

21st Century Cooperation

Regional Public Goods, Global
Governance, and Sustainable
Development

Edited by
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This edited volume explains the importance of regional public goods (RPGs) for sustainable development and shows why they are particularly important in the context of 21st-century international relations. By presenting a new and original data set and by presenting original essays by renowned scholars, this book lays the foundation for what will become an increasingly important focus for both economic development and international relations as well as for their intersection.

The volume contains four parts. The first introduces the core issues and concepts that are explored throughout the book as well as a new and original data set on RPGs. The second part further develops specific concepts important for understanding 21st-century RPGs: regional leadership, alliances, networks, and outcomes. The third examines how cooperation takes place worldwide for a range of important RPGs. Finally, the fourth part discusses how public goods are produced in specific regions, stressing that each region has a distinct context and that these contexts overlap in a decentered “multiplex” manner.

Global economic cooperation will be different in the 21st century, and this volume will be of interest to students and scholars of global governance, economic development, international political economy, sustainable development, and comparative regionalism.

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Preface

Antoni Estevadeordal and Louis W. Goodman

This book contains four parts. The first introduces the core issues and concepts that are explored throughout the book as well as a new and original data set on regional public goods (RPGs). The second part further develops specific concepts important for understanding 21st-century RPGs: regional leadership, alliances, networks, and outcomes. The third part examines how cooperation takes place worldwide for a range of important RPGs. The fourth part discusses how public goods are produced in specific regions, stressing that each region has a distinct context and that these contexts overlap in a decentered “multiplex” manner.

There are two chapters in Part I. The first, “21st-century cooperation, regional public goods, and sustainable development” by Antoni Estevadeordal and Louis W. Goodman, introduces the core concepts and research questions for the study of RPGs, global governance, and sustainable development. It points out the importance of public good production for sustainable development, the implications of the possibility of slowing worldwide growth, prospects for change in regional cooperation configurations, and the concern that there is a growing gap between needed public goods and great power capacity to produce them. Building upon Kindleberger’s observation of the unlikelihood that the stability needed for sustainable development can be provided by a hegemon, the chapter suggests that increased public goods will need to be generated from other sources, including regional sources. The chapter links concerns of economists and international relations analysts to suggest that a wide range of possible public goods should be examined, and that the dynamics of sequencing, geography, institutional design and cooperation outcome be taken into account in understanding relationships among RPGs, global governance, and sustainable development.

The second chapter, “Regional public goods cooperation: an inductive approach to measuring regional public goods” by Teng Liu and Theodore Kahn, offers an inductive data-driven approach for measuring and analyzing RPGs. It presents an original data set based on the United Nations Treaty Collection series to systematically measure international cooperation for producing RPGs. This data set is a resource for clarifying, with empirically based evidence, the boundaries of regions and the geographical jurisdictions of public goods. The

chapter provides a methodology for empirically measuring the intent to create RPGs by examining more than 50,000 international treaties on file in the UN Treaty Collection. Data on these treaties are coded based on functional areas important to international development, ranging from economic integration to peace and security. The resulting database provides an overview of RPG cooperation worldwide. While the results are preliminary, some points are clear: RPG cooperation is unevenly distributed, with developed countries like the United States dominating the landscape; RPG cooperation in economic matters outweighs other functions both in terms of amount and sequencing; finally, while the geographic sense of “region” still matters, nations may cooperate and constitute a “region” based on a particular function. This chapter and its accompanying database serve as a starting point for further research into the implementation and impact of RPGs.

Part II, “Regional leadership, alliances, networks, and outcomes,” contains three chapters that further develop specific RPG-related concepts. Chapter 3, Amitav Acharya’s “Regionalism in the evolving world order: power, leadership, and the provision of public goods,” examines the roles, new and old, that RPGs have played and will play in the global order. It discusses global public goods, regional public goods, and national public goods in what the author calls “the multiplex world.” The multiplex world order is decentered and involves states large and small as well as state and nonstate actors in multiple layers of governance with complex global links. The chapter contrasts hegemonic (EU) regionalism and more open, integrationalist (Asian) regionalism with multiplex regionalism, and argues that a communitarian leadership style is most effective in the multiplex world order. The “ASEAN Way” is cited as an important example of regional cooperation for the generation of public goods in this type of multiplex world. The chapter concludes by suggesting that there are “a variety of pathways and mechanisms” for creating RPGs and that traditional mechanisms are evolving toward wider, more complex functionality, some under the influence of emerging powers.

Chapter 4, Jacint Jordana’s “Transnational policy networks and regional public goods in Latin America,” begins with the observation that regionalism in Latin America has been characterized for decades by a constant failure to advance institutionalization and economic integration beyond globalization pressures. In discussing this challenging situation, Jordana argues that a particular and distinctive driver for regionalism is emerging in Latin America. The driver is rooted in a myriad of nonhierarchical policy networks operating across countries and sectors throughout the region. This network mode of regional integration is capable of providing RPGs and contributing to processes of policy diffusion. Using examples from the banking and telecommunication industries, Jordana suggests that networks of regulatory governance allow the emergence of informal mechanisms of regional cooperation, namely a rapid diffusion of regulatory innovations. However, Jordana observes that these networks have not necessarily been able to enlarge the provision of public goods in their policy areas, or to evolve toward stronger institutional forms. He argues that

promoting regulatory governance networks could help provide public goods, but that it cannot be the sole solution to the integration problems of the region. More promising are hybrid modes of governance that incorporate formal institutionalization and the provision of tangible public goods.

Chapter 5, “Can regional standards be above the national norm? Impact evaluation issues for regional public goods” by Joaquim Tres and Paulo Barbieri, discusses the impacts of small-scale RPGs such as multilateral arrangements for promoting phenomena including regional educational infrastructure standards, pharmaceutical purchasing capacity, civics teaching guidelines, migrant workers’ social security rights, and bicycle cooperative operations from the standpoint of how to create organizations to support the provision of these goods and their impacts. The chapter draws upon the experience of ten years of Inter-American Development Bank programs involving more than 700 entities in more than 100 projects, each of which has created public goods that are seen as “small scale.” These small-scale public goods are of a different dimension to those most frequently discussed in the literature, such as goods that facilitate the operation of a regional trading and investment system or a regional defense umbrella. Nevertheless, these smaller-scale public goods can have significant sustainable development impacts as well as the capacity to generate externalities that expand development cooperation within Latin America, Asia, and other regions.

Part III, “New frontiers in functional cooperation,” contains six chapters, each of which discusses the provision of RPGs in a separate and important functional area. Chapter 6, “Regional public goods: the case of migration” by Uri Dadush, discusses the set of institutions and policies that allow people to move freely across borders. Dadush argues that, in contrast to the proliferation of regional trade agreements, the international coordination of migration has fallen short of what might be expected. This chapter compares the provision of public goods at the global, regional, national and local levels and examines migration regimes as public goods, with particular focus on developing regions, especially the Middle East and North Africa and Latin America. The lack of political representation of migrants, along with the asymmetry of benefits between the origin and destination countries, constrains the creation of regional arrangements despite migration’s development-promoting benefits such as remittances. The chapter argues that the provision of migration RPGs can be successful if certain conditions are present, such as political will, complementarity of economic structures, ability to learn from each other, and effective coordination among countries. Most importantly, the biggest needs are domestic reforms, bilateral negotiations among partners in the largest migration corridors, and increasing engagement with the diaspora.

Chapter 7 is “Connectivity and infrastructure as 21st-century regional public goods” by Jayant Prasad. Paying special attention to South Asia, Prasad discusses the importance of connectivity phenomena in five distinct clusters: trade, transportation, information and communication technologies, energy, and peoples. He argues that connectivity-related public goods are foundational

for regional integration and sustainable development. The key is envisioning specific projects that can leverage geographic proximity for mutual benefit. Initially, such projects may or may not be linked to regional integration schemes—some might begin with fewer partners so as to overcome political obstacles and demonstrate early success—and institutional design should provide space for both public- and private-sector actors and should be clear about financing. Since connectivity public goods often accumulate in small discrete steps, care should be taken to anticipate sequencing, and to document and communicate benefits resulting from increased connectivity and from the cumulative impacts of the diverse connectivity clusters spread across a region.

In Chapter 8, “Open borders: a regional public good,” Johanna Mendelson-Forman discusses the evolution of borders from “public bads” separating nations to public goods facilitating international peace and prosperity. Following a review of Latin American history in which borders have largely separated nations, the chapter discusses ways that borders can be used to bring nations together and promote multilateralism. Mendelson-Forman stresses the impacts of borderless threats such as organized crime and natural disasters that push nations to cooperate, as well as domestic economic and social forces that wish to form links with neighbors. Brazil’s geopolitical situation and its 28 twin border city arrangements are discussed at length because Brazil shares borders with 13 other countries in South America. The chapter concludes by suggesting metrics that can be used to evaluate the extent to which open borders can generate public goods.

In Chapter 9, “Advancing digitization as a regional public good,” Kati Suominen suggests that existing regional and global cooperation have yet to align with the digitization of international trade. The chapter reviews the impact of digitization on growth and trade and analyzes the state of digitization in different world regions and the extent of digital flows (including data flows and e-commerce) within different regions. Suominen finds that, despite the potentials of digital trade, governments around the world face challenges in broadening access to the Internet and digital technologies and translating access into usage by consumers and companies. Suominen proposes ways for countries to overcome these regulatory and technological obstacles so that they may translate digitization into trade, economic development, and inclusive growth through regional cooperation. These strategies include regulatory harmonization, trade facilitation, development aid to promote e-commerce, and regional innovation hubs. The author argues that regional actions can complement national and global policies and that creating digital scale economies and spurring on regional e-commerce would contribute to a more fluid and frictionless global economy.

Chapter 10, “Building regional environmental governance: Northeast Asia’s unique path to sustainable development” by Suh-Yong Chung, discusses the importance of creating public goods relating to environmental issues, especially among countries that are relatively isolated from their neighbors. The author focuses on the countries of East Asia (China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), which have not concluded any multilateral treaties. This is a serious problem because environmental degradation in the region has been escalating: the Yellow Sea is one of the most heavily polluted oceanic bodies of water in the world, and air pollution in the region has reached record levels. The resulting damage includes negative impacts on human health, interstate commerce, and possibilities for conflict resolution. The chapter argues that enhanced cooperation on a range of fronts would benefit these nations. It discusses Northeast Asia's regional environmental governance approach, which is based on cooperation and "soft" environmental institutions and arrangements, in contrast with Europe's older and more formal "convention protocol" approach. The author suggests that this cooperation-based approach may lend itself to the creation of RPGs in East Asia beyond the environmental sphere and argues that the construction of RPGs must take the distinct challenges of each regional situation into account.

The final chapter in this part, Chapter 11, "The multilateral trading system and regional public goods" by Miguel Rodríguez Mendoza and Craig VanGrasstek, argues that the international trading system consists of two distinct layers: the multilateral trading system, embodied by the World Trade Organization (WTO), and a large and growing system of regional trade arrangements (RTAs). The chapter describes the current state of the trading system, especially the increasing emphasis on regionalism over multilateralism. It also discusses the implications of this shift using a global public goods perspective, considering how regionalism may contribute to discrimination while also strengthening the system. On the one hand, RTAs may transform the trading system, a true public good, into excludable club goods. From the perspective of global public goods, however, the same processes seem more like opportunities for countries to cooperate. The chapter provides recommendations on how to reinforce the positive aspects of regionalism and ameliorate its less desirable consequences to ensure that the net result is positive for the multilateral trading system. Rodríguez Mendoza and VanGrasstek assert that the net value of RTAs depends on whether countries have the wisdom and the will to incorporate them more fully into the multilateral trading system. While it is important to acknowledge the challenges that RTAs pose, insofar as they compete with the WTO and may undermine it, the authors argue that one must also recognize that RTAs have the capacity to help create a more solid and stable global trading system.

The final part of the book, "Old and new regions in a multiplex world," contains five chapters that discuss RPGs in Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In Chapter 12, "European regional public goods: insiders and outsiders," Michelle Egan discusses how the production of regional goods in Europe has changed since the creation of the European Union. This is particularly salient given the streams of refugees entering Europe and putting pressure on the continent's open borders. The chapter provides an analytical discussion of the current situation and others in which attempts to provide public goods uniformly within a region have led to stratification and sociopolitical backlash

due to the varied factor endowments and historical contexts of the countries/regions in question. It explains how the provision of RPGs evolved in the growing and maturing European Union and how this can produce conflict between market freedoms and “public service” objectives. It also discusses the difficulties in promoting economic development and addressing economic inequality, as well as the question of what types of RPGs it is feasible to generate in a context of budgetary constraints and austerity measures in member states. In this context, Europe has begun to move to “soft law” to provide flexibility of governance within its increasingly heterogeneous polity. Egan concludes by suggesting that these new modes of generating and evaluating RPGs in Europe may produce insiders and outsiders relative to Europe’s boundaries. One of the established objectives of the European Union has been to use its influence to induce non-European states to adopt European standards in a number of policy areas, thus producing another dimension of non-European stratification. This capacity may also be diminished in a situation of austerity and uncertainty, thus causing the uniform provision of European public goods to diminish aspects of integration both within and outside of Europe—hardly a smooth path toward regional and extraregional integration.

Chapter 13, “Regional public goods in North America” by Tom Long and Manuel Suárez-Mier, discusses how Canada, Mexico, and the United States have created RPGs in North America. The impact of these goods on sustainable development was slowed by the reaction of the North American partners in these arrangements (especially the United States) to 9/11 and by other political considerations. Against a backdrop of nearly two centuries of hegemonic threat by the United States, Canada and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994. By 2001, the region’s share of global GDP had grown from 30% to 36% but by 2015, due to the end of the dot-com boom and the 9/11 terrorist attacks, this percentage had fallen back to below 27%. The chapter examines these shifts and stresses that a resumption of the capacity for RPGs generation will depend on effective rule of law, especially regarding crime and disputes in Mexico and immigration in the United States. It also discusses how RPGs in the areas of economic cooperation, social development, environment and energy, conflict resolution, connectivity, and governance impact the region.

In Chapter 14, “Public goods and regional organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean: identity, goals, and implementation,” Carlos Portales discusses the history of regional cooperation in the Americas and the evolution of regional and subregional public goods production as these arrangements have changed. While since the early 1800s Western Hemispheric regionalism was a goal of political figures as distinct as James Monroe and Simón Bolívar, attempts to include or exclude the United States from organizations embracing the rest of the hemisphere have resulted in a diverse variety of regional and subregional organizations (with corresponding public goods), especially since the creation of the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948, and there has been increasing overlap in the 21st century. Changing

and limited public goods generation in the region has been one outcome of the different groupings and organizations that have formed over the years, including ones in Latin America and the Caribbean (ALALC/ALADI), the Caribbean (CARIFTA/CARICOM), Central America (CACM/SICA), North America (NAFTA), South America (UNASUR), the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR), and ones based on an antihegemonic position (ALBA) and an Asia-oriented/open economy (Pacific Alliance). The chapter argues that a common definition of goals and the development of specific joint projects are indispensable for increasing public goods in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In Chapter 15, “Asia’s financial stability as a regional and global public good,” Masahiro Kawai argues that financial stability is an essential public good that provides the necessary conditions for economic growth and employment creation. This chapter examines regional arrangements that promote financial stability in Asia: the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI), a network of bilateral currency swap arrangements now multilateralized as CMIM; the Economic Review and Policy Dialogue (ERPD), a regional surveillance process; and the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office (AMRO). In particular, the chapter analyzes whether Asia has the capacity and expertise to manage possible future financial crises through various measures for prevention, response, and resolution. The chapter also compares Asian institutions with other regional arrangements, particularly the European Stability Mechanism and the International Monetary Fund. Kawai suggests that Asian financial RPGs face the following challenges: inadequacy of financial resources, limited effectiveness of surveillance, close links with the IMF, and lack of procedural clarity and certainty in activating the CMIM. The chapter argues that, with significant progress in institutional quality, Asia can contribute to global financial stability by improving regional liquidity facility and surveillance arrangements.

The final chapter in Part IV and the book, Chapter 16, is Richard Newfarmer’s “From small markets to collective action: regional public goods in Africa.” It is widely acknowledged that Africa emerged from colonialism with many nations having small national markets rife with tribal division. In this context, by providing common rules to widen markets, deepen infrastructure, and work collectively to provide security—in other words, RPGs—regional cooperation holds the promise of contributing to the region’s peace and prosperity. However, integration efforts have fallen short of their ambitious objectives. This chapter examines why. Newfarmer looks at regional cooperation in Africa with the objective of deriving lessons about the sequencing of agreements, institutional design, and outcomes. He considers the political economy of efforts at regional cooperation, reviews recent literature on the effectiveness of Africa’s regional trade agreements in promoting trade and changing the structure of trade, and concludes with observations about the next phases of Africa’s integration.

Acronyms and abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AfDB	African Development Bank
AiIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ALADI	Latin American Integration Association
ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America
ALBA-TCP	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America—Peoples' Trade Treaty
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund
AMRO	ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APIBM	Afghanistan–Pakistan–India–Bangladesh–Myanmar
APSC	ASEAN Political-Security Community
APT	ASEAN Plus Three
ARC	Asia Research Centre
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASBA	Association of Supervisors of Banks of the Americas
ASBALC	Association of Banking Supervisory Organizations of Latin America and the Caribbean
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AU	African Union
BBIN	Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal Initiative
BCIM	Bangladesh–China–India–Myanmar
BIMSTEC	Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CAATEL	Andean Committee of Telecommunications Authorities
CACM	Central American Common Market

CAN	Andean Community
CAREC	Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation
CARICOM	Caribbean Common Market
CARIFTA	Caribbean Free Trade Association
CASA-1000	Central Asia–South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project
CASAREM	Central Asia–South Asia Regional Energy Market
CBP	US Customs and Border Protection
CCSBSO	Central American Council of Superintendents of Banks, Insurance, and other Financial Institutions
CEBS	Committee of European Banking Supervisors
CEC	Commission for Environmental Cooperation
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CELAC	Community of Latin America and Caribbean States
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CEMLA	Center for Latin American Monetary Studies
CFA	<i>Communauté financière africaine</i>
CGE	computable general equilibrium
CITEL	Inter-American Telecommunication Commission
CJEU	Court of Justice of the European Union
CMI	Chiang Mai Initiative
CMIM	Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COMISCA	Council of Ministers of Health of Central America and the Dominican Republic
CRA	Contingency Reserve Arrangement
CUSFTA	US–Canadian Free Trade Agreement
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DPRK	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
EAC	East African Community
EAS	East Asia Summit
EBA	European Banking Authority
EC	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSG	Electronic Commerce Steering Group
EEC	European Economic Community
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union

EFSF	European Financial Stability Facility
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EIB	European Investment Bank
ERPD	Economic Review and Policy Dialogue
ESF	European Social Fund
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
EU	European Union
EULAC	European Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean
FCL	flexible credit line
FDI	foreign direct investment
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia-Latin American Cooperation
FELABAN	Latin American Federation of Banks
FLAR	Latin American Reserve Fund
FTA	free trade agreements
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
FTAAP	Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GEF YSLME	Global Environment Facility Yellow Sea Large Marine Ecosystem Project
GHG	greenhouse gas
GMS	Greater Mekong Subregion
GNI	gross national income
GPG	global public good
GSP+	Generalized System of Preferences Plus
HST	hegemonic stability theory
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IADC	Inter-American Democratic Charter
IATRA	Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
ICGL	International Conference on the Great Lakes
ICTs	information and communication technologies
ICTSD	International Centre on Trade and Sustainable Development
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEA	International Energy Agency
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IIAG	Ibrahim Index of African Governance
IIRSA	Regional Initiative for Infrastructure in South America
IMF	International Monetary Fund