that position, we have the chance to do what our parents did before us, we have an obligation to protect, bear its burdens, giving them a chance to be retrained</p>
<p>NATURE (7)</p>		<p>better preservation of the environment, begin to bear fruit, winds of change, the productivity holds the seeds of further insecurity, harness</p>

		the energy, bear the fruit of cooperation, reap a reward of international cooperation
TECHNOLOGY (1)		make this world work for all of us
CORPORATION (4)		organize and earn a decent living, we owe it to, rewarding careers, we would compete not retreat
WORK OF ART (1)		to find expression in
WAR (3)		it became a symbolic struggle for the spirit of our country, create a shield against aggression and the fear of aggression, the contest with communism has been replaced by
EQUILIBRIUM (1)		more equality

Source: Author

I did not consider very much the metaphor STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PEOPLE as most of the time it is metonymy and occurs in most languages. Therefore it is not significant for this paper.

GRID metaphor, as the prime one, has been proven in Bill Clinton's speech (14), and is substantially strong, as well as in the text of NAFTA. As written above, GRID metaphor represents the United States' effort to apply its own rules throughout the region, therefore maintain and strengthen its hegemony through economic means in free trade agreements, when military ones have been abandoned (we seek a new and more open global trading system not for its own sake but for our own sake). The text of NAFTA contains not only expressions suggesting an effort to apply the rules within NAFTA region, but also using NAFTA for spreading them in the continent

(establish a framework for further trilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement).

Another metaphor significant for this paper is FLOW as an expression of neoliberal practices. It differs from the metaphor of MOTION in a way because FLOW is something unexpected or unwanted while MOTION is deliberate or even presumed. It is interesting that FLOW, in Bill Clinton's discourse is connected to insecurity (high productivity equals with future insecurity).

MOTION, however, is the strongest metaphor here (26), together with PATH (5), CHANGE (18), EFFORT (11), and negative RELUCTANCE (9). In no other treaty MOTION metaphor is so significantly represented. Also expressions of RELUCTANCE are worth noting as, again, no other treaty has this as well as the metaphor of WAR. The struggles and discussions led before signing NAFTA in the United States are reflected in Bill Clinton's speech. So worries as well as hopes are expressed in MOTION and RELUCTANCE. On the other hand, EQUILIBRIUM is hardly represented at all. This might be related to CLUB metaphor and a concept of the United States' role in the world. Apart from other CONTAINER metaphors, CLUB is not apparent in other analysed speeches and free trade agreements. CONTAINER itself has 14 and together with BUILDING (7), BODY (1) and CLUB (6) it has 28 expressions.

GROW UP belongs to the group of FAMILY metaphors. Relations within the family, however, may be both equal and unequal, in dependance on individual roles. GROW UP metaphor has been found in Mexican discourses as well but from a different point of view. In Bill Clinton's speech GROW UP

is that of an experienced adult knowing what to do and what to avoid in pursuit of their goal (we've learned this lesson the hard way, working men and women and their representatives supported policies that brought us prosperity and security). In Salinas's speeches GROW UP is taken from the position of a child whose maturity and successes are watched and assessed by outer rules, the parent (certainty of permanent rules - la certidumbre de reglas permanentes).

FIFTH AND SIXTH PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES OF CARLOS SALÍNAS

SALÍNAS – QUINTO INFORME DEL GOBIERNO⁵⁷

Table 3 - SALÍNAS - QUINTO INFORME DEL GOBIERNO

CELL (11)		se amplía la cooperación de los tres países, con mis homólogos de Estados Unidos y Canadá, no se permite la creación de leyes y órganos supranacionales, sino que se alienta la cooperación para que cada país aplique mejor sus propias leyes, buscamos incorporar a los países centroamericanos a este nuevo esquema, lo que facilita indudablemente la interrelación económica, hemos intensificado los contactos y negociaciones comerciales con otros países y regiones, entrará en vigor un tratado de libre comercio con Venezuela y Colombia, similar al que ya tenemos con Chile, buscamos incorporar
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⁵⁷ accessible at:

http://www.biblioteca.tv/artman2/publish/1993_59/Mensaje_del_Quinto_informe_de_gobierno_de_Carlos_S_72.shtml

		a los países centroamericanos a este nuevo esquema, hemos concluido las negociaciones ... con 15 países de Europa, Asia y América, la interrelación económica
STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (1)		México vio con interés la posibilidad
MOTION (7)		queremos más comercio, hemos seguido actuando, se amplía la cooperación, es pionero en las negociaciones, para que la economía crezca con estabilidad, hemos intensificado los contactos, reorganizar y alentar
CONTAINER IN TOTAL (16 + 1)	CONTAINER (11)	marcará futuras tendencias en la región y en el mundo, en su propio territorio, con el cumplimiento de una parte, el avance y éxito se debe a, a los instrumentos que ya hemos establecido, en los esfuerzos internos, en el ahorro, para competir mejor en el propio mercado doméstico y en el mundo, entrará en vigor, incorporar a los países centroamericanos a este nuevo esquema, en el transcurso al gobierno
	TIME (2)	desde el principio de las negociaciones, el próximo año
	BUILDING (3 + 1)	las premisas establecidas, la creación de empleo, la clave para nuestro desarrollo, bajo las premisas de respeto NEGATIVE no se permite la creación de los leyes

		y órganos supranacionales
HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (4)	GROW UP (2)	marcará futuras tendencias para que la economía crezca con estabilidad, la certidumbre de reglas permanentes
		preservar los derechos laborales, con pleno respeto a las soberanías
NATURE (1)		cuidar el medio ambiente
TECHNOLOGY (1)		catalizador de la competitividad, con mis homólogos

Source: Author

SEXTO INFORME PRESIDENCIAL DE SALÍNAS⁵⁸

Table 4 - SEXTO INFORME PRESIDENCIAL DE SALÍNAS

GROW UP (25)		ha creado condiciones inéditas para el crecimiento, entró en vigor, crecieron en un 22 por ciento, el mayor incremento, ritmo de crecimiento, las ventas a Canadá, a su vez, crecieron, un incremento sustancial, México está enfrentando con éxito, incrementar su productividad, competir con éxito, elevar el bienestar, aplicamos con gran vigor, el programa de desregulación, se desregularon aproximadamente 60 áreas, entrada en vigor, se abrían oportunidades benéficas, una vinculación eficiente con la economía mundial, una apertura efectiva y recíproca, liberalizar mercados, dar un nuevo fundamento al marco
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⁵⁸ accessible at: <http://www.cs.uwaterloo.ca/~alopez-o/politics/inf6.html>

		regulador, invertir en las oportunidades del cambio, las exigencias de nuestra dinámica demográfica, enfrentar la adversidad
STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (2)		los primeros datos lo confirmaron, el gobierno ... asumió su propia responsabilidad
MOTION IN TOTAL (17)	MOTION (14)	el mayor incremento, este ritmo de crecimiento, las ventas a Canadá ... crecieron, observaron un incremento sustancial, incrementar su productividad, emprender la negociación, afectó la dinámica económica, paralelamente aceleramos la reforma, mediante una apertura afectiva, sustenar el dinamismo productivo, curso de acción, un crecimiento más sano y duradero, nuestra dinámica demográfica, sin mayor turbulencias económicas
	PATH (2)	más que en la repetición de los caminos probados, el camino no estuvo extenso de dificultades
	CHANGE (1)	se desregularon ... áreas
	CONTAINER (17)	el tratado entró en vigor, para allegarse capitales y tecnologías, en los mercados de, se ha convertido en un poderoso instrumento, para atraer nuevas inversiones, al interior, marco regulador, la nueva Ley ... completó el programa, al incluir diversas disproporciones, entrada en vigor, en 1993, con la mayor economía del planeta, áreas públicas, marco

CONTAINER IN TOTAL (42)		regulador, invertir en las oportunidades, acorde con las exigencias, el resultado ha sido al final favorable
	TIME (16)	en el periodo, suscrito en 1992, entre enero y agosto, el mismo período del año anterior, crecieron en un 22 por ciento, en un 25 por ciento, aumentaron en un 27 por ciento, en el primer semestre del año, en un 36 por ciento, entre enero y septiembre, ingresaron al país, en los últimos seis años, de 1989 a 1994, en ese mismo horizonte, la adversidad en 1994, un futuro de más oportunidades
	BODY (1)	México está enfrentando
	BUILDING (8)	el tratado ha creado condiciones inéditas, crecimiento de nuestras exportaciones, creamos las condiciones, se abrían oportunidades benéficas, dar nuevo fundamento a, sentaría así las bases, el sólido piso, es una firme plataforma
WAR (3)		los desafíos de la apertura, competir con éxito, abatir ... la deuda interna

Source: Author

For the analysis, parts concerning NAFTA of Salinas's Fifth and Sixth Presidential Speeches were chosen. CELL metaphor was confirmed in the Fifth Speech as quite a strong one. President Salinas talks about increasing contacts and cooperation not only within North America but with other European and Asian countries. Although CELL should belong to bodily metaphor, the difference is seen here and, therefore, it is not included in

CONTAINER metaphors. GROW UP metaphor as a grow up of a child is hardly present in the Fifth discourse whereas it is much stronger in the Sixth Speech (25). It may sometimes interfere with the MOTION metaphor but the GROW UP is taken from the point of view of a child, growing up to the expectations of its parents. Neither PARENT nor GRID metaphors presumed in US discourse were confirmed here. CONTAINER is the strongest in both speeches with 11 and 17 expressions respectively. In the Sixth speech TIME is exceptionally strong (16), while in the Fifth one it is 2. MOTION is the second strongest with 7 and 14. MOTION or FLOW can be the sign of neoliberal practices. In the Sixth speech, WAR metaphor appears (3) in the context of dealing with challenges.

Compared to Bill Clinton's speech on NAFTA, President Salinas concentrates more on economic growth through intensifying contacts with other countries worldwide. In Mexican discourses there is no trace of intention to spread the rules to other regions, on the contrary, metaphor of CELL gives evidence of rather autonomous units connected through flows of trade ("no se permite la creación de leyes y órganos supranacionales").

No metaphors concern EQUILIBRIUM.

*BARACK OBAMA ON FREE TRADE*⁵⁹

What is analyzed here is not a single text this time but a set of discourses concerning free trade pronounced by Barack Obama during his presidential campaign.

⁵⁹ accessible at: www.ontheissues.org/2008/barack_obama_free_trade.htm-Archiv

Table 5 - BARACK OBAMA ON FREE TRADE

<p>GRID (8)</p>		<p>NAFTA did not have enforceable labour agreements and environmental agreements, we should include those and make them enforceable, make sure that labour agreements are enforceable we have to stand for human rights, and that should be part of the trade equation, Obama will fight for a trade policy that opens up foreign markets to support good American jobs, he will use trade agreements to spread improved labour and environmental standards around the world, stand firm against agreements like the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) that fail to live up to those important standards, we should insist on labour standards and human rights, the permanent trade relations with China, without some of the enforcement mechanisms that were in there, that you voted for, was also a significant problem</p>
<p>STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (2)</p>		<p>trade deals that work for working people, globalization is here</p>
		<p>NEGATIVE: impossible to turn back globalization; we'd be worse off, it is impossible</p>

<p>MOTION IN TOTAL (18 + 8)</p>	<p>FLOW (NEG. 4)</p>	<p>to turn back the tide of globalization, but efforts to do so can make us worse off, turn back the clock on this new world, allowing subsidized and unfairly traded products to flood our markets is not free trade</p>
	<p>MOTION (16 + 4)</p>	<p>jobs and industries can move, maintain our living standards, public support for robust trade will continue to erode, if we continue to let, American workers will continue to be undermined, we cannot stand by, cannot ... take a backseat, put people back to work, form a working coalition for change, to bring about the kinds of economic changes that I'm talking about, we've got to all move forward as Democrats, relationship has shifted over time, we should be trading around the world, we don't want to just be standing still while the rest of the world is out there taking the steps that it needs to in order to expand trade, retrain workers for the jobs of the future</p> <p>NEGATIVE unsustainable if it favors only the few, will not be able to sustain this growth, rewards the work that creates wealth</p>
	<p>CHANGE (2)</p>	<p>NAFTA needs to be amended, cap those subsidies</p>
		<p>include those [labor and environmental agreements], efforts to do so can make us worse off, success will depend ... on the dynamism, determination, and innovation of the American</p>

CONTAINER IN TOTAL (32)	CONTAINER (17)	people, in the global economy, cannot let foreign regulatory policies exclude American products, critical that we engaged in trade, in our economy, because of our addiction, to foreign oil, reinvest in solar and wind and biodiesel, in terms of, part of the problem, should be part of the trade equation, provisions in our tax code, investing right here in the US, in that agreement, instability in the Chinese economy could have global economic consequences
	BODY (1)	in the hands of
	TIME (6)	during the course of, this is the moment for, rather than fear the future, we must embrace it, in the 21st century, in a year's time
	BUILDING (5)	creating a green economy, build on the wealth that open markets have created, cornerstone of our growth and global development, build a fortress around America, shut down immigration
	CLUB (3)	trade policy be dictated by special interests, overcome the dominance of the the special interests in Washington, special interests have been shaping our trade policy
PARENT (4)		we've got to have a president who is going to advocate on behalf of American businesses and American workers, with the support of, I make no apology for that, on behalf of
		America can compete and succeed, it'll be me who's enforcing them, I don't think Americans

<p>WAR IN TOTAL (15)</p>	<p>WAR (6)</p>	<p>are afraid to compete, in that competition, we are hard bargainers, we cannot stand by, without triggering a trade war, hurt family farmers</p>
	<p>INNER ENEMY (6)</p>	<p>if we continue to let our trade policy be dictated by special interests, then American workers will continue to be undermined, and public support for robust trade will continue to erode, to be able to overcome the dominance of the special interests in Washington, we've got right now provisions in our tax code that reward companies that are moving jobs overseas instead of companies that are investing right here in the US, that are good not just for Wall Street, but also for Main Street, viewed not just through the lens of Wall Street, but also Main Street, our trade agreements should not just be good for Wall Street, it should also be good for Main Street, there was never a federal effort to come in after those closings and to figure out how can we retrain workers for the jobs of the future, how can we invest and make sure capital is available to create new businesses in those communities, we have to eliminate tax breaks for companies that are moving overseas</p>
		<p>new challenges have emerged from China and India, Eastern Europe and Brazil,</p>

	OUTER ENEMY (3)	children will grow up facing competition not just from California or South Carolina, but also from Beijing and Bangalore, in those communities that are being burdened by globalization
EQUILIBRIUM (2)		share its benefits more equitably, trade that is free and fair for all

Source: Author

Barack Obama's attitude to free trade has moved substantially compared to the previous official presidential policies. FLOW metaphor is present but only in a negative sense as a flow that is beyond our control (it is impossible to turn back the tide of globalization) or even FLOW depicted as natural disaster (unfairly traded products to flood our markets is not free trade). MOTION as a whole is not positive to the extent seen in other discourses concerning NAFTA and free trade, with hopes for future, it is something that is inevitable but not very welcome.

Interesting in this discourse is the metaphor of WAR with INNER and OUTER ENEMY. The former is represented by 'special interests in Washington' (business groups) and by the government which had failed to ensure well-being for ordinary people. It is obvious that the WAR is in this case the electoral fight. Outer enemy is regulations and subsidies of other nations in the first place, and globalization responsible for the loss of jobs and decreased living standard of certain groups of people in the United States, and indirectly, countries with cheap labour force, in the second place

(children will grow up facing competition not just from California or South Carolina, but also from Beijing and Bangalore).

GRID metaphor, however, is present in this discourse as well. Necessity to worldwide apply rules beneficial for American people is perceived as an obligation (we have to stand for human rights, and that should be part of the trade equation).

Interesting is the metaphor of PARENT (4). Taking into account that Barack Obama is a representative of the Democratic Party, PARENT metaphor corresponds with findings of James Dobson who revealed that metaphors of a caring parent correspond with the Democratic Party, and a strong parent is found in the Republican Party discourses. Incidentally, this metaphor came up in this discourse as well.

EQUILIBRIUM is presented as something desirable for US citizens as they are disadvantaged in comparison with other countries.

1.1.6. CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER ONE

The aim of this chapter was to verify through discourse analysis the theses that the United States entered NAFTA primarily for strategic purposes to be able to maintain and strengthen through economic means hegemonic position in the Western Hemisphere. The US efforts were to set the rules serving domestic interests first in NAFTA and then in the Hemisphere by extending NAFTA. When this possibility failed, an attempt to create an FTAA was not implemented either as Brazil opposed the US guideline pushed

through during the negotiations. New expression of this effort was found in bilateral free trade agreements. For the effort to apply US rules universally, the metaphor of GRID was found as a metaphor of power. It may be called a metaphor of hidden power as map grid is a net drawn into the map to set the norm and unify. This corresponds with the metaphor of OTHERNESS which is feared in the US political discourse as something threatening. GRID metaphor was confirmed in all analyzed US discourses, including the text of NAFTA. It serves as an evidence that the text of NAFTA is primarily a US deed, and that the relationship with other NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, is unequal as they both had to make some concessions at least. It also gives evidence of a changing nature of the US power as other metaphors of power found in the US Cold War rhetoric, for example, were not found here. Therefore, the thesis that the United States use free trade for strategic purposes has been confirmed.

In the analyzed Mexican discourses, the metaphor of GRID was not found. The presumed metaphor of CELL as a sign of intensified economic cooperation and shift in Mexican policy towards opening its market, was given evidence of, and the thesis that Mexico entered NAFTA primarily for economic purposes to find a way out of its indebtedness was confirmed as well.

Other metaphors show tendencies in individual discourses and are described in detail in relevant parts.

CHAPTER 2: FREE TRADE IN LATIN AMERICA

The history of Latin American economic integration started as early as with the end of Spanish rule in Latin America. First attempts, however, were more a wishful thinking rather than serious integration attempts due to the distance, fragmentation, scarcity of population and, last but not least, inability of the new republics to come to an agreement. On the contrary, ambitions of various local leaders frequently caused fights throughout the continent.

More serious attempts occurred in the 1960s, although protectionism and different opinions, again, caused that, ultimately, most of them came to the dead end. More successful integration processes appeared in the late 1980s with the occurrence of the European Unions and plans for its enlargement, and APEC. Mercosur, for example, was directly inspired by the processes in Europe as an example of successful integration, starting firstly as an experiment to integrate basic industries such as iron, coal and steel of France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries in the European Common Market in 1958. Although economic factor was not the only reason for the formation of the European Communities, and question of sovereignty has always been a sensitive issue and obstacle to first economic and then political integration, the promise of prosperity inspired the creation of some major free trade blocs in the Western Hemisphere, including Mercosur.

Besides, since the very beginning, a single market created in the United States has served as an example for Latin American countries of what a

common, integrated market can do. The United States itself, however, started to play a more important role in Latin America as late as in 1918 when consequences of the World War I affected the region. The war ruined European trade and investment whereas that from the United States soared. American multinational companies produced petroleum and other raw materials there, and US bankers became Latin America's principal creditors. This enabled the United States to abandon military occupations, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. Nonintervention was crucial for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy. Soon after the war, and persuaded by the United States, Latin American countries signed mutual defence treaties and created the Organization of American States, a regional organization under the United Nations based in Washington and funded principally by the United States. While for the United States, strategic interests had been principal, Latin American countries were more preoccupied by poor domestic economic conditions and expected a relevant initiative from the part of the United States. No serious offer, however, came until the end of the Cold War and President Bush's Enterprise for American Initiative.

2 HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION

Latin American nations have repeatedly made some integration attempts since their origin. Shortly after liberating themselves from the Spanish rule, revolutionary leaders, namely Simón Bolívar of Venezuela, tried to establish a federation of Latin American States, modelled on the United States. He said: "I have done everything from the vision that this continent will be one country, independent and unique. The homeland of the Americans must be one, and only one."⁶⁰ Also Chilean and Argentinian revolutionaries, Bernardo O'Higgins and José San Martín respectively, stressed the importance of a unity. However, no country at that time thought of the union with the United States, though it served as an example for their integration goals.

From then on, integration attempts continued to occur and integration itself began to be seen as essential for the whole region, although for over a century, all integration efforts kept failing. In 1821, treaties between Peru, Chile and Bolivia, and between Mexico and Chile in 1830 were signed, in 1848 a league between Bolivia, Columbia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru was established, but these never implemented. A Continental Treaty signed in 1856 between Chile, Ecuador and Peru fell through, too.

In 1940, foundation of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) was significant for the region, as its proposals for a common market became essential for the region's development.

⁶⁰ Chile: Twenty Years of Trade Negotiations, DIRECON and Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Teatinos 180, 12th Floor, Santiago, February 2010

A new era started after the end of the Second World War with an effort to overcome the war consequences. In 1944, a new economic order was established at the conference in New Hampshire. The Bretton Woods Agreements gave rise to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Bretton Woods aimed at guaranteeing international monetary stability in order to strengthen free trade relations and the economic recovery of countries devastated by the war.

Consequently, signing of Montevideo Treaty in 1960 led to the foundation of the Latin American Free Trade Association. Member countries became Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and later also Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia. Onwards, the region changed the direction from bilateral agreements to multilateral ones. LAFTA's aim was to change the system regulating trade relations in Latin America as an expression of the new conditions that prevailed in international trade after the end of the Second World War.

LAFTA's philosophy was based on that of ECLAC, promoting common Latin American market and regional export substitution. Central American countries agreed to establish a Central American common market in 1958. The agreement followed the Treaty of Rome, signed in the previous year and establishing the European Economic Community creating a common market.

At the end of the 1950s, trade relations in the region were primarily bilateral, and the trade reached as little as 7% of its trade with the rest of the world. However, the world trade was marked by protectionism, and Latin

America, which exported mainly raw materials, imported manufactured goods under quite unfavorable conditions.⁶¹ Such treatment was attempted to be changed in 1960 by signing the Montevideo Treaty which specified a trade liberalization schedule with the perspective of creating a free trade zone and a Latin American common market. The treaty accounted for elimination of customs duties and all restrictions on imports within 12 years. The import and export regimes were to be coordinated as well as industrial and agricultural policies in order to create a common market.

Under LAFTA, Latin American countries started an extensive process of regional negotiations and the nations began to learn the art of reaching a compromise. Argentina, Brazil and Chile were particularly active, most countries nevertheless tended to protect their national products, mainly primary, intermediate and capital goods as well as some consumer goods produced in the region. However, some favourable preferences were achieved for 7600 items, which promoted regional import substitutions until then having come from third countries. It also incited the development of intra-regional trade. Over a third of the countries induced zero tariffs and another third had tariffs below 20%.

Eventually, the negotiations ended up with the resistance from more developed economies, and it was impossible to achieve the proposed initiatives to deepen LAFTA's integration process. In 1964, the process of

⁶¹ Chalupa, Jiří: Dějiny Argentiny, Uruguaye, Chile. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2002

trade liberalization weakened as the opposition to granting new concessions increased while the chance for regional import substitution faded.⁶²

All these events affected the creation of a Latin American common market, which was difficult to establish without the full support of LAFTA's member countries. However, Chile and Colombia decided to give a new impulse to the integration process. As a result, in February 1968, the Andean Development Corporation was founded, with Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela as its members. In 1969, with the exception of Venezuela, the other five states signed the Cartagena Agreement, thus forming the Andean Group (also called the Andean Pact). Venezuela acceded as late as in 1973. The Group intended to create a new model of integration, promote the development of its members, and to ensure more equitable distribution of benefits. It strived for a Latin American common market, however, with the limitations of the 1960 Montevideo Treaty.

The United States were usually excluded from these treaties. Nonetheless, Uruguayan Declaration of the Presidents of America of 1967 was signed by 18 Latin American and Caribbean states and President Lyndon B. Johnson. In the Preamble, the signatory nations agreed to "create ... in 1970, the Latin American Common Market, which shall be substantially in operation ... no more than fifteen years." The Latin American Common Market related itself to the development and cooperation of the Latin American Free Trade Association and of the Central American common Market. The United States

⁶² Leiva, Patricio: El Tratado de Montevideo, desde la Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio, al Acuerdo de Cartagena y a la Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración. Santiago 2009, Document for Direcon, Chile

declared their full support to “this promising Latin American initiative“. The Declaration’s main objective, to create a Latin American Common Market, has never been implemented. In Uruguay itself, however, due to a huge financial crisis and polarization of the society, trade liberalism was met with resentment.⁶³

Another attempt was the creation of the Corporation for Andean Development within the frame of LAFTA in 1966 by Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. The Corporation’s pronounced objective was a common market within a free trade zone, a subregional integration aimed to “promote the balanced and harmonious development for the member countries, to accelerate their growth through economic integration, to facilitate their participation in the integration process contemplated in the Montevideo Treaty, and to favourable conditions for the conversion of LAFTA into a common market“.⁶⁴ The institutions were not responsible to any government and could purely act in favour of the subregion’s interest. Key to the process was that it was to be implemented in coordination with the subregional market. In order to level the differences in development, the Corporation established a Special Regime for Bolivia and Ecuador. Cooperation began in economy, industry, agriculture, financial as well as social matters. The Agreement was intended to be crucial for Latin America

⁶³ Chalupa, Jiří: *Dějiny Argentiny, Uruguaye, Chile*. Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2002, p. 334 - 335

⁶⁴ Article 1 of the Subregional Integration Accord between the governments of Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru, May 26, 1969

to fight off its dependence on developed countries.⁶⁵ In 1972, Venezuela joined the Andean Group whereas Chile withdrew in 1976, following the military coup in 1973. Consequently, the group tried to reach a new integration stage, new common institutions and tariffs were established and Latin American actions towards the Third Parties became more coordinated. Chile did not accede the Andean Community of Nations, the successor of the Andean Group, until 20 years later, in 2006. At present, the CAN (Comunidad Andina de Naciones) consists of Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador and Peru, the member countries, and Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay as partner countries. There are two observer countries of Panama and Mexico.

With respect to LAFTA, it gradually changed its system of trade and economic relations to more flexible ones with the objective of continuing the integration process, and in 1980 the Latin American Association for Integration (LAIA) was founded, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela. The creation of LAIA was the direct result of the failure to implement the free trade zone formally created in 1960 through LAFTA's mechanism, and again, a Latin American common market was defined as a primary objective.⁶⁶ From the commercial point of view, LAIA replaced LAFTA's multilateralism by bilateral relations based on economic preferences, i.e. regional tariff

⁶⁵ Pedro Daza, Chilean Permanent Representative to LAFTA, at the 3rd Plenary Session of LAFTA's 10th Period of Ordinary Sessions

⁶⁶ Article 1 of the Montevideo Treaty forming LAIA in 1980

preferences and agreements of regional and partial reach.⁶⁷ However, these agreements, with the ability of being negotiated by the concerned parties without the consent of other members, resulted in a vast network of bilateral preferential agreements.

The Treaty opened the region to cooperation with other countries and areas of integration, horizontal cooperation and the establishment of links with other developing countries.⁶⁸ Such policy is in line with current Brazilian strategy of North – South cooperation and establishment of closer relations with southern and developing countries in other parts of the world.

In the Southern Cone, Argentina and Brazil concluded an agreement in the late 1980s that, in some years, led to the creation of Mercosur, a new subregional grouping formed in 1991 by the two countries, together with Paraguay and Uruguay.

Prior to the formation of Mercosur, the Initiative for the Americas was announced by president George H. W. Bush in 1990 and Latin American countries immediately became very enthusiastic about the idea of signing a free trade agreement with the United States. Nevertheless, the US main interest was to create a free trade zone with Mexico. The negotiations were joined by Canada and resulted in signing NAFTA in 1993. Chile was later invited to join but President Clinton failed to obtain a fast track approval from the Congress, and Chile decided to sign bilateral free trade agreements with individual member countries.

⁶⁷ Article 4 of the Montevideo Treaty

⁶⁸ Chapter IV of the Montevideo Treaty

The end of the Cold War profoundly affected Latin America's foreign relations, bringing an increasing enthusiasm for warmer relations with the United States (e.g. Argentina under Menem) and with the neighbours. This led to a more cooperative interamerican system. One of the most crucial changes in this system was the willingness of many governments to throw aside decades of protectionism and embark on new initiatives in economic integration. Also domestic policies in the 1990s were characterized by the process of change as, for the first time, democratic governments were voted into office throughout the region. This brought about opening of all the countries of the region, with the determination to recover the growth after the 'lost decade' of the 1980s, and the spread of structural reforms. Under the neoliberal practises, the net of free trade agreements throughout the region gradually became denser. However, they were not only agreements within the region but the countries opened themselves to cooperation with the European Union, and/or became APEC members. Several countries of the region have signed free trade agreements with China, and cooperation with the South has been developing, mainly from the part of Brazil.

Therefore, the adoption of policies of openness by LAIA countries helped to expand and deepen interregional relations. Together with the expansion of trade flows, negotiation processes of that time led to a new generation of free trade agreements. The emergence of Mercosur, the Group of Three (Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico) as well as renovation of the Andean Group were the expression of this changed momentum. "These schemes aimed to create free trade zones and even customs unions in a short period of time. In

parallel, bilateral free trade and economic negotiations geared toward the deepening of market openness.⁶⁹

Also, the change of governments changed the relations with the United States. For a long time, there was only integration within the Latin American region. Although the countries within the region looked up to the United States, there was no thought of further integration. Eventually, Latin America accepted the notion of panamericanism and its benefits but never agreed with the US definition of limits and obligations. Nevertheless, with deep political and economic changes in Latin American countries which started in the 1980s, and their subsequent emancipation and increasing cooperation with other parts of the world, especially with Europe and Asia - Pacific, the role of the United States changed. Latin American region's effort has been marked by emancipation and proclaimed independence from the United States. It was primarily an independence from political influence, but when President George W. H. Bush came up with Initiative for America in 1990, the United States was amazed by the enthusiasm of most Latin American countries at the idea of a free trade agreement with the US.

Also in their mutual relations Latin American countries have also undergone deep changes. Friction between Argentina and Brazil ceased⁷⁰, and numerous, mostly successful attempts at regional cooperation, integration

⁶⁹ Chile: 20 years of Trade Negotiations. General Directorate of International Economic Affairs, Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Santiago 2010, p. 74

⁷⁰ Some new have arisen, though, such as border disputes between Venezuela and Colombia. Also, due to drug cartels, situation in some countries, such as Mexico and Ecuador has deteriorated substantially.

and alliances have occurred. For Latin America, however, the integration has always been more about economic than strategic matters, contrary to the United States. Evidence of this might be American conferences held after the Second World War, such as Rio Treaty and formation of the Organization of American States. Some of them stress the relations too, for geopolitical reasons but economy is what matters more.

Economically, the most significant change was the region's turn from protectionism and state economies to market ones, privatization and opening to foreign investment represented by reducing tariffs on imports. Introduction of those neoliberal practices throughout the region resulted in the creation of new free trade agreements differing substantially from regional trade agreements of the 1950s and 1960s, which in many respects caused trade diversions and obstacles rather than increased trade flows. Latin American economies are today much more open and more independent among themselves, with the US and with the world economy than two decades ago. "The interdependence has increased in three dimensions: business dynamism that has transformed trade and investment structures, proliferation of regional and bilateral trade agreements, and convergence in political, strategic and collective security interests."⁷¹

Therefore, despite the proclaimed economic objectives, political and strategic dimensions are similarly important as, despite Latin America's impressive

⁷¹ Castañeda, Jorge G.: Latin America and the End of the Cold War. In: Transition, Duke University Press, No. 59, 1993, p. 51

achievements, many problems persist, such as increasing income inequality, drug generated violence and corruption.⁷²

2.1 MERCOSUR

Unlike Mexico, which, for most of its history, looked at its northern neighbour with suspicion and fear, Brazil, for nearly the same time, enjoyed a special relationship with the United States, becoming its closest partner in South America. The country's self-confidence originates from its extension between two oceans as well as the important role it had in the colonial past. More than a colony, it was the biggest part of the Portuguese Kingdom, for some time with the capital of Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, Brazil has never had the complex of inferiority, and has always been able to promote well its own interests both regionally and internationally. In South America, in the first half of the 20th century, Brazil acted as a coordinator and had a role similar to that of Great Britain in Europe, and considered itself a US partner in the Western Hemisphere, similarly to the Atlantic Partnership's concept of two pillars, pronounced by President Kennedy.⁷³ However, after the military took over the government in the mid-1960s, the special relationship was broken. By the beginning of the 1980s, Brazil had already depended more on its own strength and importance in international relations than on the United States.

⁷² Salazar-Xirinachs, José M. : Latin American Trade Policies in 2002 and Beyond : Diagnosis and Prognosis, p. 3, www.sice.oas.org/TUnit/STAFF_ARTICLE/jmsx_diagnosis_e.asp, May 17, 2003

⁷³ Kissinger, Henry: Potřebuje Amerika zahraniční politiku?. Jiří Buchal – BB Art, Praha 2002, Translated by Michael Žantovský from Does America Need A Foreign Policy?, Simon and Schuster, New York 2001, pp. 82 - 83

Argentina, on the other hand, for most of the time richest of all Latin American countries, also with the strongest middle class, looked up to Europe more than tried to implement its ambitions within the region. However, after the World War II, the country had to bear the consequences of revealed sympathies for Germany during the War as well as the loss of markets, especially that of Britain and others within Europe, after the establishment of European Communities. Subsequently, Argentina found a new market in the Soviet Union, which consumed about 60 percent of its grain exports. This economic partnership survived even under anticommunist military governments and was a cause of criticism from the part of the United States.⁷⁴

Although for many years, Brazil and Argentina had been rivals, in 1985 they reached a more cooperative stage eventually leading to the economic integration by establishing the 'Mixed High Level Commission'. In 1990, the Treaty of Asunción, with the participation of Paraguay and Uruguay, formed a common market of the four countries, the Mercado Común del Sur (Southern Common Market), or Mercosur, with the population of over 200 million in an area larger than Europe. Mercosur's objectives are economic as well as political. The Preamble states that the grouping responds to "la evolución de los acontecimientos internacionales, en especial la consolidación de grandes espacios económicos y la importancia de lograr una adecuada inserción internacional para sus países"⁷⁵ (the evolution of

⁷⁴ Falcoff, Mark: Mercosur: Precursor to free trade area of the Americas? In: The Officer, Washington, September 2001, Vol. 77, Iss. 8, pp. 23 - 25

⁷⁵ Preamble to the Treaty of Asunción

international events, especially the consolidation of major economic blocs and the importance to gain relevant international participation for their countries). The proclaimed aim was not only common market of the four countries, or customs union reached in 1995, but the final economic integration of Latin America: “El presente Tratado debe ser considerado como un nuevo avance en el esfuerzo tendiente al desarrollo en forma progresiva de la integración de América Latina, conforme al objetivo del Tratado de Montevideo de 1980.”⁷⁶ (The current Treaty should be considered a new step in an effort to create a new form of Latin American integration, in accordance with the Treaty of Montevideo of 1980.). Contrary to NAFTA, Mercosur’s political dimension is stated in the Preamble. The Treaty of Asunción was later amended by the Treaty of Ouro Preto, modelled partly on the European Union. Mercosur’s has a secretariat in Montevideo, with the structure similar to that of the European Union and common passports.

Despite its proclaimed objective of open trade, Mercosur’s common external tariffs is discriminatory and reflects inner trade in uncompetitive products. Moreover, anti-globalization rhetoric in Latin America, and particularly in Brazil, may mask further protection of uncompetitive industries. With the exception of Chile, no South American economy has diversified exports to world markets. There is also a lack of common institutions and rules to define trade policy or to resolve trade disputes.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Preamble to the Treaty of Asunción

⁷⁷ Malamud, Andrés: Presidential Diplomacy and the Institutional Underpinnings of Mercosur: An Empirical Examination. In: Latin American Research Review, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2005, pp. 138 -164

On the other hand, there are political, economic and diplomatic advances. In the past, huge amounts were spent on military. The ease of the tension between Brazil and Argentina enabled to devote more money to education and infrastructure, as means for improving the region's economic conditions.⁷⁸

2.1.1. BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

Similarly to Mexico's change in its longstanding foreign policy towards the United States and its proposal of NAFTA, Mercosur was established due to the change in Brazilian and Argentine foreign policies. Although, in the first half of the 20th century, Brazil depended on a special relationship with the United States in order to reach set objectives, later it began depending on its own strength and influence. Argentina, after the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union lost a principal market for its crops. This, "together with the negative trade balance with the United States and its highly subsidized agriculture", caused that "Argentina chose an alliance with Brazil as its new main economic partner".⁷⁹

Mercosur, therefore, was created on the basis of two different objectives. One of them were Brazil's political aspirations, the other Argentina's economic need for an export market. Uruguay and Paraguay accession was a logical consequence, for their economic dependence on the two countries.

⁷⁸ Ward, Thomas, J.: Comment on Economic integration: NAFTA and MERCOSUR. In: International Journal on World Peace, New York, December 1999, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 50 - 53

⁷⁹ Falcoff, Mark: Mercosur: Precursor to free trade area of the Americas? In: The Officer, Washington, September 2001, Vol. 77, Iss. 8, pp. 23 - 25

At the time of its origin, Mercosur was, similarly to NAFTA, regarded as a building block towards the Free Trade Area of Americas. At least Argentine foreign minister Guido di Tella described Mercosur that way the morning after its creation. However, Brazil never shared this vision and it was due to its influence and the fact that the United States did not offer more favourable conditions, that an FTAA was never implemented. Politically, Brazil, with its regional ambitions and an effort to control Mercosur, forces Argentina, Uruguay and perhaps Paraguay as well in directions they may not prefer to go. This might also explain why Chile has chosen to remain an associate member only.

In Mercosur, the integration process began largely from the top down. The two governments wanted to to foster democracy after the collapse of authoritarian political regimes in the mid-1980s to increase growth and competitiveness by liberalizing foreign trade policies.

Integration continued to be state-led at the beginning of the 1990s as a part of the neoliberal economic strategies of Argentine president Carlos Menem and Brazilian president Fernando Collor de Mello. The project began with a set of protocols that lowered tariff barriers in specific industries. The original agreements, the Argentine Brazilian Economic Integration Programme was a milestone in the two countries' relationship. Whereas Argentina and Brazil had traditionally been economic and military rivals in South America, the ABEIP agreements started a new era of cooperation. The initiative for the ABEIP came from Alfonsín, who made economic integration a top priority of his administration. "Argentina and Brazil were no longer divided by any

significant dispute, and Argentina had even acknowledged Brazil's prominent political and economic role in Latin America. Both administrations favoured demilitarizing the South Atlantic to keep it free of East-West confrontations.⁸⁰ Both new governments thought that through closer economic cooperation, renewal of traditional conflicts and rivalries would be less likely. The private sector generally did not participate in the early negotiations, only when trade negotiators put particular economic segments on the agenda, the private sector became involved. "The main drive behind the integration process was not so much pressure from industrial and agricultural groups as the converging political interests of the Sarney and Alfonsín administrations. The new initiative startled many observers in both countries. However, the public formalization of the agreements came as a surprise, and their signature was not preceded by a broad debate in either country, on the contrary it was the debate's starting point."⁸¹

The integration process which started in 1986, slowed down at the end of the decade, partly because of the continued economic instability in both countries. The end of the Cold War, however, changed the situation again. Formation of huge regional trading blocs, both in the Western Hemisphere and in Europe, made the two countries worry that Latin America might be abandoned by the more industrialized countries. Mexico was pursuing an independent policy through NAFTA negotiations with the United States and

⁸⁰ Manzetti, Luigi: Argentine-Brazilian Economic Integration: An Early Appraisal. In: Latin American Research Review, 1990, Vol. 25, No. 3, p. 115

⁸¹ Chudnovsky, Daniel, López, Andrés and Porta, Fernando: Intra-Industry Trade and Regional Integration: The Case of the Auto Industry in Argentina, 1989, www.wds.worldbank.org/external

Canada, while the European integration process gained both speed and volume. It seemed likely that in future only big regional economic groupings would have chance to succeed, and Argentina and Brazil started to see economic integration as a way to increased weight in dealing with large trading blocs.⁸²

In Brazil two streams of possible integration occurred: one promoting neoliberal policies and closer cooperation with the United States in a hemispheric free trade area, and another, coming out of the armed forces and the Foreign Ministry, that favoured policies of greater political and economic independence from the United States. It was the latter, more nationalistic viewpoint supporting greater integration in South America, which won.⁸³ In the face of these new international circumstances, Mercosur was created in March 1991. The initial agreement included a timetable establishing a free market for goods between the member countries in most products by the end of 1994. The schedule was very fast and “the specificity of the measures to encourage integration was unprecedented in Latin America, where most previous integration schemes had invoked only vague promises.”⁸⁴ One of the main obstacles to integration was the disparity in

⁸² Araújo Junior, José Tavares de. 1990. El programa de integración Argentina-Brasil y las tendencias actuales de la economía mundial, Hirst 1990, p. 244, quoted in: Bulmer-Thomas, Victor: The European Union and MERCOSUR: Prospects for a Free trade Agreement. In: Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 42, No. 1, Spring 2000, pp. v + 1 - 22

⁸³ Fernández, Wilson. 1991. El pensamiento brasileno acerca de la integración. In: Revista de Ciencias Sociales, 1991, No. 6, pp. 60 - 61.

⁸⁴ Manzetti, Luigi: Economic Integration in the Southern Cone. In: North-South Focus (Coral Gables). December 1992

macroeconomic policies between the two main partners. Conflicts were nevertheless solved in a “give and take” way on the main issues, with the “overall goal of integration”.⁸⁵

Although at the beginning clearly state-led, Mercosur gradually gained support of business circles, and this in turn forced political leadership to resolve the conflicts which, in previous integration attempts, would have probably led to stagnation. This support resulted in a substantial increase in trade between Brazil and Argentina which quadrupled between 1985 and 1997. Despite Mercosur’s success, however, conflicts between the partners occur regularly. In this, Mercosur is similar to other blocs, such as the European Union and NAFTA. Nevertheless, due to its disproportionate weight and large and lucrative domestic market, Brazil is able to control the integration process, similarly to the US role in NAFTA. This led to unilateral setting limits on imports or exports or putting nontariff barriers into effect without consulting other Mercosur countries, and negotiating only when those countries protest. This behavior is possible because Mercosur has no formal dispute settlement system, all disagreements and conflicts must be dealt with through political negotiations.⁸⁶

2.1.2. SOURCES OF METAPHORS

The purpose of metaphor analysis is to give evidence that Mercosur functions on different metaphors than are those of NAFTA, reveal what they

⁸⁵ MERCOSUR Presidents Push Forward. In: *Business Latin America*, January 11, 1993

⁸⁶ O’Neal Taylor, Cherie: Dispute Resolution as a Catalyst for Economic Integration and an Agent for Deepening Integration: NAFTA and MERCOSUR? In: *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business*, 1997, Vol. 17, No. 2-3, pp. 850-99.

are and look at the differences between the Southern Cone integration process and that of North America through the implications of their respective metaphors.

Thinking of metaphors for Mercosur integration, we look at reasons of its establishment. First reason was to ease rivalry between the two biggest countries, Brazil and Argentina. This is similar to Europe's reasons for starting integration processes, to tie its two biggest countries in economic cooperation and create such firm bonds that any military conflict would never pay. In this aspect, functionalism may be considered relevant to integration in the Southern Cone, as the core idea is sectoral cooperation, not a political one. It uses the notion of a spill-over, automatic extension of integration into other fields. In Mercosur, however, intentions for cooperation were clearly state-led and defined in advance, there was no automation applied to the process. Metaphor in the core of functionalist theory is MOTION, in Mercosur there is a set framework of paces. The reason for Mercosur establishment were changing political interests and pragmatic calculations of the two countries in the context of changing international environment and creation of huge regional trading blocs. Moreover, Argentina considered Mercosur a building block for a Free Trade Area of Americas, whereas Brazil wanted to strengthen its position of a regional hegemon. Therefore, I argue that the metaphor for Argentine integration is BRICK or HOUSE, and for Brazil it is WEIGHT.

Of course, there are other two countries, however, which wanted to improve their economic and political conditions in the international environment but

I argue that the unifying metaphor for Mercosur is WEIGHT, as well. During the FTAA negotiations, for example, President Cardoso characterized the process as one in which “Brazilian, Argentine, Paraguayan and Uruguayan negotiators sit together and speak through the representative of the country that holds the pro tempore presidency of Mercosur. There is no individual position: the four countries negotiate and make decisions that are Mercosur’s decisions.”⁸⁷

The Treaty of Asunción establishing Mercosur, and the Treaty of Ouro Preto, adding more details to better functioning of the bloc, were analyzed as well as four presidential discourses at Mercosur’s summits of the respective member states. First, similarly to the case of NAFTA, reasons for Mercosur establishment and historical, economic and political motives were considered in the process of specifying metaphors for analysis, then, in comparison with the European integration, the metaphors found in discourses concerning integration processes in Europe were taken into account as well and looked for in Mercosur discourses as well.

2.1.3. TRATADO DE ASUNCIÓN⁸⁸

Table 6 - TRATADO DE ASUNCIÓN

		la importancia de lograr una adecuada inserción
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⁸⁷ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Free Trade Area of the Americas, Belo Horizonte, Brazil, May 1997

⁸⁸ accessible at:

<http://www.ambiente.gov.ar/archivos/web/MERCOSUR/File/TRATADO%20DE%20ASUNCI%20N.pdf> and
<http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/htmlstat/pl/tratados/trat16196.htm>

WEIGHT (10)		<p>internacional para sus países,</p> <p>el presente Tratado debe ser considerado como un nuevo avance,</p> <p>en el esfuerzo tendiente al desarrollo en forma progresiva de la integración de América Latina,</p> <p>lograr el fortalecimiento del proceso de integración,</p> <p>optimizar la utilización y movilidad de los factores de producción y de alcanzar escalas operativas eficientes,</p> <p>coordinar sus posiciones en las negociaciones comerciales externas que emprendan durante el periodo de transición,</p> <p>a los efectos de la coordinación de las políticas,</p> <p>establecer un régimen armonizado de sanciones administrativas,</p> <p>el Instrumento que ahora se firma deba contribuir al aumento de los flujos de comercio así como a la inserción competitiva de sus economías en el mercado internacional,</p> <p>la trascendencia histórica de este Tratado para la integración latinoamericana</p>
		<p>La República Argentina ... considerando ..., constituye ..., entendiendo ..., teniendo ..., expresando..., conscientes ..., convertidos ..., reafirmando .../, 1 los Estados Partes deciden, los Estados Partes asegurarán, los Estados Partes coordinarán sus respectivas políticas, 2 el Consejo se reunirá, la Presidencia se ejercerá por rotación, el Grupo ... será coordinado por los Ministerios, el</p>

<p>STATES ARE PERSONS (30)</p>		<p>Grupo tendrá facultad de iniciativa, el Grupo podrá, el Grupo ... contará ..., establecerá ..., el Grupo podrá convocar, el Grupo contará con una Secretaria Administrativa, las decisiones del Consejo, los Estados Partes convocarán, 3 la República del Paraguay ... comunicará ..., notificará..., 4 el Tratado estará abierto a la adhesión, las solicitudes podrán ser examinadas por los Estados Partes, 5 el estado Parte que desee ..., deberá comunicar esa intención, el Ministerio lo distribuirá, que los Estados Partes acuerden, derechos y obligaciones ... continuarán en vigor, los Poderes Ejecutivos ... mantendrán informados a, el Gobierno ... enviará</p>
<p>MOTION (55)</p>	<p>MOTION (44)</p>	<p>la aplicación de los dimensiones, la integración, acelerar sus procesos, desarrollo económico, alcanzar mediante, la coordinación, la complementación, gradualidad, flexibilidad, la evolución, la consolidación de proceso de integración, un nuevo avance, el esfuerzo tendiente al desarrollo, la integración, promover el desarrollo científico, modernizar sus economías, ampliar, la finalidad de alcanzar, 1 (libre) circulación 2x, la coordinación 2x, realizarse gradualmente, diferencias puntuales de ritmo, coordinar sus posiciones, durante el periodo de transición 3x, extender automáticamente, 2 durante del periodo de transición, el Consejo estará integrado, por periodo de seis meses, tender a la aplicación, tender a la coordinación de políticas macroeconómicas, tender a la negociación de</p>

		<p>acuerdos frente a terceros, asegurar el avance hacia la constitución, ser necesario para el cumplimiento de sus cometidos, en el plazo de 60 días a partir de su instalación, el Grupo... estará integrado por, el desarrollo de sus trabajos, durante el periodo de transición, 3 tener duración indefinida, la fecha de entrada en vigor, 5 efectuar la entrega del documento de denuncia, mantener los referentes al programa de liberación, con el objeto de facilitar, el avance hacia la conformación a, sobre la evolución de</p>
	<p>FLOW (4)</p>	<p>la libre circulación de bienes, servicios y factores productivos entre los países, la eliminación de los derechos aduaneros y restricciones, no arancelarias a la circulación de mercaderías y de cualquier otra medida equivalente, la eliminación de restricciones</p>
	<p>EXTENTION (7)</p>	<p>la coordinación de políticas macroeconómicas y sectoriales, el compromiso de los Estados Partes de armonizar sus legislaciones, ampliarán sus legislaciones nacionales, la coordinación de políticas macroeconómicas, la ampliación de las actuales dimensiones de sus mercados nacionales, a manifiestan su convicción de que las perspectivas abiertas por la consolidación de agrupamientos subregionales facilitan el desarrollo de vínculos económicos y la integración de la región de su conjunto, la estrecha relación económica existente entre los cinco países</p> <p>la voluntad del Gobierno chileno de estrechar sus vínculos con los Países Miembros del Mercado</p>

		Común del Sur
CONTAINER IN TOTAL (24)	CONTAINER (9)	1 en forma convergente con, la entrada en vigor, constar, consistir en rebajas, 3 depósito del tercer instrumento de ratificación, ser depositado ante, 4 integración subregional o de una asociación extraregional, 5 ser el depositario, en forma progresiva
	BUILDING (15)	constituir condición fundamental, con base en los principios, constituir, dejar establecidas las bases/ 1constituir, el establecimiento, facilitar la constitución, instrumentos para la constitución, formación de zonas, 2 establecer los acuerdos específicos y decisiones, la constitución definitiva, constituir los Sub-grupos, antes del establecimiento, 3, 4 formar parte de esquemas de, 5 se establecerá una comisión
NATURE (17)		la preservación del medio ambiente, grandes espacios, las condiciones de vida, 1 asegurar condiciones, extenderse, los productos originarios del territorio, comprometerse a preservar, el ámbito de, 2 estructura orgánica, el órgano superior, la administración estará a cargo de los siguientes órganos, organismos públicos, representantes de otros organismos, principales funciones, determinar la estructura (institucional definitiva), los órganos de administración, 3 entrar en vigor, 4
TECHNOLOGY (1)		3 los instrumentos de notificación
		el mejoramiento de las interconexiones físicas, los

<p style="text-align: center;">HUMAN RELATIONS/ FAMILY (42)</p>		<p>acontecimientos (internacionales) 2x, respuesta a, la voluntad política, una unión cada vez más estrecha entre .../, 1 denominarse, estar conformado, la eliminación de</p> <p>restricciones, la adopción 2x, con relación a, acordarse, competencias entre,</p> <p>adoptar, la Salvaguardía, las relaciones con terceros países, estar influenciados, acompañar, la coordinación, el mismo tratamiento, los compromisos asumidos, evitar afectar los intereses, negociar esquemas amplios, cualquier ventaja, favor, franquicia, inmunidad, privilegio, 2 adoptar, correspondiéndole la conducción política, la participación de los Presidentes, las reuniones serán coordinadas, podrán ser invitados a participar, nivel ministerial, velar por el cumplimiento, el cumplimiento de las decisiones adoptadas por el Consejo, proponer medidas concretas, juzgar conveniente, comunicación de actividades, tomar consenso, sistema de adopción de decisiones, 3, 4 la aprobación de las solicitudes, objeto de decisión unánime, 5 desear denunciarse, denunciar los derechos y obligaciones, corresponder a su condición de</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">CORPORATION (15)</p>		<p>aprovechamiento de los recursos disponibles, la oferta, la calidad, 1 productivos 2x, competencia comercial, la competitividad, factores de producción, optimizar la utilización y movilidad, alcanzar escalas operativas eficientes, el producto nacional, las</p>

		negociaciones comerciales, conceder a un producto originario, fijar programas de trabajo, elaborar y propones medidas concretas
EQUILIBRIUM (4)		justicia social, equilibrio/1 la reciprocidad, 5 ambos textos igualmente auténticos

Source: Author

WEIGHT metaphor, revealing the reason for Mercosur creation, was found in the text of the the Treaty of Asunción (10). The most frequent metaphor is MOTION (44), CONTAINER, stressing territory and the supranational approach rather than the fluid, has 24. For EQUILIBRIUM, I found four examples. HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY, surprisingly enough, has 42 examples. This metaphor is frequent in each analysed text for Latin America, and even stronger, in Clinton´s speech on NAFTA. The problem with the FAMILY is that within a family, the relations are both equal and unequal. CORPORATION, seeing the bloc as a business entity, has 15 examples, but some of them are related to business nature of the contract, so this metaphor is not significant.

2.1.4. PROTOCOLO DE OURO PRETO⁸⁹

Table 7 - PROTOCOLO DE OURO PRETO

		la República ... conscientes ... reafirmando ... atentos ... reconociendo, el Consejo se reunirá,
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⁸⁹ accessible at:

<http://www.espaciosjuridicos.com.ar/datos/OTROS%20TRATADOS/PROTOCOLO%20DE%20OURO%20PRETO.htm>

<p>STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PEOPLE (17 + ANEXO 1)</p>		<p>las reuniones del Consejo, el Consejo se pronunciará mediante Decisiones, el Grupo estará integrado, el Grupo podrá convocar, el Grupo se reunirá, el Grupo podrá delegar, la Comisión estará integrada, la Comisión se reunirá, la Comisión procurará, el Foro tendrá función consultiva, el Grupo someterá, los Partes efectuarán, ANEXO (1) el Grupo se pronunciará</p>
<p>MOTION (30)</p>	<p>MOTION (23)</p>	<p>proceso de integración, la consecución de los objetivos, asegurar el cumplimiento, dinámica implicada, ser ejercido por rotación, promover las acciones, en el desarrollo al sus trabajos, procederá a la firma, efectuar el seguimiento 2x, la evolución de los instrumentos, la pronta entrada, seguirse el siguiente procedimiento, simultáneamente 2x, culminar el proceso de convergencia, tendrá duración indefinida, adaptar la estructura institucional del MERCOSUR a las transformaciones ocurridas ANEXO (4) siguiente, la procedencia, posteriormente 2x, a la necesidad de una consideración especial para los países y regiones menos desarrollados del MERCOSUR</p>
	<p>CHANGE (7)</p>	<p>a las transformaciones, el período de transición, modificar ..., suprimir órganos II, la tramitación de las solicitudes recibidas, revisar (la estructura), el periodo de transición, derogar las disposiciones</p>
		<p>los órganos existentes, los órganos auxiliares,</p>

CONTAINER (31)	HUMAN BODY (9)	órganos de capacidad decisoria, organismos internacionales, funciones podrán ser delegadas por, el órgano ejecutivo, las funciones, órgano de apoyo cooperativo, los órganos previstos
	BUILDING (21 + ANEXO 1)	los objetivos establecidos, alcanzar la constitución 2x, el consejo estará integrado, formular políticas, el cumplimiento 3x, la conformación del mercado común, la estructura institucional 4x, el establecimiento del mercado común, crear organos, dentro de los límites establecidos, establecer los comités técnicos, (las normas) establecidas 4x, ANEXO (1) constitución
TECHNOLOGY (21)		la puesta en funcionamiento, de manera ordinaria o extraordinaria, los instrumentos de política comercial común, el funcionamiento de la unión aduanera, los instrumentos comunes, la aplicación y cumplimiento 2x, funcionamiento de la unión, cumplimiento de sus funciones, dirigir y supervisar, efectuar la reclamación 5x, correcta ejecución, elaborar su proyecto, aplicación interna, instrumento de ratificación 3x
NATURE (24 + ANEXO 3)		de naturaleza intergubernamental, las condiciones establecidas, aclarar el contenido, en el ámbito de sus competencias, las normas existentes, actividades productivas 2x, el ámbito de Mercosur, originadas por ámbito de la comisión, área de competencia, las normas emanadas 4x, garantizar la vigencia simultánea 3x, entrar en vigor 6x, ANEXO (3) originar, días

		corridos, determinar
HUMAN RELATIONS/FAMILY (28 + ANEXO 9)		adoptar la estructura 6x (adoptar), la estructura ... contará, la conducción política, adoptar Decisiones, velar por el cumplimiento, fijar programas, asegurar 2x (avances, el cumplimiento), las propuestas ... sometidas, mandados ... concedidos con esa finalidad, acuerdos en nombre del Mercosur, velar por la aplicación, las decisiones adoptadas 2x, se pronunciará ... manifestará... mediante 2x, se tramitarán, el procedimiento 3x, estará integrada, la armonización, proporcionar apoyo, las medidas implementadas, incorporar en su ordenamiento jurídico, desempeñar otras tareas determinadas 2x, sea aprobado, celebrar acuerdos de sede, solución de controversias, incorporación al ordenamiento 3x, comunicación efectuada, las controversias que surgieran, incorporadas, adopción, parte integrada, el protocolo se denominará, estar en conflicto ANEXO (9) de acuerdo, adoptar una decisión, reunión 3x, trámite, adoptar (la decision) 2x, consenso
CORPORATION (7)		política comercial 6x, presentar sa rendición

Source: Author

Substantially high amount of expressions in this treaty concerns technology but this is likely to be caused by 'technological' nature of the treaty as a provisional and operational complement to the Treaty of Ouro Preto. Human

relations expressions are also high in number, probably for the same reason. Moreover, similarly to the EU, the aim of Mercosur is a monetary union, and in political sense it might be even more. MOTION (30), is not as high in this text as in the previous one. Progress (movement forward) and change are quite clear, and what is expected are technical details of mutual transactions. CONTAINER metaphor is of frequency comparable to that of MOTION and it corresponds with the notion of a unique zone. Unlike within the European Union, Mercosur's aim is not to have many supranational bodies, rather, apart from provisions, there is an arbitrary settlement of disputes. However, as the necessity has arisen, Consejo del Mercado Común is a supreme body of Mercosur founded in 1991 and consists of Foreign and Economy Ministers. Others are Grupo Mercado Común, an executive body; Parliament, constituted in 2005 and functioning since 2007 and others.

Mercosur is a customs union created through the Treaty of Asunción by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Treaty's primary objective is the integration of the four countries through the free circulation of goods, services and production means (work and capital), establishment of common tariffs, common trade policy, coordination of macroeconomic y sectoral⁹⁰ policies and legislation in relevant areas to strengthen the integration processes and ensure competitive conditions within the four countries.

Protocolo de Ouro Preto, as has already been written, is an additional protocol to the Asunción Treaty, approved at the presidential summit of the four countries in Ouro Preto. There, the Mercosur's institutional structure

⁹⁰ international trade, agriculture, industry, fiscal and monetary sectors, flow of capital and goods, customs, transport and communications

was established as well as basic instruments of the common trade policy, constituting the free trade zone and the customs union, accompanied by external tariffs.⁹¹

*LULA DA SILVA - DISCOURSE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (AUGUST 2010)*⁹²

Table 8 - LULA DA SILVA - DISCOURSE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (AUGUST 2010)

WEIGHT (10)	<p>todos éramos contra a Alca, todos, mas o que nós queríamos era fortalecer o potencial de similaridade que nós tínhamos e que não era explorado, resolvemos fortalecer o Mercosul, nós temos energia, nós temos petróleo, nós temos gás, nós temos possibilidade hídrica como nenhuma parte do mundo tem, nós temos tudo que o mundo precisa, vai se dar muito forte em Cancún, essa discussão vai se dar, outra vez, Cristina, com os Estados Unidos, ela vai se dar, outra vez, com a Europa, e ela vai se dar com a China, nós pudéssemos construir o acordo entre Mercosul e União Europeia, a Universidade Latino-Americana, com professor latino-americano, com currículo latino-americano,</p>
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⁹¹ accessible at: Argentina.gov. ar, last access April 2011

⁹² accessible at: www.itamaraty.gov.br, Discurso do Presidente da República, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, durante sessão de abertura da 39ª Reunião de Cúpula do Mercosul e sessão de trabalho

		com aluno latino-americano vai ser lá a reunião, no Brasil nós aprovamos uma grande política de inovação tecnológica, resultados econômicos do Mercosul demonstram
STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PEOPLE (5)		resultados econômicos do Mercosul demonstram, que são os cinco países que vendem mais armas no mundo, são os países que têm bomba nuclear, discutir com eles na ONU, ainda vou discutir com eles no G-20
MOTION IN TOTAL (20 + 4)	MOTION (17+ 3)	eu queria dizer que os avanços do Mercosul, foram avanços extraordinários, movimento social, movimento sindical, que os países mais pobres pudessem ter ajuda para desenvolverem e se transformarem em países minimamente competitivos com os países ricos, que poderiam continuar falando na Alca, leva anos para mostrar, pegar os avanços de integração, pegar os avanços da interação política, há um processo de confiabilidade, que não havia dez anos atrás ou que não havia oito anos atrás, pode transitar de lado a lado, nós conseguimos são visíveis, conseguimos assinar um documento, eles vão continuar... a Rússia vai continuar fazendo a usina nuclear do Irã, a Argentina... o Chile vai... a China vai continuar cuidando do petróleo lá, que nós ainda temos muito, muito o que fazer

		<p>NEGATIVE éramos acusados de não querer que o Brasil se desenvolvesse, éramos acusados de não perceber a importância dos Estados Unidos para o desenvolvimento da América do Sul, Mercosul não vai para a frente</p>
	<p>CHANGE (3)</p>	<p>nós ganhamos as eleições, Kirchner e ganhou as eleições, abrir mão do direito de continuarmos</p>
	<p>CONTAINER (32+1)</p>	<p>grande tema da campanha era se iria prevalecer a implantação da Alca ou não, na Alca não tinha nenhuma proposta condescendente, União Europeia, em que países como Portugal, Grécia, Espanha, receberam ajuda financeira para desenvolver os seus países, Estados Unidos falavam mais em Alca, ninguém falava mais em Alca, Mercosul, em que os presidentes participavam, entre os nossos companheiros governantes, ministros e o povo em geral, nós ficamos ansiosos 2x, ficava nervoso, e muito mais reuniões do que ele tinha na época, aprovamos a entrada da Venezuela no Mercosul, para que outros países façam parte do Mercosul, nós que temos milhões de quilômetros de fronteira seca, mundo poderia viver em paz, eu fui à Palestina, eu fui a Israel, tive uma conversa, eu fui ao Irã, tinham conversado com, com o Grupo de</p>

CONTAINER IN TOTAL (68)		Viena, grupo composto por Rússia, Estados Unidos e França, para ser um acordo, ter sanção para as empresas argentinas, para as empresas brasileiras, mas não deve ter sanção para as empresas russas, não deve ter sanção para as empresas americanas, não deve ter sanção para as empresas chinesas, dividir para reinar, em política, um lugar tranquilo no Planeta, um bloco político, econômico, social e cultural
	CLUB (5)	nós temos energia, nós temos petróleo, nós temos gás, nós temos possibilidade hídrica como nenhuma parte do mundo tem, nós temos tudo que o mundo precisa, sobretudo para dar exemplo nessa discussão sobre a questão do clima
	BODY (4)	na minha visão, dor de cabeça, obviamente, para a frente
	BUILDING (13)	construir uma proposta do Mercosul, construir uma proposta da Unasul, construir o acordo entre Mercosul e União Europeia, fazerem o acordo União Europeia, escola que está sendo construída, uma base funcionando, sentar à mesa de negociação, que eu quero ajudar a construir a paz, a gente não constroi a paz no mundo, a gente não constroi a tranquilidade, senão a gente não constroi o Mercosul, não constroi a Unasul, não constroi o Parlamento do

		Mercosul
<p style="text-align: center;">HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (14)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">TIME (14)</p>	<p>já faz muito tempo, sou o presidente que mais tempo está exercendo a Presidência, está na oposição oito anos é uma eternidade, u tenho que sair para contemplar um pouco a oposição que quer disputar uma eleição, depois de algum tempo, Kirchner e ganhou as eleições, em 200 anos de independência, demorou quatro anos para aprovar, cinco meses pela frente para, em dezembro, um agradecimento à lealdade que nós tivemos nesses anos de convivência, em dois minutos de conversa, depois de 18 horas, mas faz muito tempo que nós não fazemos guerra entre nós</p> <p>estava todo mundo feliz com o conteúdo e a qualidade das decisões, eu sou decano do Mercosul, u tenho que sair para contemplar um pouco a oposição que quer disputar uma eleição, direito soberano de cada país fazer acordo com, das decisões que nós tomamos quando resolvemos fortalecer o Mercosul, duas reuniões entre a América do Sul e o continente africano, membros permanentes do Conselho de Segurança, eu fiquei muito decepcionado, um companheiro nosso, assessor, nós vamos fazer uma discussão profunda sobre isso, Uribe ficou meio nervoso, que é meu amigo, não pode ter</p>

		supremacia de um país sobre outro país, manter relações privilegiadas
NATURE (3)		clima de San Juan ... permitiu que o Mercosul avançasse nisso, do clima que era o Mercosul, clima de instabilidade
EQUILIBRIUM (5)		em igualdade de condições, fortalecer o potencial de similaridade, mesmo direito de ter acesso a todos bens materiais, sabendo que não pode ter supremacia de um país sobre outro país, sabendo que o Parlamento não pode aprovar uma coisa que fira a soberania de um outro país, era um direito soberano de cada país fazer acordo com os Estados Unidos, fazer acordo com a Europa, fazer acordo com o Japão

Source: Author

In his discourse at the presidential summit of Mercosur, on the verge of his leaving the office, President Lula da Silva concentrated not as much on Mercosur as the South American integration, Union of South American Nations (Unasur), and Brazilian position in the world as well as the global political situation. He mentioned a dispute between Columbia and Venezuela over Columbian military bases used by the United States to fight drug traffickers. The row had an impact on nearly the whole of Latin America, as Bolivia and Ecuador with their populist leftist presidents supported Hugo Chávez, and Ecuador even broke diplomatic relations with Columbia. Peru, Chile and Brazil, on the other hand, aimed to settle the dispute. In this dispute, Brazil clearly pursued its role of a regional hegemon and

coordinator. WEIGHT metaphor is present in this Brazilian discourse (10) as the topics concern Brazil's set objectives in the region.

President Lula, however, was repeatedly criticized for putting ideology over the national interests. Brazil, under his office, focused on South – South bonds, especially with South Africa, India and some Arabian countries, more than following the path of increased trade as Lula's predecessor Cardoso did. Most of Brazilian trade is now with developing countries. Venezuela, together with other countries of the region having governments on the far left, was offered membership in Mercosur. Although Lula's second term was in this concern more pragmatic,⁹³ Latin American integration in Brazilian direction is not based on rules but on this sympathy for left-wing governments. The purpose is obvious again, it is Brazil, who is a regional hegemon, not the United States. However, the utility of Unasur and its first project, defend council intended to defuse conflicts, proved useless so far. For Brazilian armed forces, the threat is neither the United States nor Colombia, it is Hugo Chávez who threatens.

In the domestic area, President Lula managed to strengthen Brazilian middle class. Many people were able to raise themselves from poverty due to his Zero Hunger programme, cautiously-designed governmental subsidies. For this, Lula became immensely popular in his own country. When he secured support of his own people, he immediately started to promote increased economic integration and own solutions to social weaknesses throughout the

⁹³ A bold Brazilian attempt to integrate South America has run into difficulty. Critics at home say Brazil should put national interest over leftist ideology. In: *The Economist*, Aug 13th 2009, available at www.economist.com, last access 14 April, 2011

region. His tour included visits to Mercosur partners Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and to several members of the Andean Community, made up of Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, as well as to Chile. Lula's frequently expressed intention to create a stronger, united South America was very well received, although it intentionally left out Mexico and the United States in particular.

The strongest metaphor in the discourse is CONTAINER (68 + 1 negative). It is the strongest in Brazilian discourse as well as in the text of the Treaty of Asunción. For CLUB metaphor only one expression was found, but this metaphor has the only representation in Bill Clinton's speech on NAFTA. It is interesting that both nations' hegemonic ambitions are reflected here. CONTAINER metaphors focus on the territory, boundaries and supranational approach. In the European integration it is federalism and constitutionalism.

Can any of these theories be applicable to the Southern Cone integration? Federalism is one of the oldest theories of European integration. After the Second World War, federalism had an impact on formation of the Council of Europe and European Communities. It is best defined in the contrast to the unitary state, however, opposite interpretation of a strong centralized government, is implemented in the United States. Although in the 1970s considered obsolete, neofederalism occurs in the 1980s where federation is the aim of integration. Sometimes it is seen as a combination of shared and self rules. Mercosur, although modelled on the European union, avoids creating excessive number of supranational institutions. With further integration and for the smooth functioning of the bloc, however, such

institutions might become inevitable. Brazil may oppose to formation of supranational institutions in order to remain control over the process, on the other hand, as this metaphor is quite strong in Lula's speech, dubious explanation of federalism as an alliance in Europe and as a centralized state in the United States may be reflected in Brazil's desire to strengthen its role as a regional hegemon.

Metaphor presumed from Brazil's objectives and evidenced in most Mercosur discourses, is WEIGHT. WEIGHT, nevertheless, is different from the GRID metaphor found in US discourses. WEIGHT originates from inner strength, influence and respect, and is recognized and accepted by others, whereas GRID means imposing rules from a higher authority. WEIGHT, however, is not directed only outside the bloc but inside, as well. Well-being through economic integration, democracy and human rights respect is stressed in all Mercosur discourses.

Comparably strong metaphor is MOTION and CHANGE (24), and HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (14). MOTION shows the progress which has been reached and even better future (avanços extraordinários). In EQUILIBRIUM (5), any country's supremacy and the right to act according its own interests is included. It is opposed, however, to the developed world's attempts to dictate the policy and direction (E nós não queremos manter privilégios, nós queremos conquistar o direito do nosso povo ter o mesmo direito que eles já têm.). Brazil's aspirations to be a regional leader are seen in the analysis.

Lula's effort to win the support for a South American Free Trade Area focused on convincing his neighbours of inequality included in US trade

policies. On several occasions he expressed opposition to US policies that are detrimental to South America, namely US farm subsidies and the early 2002 imposition of steel tariffs. Despite the US promises that these issues would be addressed in the context of FTAA, Lula da Silva remained unconvinced, particularly because of the powers of fast track authority, which were granted to President Bush by the US Congress in 2001. Fast track authority allowed him to proceed rapidly with trade negotiations, eliminating much of the bureaucracy and facilitating talks. However, the fast track authority also imposed restrictions on textiles, steel and agriculture, the most heavily protected areas in the United States and the areas in which Brazil and several other Latin American countries have substantive comparative advantages. It was the example of 2002 Farm Bill under which US farmers received subsidies, contrary to the previous agreements that were intended to “level the playing field“ with the developing world.⁹⁴

Lula’s strategy to fight with the US protectionism was to reach Mercosur’s common position in negotiations on the Free Trade Area of the Americas. While initially there were substantial differences among the Mercosur member states over how quickly to move toward integration in the Americas (and particularly with the United States), later they presented a more united strategy in the negotiations. Brazil was much more reserved about the possibilities of a hemispherewide free trade area than Argentina, where the business community and state officials hoped for eventual negotiations with

⁹⁴ Runge, Ford C.: The Farm Bill Fom Hell, The National Interest, Summer 2003, www.nationalinterest.org

NAFTA. After the Mexican peso crisis and the US Congress refusal to authorize fast-track negotiations for an FTAA, however, Mercosur began working on a common position in the FTAA negotiations and Brazilian views to deepen the Mercosur instead of hemispheric integration, tended to dominate in the process. Moreover, Brazil was able to persuade the Mercosur partners to be sceptical of an FTAA as well. It was obvious at the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Free Trade Area of the Americas in Belo Horizonte, Brazil where all 34 nations negotiating the FTAA were represented. The United States maintained the desire to finalize the integration even without fast-track negotiating authority. But as Cardoso noted in a radio interview, without fast-track authority, “the negotiations for the implementation of an FTAA are only imaginary“ and other countries, particularly those in the Andean Pact - Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela - were coming closer to trade agreements with Mercosur.⁹⁵ However, some Latin American countries viewed the absence of US fast track negotiating authority as an advantage for further negotiations as it enhanced the negotiating position of the Latin American countries, and Brazil hoped that Mercosur’s potential weight in negotiations might draw other Latin American countries into its orbit as a way to strengthen their own positions and to achieve their goals through greater unity.⁹⁶ In Latin America, *desarrollista* (developmentalist) position viewing trade liberalization as a complex and gradual process prevailed over a more neoliberal and free-market one associated with those

⁹⁵ Cason, Jeffrey: On the Road to Southern Cone Economic Integration. In: *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 1, Spring, 2000, pp. v-42

⁹⁶ Mark, Imogen: 1998. MERCOSUR Sees Its Star Rising. In: *Financial Times*, London, April 20, 1998, p. 3.

favouring NAFTA membership.⁹⁷ The former vision, however, is somewhat more protectionist which can be seen in metaphor analysis where CONTAINER metaphor is dominant and WEIGHT present. Although Mercosur countries decided to work together and share markets and resources, Brazilian dominance prevailed. Given the country's economic importance and the other members' dependence on its market, Brazil can act unilaterally when its interests require it to do so. It does not necessarily have to consult before acting, though it frequently does. "Although some economic policymakers (particularly in Argentina) might have preferred to move in the direction of NAFTA and tighter integration with the US market, in given circumstances, the position was not viable. As a consequence, the main road for Mercosur countries was the Brazilian vision of negotiating trade liberalization slowly (if at all), strategically, and with as much bloc unity as possible."⁹⁸

CRISTINA FERNÁNDEZ DE KIRCHNER - DISCOURSE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (DECEMBER 2009)⁹⁹

Table 9 - CRISTINA FERNÁNDEZ DE KIRCHNER - DISCOURSE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (DECEMBER 2009)

		has concitado la atención mediática, estamos
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⁹⁷ Teubal, Miguel: MERCOSUR, Argentina, and Regional Integration Processes. In: International Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 26, No. 4, 1998, pp. 56 - 70

⁹⁸ Pefia, Felix: New Approaches to Economic Integration in the Southern Cone. In: Washington Quarterly, 1995, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 113-22

⁹⁹ accessible at: <http://www.microlex.com.ar/foro/internacional-publico/37-discurso-de-la-presidenta-cristina-fernandez-de-kirchner-en-la-cumbre-del-mercosur.html>

<p style="text-align: center;">STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (28)</p>		<p>ante un mundo donde lo, mediático está vinculado a intereses económicos, la postura que ha tenido la República Argentina, no respeto a las instituciones, de hacer honor a la historia, el mundo marchaba, cifras parecidas podrían darse, vino la crisis, el Mercosur no ha podido lograr, el Mercosur no ha podido construir, una crisis de esta naturaleza, las carencias se evidencian, otro de los temas planteados, tenemos mayores responsabilidades las economías de mayor volumen, el gran peso específico de esa Unión Europea lo llevó adelante Alemania, la acumulación de su capital permitió, ver en que necesitamos atacar las asimetrías, fueron a construir mejor poder, el cumpleaños de Mercosur, poder arivar a un acuerdo con la Unión Europea, asumir la titularidad, si es que tenemos acuerdo, debemos tener la idea, hemos tenido momentos difíciles, en momentos que parecía casi imposible, la Organización de Estados Americanos es un poco más elástica, la Organización de Estados Americanos la /cláusula democrática/ tiene la /cláusula democrática/ del Mercosur no se elástica, es firme y convincente</p>
		<p>durante el desarrollo de la reunión, durante la vigencia de la doctrina de la seguridad nacional, para poder desarrollarnos, de</p>

MOTION IN TOTAL (13)	MOTION (11)	integración de nuestras economías, desarrollar un potente comercio intrazona, hoy y antes de la crisis, desarrollar su principal actividad, encontrar los caminos que nos ayuden superar asimetrías, si (asimetrías) siguen profundizando, se van a convertir en problemas francamente insolvables, cumplir una deuda que tiene 23 años
	CHANGE (2)	no podemos hablar sobre la prensa como en los tiempos de Mariano Moreno, acostumbrémonos a este nuevo escenario
CONTAINER IN TOTAL (45)	CONTAINER (17)	en definitiva, en primer término, en un mundo bipolar, en un mundo globalizado, en un crecimiento, en un progreso que parecía indetenible, en materia de crecimiento, ha puesto en evidencia, en Europa fundamentalmente, deberíamos trabajar fuertemente en esto, teniendo en cuenta, en el Mercosur, en esto hay un compromiso inflexible, esto es en síntesis lo de siempre, un volúmen al capítulo de Política y Democracia, de los grupos empresariales mediáticos, preservar la paz en la región
	BODY (11)	dejar de lado, obviamente, frente a lo que constituye, el comunicado donde ratificamos a esa postura, una postura diferente, frente al golpe, si uno mira la Unión Europea, un atraso frente a los socios europeos, paz y democracia van de la mano, no podría estar sentado,

		dudas frente a situaciones
	BUILDING (17)	condenar ... lo que constituye, construir un espacio de carácter comercial principalmente, abordar construcciones más profundas, en las cadenas de valor, tenemos que llevarlo adelante para construir un mercado, esta es una de las claves, cosa que nosotros no hemos podido construir, trabajar en construir un mercado potente, esto es clave 2x, la lógica de la Unión Europea, grandes gigantes de la economía mundial, construir una zona ... sin cerrarnos al mundo, va a exigir una discusión más profunda, ir cerrando los capítulos, un llamado a construir en la región, abriría posibilidades, no hay posibilidades de construcción de paz
HUMAN RELATIONS /FAMILY (11)		felicitar obviamente, felicitar también, la gran felicitación es para el pueblo uruguayo para su madurera cívica, para su educación en el exacto sentido que la palabra tiene, alguien puede tener una gran formación y sin embargo no entender nada, alguien puede no tener una gran formación y sin embargo entender todo, eso tiene un resguardo a crisis exogenas, la necesidad de tener la misma coherencia, con la coherencia, no respeto a la voluntad popular, de carácter comercial
NATURE (3)		en materia de, todo estallaría por los aires, gobiernos surgidos de democracias plenas y

		legales
TECHNOLOGY (1)		mecanismos de adaptación competitiva
EMPHASIS (4)		no solamente a quienes han resultado electos, sino esencialmente a su pueblo; no es una felicitación que tenga que va únicamente ..., sino esencialmente ...; no solamente de carácter nacional sino internacional; no reconocemos la legalidad de los comicios ni tampoco a quienes han surgido obviamente de la ilegalidad
WAR (4)		bombardeo mediático, hemos luchado contra, (crisis) nos ha planteado ... un gran desafío, estuvimos al borde ... de una guerra
EQUILIBRIUM (2)		las asimetrías no se van a superar nunca desde el plano de lo estrictamente comercial, las asimetrías solamente se superan desde un plano de valor agregado

Source: Author

Neither WEIGHT metaphor nor BRICK was confirmed in this discourse. The strongest metaphor in Cristina Fernández's speech is CONTAINER (45), next one is STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (28), and then MOTION (13). PERSONS metaphor is here surprisingly strong. Another new thing here is the structure of EMPHASIS. WAR is present here, contrary to most Mercosur speeches.

TABARÉ VÁZQUEZ – PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR
(DECEMBER 2005)

Table 10 - TABARÉ VÁZQUEZ – PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (DECEMBER 2005)¹⁰⁰

WEIGHT (11)		<p>más y mejor MERCOSUR 3x, es posible desarrollar la competitividad y la integración productiva, la consolidación y el desarrollo de este proceso de integración, es tiempo de MERCOSUR, la fortaleza de tales relaciones fortalece también el MERCOSUR, no hay MERCOSUR sin derechos humanos, no hay auténtica integración sin ciudadanía, derecho de nuestros pueblos a vivir dignamente, es posible desarrollar la competitividad y la integración productiva</p>
	MOTION (29)	<p>de este proyecto de integración, es también un proceso integrador, al asumir la presidencia, como marcha, como seguimos, hacia donde, por qué está donde y como está, corre el riesgo de convertirse en el proceso cómodo, los procesos de integración no son espontáneos ni sencillos, pueden ser mucho más lentos, intereses nacionales e integración regional, integración cultural, los avances, disfuncionalidades y bloques constables, no se han alcanzado todas las metas, es nuestro deber intentar hacerlo realidad, avanzar hacia el no es una marcha en</p>

¹⁰⁰ accessible at:

http://archivo.presidencia.gub.uy/xxix_mercosur/discursos/091201.htm

MOTION IN TOTAL (33)		vano, es posible desarrollar la competitividad y la integración productiva, es posible conjugar integración, producción y medioambiente, los procesos de integración, desarrollar una institucionalidad, no hay integración sin verdad, integramos este ámbito, avanzar en términos más y mejor Mercosur, seguir contando contigo, llevar adelante el proceso de integración de los pueblos del Mercosur, renovemos el impulso y redoblemos la tarea
	FLOW (1 + 1)	la libre circulación de personas dentro del Bloque regional NEGATIVE los procesos de integración no son espontáneos
	CHANGE (2)	apertura de nuevos mercados, corre el riesgo de convertirse
	CONTAINER (9)	en primer lugar, en estrecha relación con lo anterior, ni la dilución de su identidad, Mercosur no es una jaula de oro, tampoco se ... una reunión protocolar con foto de familia cada seis meses, articulación en materia de defensa, no hay futuro sin memoria, tiene una enorme potencialidad, en tanto proyecto y proceso
	BUILDING (5)	por ser la casa de MERCOSUR es la casa de ustedes, en torno a esta mesa, lo que no puede haber sobre esta mesa son indefiniciones, definiciones por debajo de la mesa o definiciones lejos de esta mesa, el Mercosur se construye todos los días

<p>CONTAINER IN TOTAL (23)</p>	<p>TIME (9)</p>	<p>es tiempo de MERCOSUR, que hemos hecho durante este semestre, en los primeros nueve meses de gestión del actual gobierno, referencia durante nuestra reunión de junio próximo pasado, habíamos fijado para este periodo, durante el mismo [periodo] se han procesado avances, un instante en ese proyecto de integración, para sobre todo ante la vida, no estoy desconociendo la importancia y el legado de las anteriores</p>
<p>HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (35)</p>		<p>invitados especiales a esta reunión, nos permitirá responder dicha pregunta, formularnos otras interrogantes que también debemos contestar, sin interrogantes removedoras no hay reflexiones inteligentes, sin espíritu crítico no hay propuestas concretas, sensaciones y reflexiones que se enmarcan, es por respeto a ustedes, al cuerdo que nos une, por lealtad a nuestra condición de hermanos, permítanme decir algo, quienes tenemos la responsabilidad institucional, los acuerdos y desacuerdos que existan en este ámbito, cuya responsabilidad, es reitero, ineludible e intransferible, hermanos latinoamericanos integrantes del Mercosur, permítanme recordar lo que ya sabemos, el Mercosur somos todos quienes integramos en calidad de socios (4x), el Mercosur somos todos sus socios, todos tenemos el derecho y la responsabilidad, la</p>

		<p>fortaleza de tales relaciones, son asuntos de sus cuatro socios, y ojalá mañana puedan ser de cinco, seis, siete o más socios, el Mercosur es vocación que impresa y convoca, constatar acuerdos y adoptar resoluciones, las hermanas repúblicas de Chile, Bolivia y Venezuela, de otros países hermanos, no hay excusas para la soledad o la lejanía entre los latinoamericanos, no hay Mercosur sin derechos humanos, no estamos condenados a fragmentarnos, unidos hermanos somos más, que ustedes me ayuden a demostrar, nuestro respaldo político al proceso democrático, de la fe de esos hombres</p>
<p>EVERYDAY LIFE (2)</p>		<p>si no renovamos diariamente el compromiso de trabajo, es compromiso cotidiano en beneficio de nuestras naciones</p>
<p>TECHNOLOGY (3)</p>		<p>el funcionamiento de la comisión, la puesta en marcha del acuerdo, sistema de integración</p>
<p>NATURE (5)</p>		<p>el ámbito institucional donde deben plantearse los asuntos, preservación de recursos naturales y respeto al medio ambiente, aunque el horizonte sea inalcanzable, otros ámbitos de distinta naturaleza, ver el horizonte más allá de las montañas</p>
<p>EQUILIBRIUM (2)</p>		<p>ni la renuncia a su propia política de relaciones bilaterales, las mujeres y los hombres de nuestras países sean iguales ante la ley</p>

+ 2)		pese a las asimetrías existentes, una cosa es la asimetría y otra la desigualdad (negative)
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Source: Author

WEIGHT metaphor is comparable to other Mercosur discourses (7). HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY metaphor together with EVERYDAY LIFE is the strongest (37), followed by MOTION and CHANGE (33 altogether). CONTAINER (9) is not very strong in this discourse, however, TIME metaphor is more significant here (9), compared to other discourses. BUILDING (5), belonging to CONTAINER metaphors as well as TIME and BODY (0), is not very strong, either. Should CONTAINER metaphor be a reflection of supranational approach¹⁰¹, Mercosur structure does have some supranational bodies but tries to avoid ‘excessivity’ of such organizations within the European Union. Reasons for strong HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY metaphor appear to be political. President Vázquez is likely to be willing to increase the feeling of unity among Mercosur countries, especially with other countries making an effort to join Mercosur, and the impact was not so much on the contrast between Mercosur and other countries, on CONTAINER metaphor. Both Paraguay and Uruguay still feel resentment for some of the new members. Paraguay has yet to ratify Venezuela’s entrance into the group, which has caused tension within the bloc and brought its membership status into question. After becoming a full member, Venezuela would try to change Mercosur in a more political direction. Brazil and

¹⁰¹ Drulák, Petr: Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration. In: European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 12 (4), p. 511

Argentina are attracted by access to Venezuela's energy supplies and access to the Caribbean.¹⁰²

*FERNANDO LUGO – PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (DECEMBER 2010)*¹⁰³

Table 11 - FERNANDO LUGO – PRESIDENTIAL MEETING OF MERCOSUR (DECEMBER 2010)

WEIGHT (8)		al MERCOSUR a su fortalecimiento, su consolidación, fortalecer el Mercosur, un mayor bienestar para nuestros pueblos, un medio efectivo para crear las condiciones para transformar las estructuras económicas, generar más y mejores empleos y una mejor calidad de vida para nuestros pueblos, el camino de la construcción comunitaria funcional a los intereses de nuestras naciones y, por sobre todo, al de nuestros pueblos, el bien común y la equidad social en nuestros pueblos, llevar adelante los planes que nos hemos trazado en lo social y ciudadano
STATES, ORGANIZATIONS ARE PERSONS (5)		el Paraguay está construyendo, que los beneficios de la integración puedan llegar a nuestros pueblos, el FOCEM ha demostrado, el Mercosur ha experimentado, institución llamada a ser la representación genuina
		está construyendo con mucha fuerza y

¹⁰² Mercosur concerned about Venezuela's adaptation. In: Daily News, 15 February 2007, www.english.eluniversal.com

¹⁰³ accessible at: <http://www.presidencia.gov.py/v1/?p=48674>

<p>MOTION IN TOTAL (56)</p>	<p>MOTION (39)</p>	<p>convicción, la integración de nuestra región, procurará un rumbo seguro hacia el futuro, desarrollo social sostenido, reiterar el fuerte compromiso, el estado de derecho, con grandes esfuerzos hemos alcanzado, la salida adecuada, nuestra voluntad de seguir apostando al Mercosur, las metas que perseguimos todos, un desarrollo económico y social inclusivo, durante casi 20 años, proceso de integración, profundizar las dimensiones políticas, el desarrollo de la dimensión social, escenario integrador, estamos desarrollando, movilización de la sociedad civil, la extensión de derechos, nos sentimos cada vez más como ciudadanos del Mercosur, destinatario final de las ventajas, agregando valor y productividad, para llevar adelante este emprendimiento, desarrollo en el camino hacia la concreción de sus objetivos, durante la Presidencia ... seguiremos impulsando, la profundización del proceso, daremos énfasis a la consolidación, llevar adelante los planes, evitando superposiciones, que consolidan y profundizan el diálogo político, proseguir con fuerza esta negociación, concluirla en el menos plazo posible, continuaremos trabajando para mejorar su funcionamiento, proceso en su conjunto, no es posible avanzar ... sin, desarrollar con éxito al Mercosur, reafirmar la</p>
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		<p>voluntad de avanzar hacia los objetivos, trataremos de seguir la senda, va a continuar bregando</p>
	<p>CHANGE (17)</p>	<p>coincida con momentos de transformaciones internas, procesos de reorganización, un panorama inédito en mucho tiempo, el inicio de un proceso pujante, para revertir la tendencia histórica, renacer de las esperanzas, un devenir venturoso, transformar las estructuras económicas, impulsado por la voluntad política, que transforme, mediante el cual se impulse el bien común, medio que facilite, encarar la transformación, transformar al Paraguay en productor eficiente, no sólo un instrumento de integración ... sino que se ha convertido en una, herramienta de la integración real, el inicio de importantes proyectos, avances extraordinarios impensables un tiempo atrás</p>
	<p>CONTAINER</p>	<p>momentos de transformaciones internos, procesos de reorganización, en el ámbito internacional, en función de los objetivos nacionales de soberanía, en nuestra América, en mucho tiempo, en la esperanza, en nuestra región, en la convicción de que, acuerdos adoptados en este año, nos ponen en el camino, en materia de integración de nuestros pueblos, en los temas de movilización, acento en la inclusión del pilar ciudadano en los</p>

CONTAINER IN TOTAL (47)	(24)	trabajos de nuestro bloque, en este marco de renovada voluntad integracionista, se ha convertido en una herramienta de la integración, desarrollo en el camino hacia la concreción, los planes que nos hemos trazado en lo social y ciudadano, en el marco de lo dispuesto, en el menor plazo posible, al proceso en su conjunto, avanzar en la construcción de, en todo el tiempo, éxitos en las gestiones
	BUILDING (17)	abiertos a mundo, fundamentalmente, bases primordiales, sin menoscabar los principios fundamentales, servirá de marco de inclusión y participación, no sólo con el fortalecimiento ... sino, pilar ciudadana, foro y caja de resonancia, como el que estamos construyendo, en este marco, un país abierto a las inversiones, en el marco de lo dispuesto, un nuevo marco de relacionamiento, uno de los pilares, tener fortalecido el pilar jurídico, la seguridad jurídica es fundamental, los iniciativas que nos arrimó para fortalecer el Mercosur
	BODY (5)	una mirada de confianza hacia el futuro, de mano de obra, resultados se empiezan a ver, resultados están a la vista, estuvo al frente
		en el ámbito internacional, clima de progreso, clima de confianza, la preservación de la institucionalidad democrática, valores

NATURE (10)		esenciales a la convivencia pacífica, preservar las conquistas, con el ánimo sereno y constructivo, la mera concepción economicista, materia de integración, proyectos viales
TECHNOLOGY (4)		el orden constitucional, el funcionamiento institucional, realizando su funcionamiento, perfeccionar el funcionamiento
HUMAN RELATIONS / FAMILY (21)		condenamos enérgicamente, la paz social, el irrestricto respeto a los derechos humanos, la atención de las inquietudes, las inquietudes populares, renovada voluntad integracionista, queremos contar con la colaboración de nuestros socios, para todos nuestros pueblos, en la hermana república, nuestros hermanos de Centroamérica, que sostentan la concordia y la hermandad en nuestra región, las decisiones acuerdos adoptados en este año, que permita que finalmente, nuestros pueblos se sientan participes de este emprendimiento, formentar el sentido de pertenencia a nuestro proceso, para recibir el aporte, ejemplo de integración, en apoyo a, compromiso profundo, la hermana república, dar seguridad
CORPORATION (15)		nos obliga a trabajar con responsabilidad, eficacia en función de los objetivos, que el Mercosur sea un medio efectivo, beneficiarios de sus logros, ofrece un sistema de integración
		la equidad social en nuestros pueblos, permitirá reducir las asimetrías, la superación

EQUILIBRIUM (4)		de las asimetrías, concretar un acuerdo equilibrado y mutuamente provechoso
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Source: Author

Mercosur origins trace back to 1985 when Presidents Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina and José Sarney of Brazil signed the Argentina - Brazil Integration and Economics Cooperation Programme. For nearly 20 years, Mercosur was just an economic and trade project created by the political will of governments of the four countries. Its aims are similar to those of EU but without creating supranational or autonomous institutions. Paraguay and Uruguay, however, would probably welcome a higher degree of supranational governance, which is opposed by Brazil and Argentina. It is obvious that the mere economic concept limits the possibilities of integration processes as a whole. This may be why NATURE and TECHNOLOGY metaphors are stronger here than in other Mercosur discourses (with the exception of Protocolo de Ouro Preto), 10 and 4, respectively, stressing the smooth and non-problematic functioning of the bloc and its transactions (perfeccionar el funcionamiento, clima de progreso, clima de confianza, la preservación de la institucionalidad democrática).

Mercosur's purpose is to promote free trade and movement of goods, people, and currency with the ultimate goal of full South American economic integration and unification of the Southern Cone and then all of South America in an economic bloc. MOTION, as the strongest metaphor in the discourse (56), out of it CHANGE is quite significant (17), reflects all the ongoing processes. The founding of the Mercosur Parliament was agreed at

the December 2004 presidential summit. It was supposed to have 18 representatives from each country by 2010. Currently, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru have associate member status. Venezuela signed a membership agreement on 17 June 2006, but, before becoming a full member, its entry was to be ratified by the Paraguayan parliament. The associate members do not enjoy full voting rights or complete access to markets of Mercosur's full members. Of these countries, Bolivia is being considered for full membership. But the decision is complicated by Mercosur's history with Bolivia, as well as the rules for admission. Brazil would like to see Bolivia accepted, in part because of their shared border, as Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim said in an interview with the Financial Times,¹⁰⁴ despite Morález's criticism of Mercosur as a tool benefiting only businessmen and wealthy people.¹⁰⁵ The possibility of full membership for Bolivia may also be problematic because Bolivia's tariffs are actually lower than those of Mercosur, and increasing them would have a significant impact on prices within the country. Mercosur may allow some exemptions to Bolivia to remedy this problem, as Brazil is very interested in having increased access to Bolivian energy resources. However, granting exemptions would anger Uruguay and Paraguay who were not allowed similar alleviations.

¹⁰⁴ Amorim, Celso: Brazil's foreign minister, Interview, Financial Times, 22 February 2007, www.ft.com

¹⁰⁵ Bolivian president vows to reform regional trade block, People's Daily, 18 January 2007, english.people.com.cn/2007

That may be why, compared to other Mercosur discourses, FAMILY metaphor is weaker than in the rest of them (Ouro Preto, again, is an exception). Vásquez uses obligatory phrases about Latin American unity (en la hermana república, nuestros hermanos de Centroamérica), but also talks about cooperation and the necessity to create the real sense of being part of the process (formentar el sentido de pertenencia a nuestro proceso).

CONTAINER is the second strongest metaphor here (47), stressing the territory, boundaries of the bloc and its unity. Uruguay signed a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with the United States with the possibility of trade liberalization and economic relations with the United States. But the signature of a free trade agreement with the United States would have violated Mercosur's charter, which forbids bilateral agreements with nonmember countries and Uruguay could not oppose Brazil. Lula, in his fight against US protectionism, would like to include Chile and Bolivia as full members, as well as the rest of the Andean Community. He could foresee Mercosur's potential as means of unification, and as early as in June 2003, at the group's meeting in Asunción, Paraguay, Brazil presented a comprehensive plan made up of five programmes, the political, social and cultural, the customs union, the common market, the new integration, and the border integration ones. Each programme responded to the current situation and what steps could Mercosur take as an integrated body to address issues and problems. The goals included improving democratic institutions, limiting corruption and improving social conditions. The plan also aimed at strengthening the customs union and expanding the common

market by including new partners and negotiate trade agreements with the European Union, India, South Africa and South Korea. Other plans included creation of directly-elected parliament in place by 2006 to make common policies work, and a joint monetary institute aiming at the common currency creation which was also to be in place by 2006. Also, the June 2003 resolution refused any further special treatment of government. It was a very important step towards greater integration making Uruguay to negotiate trade agreements solely as part of Mercosur, without permission to conclude bilateral treaties. Other agreements among Mercosur members range from debt relief (Brazil recently agreed to renegotiate Paraguay's debt) to trade deals. Argentina has agreed to invest in Venezuelan powdered milk plants in exchange for financial aid to a faltering Argentine milk-producing cooperative. However, the prospects of increased political integration within the organization are still uncertain. In December 2007, Mercosur also signed a free trade agreement with Israel and, since its creation, it has been trying to sign a trade agreement with the European Union but the negotiations are protracted as with so many internal disputes, Mercosur has lost some of its credibility abroad.

2.1.5. CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER 2

Texts of the Treaty of Asunción, Treaty of Ouro Preto and presidential discourses of the respective Mercosur's original members, made at Mercosur meetings were analyzed for metaphors. WEIGHT metaphor was recognized as distinctive for Mercosur's purpose and was confirmed in all Mercosur discourses but two. One of them is the Treaty of Ouro Preto, adding more

details to the structure and functioning of Mercosur, another one is the speech of Argentine President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. WEIGHT metaphor is the strongest in the text of the Treaty of Asunción and Brazilian discourse of Lula da Silva at the Presidential Meeting of Mercosur in 2010 on his leaving the office.

Prevailing metaphor is CONTAINER and MOTION, respectively.

MOTION metaphor is the most frequent in the Treaty of Asunción and Uruguayan discourse which is the latest of all analyzed documents. This may be attributed to elections in some of the member states and new people coming in office.

CONTAINER is dominant in the Treaty of Ouro Preto and speeches of Presidents of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. It is no surprise that Brazil stresses the territory, thus giving the importance to Mercosur in geopolitical terms. It again corresponds with the metaphor of WEIGHT and focus on growing importance of Brazil as a regional leader and Mercosur as a bloc where Brazil plays the most important role. Also, the area as well as influence of Mercosur has been growing with every new member country and every new trade agreement with other countries. Recently, it has been Israel, and Mercosur is trying to reach an agreement with the European Union.

I argue, however, that the WEIGHT metaphor is different from GRID found in US discourses. Although the two countries are rivals in the Western Hemisphere, Brazil aims at South American unity as a counterbalance of the influence of the United States, whereas the United States has historically

considered the Western Hemisphere a sphere of its influence and dominance over it crucial for its strategic interests. Similarly, WEIGHT strives for recognition due to its importance and influence while GRID means imposing rules from outside or from a higher authority. Therefore, Brazil and the United States function on different metaphors and have different objectives in the ongoing integration processes in the Western Hemisphere. The reasons for Brazil’s integration efforts are not purely economic as those of Mexico but strategic ones, similarly to those of the United States. On the other hand, even those strategic interests differ in means and final objectives.

Presumed metaphor of BRICK in Argentine discourses was not evidenced, although WEIGHT was not found in President Fernández’s speech, either. CONTAINER, on the other hand, was strong in her discourse. It is evident, therefore, that though original objectives might have been different, Mercosur has been consolidated and currently functions on the same core metaphors which are WEIGHT and CONTAINER, thus focusing on increasing the bloc’s political influence through extending the territory, and good economic performance.

2.1.6. NAFTA AND MERCOSUR COMPARATIVE TABLE

Table 12 – NAFTA AND MERCOSUR COMPARATIVE TABLE

	NAFTA	US Clinton	Mex	US Obama	Asunción	Our Pre to	Brazil	Argentina	Uruguay	Paraguay
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GRID	6	14		8						
CELL			11							
WEIGHT					10		10		11	8
MOTION	12	69+ 16N	7+ 17	18+ 8N	55	30	20 + 4(N)	13	33	56
CONTAINER	21	28	16+ 42	32	24	31	68	45	23	47
FAMILY	8	18	4+ 25	4	42	37	14	11	35	21
NATURE		7	1+0	4	17	27	3	3	5	10
TECHNOLOGY	4	1	1+0		1	21		1	3	4
WAR		3	0+3	15				4		4
CORPORATION	7	4		1	15	7				15
EQUILIBRIUM	8	1		3	4		5	2		4
EMPHASIS								4		

Source: Author

The only distinctive metaphors are GRID, CELL and WEIGHT. Neither MOTION nor CONTAINER are distinctive as

NAFTA text contains the strongest EQUILIBRIUM metaphor of all analyzed discourses. This suggests that the text of NAFTA does not contain any intentions of further integration and an EQUILIBRIUM OF CONTAINERS (STATES) should be maintained.

FAMILY metaphors present in all discourses. The difference, however, is between Barack Obama's caring PARENT (speak on behalf of, help, protect, etc.), typical for the Democratic party, and Carlos Salinas's GROW UP which means the grow up of a child. Both metaphors, nevertheless, suggest inequality.

PART II

3 US FOREIGN POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

So some extent, the whole continent has a common history and “the relationship has been accompanied by cultural and demographic exchanges which have influenced substantially all of its participants”.¹⁰⁶

Despite all the interconnections, conflicts at the southern border were frequent and continued after the colonies declared their independence from Spain. Later the United States gained by various means Florida and Louisiana, which eventually led to the annexation of Texas and the US – Mexican War. The war influenced the two countries’ mutual relations to these days. While the Americans hardly recollect the mere occurrence of the conflict, for every Mexican it means the death of ‘children heroes’ and unfair conquest of nearly a half of the Mexican territory.¹⁰⁷ Nowadays, however, Hispanic immigrants seem to ‘be returning’ to these ‘stolen’ territories.

For most of its history, the United States has been a multicultural country with dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. According to Huntington, in the 21st century, the US may turn into “culturally divided Anglo-Hispanic society with two national languages“. Mexican immigration has the nature of “demographic reconquest ... and the border between the United States and

¹⁰⁶ Latin America-U.S. Relations, Houghton Mifflin Companion to US History. Accessible at www.answers.com/topic/latin-america-u-s-relations, last access 17th December 2003

¹⁰⁷ Pastor, Robert A. and Castaneda, Gorge J.: Limits to Friendship. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. New York, 1988

Mexico wipes off".¹⁰⁸ He further argues that Latin American immigration brings about the hispanization of the United States, a shift in social, linguistic and economic customs and, consequently, the development of "Anglo – Hispanic society". He complains that the proximity of Latin American countries, number of immigrants and different direction of immigration¹⁰⁹ caused little need for Hispanic assimilation, unlike immigration from other countries. The white Anglo-Saxon culture has always been used to the fact that the immigrants naturally took over American values and life style as the best option. With this idea of the United States shining at the top of the mountain as an example for other countries, the expectation could never have been different. Since the beginning of its history, the Americans have seen their country as managed by higher principles than were those selfish ones of the Old World. The United States was taken as a mould for less lucky people in other countries. Therefore, its intentions could never be egoistic.¹¹⁰ Eventually, the belief in this manifest destiny turned into conviction that the clue to overall prosperity lies in the success of American style. And this has been the leading principle of the US behaviour throughout its history towards other nations, particularly the 'less developed' ones, such as Latin American and Caribbean regions.

¹⁰⁸ Huntington, Samuel P.: *Kam kráčíš, Ameriko?* Rybka Publishers, Praha 2005. pp. 226 – 227. Translation by Radovan Baroš from *Who Are We? – The Challenges to America's National Identity*, Simon and Schuster, New York 2004

¹⁰⁹ Normally, immigration to the United States is related to the Statue of Liberty which was the first thing the passenger approaching the country have seen for ages. Huntington, p. 227

¹¹⁰ Kissinger, Henry: *Potřebuje Amerika zahraniční politiku?* Jiří Buchal – BB art, Praha 2002, p. 193 – 196. Translation by Michael Žantovský, from: *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* Simon and Schuster, New York 2001

Historically, the United States differs from the countries of Europe. Being located far from Europe's conflicts, between two oceans, the United States refused to participate in the games of power European countries practiced. Considering the balance of power a 'dirty' system, the United States wanted to serve as an example for the rest of the world with its democratic system and the one motivated by higher principles than those of Europe. The country was persuaded that democratic system as a system of people can never be selfish and as a very special one should be extended to the rest of the world. The only question for the United States was whether to intervene abroad to spread those universal principles, to fulfil the 'manifest destiny'. For some time, the US decided not to intervene in the balance of power in Europe and serve only as an example to be followed. When Spanish colonies declared independence from Spain, however, and there was still danger that this state might be reverted by European countries, the United States acted but only after the purchase of Florida from Spain was confirmed.

In 1823 President James Monroe refused European intervention in the US affairs in the Western Hemisphere and the region was declared to be within the US sphere of influence. Western Hemispheric Idea of hemispheric cooperation, however, existed even before the establishment of Latin American nations. It was not only geographic proximity which made this cooperation desirable, but also republican values in contrast to European feudal systems, and their seek for security, "the realization that the world as a whole was not especially hospitable to nontyrannical societies. At the end of Napoleonic Wars (1814), the European powers were keen not only on

keeping a balance-of-power system, but also on conquering or reconquering territories in the Americas“.¹¹¹ Such threat was formidable for newly-born republics of Latin America which generally welcomed the Monroe Doctrine as a guarantee of protection for their nations: “We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety“.¹¹² Likewise the United States, Latin America at that time (probably with the exception of Argentina) decided to turn away from Europe, mostly for security reasons. Therefore, England on its own will, and Spain involuntarily, gave up their engagement in the Western Hemisphere. Former Spanish colonies, however, failed to reach any form of integration, although this was their first integration attempt. The United States welcomed Latin American disintegration and even prevented the establishment of a common market.¹¹³

Isolationism of the 19th century strengthened the feeling that US values and institutions are universally applied, and as superior will be sooner or later accepted by the rest of the world. Therefore, the United States believed itself to be morally superior to other countries. Optimism and belief in future and no necessity to compromise formed the prism through which the country saw itself. “If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual

¹¹¹ Corrales, Javier and Feinberg, Richard E.: Regimes of Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, Interests, and Intellectual Traditions. In: International Studies Quarterly (1993) 43, pp. 3 - 4

¹¹² Monroe, James: Seventh Annual Message (Monroe Doctrine), December 2, 1823

¹¹³ Latin America-U.S. Relations, Houghton Mifflin Companion to US History. Accessible at www.answers.com/topic/latin-america-u-s-relations, last access 17th December 2003

state at the close of our Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it ... It is unnecessary to treat here of the vast improvement made in the system itself by the adoption of this Constitution and of its happy effects in elevating the character and in protecting the rights of the nation as well as individuals. To what, then, do we owe our blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions.¹¹⁴

Gradually, this view transformed into the belief that those values should be applied to the rest of the world for the world's own benefit, and the United States, despite its isolationism, felt authorized to decide questions of morals in the international relations.

John Quincy Adams, however, warned against pursuing active foreign policy in applying those principles of freedom, independence and peace the United States is so proud of. "Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. ... But she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy. ... She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. She might become the

¹¹⁴ Monroe, James: Seventh Annual Message. December 2, 1823

dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit [America's] glory is not dominion, but liberty. Her march is the march of the mind.¹¹⁵

That may be reason why any cooperation between the United States and Latin American nations ceased for nearly half of the century. "The US remained neutral during the wars of independence in Latin America, was slow in granting recognition to new nations, rejected alliances with Latin Americans, almost missed the 1826 Congress of Panama, and for the next sixty years essentially failed to enforce the No-Transfer Resolution and the Monroe Doctrine."¹¹⁶

After this period of lack of interest for cooperation from the part of the United States, Pan-American Conference was called in 1889 from the US initiative. Later, Panamerican Union was established in order to promote economic and political cooperation. Whereas the United States at that time focused on economic aspects of cooperation enabling them to ensure favourable conditions for their investors and corporations trading in Latin America, those countries became to worry US expansion and interventions in inner affairs of some of the region's countries. Therefore, at the turn of the

¹¹⁵ Adams, John Quincy: Speech to the US House of Representatives on Foreign Policy. June 4, 1821

¹¹⁶ Corrales, Javier and Feinberg, Richard E.: Regimes of Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, Interest, and Intellectual Traditions. In: International Studies Quarterly (1999) 43, p. 5

century, cooperation, however modest, between the United States and Latin American nations came to a dead end.¹¹⁷

President Theodore Roosevelt brought forth the idea of the United States as a super power, instead of seeing the country's sense in mesianism. He saw its destiny in maintaining the balance of power in the world, something the United States had avoided for most of its history. He stated US right to intervene in the Western Hemisphere to defend US interests, and the country started to participate in global affairs as well to maintain balance in its own interest. From that, however, President Roosevelt formulated his amendment of the Monroe Doctrine, and stated US right to intervene anywhere in the Hemisphere. He talked about the Western Hemisphere as the sphere of influence and of US strategic interest for instance in his Second Annual Message on December 2, 1902 when speaking about Cuba: "Cuba lies at our doors, and whatever affects her for good or for ill affects us also. So much have our people felt this that in the Platt amendment we definitely took the ground that Cuba must hereafter have closer political relations with us than with any other power. Thus in a sense Cuba has become a part of our international political system." He expresses US right to lead 'just' wars. "As civilization grows warfare becomes less and less the normal condition of foreign relations. The last century has seen a marked diminution of wars between civilized powers; wars with uncivilized powers are largely mere matters of international police duty, essential for, the welfare of the world. The Monroe Doctrine should be treated as the cardinal feature of

¹¹⁷ Jungbauer, Radomír: *Meziamerický systém*. Svoboda, Praha 1977

American foreign policy; but it would be worse than idle to assert it unless we intended to back it up¹¹⁸.

In this Second Annual Message the metaphor of GRID is explicit: “ It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which with the aid of the Platt amendment Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end.”¹¹⁹ In his definition, the Monroe Doctrine not only aimed at preventing intervention of European powers in the Western

¹¹⁸ Roosevelt, Theodore: Second Annual Message. December 2, 1902

¹¹⁹ Roosevelt, Theodore: Second Annual Message. December 2, 1902

Hemisphere, but also promoted and protected US interests there. During Roosevelt's eight years in office the United States repeatedly intervened in Central America and the Caribbean, recognizing this territory as crucial for US interests. Thus, the notion of US moral superiority became interconnected with the necessity to pursue US goals as beneficial for the United States as well as the rest of the world.

Gradually, "the same principles leading to isolationism in the 19th century led to mesianistic globalism in the 20th century".¹²⁰ Mixture of these ideas and persuasion that the United States has to remain the strongest country in the world led to interventions and 'defending' US interests anywhere in the world. And the belief in its own superiority and necessity to follow own interests for the good of the world have remained the main features of the US policy to present. President Wilson, although idealist, shared the same belief as Theodore Roosevelt of US moral superiority, and saw his chance to transfer the system of the balance of power into a different one where universal principles would lead to non-intervention in other nation's affairs. "We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient... It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation, of all that it has held dear, of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves

¹²⁰ Kissinger, Henry: *Potřebuje Amerika zahraniční politiku?* Jiří Buchal – BB Art, Praha 2002. Translated by Michael Žantovský from *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* Simon and Schuster, New York 2001, pp. 199 - 200

doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and equality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired."¹²¹

The idealistic notion of the US manifest destiny became so connected to the realistic performance of national interest that in US discourses it became inseparable. This mixture of idealism and realism is precisely what the rest of the world sees as hegemonistic policy. US foreign policy became motivated by the domestic policy interests.

As the United States sees itself as an example for the rest of the world, leading and superior, nothing is comparable to its own system. Therefore, the perceived threat and thus need to create relevant defence has generated notion of this huge sphere of influence, Western Hemisphere, mainly Latin America. Throughout the history, the region has served as a security ring against European nations of "so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars", whereas in the United States "the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivaled growth of our faculties and resources".¹²²

Consequences of the World War I affected Latin America as the war destroyed European capital in the region whereas that from the United States soared. This country now produced petroleum and other raw

¹²¹ Wilson, Woodrow: Fifth Annual Message. December 4, 1917

¹²² Madison, James: First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1809

materials there and invested heavily in the region. This enabled the United States to ease the policy of military occupations, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. Nonintervention became the core of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy.¹²³

After the World War II, while the United States started "to see the world in terms of the East – West conflict", Latin America saw it as the "North – South divide" and condemned Pan-Americanism as means of US effort to maintain its hegemony. "Rather than bettering the South, contacts with the North produce ... dependency and hence, chronic underdevelopment."¹²⁴ Therefore, for underdeveloped South, a necessity to receive financial support from industrial North only seemed natural. US post-war policy, however, disappointed Latin America. Marshall Plan aimed at restructuring Europe's "monetary and industrial strength ... but ignored Latin America. The special relationship implied by the Good Neighbour Policy and Pan-American war propaganda were abandoned. The United States turned aside free trade overtures and saw the Latin Americans merely as suppliers of raw materials and tropical foodstuffs. The largest of these countries therefore undertook to restrict imports and to subsidize domestic industries. One result of these measures was to draw foreign companies to invest in Latin America, thereby paradoxically increasing friction with the United States as control of these

¹²³ Latin America-U.S. Relations, Houghton Mifflin Companion to US History. Accessible at www.answers.com/topic/latin-america-u-s-relations, last access 17th December 2003

¹²⁴ Corrales, Javier and Feinberg, Richard E.: Regimes of Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, Interests, and Intellectual Traditions. In: International Studies Quarterly (1993) 43, p. 21

economies appeared to escape even more rapidly from the hands of their citizens.¹²⁵

During the Cold War, covert actions to influence other nations' domestic policies, especially those in Latin America and the Caribbean, became integral part of US policy to pursue their own interests. When the military governments in Latin America discredited themselves in the 1980s and were exchanged by civilian governments, and the nations generally set on a path to democracy, new era of relations with the United States could begin.

I argue, however, that despite this 'democratic environment', the United States did not cease to exercise control over the region and the policy of dominance towards it, only it is pursued through different means.

The collapse of the Soviet Union only fostered US belief in its own superiority. According to this opinion, "the United States has reached optimal political and economic system, therefore, for the rest of the world the only alternative was to accept US political and economic system. The US foreign policy became more and more motivated by domestic policy interests."¹²⁶

Therefore, US prosperity is closely related to behaviour of other countries. "Democracy makes good neighbors, and in an increasingly interconnected world the United States has both the means and the motive to promote the

¹²⁵ Latin America-U.S. Relations, Houghton Mifflin Companion to US History. Accessible at www.answers.com/topic/latin-america-u-s-relations, last access 17th December 2003

¹²⁶ Kissinger, Henry: Potřebuje Amerika zahraniční politiku? Jiří Buchal - BB Art, Praha 2002, p. 205 – 206. Translated from Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Simon and Schuster, New York 2001

democratic process abroad. On the home front, Americans crave a foreign policy grounded, like their nation, in ideal politik as well as realpolitik. The administration has made support of nascent democracies a priority of its diplomacy from Latin America to East Asia, and the returns from South Africa, Haiti, Russia, even Bosnia seem positive. But democratization is a long, hard journey in which elections are only the first step. The United States should encourage new democratic governments through their most fragile phase.¹²⁷

Democracy became so connected to peace and US well-being that even a slightly different system may be perceived as a threat to the nation's security. As John Lewis Gaddis states, such perception might cause "misunderstandings and gross exaggerations of international and domestic dangers as the measure of US security in the world fragmented by nationalism, tribalism, and economic disparity".¹²⁸

With such logic, the United States concentrates on maintaining dominance for its own security. Because the first priority for the United States is to maintain at the cutting edge economic position, the means it generally uses now are free trade agreements, especially those bilateral ones where it is able to better follow its own interests. Domestic policy goals, such as human rights, environmental and labour standards, became integral part of free

¹²⁷ Talbott, Strobe: Democracy and the National Interest. In: Foreign Affairs, November / December 1996

¹²⁸ Gaddis, John Lewis: The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations. Oxford University Press, New York, 1992. In: Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ'l (eds): Metaphorical World Politics, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 6

trade agreements as it is obvious in NAFTA and CAFTA as well as in new generation bilateral free trade agreements.

4 BILATELAR FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS

The United States has always seen the Western Hemisphere as a sphere of its influence and has taken on a special role in the region. However, with the changes in Latin America, exercising this role has been transformed from using military, more or less openly, to following own strategic interests through free trade agreements. In discussing NAFTA, for the United States there were no serious obstacles because of the nations' asymmetric position. In FTAA negotiations, the US could not push forward agenda promoting its strategic interests, therefore the project failed. An expression of the US shift in policy following its goals are therefore bilateral free trade agreements where the United States, again due to its superior position, can bring forth own vision and strategy consistent with both domestic and foreign policy interests. Therefore, I argue that the United States still considers the region a sphere of its influence and has never ceased to see the world through the superior - inferior prism. I further argue that free trade agreements, and especially bilateral ones which the United States has negotiated during the last decade, represent a transformed expression of exercise of US policy of dominance in the Western Hemisphere and pursuing its own strategic interests through the rhetoric of spreading democracy. This interconnection of interests throughout the region with all beams leading to the United States, can thus be used by the US to multiple its influence and pursue its goals in multilateral organizations. One example of such an attempt was US policy in the Security Council prior to the invasion to Iraq.

Discourses of and around US – Chile Free Trade Agreement, CAFTA and US – Colombia Free Trade Agreement were selected for metaphor analysis as the ‘new generation’ agreements as those expressing best US interests. The thesis is that the metaphor of GRID occurring throughout US discourses since at least Monroe Doctrine is present in the new free trade agreements as well as an evidence of continuity of US foreign policy even in changed international environment. GRID metaphor represents the ambiguity of US policy of spreading democracy by unilateral and not always democratic means. The contradicting rhetoric is that the world should be democratic to foster well-being of the United States, which on the other hand attempts to maintain dominance even in the democratic world, as democracy represents both desired objective and threat.¹²⁹

*UNITED STATES - CHILE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT*¹³⁰

Table 13 - UNITED STATES - CHILE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

GRID (3)	contribute to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade and provide a catalyst to broader international cooperation, contribute to hemispheric integration and the fulfillment of the objectives of the <i>Free Trade Area of the Americas</i> , establish a framework for further bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement
	avoid distortions in their reciprocal trade, enhance the competitiveness of their firms, foster creativity and innovation,

¹²⁹ Ivie, Robert L.: Democracy, War, and Decivilizing Metaphors of American Insecurity. In: Beer, Francis A. and De Landtsheer, Christ’l (eds.): *Metaphorical World Politics*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press 2004, p. 76

¹³⁰ accessible at: [http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/chile-fta](http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/chile-<u>fta</u>)

MOTION (13)	promote trade, improve working conditions, strengthen their cooperation, implement this Agreement, promote sustainable development, encourage expansion and diversification of trade between the Parties, eliminate barriers to trade, facilitate the cross-border movement, promote conditions of fair competition, increase investment opportunities
CONTAINER (23)	create an expanded and secure market, establish clear and mutually advantageous rules, build on their respective rights and obligations, in global markets, in their respective territories 2x, create new employment opportunities, build on their respective international commitments, establish a free trade area, in the free trade area, in the territories of the Parties, in each Party's territory, create effective procedures, in order to give effect, an investment in its territory, in existence, date of entry into force, enterprise means any entity, means in effect, exclusive economic zone, in accordance with 3x
FAMILY (5)	strengthen the special bonds of friendship and cooperation between their nations, protect, enhance, and enforce basic workers' rights, protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights, affirm their existing rights and obligations with respect to, responsible under the law
TECHNOLOGY (1)	ensure a predictable commercial framework

Source: Author

ZOELLICK STATEMENT FOLLOWING HOUSE APPROVAL OF CHILE AND SINGAPORE FTAS JULY 2003¹³¹

¹³¹ accessible at:

<http://www.ustraderep.gov/Document Library/Press Releases/2003/July/Zoellick Statement Following House Approval of Chile Singapore FTAs.html>

Table 14 - ZOELICK STATEMENT FOLLOWING HOUSE APPROVAL OF CHILE AND SINGAPORE FTAS JULY 2003

<p>GRID (3)</p>	<p>President Bush and Congress will work together to make good use of TPA to open markets around the world for American businesses, workers, and farmers, provide fresh momentum for open markets as we approach the Doha Agenda's mid-point meeting in Cancun.</p> <p>The free trade agreements approved today by the House are an important part of the Administration's efforts to expand trade globally, regionally, and bilaterally.</p> <p>In addition to negotiating FTAs, the United States will continue to aggressively press for global free markets through the World Trade Organization; and for hemispheric openness, through the creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas.</p>
<p>MOTION (9)</p>	<p>passing free trade agreements, cutting-edge agreements eliminate tariffs, open services markets, strengthen the intellectual property, enhance labor and environmental protections, increase choice and value for American consumers, expansion of free trade, get America moving again on trade, the ongoing FTA negotiations</p>
<p>CONTAINER (2)</p>	<p>constitute the 4th largest U.S. export market, the world's 9th largest economy in terms of purchasing power</p>
<p>EQUILIBRIUM (1)</p>	<p>level the playing field for U.S. businesses</p>

Source: Author

Only US discourses, Preamble and the First Part of US – Chile Free Trade Agreement and Robert Zoelick’s speech on signing free trade agreements with Chile ad Singapore were analyzed for the purposes of this paper. Metaphor of GRID was found in both of them as an expression of US assertion of power. Chile was the first coutry to have concluded bilateral free trade agreement with the United States after NAFTA. Being first offered

membership in NAFTA, the chance was lost when Bill Clinton failed to negotiate a renewed fast track authority. Later on, Chile negotiated free trade agreements with all NAFTA members. Bilateral free trade agreements, however, “reaffirm/ed/ the power of the United States and make /made/ the conversations highly asymmetrical. The US economy is approximately 175 times larger than that of Central America and 140 times larger than Chile’s”.¹³²

The US – Chile Free trade Agreement was eventually signed in June 2003 by President George W. Bush, after many delays, as Chile, similarly to most Latin American nations, did not support US policy towards Iraq in the Security Council. With Mercosur in place and abundance of free trade agreements emerging in Latin America, the United States, however, did not want to lose its position in the region.

Apart from the metaphor of GRID, MOTION metaphor is present in both discourses, 13 and 9 respectively, as well as CONTAINER, 23 and 2. As they differ in frequency in the two texts, these metaphors cannot be considered significant. The metaphor of EQUILIBRIUM, however, is interesting, as the United States is presented as a disadvantageous one and to “level the playing field for US business” is required in Robert Zoelick’s discourse.

*TEXT OF CAFTA*¹³³

¹³² Weintraub, Sidney: The Puzzling Mar del Plata Summit of the Americas, Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2005, No. 71

¹³³ accessible at: <http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/caftadr-dominican-republic-central-america-fta>

Table 15 - TEXT OF CAFTA

<p>GRID (7)</p>	<p>provide a catalyst to broader international cooperation, predictable commercial framework for business planning and investment, ensure predictability for their importers and exporters, contribute to hemispheric integration and provide an impetus toward establishing the <i>Free Trade Area of the Americas</i>, establish a framework for further bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation, to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement, nothing in this Agreement shall prevent the Central American Parties from ... adopting new legal instruments of integration, or adopting measures to strengthen and deepen these instruments</p>
<p>MOTION (10)</p>	<p>promote regional economic integration, contribute to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade, avoid distortions to their reciprocal trade, facilitate regional trade, foster creativity and innovation, promote trade in goods and services, create new opportunities for economic and social development in the region, enhance, and enforce basic workers' rights and strengthen their cooperation on labor matters, create new employment opportunities, improve working conditions and living standards in their respective territories; promote sustainable development, encourage expansion and diversification, eliminate barriers to trade, facilitate the cross-border movement, increase investment opportunities</p>
	<p>produced in their territories, build on their respective international commitments on labor matters, preserve their flexibility to safeguard the public welfare, protect and preserve the environment, conservation of natural resources in their respective territories, establish a free trade area, in the territories of the Parties, protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights</p>

CONTAINER (25)	in each Party's territory, Central America means the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, in its territory, in existence, as of the date of entry, into force of this Agreement, customs duty includes any customs or import duty and a charge, in whole or in part, in connection with, enterprise means any entity constituted or organized, in effect on the date of entry, in their respective tariff laws, measure includes, in force, state enterprise means an enterprise that is owned, territory means for a Party the territory of that Party, land, maritime, and air space under its sovereignty, exclusive economic zone, in accordance with 2x
FAMILY (4)	strengthen the special bonds of friendship and cooperation, customs authority means the competent authority, responsible under the law, may exercise rights with respect to
EQUILIBRIUM (2)	clear and mutually advantageous rules, facilitate the cross-border movement

Source: Author

GEORGE W. BUSH DISCUSSES CAFTA-DR, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (JULY 2005)¹³⁴

Table 16 - GEORGE W. BUSH DISCUSSES CAFTA-DR, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (JULY 2005)

	this treaty will help spread democracy and peace, when it comes to the defense of universal freedoms this country won't be frightened, we will defend ourselves by staying on the offense against these killers, we will find them overseas so we don't have to face them here at home, you work to spread an ideology of hope, there's nothing more hopeful than a system which recognizes the rights of people in which government is accountable to the people and that
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¹³⁴ www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050721-1.html

<p>GRID (21)</p>	<p>system is democracy based upon universal freedom, we are laying the foundation for peace for generations to come, as we fight the terrorists and defend this homeland we're also working to make sure this economy is strong and vibrant, the importance of expanding trade within our hemisphere, CAFTA will help keep the U.S. economy growing, Central American factories abide by acceptable labor standards, to ensure that labor laws are enforced, CAFTA is a trade agreement that will be enforced, CAFTA will strengthen democracies, as the oldest democracy in this hemisphere we have a moral obligation and a vital interest in helping the Central American economies and societies succeed, by strengthening democracy in the region CAFTA will lead to greater security and stability, it's in our economic interests, it's in our national security interests that the House of Representatives join the United States Senate and pass that CAFTA bill, that's in our national security interest, by helping those economies improve, CAFTA will help the nations strengthen their democracies, that's makes us all more secure, this bill is a commitment of freedom-loving nations to advance peace and prosperity throughout the Western Hemisphere</p>
<p>MOTION (24)</p>	<p>the Organization of American States promotes democracy and freedom, get the bill passed, I urge you to work the bill, I urge you to let people know, working hard 3x, it's the fastest-growing economy of any major industrialized nation in the world, grow an economy is you stimulate the entrepreneurial sector, government creates an environment in which the entrepreneur is willing to take risks, Hispanic unemployment rate has dropped to 5.8 percent, more people are working, loans to Hispanic-owned businesses are up, eliminating barriers to exports, develop a better life for their</p>

	<p>citizens, opening up Central America and the Dominican Republic to U.S. trade and investment, CAFTA would significantly increase exports to the region, increase sales to Central America tenfold, if the tariffs on that equipment would be eliminated, enforce environmental progress, CAFTA will help the nations of Central America deliver prosperity and opportunity for their citizens, by opening up their nations' markets to competition they're helping to raise standards for their own businesses and farmers, productivity increases, I encourage you to keep doing what you're doing, is talking to</p>
CONTAINER (16)	<p>commitment to democracy and freedom, provide more prosperity in our hemisphere, in the Latino community in my state of Texas, members of the Hispanic Alliance For Free Trade, being a part of passing CAFTA, members of the Diplomatic Corps, on this important piece of legislation, the best interest of the country, a member of the Supreme Court, we're living in historic times, create vacuums into which their ideology can move, we're still at war, believe in human rights, believe in universal freedoms, entrepreneurial spirit in our Latino communities across the country is strong, the Hispanic community is an entrepreneurial community</p>
FAMILY (22)	<p>a strong leader, thank you for helping, I appreciate, thank 13x, lending your support, support this bill, giving ... a chance, he's got the experience, wisdom, fairness and civility, profound respect for the rule of law, he respects the liberties, if you're living in a neighborhood, you want your neighbors doing well, advocate free trade, the government has a role to make sure that trade is fair for all of us, protect our textile workers from unfair competition, beneficial for the small business owner, or the large business</p>

	<p>owner, if you protect industries, it tends to become non-competitive, creating really a regional partnership, we must support democracy in our neighborhood, I'm more than proud to welcome democracies to the Oval Office, that's what friends do, have a society that respects human rights and the rule of law, we're working together, the importance of improving ties with our neighbors, it's really important that you've got strong ties in a neighborhood in which you live, on behalf of America's workers and small businesses, who love and cherish democracy</p>
<p>EQUILIBRIUM (6)</p>	<p>CAFTA begins by ensuring that free trade is fair trade, say to our friends in Central America, just treat us the way we treat you, make sure trade is fair, that's a fair deal, CAFTA is not only good for us, it's good for their partners, you want an agreement to be balanced and fair</p>
<p>OTHERS´ SAVAGERY (11)</p>	<p>war being fought against ideologues that use terror to advance an agenda, they have a different view of the world, a war against killers, cold-blooded killers who embrace an ideology of hatred, their vision of the world is the opposite of our vision of the world, they don't believe in women's rights, they have usurped a great religion and defined it in their terms, if you don't adhere to their view of religion, you're punished, they have territorial design, they have the desire to use their terrorist techniques to frighten us, they understand when they kill in cold blood it ends up on our TV screens, they're trying to shake our will, and they're trying to create vacuums into which their ideology can</p>

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Source: Author

GRID metaphor, again, was evidenced in both the text of the free trade agreement and President George W. Bush’s discourse. In the latter one, GRID is particularly significant. An interesting one, in this discourse, is the metaphor of OTHERNESS or SAVAGERY, dehumanizing metaphor which president uses to refer to Taliban. EQUILIBRIUM, once more, refers to the United States’ disadvantage in the free trade agreement (say to our friends in Central America, just treat us the way we treat you, make sure trade is fair). Due to the disproportionate occurrence of MOTION and CONTAINER in the two discourses, these metaphors are not significant here, either. Therefore, the only significant metaphor remains GRID.

*TEXT OF US – COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT*¹³⁵

Table 17 - TEXT OF US – COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

GRID (1)	contribute to hemispheric integration and provide an impetus toward establishing the Free Trade Area of the Americas
MOTION (8)	promote regional economic integration, improve labor conditions and living standards, promote its international relations, avoid distortions to their reciprocal trade, promote transparency, promote sustainable development, generate opportunities for sustainable economic alternatives to drug-crop production, create new employment opportunities
CONTAINER (11)	in their respective territories, establish clear and mutually advantageous rules, build on their respective international commitments, build on their respective rights and obligations,

¹³⁵ accessible at: <http://www.ustr.gov/uscolombiatpa>

	establish a free trade area, in its territory, Party in existence, date of entry into force of this Agreement, an enterprise that is owned or controlled through ownership interests by a Party, territory means for a Party the territory of that Party, trade in goods
FAMILY (10)	strengthen the special bonds of friendship and cooperation, with respect to investment protections, protections of investor rights under domestic law, foreigners and nationals are protected, protect, enhance, and enforce basic workers' rights, strengthen their cooperation, affirm their existing rights and obligations with respect to each other, authority that is responsible, in respect of, in accordance with, with respect to
WAR (1)	combat corruption, including bribery, in international trade and investment
EQUILIBRIUM (2)	on the principle of reciprocity, principle of equality of treatment
TECHNOLOGY (1)	ensure a predictable legal and commercial framework

Source: Author

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (APRIL 2008)¹³⁶

Table 18 - REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (APRIL 2008)

	this agreement will advance America's national security interests in a critical region, provided a clear path for advancing free trade agreements, as part of that agreement we included the strongest labor and environmental provisions of any free trade agreement in history, the stakes for our national security are too high -- to allow this year to end without a vote, approving this agreement is urgent for our
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¹³⁶ accessible at: <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/04.07.08.html>

<p>GRID (11)</p>	<p>national security reasons, approving the free trade agreement will also strengthen our economy, if Congress fails to approve this agreement it would not only abandon a brave ally -- it would send a signal throughout the region that America cannot be counted on to support its friends, if the U.S. turns its back on its friends in Colombia this will set back our cause far more than any Latin American dictator could hope to achieve, greater national security importance because of Colombia's strategic location, we can show a watching world that America will honor its commitments, we can provide a powerful rebuke to dictators and demagogues in our backyard, show millions across the hemisphere that democracy and free enterprise lead to a better life</p>
<p>MOTION (34 + 1)</p>	<p>transmit legislation, strengthen a courageous ally, seek a bipartisan path, we led trips, set a schedule, we'll continue to work closely with Congress, to complete action, transmit a bill implementing this agreement, transmitting the agreement, neither the beginning nor the end of our cooperative efforts, but instead an important milestone, Congress needs to move forward, kidnappings, terrorist attacks, and murders are all down substantially, exports enter the United States duty-free, products exported to Colombia face tariffs, our markets are open to Colombian products, eliminate tariffs, enter Colombia duty-free, agreement will eliminate tariffs on all American exports to Colombia, with the economy slowing recently, open up new opportunities for growth, expanding trade in goods and services, successfully reenter the workforce, committed to advancing those discussions as quickly as possible, completing an agreement on trade adjustment, raised concerns about the conditions in Colombia, creating a more hopeful alternative for the people of Colombia, economic benefits the agreement brings to Colombia would strengthen</p>

	<p>the fight against drugs and terror, Colombia is still working to improve, the progress is undeniable, move forward with this agreement, expand U.S. exports and export-related jobs, Congress's path is clear, send the bill, he's delivering results,</p> <p>NEGATIVE barriers exist that make it harder to sell American products in Colombia</p>
CONTAINER (17)	<p>in our hemisphere, at a vital time, during the 16 months, 50 members of the Congress, concluded a bipartisan agreement, as part of that agreement, for the last 16 months, Congress has 90 legislative days, eager to work with, Colombia remains under intense pressure in the region, throughout the hemisphere, throughout the region, in time, administration is actively engaged in discussions, in discussions about, establishing an independent prosecutors unit, creating a special program that protects labor activists</p>
FAMILY (14)	<p>support free trade and fair trade, help America's economy and America's workers, bipartisan support, worked closely with, Colombia is one of our strongest allies in the Western Hemisphere, strong and capable partner in fighting drugs and crime and terror, with the assurance of America's support, America can demonstrate our support for Colombia, help them increase their sales and grow their businesses and create good high-paying jobs, government has a responsibility to help, earn America's support, worthy of our support, strong bipartisan support, his fight against tyranny and terror is a fight that we share</p>
" EQUILIBRIUM (3)	<p>Americans' goods and services to be treated just like Colombia's goods and services are treated, it's time to level the playing field, level [sic] the playing field for American exporters</p>
	<p>he's taken courageous stands to defend our shared democratic values, it faces a continuing assault from the terrorist network, in an attempt</p>

WAR (7)	to overthrow Colombia's democracy, faces a hostile and anti-American regime in Venezuela, President Uribe has stood strong against these threats, he's addressed violence, he's addressed attacks on trade unionists
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Source: Author

URIBE DISCOURSE BEFORE SIGNING US – COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT¹³⁷

Table 19 - URIBE DISCOURSE BEFORE SIGNING US – COLOMBIA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

	<p>culminó en la ciudad de Washington, abrir de manera permanente el mercado de los Estados Unidos para nuestros productos, generar empleo en Colombia a partir de la inversión, a fin de generar recursos para erradicar la pobreza, la economía tenía que crecer por dentro, dándole capacidad adquisitiva a los sectores pobres, hacer compatible ese crecimiento de la economía exportadora, con el crecimiento de la economía al interior, posibilidades de mejor atención, para ir paulatinamente y de manera creciente, incorporando a las corrientes dinámicas de la economía, acercamiento comercial, la línea de transmisión de energía Colombia – Panamá, avanzar en el comercio del gas, llegar al gasoducto, que se abra la carretera, empezar y culminar rápidamente las negociaciones comerciales con Centroamérica, acceso al mercado más grande del mundo, es una fortuna poder acceder, como Colombia empieza a acceder, al mercado de los Estados Unidos, todos los pasos que hubo que dar, Colombia ha duplicado las exportaciones, un crecimiento formidable de las exportaciones, va a llegar al, se acercaba al, reversión de la tendencia, busque que la extiendan, crecimiento de la población y crecimiento de</p>
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¹³⁷ accessible at: <http://jhidersmsm.blogspot.com/2008/05/discurso-de-uribe-ante-firma-de-tlc-feb.html>

MOTION (74)	<p>la pobreza, el Tratado es una oportunidad para que el país se conmueva en la vía positiva, piense en grande, proyecte en grande, actúe en grande, la oportunidad de crecer ... la afiliación a la salud en Colombia, expresiones de subempleo tienen que ir desapareciendo, estén cambiando trabajadores antiguos por trabajadores nuevos, transformar de un aeropuerto, para que Colombia siga este proceso de expansión de la economía, cuando aquí llega un inversionistas internacional, ha crecido el turismo, vamos a vender más paquetes turísticos en Colombia, nosotros vamos a llevar extranjeros y colombianos a más sitios del país, nosotros vamos a vender más tiquetes aéreos, se ha aumentado, ya empezó a producirse, poner a producir alcohol carburante, más crecimiento de la economía, más posibilidades de construir infraestructura, hoy estamos haciendo, está en proceso de contratación, estamos ya construyendo, estamos pavimentando, les da acceso al mercado de Estados Unidos, obras que están siendo, exportar desde un principio, conseguimos cosas buenas para la avicultura, qué impactos está produciendo, la industria avícola sale adelante, Colombia hoy exporta a los Estados Unidos, nos aumentan eso, vamos a exportar 75 mil, alcohol carburante que podemos exportar desde ya, reducción de precios, acostarse la tendencia de crecimiento de la inflación, hemos recuperado 509 mil hectáreas, estamos abriendo el mercado de los Estados Unidos, TLC abre ese mercado a los Estados Unidos, estamos desarrollando una industria, el turismo que se ha recuperado mucho, trabajar para, entró al Tratado como perdedora y sale del tratado como ganadora, a fin de que vengan más turistas médicos a Colombia, Colombia va a seguir protegiendo la propiedad intelectual en medicamentos, aumentar las formas de protección, una gran posibilidad de avanzar, vamos a resolverles esas dificultades,</p>
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	conseguir una Patria próspera y justa
CONTAINER (71)	<p>empezaron hace 22 meses, 22 meses de una esforzada negociación, 22 meses de un gran esfuerzo para que a nuestra patria le vaya bien, en el horizonte, utilizar en pocas ocasiones este espacio y por cortos periodos de tiempo, en los Consejos Comunitarios, una excepción en este espacio, en estos espacios, hace cuatro años, no se veía en el horizonte, está en plena vigencia, entre la Comunidad Andina y MERCOSUR 2x, se ha constituido en un gran puente entre Suramérica y Centroamérica, participar como miembro del Plan Panamá – Puebla, en las etapas de, a ese territorio, al principio de, estábamos en el tránsito del primer permiso al último, en vigencia, a principios de esta década, en el año 2000, el año pasado, en eso, tuvo gran importancia el mercado de los Estados Unidos, no estamos conformes, en pocos años, con absoluto convencimiento, en nuestra Patria, una país de 44 millones de habitantes, un país ya con tanta población, en un lado los sectores ganadores y en otro los perdedores, en el TLC, en los últimos días, en el momento que quede en firme el TLC, estamos construyendo en el debate democrático, una relación entre el crecimiento de la economía y la infraestructura, obra fundamental para competitividad, complementando en un proceso gradual, en esa agenda interna de competitividad, un periodo de desgravación de 19 años, el periodo de desgravación, en marzo o en julio, en ese programa, en vivero, tiene mucho futuro el banano, zonas francas hospitalarias, ciudades que reciben muchos pacientes del exterior, las zonas francas hospitalarias, en lo cual Colombia es tan rica, esto crea precedentes en los Estados Unidos, no tenerlos trabajando en edad prematura, que estén al día en pago de salarios, en pago de prestaciones, en afiliación a la seguridad social, con amor a Colombia, en todo momento, en toda la implementación y en lo que</p>

	viene, estamos en el Plan 2.500, nos da una gran posibilidad, el TLC nos da mercado a los Estados Unidos, nos trae inversión
FAMILY (21)	nos permitirá acceder a su mercado, compatriotas 7x, hermano latinoamericano y un leal aliado de los Estados Unidos, gracias a ese permiso para exportar, tengo una vieja amistad con los paneleros, el cuidado de la variable ambiental, la hermana República de Venezuela, ayudar a los productos que sufren, garantizarles a los agricultores, quedó bien protegido, hemos adoptado un nuevo programa, poner mucho cuidado, salvamos los genéricos, salvamos la salud pública, Chile nos da ejemplo, vigilar los precios, proteger nuestros bosques, para proteger el agua dulce, los trabajadores están protegidos la Constitución, protegidos por este Tratado, proteger la vida y los derechos de los líderes de los trabajadores, nos va a ayudar
WAR (7)	una vieja contradicción en la economía, erradicar la pobreza, erradicar problemas, no es un acuerdo de ganadores y perdedores, esto es un acuerdo de ganadores, todos van ganar por igual, un acuerdo de gana – gana
TECHNOLOGY (3)	hay un mecanismo, mecanismo semejante con nuestros compatriotas arroceros, el acuerdo de esta madrugada consagró un mecanismo

Source: Author

Unlike in other two analyzed discourses, Colombian counterpart's speech is included. Nevertheless, significant metaphor of GRID was confirmed in US discourses only, namely the text of US – Colombia Free Trade Agreement and President Bush's speech, although in high number (this agreement will advance America's national security interests in a critical region, provided a clear path for advancing free trade agreements, as part of that agreement we included the strongest labor and environmental provisions of any free trade

agreement in history, the stakes for our national security are too high, approving the free trade agreement will also strengthen our economy etc.). President Uribe's speech does not contain GRID metaphor, nor does any other Latin American discourse. Therefore, it is solely on the US part as a metaphor of power. CONTAINER and motion are in President Uribe's speech in high number and of equal frequency, expressing the support for opened economy and flow of capital, goods and services as well as strengthening the territory without an intention of further integration so far.

Frequent in both presidential discourses, however, is WAR. Colombia has a long tradition of democracy uninterrupted by military coups, unlike its neighbours, and due to the careful financial policy, the country has never sunk into debts, either. On the other hand, civil war and violence practically since the end of the World War II, have been destructive for Colombia. Consequent narcotrafficking only added to destabilization of the country, already heterogeneous socially and geographically. Radical government financed by money from narcotrafficking and collapse of the country would cause destabilization of the whole area which the United States wanted to prevent, first investing heavily in military. There are no allies in this from neighbouring countries as they are afraid of drug cartels in their own territories more than radical government in Colombia. The situation in Colombia, however, has improved recently, and US - Colombian Free Trade Agreement was signed to support positive changes as well as Colombian democratic government, also against leftist and populist President Chávez of Venezuela. The importance of Colombia for the United States as well as

vast discussions around this free trade agreement were the reason why these discourses were chosen for metaphor analysis.

4.1. CONCLUSION OF PART II

Metaphor of GRID, regularly occurring in current US discourses led to exploration of other discourses, deeper in history, forming US view of the world and the country's self-perception. Speeches of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, forming the direction of US policy, were examined, and on their example it was shown how those discourses influenced both outer and inner perception of the United States.

On the other hand, the latest bilateral free trade agreements were examined as well, and the same metaphor of GRID was found in all texts of analyzed free trade agreements and US discourses.

I argue that GRID metaphor is a metaphor of dominance and power, and its occurrence in all analyzed documents is no coincidence. It shows the way the United States has maintained its long-standing policy of pursuing hemispheric ambitions.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper focused on political and economic integration in the Western Hemisphere and the role of the United States.

First part concentrated on NAFTA and Mercosur as the two major trading groups in the Western Hemisphere and the differences between them. Discourse analysis was used for examination of key texts of the two blocs, including part of the text of North American Free Trade Agreement and, for Mercosur, full texts of the Treaty of Asunción and the Treaty of Ouro Preto. Then presidential discourses were analyzed for metaphors, namely Bill Clinton's speech on the occasion of signing NAFTA, Carlos Salinas's Fifth and Sixth Presidential Speech, and Barack Obama's remarks on free trade in general. On Mercosur side, speeches of presidents of four member states, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay at Mercosur's presidential meetings were selected for analysis.

Regarding the metaphor analysis, metaphors were generated from intentions of all countries in concern and their motives were considered in the context of both the hemispheric and global situations. In such a way, metaphors of GRID for the United States, CELL for Mexico and WEIGHT for Brazil, and consequently whole Mercosur, were discovered. Especially the metaphor of GRID turned out to be present in all US discourses throughout the history and was recognized as the metaphor of power. Besides, metaphors of European integration were looked at and compared with the situation in the Western Hemisphere. Finally, theoretical background of political metaphors

was considered and some of those metaphors were included in the analysis. Notable are analyses of US discourses concentrating on other metaphors of power, dehumanizing nature of the enemy, inferiority of Latin American region embedded in US rhetoric and different notions of the metaphor of PARENT related to Republican and Democratic Parties, which were coincidentally confirmed in some of the discourses analyzed in this paper.

The thesis for NAFTA was that the United States entered the free trade agreement mostly for strategic reasons in order to maintain control over the whole region. First notion of NAFTA was that it would be a building bloc for a Free Trade Area of the Americas. Mexico, on the other hand, was supposed to have signed the agreement for economic reasons. For the United States, significant GRID metaphor was found in all the analyzed discourses and recognized as an effort to apply own rules throughout the hemisphere in order to pursue US strategic interests.

For Mexico, the metaphor of CELL was also confirmed, with the notion that CELL means interconnection with other CELLS to maintain the flow and to be alive, and together they create an organism. Each part of the organism is equally important.

It is notable, however, that two countries within one trade grouping, the United States and Mexico, function on different metaphors.

The thesis for Mercosur was that Mercosur's aims are different than those of NAFTA and its main goal is to gain importance in regional as well as international environment. Metaphor of WEIGHT was found as an expression

of this objective and was evidenced in all Mercosur discourses but two, text of the Treaty of Ouro Preto and Argentine presidential discourse. This may be due to different intentions Argentina had on entering Mercosur.

Second part of this paper concentrated on the concept of US foreign policy and its actual exercise in the Western Hemisphere. The United States has always believed itself functioning on higher principles than other nations, therefore morally superior to them with the task to lead other countries in their path to prosperity. It is shown how this self-perception has transformed from serving as an example for the rest of the world to active foreign policy pursuing those goals.

I argue that the GRID metaphor is a metaphor of dominance and power, and its occurrence in all analyzed documents is no coincidence. It shows the way the United States has maintained its long-standing policy of pursuing hemispheric ambitions. Current expressions of such policy are new generation bilateral free trade agreements and CAFTA, through which the United States is able to pursue own strategic interests to maintain dominant position in the region and in the world, thus substituting failed hemispheric project of a Free Trade Area of Americas, as the United States preferred bilateral environment to multilateral arena in order to follow better expressed objectives.

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