



Sources:
 CIA World Factbook;
 ESRI Ltd; Times Atlas of the World

Republic of Argentina

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Argentina has one of the most complex and well-developed federal systems in the Southern Hemisphere.¹ This chapter analyzes the participation of constituent governments in shaping Argentina's international relations and also examines the direct international actions of provinces in such diverse policy fields as infrastructure, energy, natural resources, foreign trade, international cooperation, and tourism. Three questions are addressed in particular. First, what characteristics of the politico-institutional context promote provincial involvement in international activities? Second, what incentives encourage provinces to become engaged in international relations? Third, what constraints limit the international activities of the provinces?

The main conclusion is that since the return of democracy in 1983 and the constitutional reforms of 1994, Argentine federalism has taken on an international dimension in its structure and functioning, and the provinces have become involved in foreign relations to different degrees and in different ways. Size, location, level of development, and political will are some of the key variables that differentiate provinces in their degree of participation in foreign relations. Whereas some of the provinces have developed a relatively successful strategy, shortages of institutional memory, financial resources, and expertise remain obstacles for other provinces. Furthermore, the weakness of coordination mechanisms between the federal and provincial governments in some cases limits effectiveness. Although much still needs to be done, there are signs that present efforts are leading to greater effectiveness and efficiency.

THE NATIONAL SETTING

Following the definitive return of democracy in 1983, federalism progressed from "dual" or "competitive" federalism to a more cooperative,

consensus-based federal arrangement. This new scheme opened a horizon of opportunities for provinces as a result of the end of the Cold War and the deepening of globalization. Provinces ceased to think and act locally and started to look beyond Argentina's borders, taking into account the new regional and global scenarios. The constitutional reform of 1994 signalled a more flexible and formal approach to international relations, allowing provinces to enter into international agreements provided these do not compromise national foreign policy. Since then, provinces have taken significant steps to make full use of their room to manoeuvre. Although this move toward "internationalization" has led to progress for the provinces, the overall process has been affected by Argentina's economic and political development. Moreover, the size and location of each province have shaped its international outlook and the degree to which it has become active on the international stage. In order to have a better idea of this overall situation, it is necessary first to outline some basic geographic and economic features relevant to understanding the dynamics of federalism in Argentina.

Argentina is located at the southern tip of South America and has a total surface area of 2,331,900 square miles, including the Malvinas Islands, islands of the South Atlantic, and portions of continental Antarctica. With a total population reaching 40.3 million people in 2007, the country is 2,290 miles in length and shares 5,825 miles of borders with Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Argentina's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2007 was US\$245.6 billion, making it the third-largest economy in Latin America after Brazil and Mexico. Following the economic turmoil of 2001–02, output began to recover in the second quarter of 2002. Real GDP increased by 8.8% in 2003, exceeding the most optimistic predictions, and increased by 9% in 2004. In 2005 the economy continued to grow at a rate of 9%. A similar growth rate was predicted for 2006, which would mean an accumulated economic expansion of 36% from 2003 to 2006.² By 2007 the unemployment rate was down to 8.9% – considerably lower than the 24.1% reached in the second quarter of 2002. Also, the poverty rate fell to 31% of the population – a rate that is still considered very high compared with the level of social equity that formerly characterized the country.

In terms of population density, economic development, and international outreach, Argentina displays important regional contrasts. This has obvious implications for foreign relations because widely differing regions put forward different agendas for international relations. The majority of Argentina's population and economic activity is concentrated in less than one-fifth of its territory – an area including the federal district of Buenos Aires (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires) and the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Santa Fe. As a whole, this area contains 63% of the Argentine population, with the federal district and the province of Buenos

Aires alone accounting for 45.9% of the total, followed by Córdoba with 8.6%, and Santa Fe with 8.3%. Argentina has three international cities: Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Córdoba. Mendoza and Tucumán play a secondary role. As the centre of political and economic power, Buenos Aires has a weight all its own. With its 11.5 million inhabitants, the capital city and the greater Buenos Aires area are at the centre of national life. Yet in terms of agricultural development, industry, and manufactured products, Rosario and Córdoba have also traditionally been considered major cities.

Following this pattern, the economic performance of the Argentine provinces also shows remarkable contrasts. In 2005, for example, Buenos Aires, Chubut, Mendoza, and Santa Cruz accounted for 48% of private investments.³ There is also great divergence among the productive structures *within* each province – and hence also in the development and exploitation of natural resources. This divergence is reflected in the high concentration of exports in a small group of provinces. In 2005 Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Córdoba accounted for 71% of total Argentine exports; Chubut, Catamarca, Mendoza, and Neuquén represented only 12%. There are also discrepancies between provinces in terms of their export markets. The Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) and the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are the largest markets for products from Buenos Aires, whereas the European Union (EU) and Asia represent the most important markets for Santa Fe. Most exports from Córdoba are concentrated in the EU, NAFTA, and Asian markets.⁴

REGIONAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXT OF THE NATIONAL SETTING

Latin America and MERCOSUR

Regional integration in the Southern Cone gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. The restoration of civilian governments in Argentina and Brazil, the adoption of broadly similar economic approaches, and the advancement of trade agreements have led to a remarkable improvement in bilateral relations. Overall, there seems to be a correlation between the reestablishment of democracy, the initial steps toward regional economic integration, and the parallel “desecuritization”⁵ of relations between Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

In 1991 Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay founded the southern common market, MERCOSUR, which functioned as a common market (involving the free circulation of goods, services, and factors of production) until 1995. Since then, it has also functioned as a customs union with a common external tariff. Under the “four-plus-one scheme,” MERCOSUR has two associated partners: Bolivia and Chile. In 2006 Venezuela formally

applied to become the first full member to join MERCOSUR since its establishment. Currently, Argentina's gross domestic product accounts for about 20% of the combined GDP of MERCOSUR member states, second after Brazil and ahead of Uruguay and Paraguay.

MERCOSUR is basically an intergovernmental structure without supranational institutions. As such, it lacks a fully institutionalized common foreign policy. Most problems that have arisen within the regional bloc have generally been solved by the members' presidents. This is why Argentine provinces have been striving for greater input on the decisions of a bloc that, on many occasions, has had a direct impact on their affairs. Early in 2000 provincial representatives began attending meetings of the Consultative Council for Civil Society, organized by Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some active provinces have sought to be consulted on the nation's decisions concerning MERCOSUR rather than to be merely informed of them. This situation created pressure to establish more institutionalized participation within MERCOSUR's structure, leading to the creation of the Consultative Forum of Municipalities, Federal States, Provinces, and Departments. Established in December 2004, this forum is intended to serve as the central representative body for constituent governments. It complements another parallel and older structure, the Red de Mercociudades (Merco-Cities Network). According to Article 1 of Resolution 41 of 2004, the forum aims to "stimulate dialogue and cooperation among authorities at the municipal, state, provincial, and departmental level of MERCOSUR's member states." Further, it is mandated to "put forward measures aimed at coordinating policies that promote well being and improve the quality of life of those people inhabiting the municipalities, federal states, provinces, and departments of the region, as well as tabling recommendations through the Common Market Group."⁶

The forum was incorporated into the regional structure in March 2007 during MERCOSUR's Presidential Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, and in September the Grupo Mercado Comun (MERCOSUR's executive agency) approved the internal regulations of the forum. The available evidence suggests that in its first stage of operations, the forum has offered a venue for sharing experience and discussing common challenges.

Another interesting aspect of provincial regional and transborder relations is the federal-unitary government dimension. Although Argentina is a federal country, it is surrounded, with the exception of Brazil, by neighbours with unitary governments: Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia. The lack of decision-making powers with respect to the foreign relations of subnational governments in these countries sometimes acts as a disincentive for Argentine provinces to try to establish regional arrangements. Thus in Argentina the usual way to resolve border issues is to look to the national government to deal with its unitary neighbours. Moreover, provinces with MERCOSUR-related

problems – with the exception of problems involving the Brazilian states – have made their voices heard mainly in national capitals. These observations demonstrate that the centralized pattern of decision making in foreign policy has generally been reproduced at the regional level.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SETTING

The Argentine Constitution spells out the powers and jurisdiction of the various orders of government. Originally written in 1853, it was reformed most recently in 1994. Foreign affairs and defence fall within the domain of the national government. Article 121 states that the provinces reserve for themselves all those powers that are not delegated to the federal government. This clause is similar to the Tenth Amendment of the United States Constitution in that, like the states, the provinces retain all powers that have not been expressly relinquished to the federal government.

Legislative powers are assigned to two houses of Congress: the national Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of representatives who are directly elected for a term of four years and who may be reelected. Although this chamber is not a provincial representative body, federalism still exerts an influence on its composition and dynamics. Crucially, each province is entitled to at least five deputies – a provision that takes into account the relative weakness of the less populous provinces. For its part, the Senate is a federal chamber representing the provinces that compose the federation. The Senate is composed of three senators from each province as well as three from the city of Buenos Aires. Contrary to the Canadian model, in which senators are not elected but chosen by the federal executive branch, Argentine senators are elected. Two seats are allocated to the winning party; the remaining one goes to the runner-up. Senators hold office for a term of six years and are entitled to indefinite reelection.

Although the allocation of powers among the executive, judicial, and legislative branches is balanced in the constitutional framework, foreign affairs, finances, and defence are centralized for the most part in the hands of the president. In this sense, the executive enjoys a high degree of autonomy in devising and proclaiming Argentina's foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has traditionally served as the gatekeeper of Argentina's international relations. With its body of professionals, the ministry has always had a voice in making foreign policy. In this sense, it has not only implemented the president's vision on foreign policy but has also helped to shape the president's perceptions and orientation in world affairs.

In addition, the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and thus has the overall task of organizing and deploying those forces.

Since the return of democracy in 1983, the executive has tried first to recapture and then to consolidate civilian control of the armed forces. Drawing on these constitutional powers, the president is able to lead major defence initiatives.⁷

Every international treaty approved by Congress subsequently becomes part of federal law.⁸ Contrary to the Canadian model – which gives each province the power to decide whether to apply an international treaty affecting one or more of its areas of jurisdiction – Argentine provinces must both respect and implement international treaties. When a provincial law contravenes an international treaty ratified by Argentina, the Supreme Court invokes an extraordinary judicial mechanism by which to ensure effective implementation of the treaty. Likewise, when a province violates a right recognized by an international treaty, its inhabitants are entitled to appeal to the judicial system for a *recurso de amparo*, a kind of injunction or expedited legal action against the province.

Although Congress does not conduct the everyday implementation of foreign policy, it has power over a number of limited yet crucial matters that can affect long-term policies. For example, senators retain the ability to influence foreign policy, and intergovernmental bargaining can play a role. Also, if Congress is to approve international treaties and decisions affecting war or peace as well as the conduct of trade, there is at least a formal possibility that provinces opposing an international treaty, for instance, can have a voice through their senators. Further, in the realm of economics, Congress can settle the payment of the nation's foreign and domestic debts. It is also responsible for regulating trade with foreign nations. In the area of defence, Congress is responsible for securing the integrity of the national boundaries, for determining provincial boundaries, and for creating new provinces. The most important power of Congress with respect to foreign relations is that after the executive has signed an international treaty, Congress is charged with "approving or rejecting treaties concluded with other nations and international organizations, and accords with the Holy See." It is further charged with "approving treaties of integration that delegate powers and jurisdiction to supranational organizations under reciprocal and equal conditions and that respect the democratic order and human rights."⁹ This is a matter of central relevance in a system in which treaties and accords have a status higher than that of domestic laws. Yet the reality is much more complex. Interests and alliances are rarely built along provincial lines and are usually subjected to party politics, ideological cleavages, or short-term, electoral-based political bargaining.

The constitutional reform of 1994 involving Article 124 introduced a number of changes aimed at strengthening federalism in the area of international relations. Article 124 reads as follows:

The provinces are empowered to set up regions for economic and social development and to establish entities for the fulfillment of their purposes, and they are also empowered, with the knowledge of Congress, to enter into international agreements provided they are consistent with the national foreign policy and do not affect the powers delegated to the Federal Government or the public credit of the Nation. The City of Buenos Aires shall have a regime which is to be established to that effect.

The provinces have the original dominion over the natural resources existing in their territory.¹⁰

This article empowers provinces to set up regions for the sake of economic and social development¹¹ and even to enter into international agreements – provided they do not contravene national foreign policy or affect either the powers delegated to the federal government or the public credit of the nation. Article 124 also establishes that natural resources belong to the provinces. This feature is crucial to understanding the international activities of the provinces because, as a result, they have a strong say in investment, regulation, and infrastructure development in the energy sector, a sector with important international ramifications.

Environmental law is held under concurrent jurisdiction; when exercising their powers in this regard, therefore, the provinces must take into account international treaties signed by Argentina.

Some experts argue that the 1994 reforms represent a qualitative advance for Argentine federalism. They also point out that, in essence, the new Constitution “incorporated” existing practices that had already been implemented by provincial governments. Some analysts cite as evidence the case of Crecenea Litoral, a region created by Salta and San Juan in 1985. Others point out that the provincial constitutions of Salta and San Juan, among others, contained articles on provincial international activities well before the 1994 reform.

Ultimately, both the text of the Constitution and its interpretation have raised a controversial yet unresolved question: specifically, *how and to what extent* should the federal government legally control the actions of provinces in the international arena to avoid contradictions or incompatibilities between national foreign policy and provincial actions? The lines of debate usually revolve around three additional and contentious questions.

First, is it mandatory to regulate Article 124?¹² If so, who should regulate it? On the one hand, a group of provincial representatives and constitutionalists argues that there is no need to regulate Article 124 because such regulation might diminish provincial power. Existing provincial experience in international affairs has proved the redundancy of the attempt to regulate Article 124 in order to ensure that the provinces can be active in the international arena. A more moderate group also opposes formal regulation of

Article 124 but urges the establishment of general guidelines on provincial international relations to avoid potential problems of incompatibility with national policy. On the other hand, there is a group that argues for “the need [formally] to regulate Article 124 in order to safeguard the right of the provinces to enter into international agreements, and to establish very clearly those areas of action that do not comprise the foreign policy or the public credit of the nation as a whole.” For this last group, Congress serves as the ultimate representative of the provinces and, as such, is entitled to legislate on this matter.¹³ Although the lines of division are not straightforward, it is possible to surmise that advocates for more regulation would restrict the provinces’ range of movement, whereas advocates of the *status quo* would seek to maintain it.

The second question is whether provinces should be entitled to sign treaties or agreements. Here, some constitutional experts have proposed a conceptual distinction between treaties and agreements, concluding that provinces are entitled to sign only agreements.¹⁴ Others argue that in practice there is no difference between an international treaty and an agreement, so long as these are limited to specific subjects and do not conflict with the standing of the nation.¹⁵

The third question is how to interpret the meaning of the “knowledge” of Congress. Some scholars and officials hold that “knowledge” by no means implies “approval” in Congress. They argue that Congress should not decide on provincial competences set out in the national Constitution. Another group contests this position, explaining that if the provinces merely provide information to the federal government on international treaties they conclude, this does not suffice to ensure the unity necessary for conducting foreign policy.

In any case, the reform of the national Constitution in 1994 created a momentum whereby many provinces saw an opportunity to introduce reforms of their constitutions on the basis of those made in the federal document. After providing a detailed analysis of each constitution, a recent study¹⁶ has concluded that the reform process initiated in 1994 marks a growing inclusion of international issues in provincial agendas, particularly issues related to trade, integration, and international cooperation.

The inclusion of references to international matters in the recently reformed provincial constitutions varies considerably. Some provinces (e.g., Salta and San Luis) advocate Latin American integration, whereas others (e.g., Neuquén and San Juan) include the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights in their provincial constitutions. Still others (e.g., Formosa and Chubut) make reference to Argentina’s sovereign claim to the Malvinas Islands. Most important, the majority of provincial constitutions (e.g., La Rioja, Catamarca, Córdoba, Jujuy, La Pampa, and Río Negro) explicitly state their aim to actively influence the formulation

of international policy. Yet matching words with deeds is a challenge some provinces still have to face, especially because most of these reforms have been implemented only recently.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Nation-Provinces Relationship and Foreign Policy

Traditionally, local ruling elites in Argentina have perceived foreign policy as a task of the federal government. In addition, diplomacy and international relations have been considered closely related to matters of “high politics” such as national security and the conclusion of political alliances with foreign nations. Therefore, the federal government has been highly skeptical of decentralizing aspects of national foreign policy. The implicit working assumption has been that definition of the “national interest” is a task reserved for the federal government. This has left little room for what have been considered merely parochial or regional interests.

Four processes – empirically interrelated yet analytically distinct – have eroded this centralizing tendency. First, there is a progressive internalization of “the international” by the local orders of government. This means that provinces are increasingly aware of their need to deal with global trends – and, in particular, with regional and neighbouring countries’ policies – in terms of their impacts on the constituent units. This awareness has translated into more “internationalized” constitutions and the development of new competences for dealing with international issues within the executive branches of the provinces. The second process is that of region building. Provinces have pressed forward in constituting regions in order to combine their resources for engaging in international activities. This phenomenon is addressed below in the discussion of regional and interregional relations. Third, transformations have occurred within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself, demonstrating its aim to “federalize” foreign policy. Fourth, as discussed earlier, the reformed national Constitution authorizes the provinces to sign international agreements. Occurring in the constituent, regional, and federal arenas, these four transformations present new possibilities for a better, substantive articulation of Argentine federalism in international relations.

The Institutional Capabilities of Argentine Provinces

The past decade witnessed an expansion of local capabilities in foreign affairs. That said, this expansion has varied considerably among the provinces.¹⁷ Although a national survey suggests that most provinces have offices that deal to some degree with international matters, very few (e.g.,

Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, San Juan, Santa Fe, and Corrientes) maintain an agency that deals exclusively with international relations. Another noteworthy aspect is that although provincial agencies in charge of international policies are situated at different official levels – secretariats, undersecretariats, general directions, directions, areas, and so on – the focus is largely on foreign trade at all levels. As in Buenos Aires, Chaco, Salta, and La Pampa, most international agencies operate within the ministries of production. Others are either attached directly to the governor's office (e.g., Corrientes) or are folded into other ministries (e.g., Mendoza and Formosa). One final trend is that national agencies that had traditionally focused on the domestic aspects of tourism, the environment, and infrastructure have increasingly begun to deal with them as aspects also of international and transborder affairs.

Provincial officials tend to agree that, beyond the level of institutional development, the political to-and-fro associated with local elections further conditions the activism of the provinces in international affairs. A change of administration may imply adjustments to institutional structures in general and to the agencies in charge of international affairs in particular.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Argentina possesses no *legal* asymmetries in relations between the federal and the constituent governments that would lead to variations in provincial activity in foreign affairs.

Coordination Mechanisms between the National and Local Governments

Since 1992 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has dealt with issues related to international trade through its secretary of trade and international economic relations. In addition, the ministry was charged with coordinating the foreign policy efforts and actions of the municipalities, provinces, and national authorities. These new roles prompted a need for heightened coordination between the the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the provinces – not only in commerce-related matters but also with respect to legal expertise, political affairs, and diplomatic support.

Today, the ministry has a Directorate of Federal Affairs that works as a formal nexus with the provinces and municipalities. In particular, this agency is responsible for (1) advising provinces on matters related to international agreements; (2) helping provinces to organize official trips and trade missions abroad; (3) providing provinces with support in establishing strategic partnerships and in twinning with other constituent units abroad; (4) assisting regions in legal, trade, and diplomatic matters; and (5) articulating the shared interests of the nation and provinces in regulating relations with neighbouring countries.

Recently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs implemented a number of programs, such as *Cancillería en el Interior* (2004), *Interior: Prioridad para*

Exteriores (2004), and Programa de Federalización de Comercio Exterior (2006). These programs had a twofold objective: to “bring the ministry closer to the provinces” and to “bring the provinces closer to the ministry.” To further these aims, the ministry took several innovative actions. First, it invited provincial officials to engage in meetings with officials of different ministries so that the former could deepen their knowledge of how international affairs are managed by the federal government. Second, the ministry organized several workshops in the provinces to provide updated information on foreign trade development and to listen to the demands of local officials. The workshops also seek to help provinces to promote their exports and gather commercial intelligence. Finally, in a few cases, diplomats were assigned to certain provinces.

Today, when provinces engage in foreign trade activities, they coordinate their efforts with, and receive the support of, various national agencies. To provide some examples: one such agency is Fundación Exportar, a mixed public-private agency for the promotion of trade that operates with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Fundación Exportar helps provinces and local producers to fund stands at trade fairs and to deal with general logistics in foreign countries. Provinces also rely on the support of Argentine embassies and consulates abroad, especially in organizing their governors’ trips and short-term missions. Another important support is the Consejo Federal de Inversiones (Federal Council of Investment, or CFI), a regional development agency created by the Argentine provinces and the federal capital city in 1959. Broadly, the CFI acts as a “macro-coordinator” among provinces as well as between provinces and national agencies. The CFI coordinates and finances trade missions abroad, performs commercial intelligence tasks, and provides technical assistance for the formation and functioning of regions.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also has a website, the aim of which is to strengthen the involvement of the municipalities in international affairs.¹⁸ The underlying idea is to bring local governments closer to the federal government and thereby to link efforts among municipalities, provinces, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), businesses, and the federal government. More ambitiously, the program seeks to promote culture, tourism, and other services offered by local governments as well as to twin Argentine cities both with others in the MERCOSUR area and with some in third countries. In advancing these aims, the ministry has committed itself to producing background research on the municipalities and provinces. The ministry is also poised to make agreements with provinces and municipalities so that these can enjoy a greater say and active participation in issues that affect foreign policy. Building on this ongoing initiative, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs signed an agreement as recently as July 2006 with the Federación Argentina de Municipios (Argentine Federation of

Municipalities) to promote local governments' exports. With this agreement, the ministry committed itself to providing the technical and institutional support necessary for improved international outreach – mainly in the sectors of economic development, culture, and tourism.

All these coordination efforts represent an important advance in Argentina's federal form of governance. Yet there is a general understanding that better coordination is needed – not only between the national and provincial governments but also among the provinces and between provinces and municipalities. Principally, four factors seem to hinder the harmonization and coordination of activities: (1) the perception of a lack of a national, strategic, long-term plan for how best to project the regions and provinces into the international arena; (2) the scarcity of financial resources, which sometimes forces programs to end and/or prevents the establishment of new ones; (3) the existence of asymmetries in information on “who does what” among the three orders of government (i.e., nation, provinces, municipalities); and (4) the lack of expertise in international affairs, especially in small provinces.

Provincial officials usually mention a number of measures that could be taken to alleviate some of these deficits. The most salient are: (1) strengthening institutions to avoid a “personalist” policymaking style (i.e., the identification of key policies with individual officers); (2) resolving other important related domestic issues, such as the revenue-sharing tax system known as *coparticipación*, which causes friction between the national government and the provinces and also among the provinces; and (3) increasing the number of visits of national officials and diplomats to the provinces.

Transborder Relations

Most Argentine provinces have long maintained close relationships with adjacent constituent governments in neighbouring countries. In some cases, these relationships started well before the country gained its independence in 1816, and they were encouraged by complementary economic activities, shared idiosyncrasies, and (with the exception of Brazil) a common language. Compared with the long distances that separate some provinces from Buenos Aires, physical proximity inevitably contributed to frequent interaction. This pattern obtained particularly in cases where the constituent units shared similar origins, as seen between some of the northern Argentine provinces and the unitary states of Bolivia, Chile, and Paraguay.

The resolution of pending boundary disputes in the 1980s and 1990s contributed to the adoption of a more cooperative view on the integration of transborder regions. Nowadays, with the greater volume and speed of cross-boundary movements of products, people, and pollutants, the border poses new challenges for the provinces. Issues include the facilitation of trade,

construction of roads and bridges, sharing of natural resources, and interconnection of electric systems and communications.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the shared experiences of provincial and national officials have made it evident that each part of the frontier entails its own characteristics and problems.

The Committee of Integration (formerly known as the Frontier Committee) is the formal body for dealing with transborder issues and is coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Basically, it consists of regular meetings in which national and provincial (and in some cases, municipal) authorities on both sides of the frontier negotiate on various aspects of the movement of people and goods into their areas of jurisdiction. Initially, the main attendees were governors, provincial officials, representatives from the different ministries of foreign affairs, and officials working in border services such as customs, immigration, health, transport, and police. In past years, new actors have gained access to these meetings. Whether representatives of tourism, transport, ports, mining, agriculture, or trade, these new actors come principally from the private sector and civil society.

Argentina has three committees of integration with Bolivia, one with Brazil, seven with Chile, six with Paraguay, and a similar mechanism with Uruguay, known as CODEFRO. Both provincial and national officials note that, from time to time, the borders raise some complex issues on the bilateral agenda. Nevertheless, in most cases, there are no major conflicts. In fact, there are significant areas of cooperation on frontier corridors, mining, shared hydro resources, trade, and cultural activities. One of the few important pending problems on the frontier is the regular (and frequently abusive) use by neighbouring communities of free public health facilities located in Argentina.

As mentioned earlier, an important aspect in analyzing provincial transborder relations is whether neighbouring countries are unitary or federal. Generally, when provinces in north-eastern Argentina deal with transborder issues with their counterpart Brazilian states, the negotiation is of a “constituent-constituent government” type. But when Argentine provinces discuss common issues with the neighbouring communities of unitary states (i.e., Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia), the case is quite different. Very often, the provinces end up dealing with national agencies due to the limited decision-making power of the lower-level governments of these countries.

The Provinces and International Organizations

The economic obligations assumed by the national government in international forums affect the country as a whole. In other words, if Argentina agrees to lower trade barriers for certain products in a World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiation (or any other trade negotiation), provincial policies must adapt accordingly. Despite this requirement, formal participation

by the provinces in WTO negotiations is practically nonexistent. In the Doha Round of these negotiations, the provincial representatives were not part of the negotiation team, although there had been provincial representation in trade negotiations with the United States. At most, economically powerful provinces exporting key products – such as grains, meat, sugar, textiles, and automobiles – may have exerted influence in compiling the positive and negative lists used at the national level to identify which products and services will be subject to liberalization. Similarly, no formal agreement or rule enables the provinces to engage directly in negotiations with international organizations, although some provinces have demonstrated a willingness to get involved in some way. An alternative venue for interacting with international organizations is the signing of cooperation agreements. One of the many examples of this practice is the agreement signed by the provinces of Chubut, Rio Negro, and Santa Cruz with the UN Global Environment Facility Trust Fund regarding the prevention of sea contamination and the management of maritime biodiversity.

Since the 1950s Argentina has maintained relationships with international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the World Bank. Not until the 1990s did IFIs begin to lend money to Argentine provinces as part of a broader development strategy for developing countries.²⁰ The autonomy of provinces in contracting credits with IFIs remains quite limited, however, and varies according to the type of credit in question. The national government is the ultimate legal authority entrusted with approving or rejecting credit projects that the provinces present; once a project is in progress, moreover, the national government monitors and evaluates its continuation. Within this legal framework, the provinces can by no means acquire loans from IFIs without gaining prior and explicit consent from the federal government. A similar control mechanism applies when provinces issue bonds for sale in international financial markets. Even the bonds' guarantees must be approved by the national government.

DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS OF CONSTITUENT DIPLOMACY

The Argentine Provinces in Foreign Affairs

Since the 1990s the provinces have become increasingly aware of their underexploited potential to go abroad. Provinces have engaged in international activities for various case-specific reasons. Some preliminary studies have identified a number of factors that might explain why some provinces are more active than others.²¹ Three of the principal factors are as follows.

First, international engagement depends on political will as well as on the institutional capacity to establish and maintain stable international ties.

Some provinces have stable, institutionalized apparatuses that have proven efficient in fostering their international objectives; others have relied more heavily on the vision and will of their governors in adopting international strategies. Increasingly, governors have shown interest in foreign affairs – an interest that extends beyond transborder relations to the organization of official business trips abroad. Governors increasingly regard such trips as a means to establish or strengthen direct contacts with foreign national and constituent governments as well as with technical cooperation agencies.

Second, there is the geopolitical location of each province. As noted above, Argentina borders on five countries – four of them unitary and one federal. Sixteen of a total of twenty-three Argentine provinces are border provinces. The country's geography puts complex issues such as immigration, cross-border infrastructure, security, sanitation, and the fishing and sharing of rivers on the agendas of neighbouring constituent governments on both sides of the border.

A third factor influencing provincial activity internationally is economics. Overall, sound evidence shows that the smaller and poorer the province, the less active it will be in international affairs. Larger and wealthier provinces – particularly those with more mature productive structures and more abundant natural resources – regard export promotion as a key development issue. As the chief nodal points of the so-called Region Centro, the cities of Rosario and Córdoba, for instance, have invested substantial financial and human resources in strengthening their trade position vis-à-vis other world regions and especially Asia.

On this count, the pattern seems to be that provinces having (1) strong political will and institutional capacity, (2) at least one international border, and (3) economic strength show more pronounced activism in international relations.

Regional and Interregional Relations

The dynamics of provincial activism in international affairs cannot be understood fully without considering regional and interregional arrangements with local government units in neighbouring countries.²² At the first level is the previously mentioned Committee of Integration, a mechanism for helping border provinces to manage their bilateral relationships with neighbouring provinces and localities.

Operating at a second level is the formation and operation of regions. As mentioned earlier, the national Constitution entitles the provinces to sign agreements in order to establish regions with the primary objective of promoting economic and social development. In practice, the formation of regions involves the implementation of common policies by member provinces in diverse areas such as trade, public services, transport, national

parks, and environment. In many cases, Argentine regions create their own institutional structures. The effectiveness of regional policies in the international arena varies greatly from region to region and also changes through time. But one clear advantage for provinces of forming regions is the consolidation of a “critical mass” not only to facilitate trips abroad that promote trade, tourism, and investment but also to make demands of the national government from a better position.

Aside from the autonomous city of Buenos Aires (which has a special regime) and the province of Buenos Aires, the provinces are grouped into five regions. Each region presents different particularities in terms both of its formation and institutional development and of its international objectives and strategies. As early as 1984, the provinces of Chaco, Corrientes, Formosa, Misiones, and Santa Fe endorsed the Resistencia Declaration. This declaration formed the basis of the Regional Commission for Foreign Trade of the Litoral-Northeast Region (CRECENEA-Litoral, or NEA). In 1988 Cuyo (a region comprising the provinces of La Rioja, Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis) signed the Treaty of Economic Integration of the Nuevo Cuyo, with the main objective of consolidating as a bloc. International actions are an important aspect of the treaty. Among its priorities are (1) the opening of corridors to the Pacific via Chile, (2) the development of communication and transportation, (3) the attraction of international capital and financing, (4) the promotion of foreign trade, and (5) the enhancement of shared infrastructure with Chile.²³ A third region was formed by the provinces of the Northwest (Salta, Jujuy, Tucumán, Catamarca, and Santiago del Estero), which signed the Constituent Act of the Northwest Region (Region del Noroeste Argentino, or NOA). Although most coordinated actions of NOA appear to be domestic, functions such as the promotion of tourism and the construction of transborder infrastructure (mainly roads and energy) are important for provincial foreign relations.

In 1996 the provinces of Tierra del Fuego, Santa Cruz, Chubut, La Pampa, Rio Negro, and Neuquen created the Patagonian Region. Most of Patagonia’s international actions as a region promote tourism. Among the most important have been the creation of the regional office Patagonia Turística and the negotiation of integrated tourism itineraries with neighbouring regions in Chile. Following the general trend, the provinces of Córdoba and Santa Fe formed the Region Centro (Centre Region) in 1998; Entre Ríos then joined this region in 1999. Trade, particularly within MERCOSUR and with Asia via Chile, is a key priority for the Centre Region. Another crucial aim is to develop bi-oceanic corridors.

At a third level are what are commonly called “macro-regions,” based on regional agreements between contiguous constituent units. One case is the region of Norte Grande, which was joined by those of NEA and NOA. These regions formed a subregion within MERCOSUR called the Zona de

Integracion del Centro Oeste Sudamericano (ZICOSUR). ZICOSUR also includes the Brazilian states of Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, and Parana; the Chilean northern regions of Tarapacá, Antofagasta, and Atacama; the Bolivian departments of Potosi and Tarija; the southern regions of Peru; and Paraguay.

In essence, ZICOSUR is a common economic, commercial, and cultural project that involves quite ambitious objectives. These are (1) development of multimodal bi-oceanic corridors; (2) articulation of a subregional project of transport, communications, and logistics; (3) integration of energy supplies; (4) connection of integrated tourist itineraries; (5) exchange of technologic and scientific resources; and (6) incorporation of value added to the available natural resources. ZICOSUR is considered by some to be an alternative project to the metropolitan axis of Buenos Aires, San Paolo (Brazil), and Santiago (Chile). The participants saw it as fitting their economic needs better than MERCOSUR as a whole. One of their greatest motivations to join this zone was that it would allow them to gain access to the Pacific through Chilean ports.

The other macro-regional unit is Crecenea Litoral-Codesul, which includes the north-eastern provinces of Argentina (NEA) and the Brazilian states of Rio Grande do Sul, Parana, and Santa Catarina. With mainly trade objectives, this interregional agreement was institutionalized in 1998 with the signing of the *Protocolo Regional Fronterizo 23* (Regional Border Protocol 23). In practice, however, the vitality of Crecenea Litoral-Codesul has not remained constant over the years. At the very beginning, this macro-region initiated relations with countries such as Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, as well as with the European Union. A relatively long period of inaction followed, enduring until 2005, when governors apparently decided to relaunch the project with more modest objectives, such as the organization of common trade-promotion activities.

The International Ramifications of Local Policies

The involvement of Argentine provinces in international affairs seems to follow a policy-specific pattern. The provinces do not have their own foreign policies; instead, there are international ramifications of autonomous territorial policies. Overall, the provinces play a marginal role when foreign policy decisions are made. Yet this pattern is more apparent in “high” politics than in “low” political areas such as the environment and development of infrastructure. More important, negotiations with neighbouring countries on matters affecting border provinces usually rely on close provincial involvement. In this context, each policy area differs in the degree of coordination between the various orders of government as well as in the nature of federal-local interaction (e.g., formal vs informal agreements and use of bureaucratic vs political channels).

The use and management of natural resources – rivers, fisheries, oil and gas fields, hydroelectric projects, ecosystems, and so on – is a policy area with significant international dimensions. It has already been noted that the provinces enjoy control over natural resources. This control both justifies and legitimates their participation in the national government's negotiations on natural resources with other countries, particularly neighbouring countries. For the national government, the need to combine provincial interests with its more embracing international relations poses significant challenges. The case of native forests illustrates the conflict between (provincial) interests and (international) commitments. Argentina has 33 million hectares of native forests, but in the past decade the expansion of agriculture, driven largely by the boom in the growth of transgenic soy, has led to the destruction of nearly 300,000 hectares a year, even in protected areas.²⁴ A crucial case is Salta, rich in native forests, which has authorized logging in formerly protected areas. On the one hand, there is a provincial interest in furthering its development by encouraging agriculture. On the other hand, there is a national (constitutional) commitment to making sustainable use of the environment, although there are difficulties in enforcing this commitment. As a result, relatively weak enforcement powers can lead to a rather ambiguous policy. Notwithstanding this, Argentina formally adheres to the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Kyoto Protocol on reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

Straddling Argentina and Chile, the binational mining project of Pascua Lama provides an example of provincial participation in border issues. With Pascua Lama, the province of San Juan was directly involved not only in promoting the mining initiative but also in bilateral negotiations with Chile and in the attendant environmental evaluation process. Another example is provided by the hydroelectric project of Garabi, located between Argentina and Brazil. This initiative relies on active participation by the provinces of Corrientes and Misiones both in technical matters (e.g., assessment of environmental impact) and in political ones (e.g., measuring effects on the provincial power system).²⁵ Perhaps the most prominent case of cross-border internationalization has been the construction of cellulose plants in Fray Bentos. Although these plants are located in Uruguay, they share a river with Argentina. Building the plants initially provoked criticism and opposition in the province of Entre Ríos – particularly in the neighbouring city of Gualeguaychu – and this reaction was later incorporated in the position taken by the national government. One final prominent example is the national law on hydrocarbons, locally known as Ley Corta. In the debate surrounding this law, the Organización Federal de Estados Productores de Hidrocarburos (Federal Organization of the Hydrocarbon-Producing States, or OFEPHI) played a major role in building a

consensus with the national government on key elements such as the recognition of dominion, exploitation, and foreign investment.

A second major local policy area with international implications is infrastructure. Infrastructure endeavours are considered a fundamental tool for local and regional development, especially for regions distant from Buenos Aires. This explains the strong demands of provinces and regions that the national government provide works of cross-border infrastructure that will allow cheaper and more direct access to neighbouring countries. Building a multimodal transport system that consolidates bi-oceanic corridors from the Atlantic (Argentina) to the Pacific (Chile) is a top priority, one that also benefits Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. A further strategic aim for the Northern Region in particular is to build roads to Bolivia and Paraguay, partner countries in ZICOSUR. Even though border regions share the sense that as many corridors as possible should be opened, each province obviously lobbies for the implementation of those projects planned for its own territory. A similar attitude may be observed for the construction of routes linking Argentina and Chile through the Andes and the resulting access to the Pacific Ocean.

The provinces are also very active in the national definition of priorities within the *Iniciativa para la Integración de la Infraestructura Regional Suramericana* (Initiative for Integration of the South American Infrastructure, or IIRSA). Broadly, IIRSA aims to promote the development of transport, energy, and communication infrastructure in twelve South American countries in order to integrate them as a region. Currently, 135 potential projects involve Argentine provinces; these projects involve varied processes such as integration in the energy sector, systems of multimodal transport, and border-crossing facilities.²⁶

For much of Argentina's history, a federally conceived foreign policy on culture has not been a priority. This has meant that Argentina has not taken advantage of the opportunity to fully exploit its consistently strong soft-power status in the region. Provinces have usually relied on their own strategies and resources to give culture a place in their foreign-outreach programs. A typical pattern has been to link culture with tourism. Argentina is known in the world mainly for its expansive and diverse landscapes, its high-quality food, its tango dance and sports, and its rich provincial traditions in local dances, regional foods, and historical sites. Thus provinces or regions have typically developed their own business plans in line with the areas in which they excel. Patagonia, for instance, is known worldwide for its wilderness and whale-watching attractions as well as for its lakes and mountains. Through the years, this region has developed its own international identity, to the point where many people are aware or have heard of Patagonia without knowing much about it.

In recent years, tourism has proved one of the most dynamic sectors in the Argentine economy. The country's federal character contributes to the development of regional economies that promote private and international investments. In 2004 tourism accounted for more than 4% of GDP. Increasingly aware of the role that tourism might play in regional economies, the federal government promulgated a national law on tourism to establish the Consejo Federal de Turismo (Federal Council of Tourism). Thought to be mainly a consultative body, this council is integrated by representatives of each province plus the city of Buenos Aires.

Foreign Trade

International trade policy has always been an area of provincial concern. With varying degrees of success, the provinces have struggled to have a say both in general trade policy and in specific international negotiations. The general pattern of influence in policy decisions is the following: the more geographically concentrated and horizontally integrated the economic sector at stake in a given international negotiation, the more voice (and lobbying power) the private actors will have. In these circumstances, the role of the provinces appears to be more that of a supporter of private demands than that of a relevant decider of the national stance. This was the case with the sugar negotiations, for example, involving MERCOSUR and the northern provinces.²⁷

As for cases in which provinces are directly involved in trade, these are concentrated mainly in commercial promotion. Among the most common actions are the following: assistance to small and medium-sized companies for participation in international trade fairs and exhibitions, organization of trade missions led by governors and joined by businesspeople, coordination of training courses for local businesses interested in exporting, and signing international agreements that promote the exchange of certain goods. It is also important to mention that in some cases when provinces organize trips abroad, the promotion of trade is not the only issue on the agenda. Usually, the governors organize meetings with local authorities and companies to attract foreign investment and promote tourism.

The provinces do not generally have representative offices abroad, although there are a few exceptions. One is the province of Mendoza, which opened two offices – one in San Paolo, the other in Brussels – through ProMendoza, the province's trade-promotion agency. The main purpose of these offices is to develop commercial intelligence and to promote the export of local goods such as wine, juice, fruit, and other agricultural products in its two most important export markets: Brazil and the EU. Authorities of ProMendoza have explained that their offices work in close

contact with the network of Argentine embassies. In 2005 and with similar objectives, Entre Ríos reopened its Economic Promotion Agency in Brazil, which represents its most important export market. Due to the high costs of maintaining offices abroad, however, such cases are rare.²⁸ When organizing trade missions or acquiring market information, provincial officials typically rely on the assistance of Argentine embassies and consulates. On some occasions, they also work with the Federal Council of Investment.

Overseas Technical Assistance and International Cooperation

Argentine provinces undertake relations with foreign partners on behalf of the national government by providing overseas technical assistance. In the early 1990s Argentina advanced from being a net beneficiary to being a dual beneficiary and donor. As a donor through the Argentine Fund for International Cooperation (FO-AR), Argentina has undertaken more than 3,558 actions since 1992. The provinces have actively participated mainly in sending local experts abroad. According to information provided by some provinces' webpages, most of these projects are related to technical affairs such as engineering, environment, and agriculture, among others. To cite just two examples, the province of Córdoba arranged a visit of Argentine engineers to El Salvador in order to provide technical assistance in managing waste water. Similarly, the city of Buenos Aires has facilitated visits by technicians to Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Cuba, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Uruguay.

In addition to providing technical assistance, the provinces are also direct recipients of international cooperation. This can take the forms of multilateral, bilateral, or decentralized cooperation. International cooperation usually involves actions like hiring experts, training, and purchasing equipment. Multilateral agencies working with the provinces include the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, the European Union, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). To provide an example, the UNDP, together with the Committee of Provinces comprising the Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales (CARI), implemented a nationwide project that surveys and analyzes the international actions developed by Argentine provinces in the areas of infrastructure, trade, natural resources, and cooperation.

Cities, Municipalities, and Twinning Initiatives

Most of the international activities of cities and municipalities involve twinning and partnership agreements. It is still uncommon to see local governments organize trips abroad, sign international treaties, or open offices abroad. Perhaps the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires is one of the few

exceptions, and this might be due not only to the special regime granted Buenos Aires by the national Constitution but also to its economic leverage.

Twinning initiatives that establish sister-cities have traditionally worked in a highly decentralized, nonpatterned manner. The randomness of this procedure has contributed to some of these initiatives becoming partnerships solely on paper, whereas others have achieved a high level of cooperation.

In response to the growing yet somewhat inarticulated interest in partnering with foreign cities, the Directorate of Federal Affairs is poised to formalize the whole process and thereby to make it more coherent and effective. For instance, it encourages provinces and municipalities to conduct thorough research in order to conclude whether a partnership with a target city will offer concrete benefits. The directorate has also established a ten-step scheme for proceeding with partnerships or twinning agreements. Beginning with the identification of a potential partner, the scheme proceeds through an exchange of notes of intention supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and concludes with the signing of the partnership and ratification by local legislatures.

Although twinning and partnerships are not new tools, provinces and municipalities have only recently begun to notice their potential. The directorate has undertaken substantial efforts to convince the provinces that it seeks to help them achieve effective partnerships rather than to block their international activities. A small yet significant step toward this goal has been its publication, on a website, of the complete list of partnerships signed by provinces and cities.²⁹ Whereas this information was hard to obtain even for the provinces, its provision by the directorate marks substantial progress. In this vein, the Committee of Provinces of *CARI*, together with a number of the provinces and the Federal Council of Investment, has implemented a joint program to digitize all lower-level international agreements, including city partnerships.

Argentine cities have 336 partnerships with forty foreign counterparts. Italy is the preferred partner country, with 32% of total partnerships. This is mainly for historical reasons (migration to Argentina) and because of political incentives. Italian regions, which have been leaders in the internationalization of subnational units, have found in Argentina (this is where history comes in) a country very receptive to further joint interests. Following Italy are Spain (29%), the United States (25%), and Brazil (23%). These four countries account for almost 55% of the total partnerships, followed by Chile (20%), China (13%), Russia (11%), Uruguay (9%), Israel (9%), and Paraguay (7%). This pattern can be understood in terms of history (Spain, Italy, and Israel), power (the United States, Russia, and China), and proximity (Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay). As a result, countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are rarely considered in the search for a partner.

Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Santa Fe, and the capital city account for 78% of total partnerships, reflecting that these are the most internationalized areas of the country. Most agreements are not signed by the provinces as a whole but by municipalities such as Rosario (Province of Santa Fe), Córdoba, and La Matanza (Province of Buenos Aires).

CONCLUSION

Briefly, the responses to four questions summarize the essence of this chapter.

First, what are the characteristics of the politico-institutional context that promote provincial involvement in international activities? Of primary importance is the return of democracy in 1983, which enabled the reconstruction of a more cooperative, consensus-based federal arrangement. At the same time, regional integration in Latin America created a climate and incentives for provinces to look abroad and thus to explore how international engagement could serve their local needs and interests. The constitutional reform of 1994 introduced important changes to Argentine federalism, changes that affected the country's international relations. Finally, more recently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave provinces and municipalities more latitude in policy planning, particularly in matters related to trade.

Second, what are the incentives for provinces to become engaged in international relations? Provincial international engagement depends on political will. Governors and executive authorities must have an international vision and a strong interest in establishing direct contacts with foreign national and constituent governments as well as with agencies that provide technical cooperation. Economic incentives are also crucial. Evidence shows that the smaller and poorer the province, the less active it will be in international affairs. By comparison, larger and wealthier provinces regard the promotion of exports as a key issue for economic development. Furthermore, the geopolitical location of each province matters. Issues such as immigration, developing cross-border infrastructure, providing security and sanitation, and sharing riparian resources offer strong incentives for constituent governments on both sides of an international border to cooperate and to develop common management strategies. Finally, the exploitation of natural resources affects the incentive structure too. The Argentine Constitution assigns provinces ownership of their natural resources. Hence they have a strong say in investment, regulation, and infrastructure development in the energy sector, a sector that has important international ramifications.

Third, what constraints limit the international activities of the provinces? Four can be mentioned. First, elections are a factor that conditions provincial activism in international affairs. Changes of governments sometimes

bring changes in institutional structures, putting institutional memory at risk. Second, the scarcity of financial resources on some occasions forces an end to programs. Third, the shortage of expertise in international affairs discourages forward-looking thinking and planning. Fourth, within the national government, the weakness of coordination mechanisms in some of the key policy areas with important international ramifications limits effectiveness. The problem, a lack of information on “who does what” among the three orders of government, has not yet been completely solved.

Fourth, what are the relevant emerging prospects and trends? In the near future, provincial international activities will grow in number and variety. Currently active provinces will develop a profile as international players as they gain experience and are encouraged by positive results. Smaller provinces will progressively develop international strategies and actions of their own. Also, policy sectors traditionally considered domestic will have more (and new) international ramifications. Policy sectors such as cultural affairs, energy, the environment, tourism, and infrastructure will probably have a greater international profile. Finally, perhaps the medium term will see the consolidation of some regions and macro-regions as alternative (and complementary) integration projects for smaller provinces.

NOTES

- 1 For background, see also Antonio M. Hernandez, “Republic of Argentina,” in Katy Le Roy and Cheryl Saunders, eds, *Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries*, 8–36 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006).
- 2 Centro de Economía Internacional, *Argentine Economic Overview No. 47* (2006), 1–2, <http://www.cei.gov.ar/pdf/eco/pea/peaeng.pdf> (accessed 1 March 2007).
- 3 “El 48% de las inversiones se concentra en cuatro provincias,” *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 9 December 2005, 10.
- 4 Centro de Economía Internacional (CEI), *Exportaciones por Provincia, 2001–2005* (Buenos Aires: CEI, 2006), 6–7.
- 5 See Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1998).
- 6 Art. 4, Resolution 41/04.
- 7 For their part, although provinces are not “subjects” in defence policies, when domestic peace is threatened, they become objects. Article 6 of the Constitution establishes that “the federal government may intervene in the territory of the provinces in order to guarantee the republican form of government or to repel foreign invasions; and at the request of their constituted authorities, it may intervene to support or reestablish them, should they have been deposed by sedition or invasion from another province.”

- 8 Constitution, Article 31: "This Constitution, the laws of the Nation enacted by Congress in pursuance thereof, and treaties with foreign powers, are the supreme law of the Nation; and the authorities of each province are bound thereby, notwithstanding any provision to the contrary included in the provincial laws or constitutions, except for the province of Buenos Aires, the treaties ratified after the Pact of November 11, 1859." To be approved, an international treaty needs two-thirds of the votes of the members of each house.
- 9 Constitution, Article 75.
- 10 An English version of the Constitution is provided by the Chambers of Senators at: <http://www.senado.gov.ar/web/interes/constitucion/english.php> (accessed 20 July 2007).
- 11 The issue related to the regions and its activities is analyzed below in the subsection "Regional and Interregional Relations."
- 12 Article 124 is legally binding on both the national and provincial governments. However, the Constitution allows a clause to remain "unregulated," meaning that Congress does not pass legislation to specify conditions for its application in the provinces and that provinces do not incorporate the clause into their constitutions or specify how the clause is to be implemented in their jurisdictions. Article 124 has not been regulated in either sense, a state of affairs preferable to the provinces because it allows them maximum flexibility in pursuing their foreign relations. They can thus sign agreements with foreign partners without reference to the national government as long as they deem such agreements not to be in conflict with its powers over foreign policy and external credit or with those powers delegated to it by the provinces in the Constitution.
- 13 Alberto Dalla Via, "El Marco Jurídico e Institucional para la Gestión Internacional de los Actores Subnacionales Gubernamentales en la Argentina," *Revista Comercio e Integración* 21 (2004): 21–38, at 21.
- 14 Antonio Hernández, *Integración y globalización: Rol de las regiones, provincias y municipios* (Buenos Aires: Depalma, 2000).
- 15 Dalla Via, "El Marco Jurídico," 21.
- 16 See Graciela Zubelzu, "Provincias y Relaciones Internacionales – Primer Informe," in *Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales – CARI/UNDP Argentina* (2004), <http://www.cari.org.ar> (accessed 6 March 2007).
- 17 See *ibid.*, 28–9.
- 18 See <http://www.promocion.ar> (accessed 7 March 2007).
- 19 Eugenio Valenciano, "La Frontera: Un nuevo rol frente a la integración: La experiencia en el MERCOSUR." Paper presented at the conference "La integración fronteriza y el papel de las regiones en la Unión Europea y en el Cono Sur: experiencias, opciones y estrategias," Centro de Integración Regional (CEFIR), Montevideo, 23–7 October 1995, 27.
- 20 Luis Lucioni, "Orientación del financiamiento de organismos multilaterales a Provincias," *Serie de Estudios y Perspectivas / CEPAL Argentina* 17 (2003): 3–22, at 7.

- 21 Miryam Colacrai and Graciela Zubelzu, "Las vinculaciones externas y la capacidad de gestión internacional desplegadas por las provincias argentinas en la última década: Una lectura desde las relaciones internacionales," in Tulio Vigevani, Luiz Eduardo Wandarley, Maria Ines Barreto, and Marcelo Passini Mariano, eds, *A dimensao subnacional e as relacoes internacionais*, 23–45. San Pablo: Puc Editora, UNESP/CEDEC/FAPESP, 2004.
- 22 Valeria Iglesias, "Las Provincias Argentinas y su accionar en material de comercio exterior," in *Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales – CARI/UNDP Argentina* (2005), 23–4, <http://www.cari.org.ar> (accessed 7 March 2007).
- 23 Graciela Zubelzu, "Provincias y Relaciones Internacionales – Segundo Informe," in *Consejo Argentino para las Relaciones Internacionales – CARI/UNDP Argentina* (2005), 10, <http://www.cari.org.ar> (accessed 7 March 2007).
- 24 See Greenpeace Argentina's website: <http://www.greenpeace.org/argentina/bosques> (accessed 3 March 2007).
- 25 Miryam Colacrai, "Subnational Cooperation and Federal Government in Border Areas and the Development of Physical Infrastructure," *Integration and Trade* 21 (2004): 134–55, at 144–5.
- 26 See the website of Centro de Derechos Humanos y Ambiente (CEDHA): <http://www.cedha.org.ar> (accessed 5 March 2007).
- 27 Iglesias, "Las Provincias Argentinas."
- 28 Little information is available on the budgets for provincial agencies in charge of international activities. One of the most active foreign trade-promotion agencies, Baexporta, had a budget of nearly US\$800,000 for export promotion in 2006. See Herán Sánchez, "El destino de los subsidios," *La Tecla* (Buenos Aires), 27 July 2006, 19.
- 29 See <http://www.mrecic.gov.ar> (accessed 6 July 2008).