

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

TUTELAGE AND REGIME SURVIVAL IN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS'
DEMOCRACY PROTECTION
The Case of MERCOSUR and UNASUR

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World Politics

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Annex I List of Interviews*

Last Name	Name	Position	Country	Date of interview	Place of interview
Abreu	Sergio	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1993-1995); Senator (2005-2015)	Uruguay	24 March 2015	Montevideo
Amorim	Celso	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1993-1995 and 2003-2011)	Brazil	24 July 2015	Rio de Janeiro
Barral	Welber	Magistrate of the Permanent Review Court of Review for MERCOSUR. Rapporteur/Speaker on Paraguay's appeal on suspension (2012)	Brazil	20 November 2015	Florence
Cabello Sarubbi	Óscar	Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (2015)	Paraguay	22 July 2015	Asuncion
Colombo Sierra	Agustín	Under-Secretary for Latin American Affairs (2006-2009), Director of MERCOSUR's General Secretary (2010-2011)	Argentina	26 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Conde	Roberto	Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs (2010-2014)	Uruguay	23 March 2015	Montevideo
Couriel	Alberto	Senator (1995-), President of the Commission of International Affairs	Uruguay	23 March 2015	Montevideo
Dorfler	Mauricio	Director of Political Affairs and Defense of UNASUR (current)	Bolivia	9 August 2016	Quito
Ferreira Simões	Antonio José	Under-Secretary of South America, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2010-2015)	Brazil	15 January 2016	Madrid
González Bibolini	Juan Miguel	General Director of the General Section on of Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Paraguay	22 July 2015	Asuncion
Iglesias	Fernando	Deputy (2007-2011)	Argentina	27 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Insulza	José Miguel	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1994-1999), Secretary General OAS (2005-2015)	Chile	9 October 2015	Florence
Lacalle Herrera	Luis Alberto	President of Uruguay (1990–1995)	Uruguay	23 March 15	Montevideo
Lacognata	Héctor	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2009-2011)	Paraguay	20 July 2015	Asuncion
Lafer	Celso	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1992 and 2001-2002)	Brazil	28 July 2015	Sao Paulo
Lampreia	Luiz Felipe	General Secretary of Foreign Affairs Ministry (1992-1993) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1995 and 2001)	Brazil	27 July 2015	Rio de Janeiro
Lara Castro	Jorge	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2011-2012)	Paraguay	21 July 2015	Asuncion
Luján	Carlos	Coordinator of the Strategic Analysis Unity – Ministry of Foreign Affairs (current)	Uruguay	24 March 2015	Montevideo

* All interviews performed by Carlos Closa, except interview with Mauricio Dorfler performed by Stefano Palestini

Melgarejo	Rubén Darío	Minister of Foreign Affairs (1996-1998)	Paraguay	21 July 2015	Asunción
Miola	Jeferson	Director Secretary of MERCOSUR (2012-2013), Adviser to the office of the President (current)	Brazil	30 July 2015	Brasilia
Ons	Alvaro	General Director of the Integration and MERCOSUR of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (current)	Uruguay	25 March 2015	Montevideo
Peña	Félix	Undersecretary of International Commerce (Ministry of Economy of Argentina), member of the MERCOSUR Common Market Group (1998-1999)	Argentina	26 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Pinheiro Guimarães	Samuel	Secretary Foreign Affairs Ministry (2009-2010), Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (2003-2009), Minister of Planning, First High Representative of MERCOSUR (2011-2012)	Brazil	31 July 2015	Brasilia
Raimondi	Guillermo Daniel	Ambassador, Director MERCOSUR, Politician, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (current)	Argentina	26 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Rachid	Leila	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2003-2006), Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (1999) and Ambassador in Argentina (1999) and USA (2000), Representative to MERCOSUR (2004-2008)	Paraguay	21 July 2015	Asuncion
Ramírez Lezcano	Rubén	Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2008), Vice-minister of Economic Relations and Integration (2004), Alternate Permanent Representative to the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI) (2000), Coordinator of the Common Market Group (2004)	Paraguay	27 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Ruiz Diaz Balbuena	Hugo	Minister Counselor International Affairs President Lugo (2012)	Paraguay	22 July 2015	Asuncion
Ruiz Sánchez	Félix	Adviser President Lugo (2010-2011)	Paraguay	29 July 2015	Sao Paulo
Salomone	Patricia	General Direction of Latin American Policy, Undersecretary of Latin American Policy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina (current)	Argentina	26 March 2015	Buenos Aires
Sanguinetti	Julio María	President Uruguay (1985-1990 and 1995-2000)	Uruguay	24 March 2015	Montevideo
Silvero	José Manuel	Parliament adviser, High MERCOSUR Officer (current)	Paraguay	22 July 2015	Asunción
Valdés	Juan Gabriel	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile (1999-2000), Ambassador of Chile in Washington (current)	Chile	13 October 2015	Florence
Volonté	Alberto	Leader of “Partido Nacional” (1995-1999), Ambassador of Uruguay in Argentina (2000–2005)	Uruguay	23 March 2015	Montevideo
Wasmosy	Juan Carlos	President of Paraguay (1993-1998)	Paraguay	22 July 2015	Asuncion

Annex II List of codes

- E.01 Normative congruence
 - E.01.01 Democracy was the spirit of the epoch
 - E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do
 - E.01.03 Moral repudiation of military dictatorship and coup d'état (even without supporting enforcement mechanisms)
- E.02 Diffusion (external actor driven)
 - E.02.01 External actors impose/influenced by means of incentives/sanctions
 - E.02.02 Signalling
- E.03 Functional explanation: Democratic regimes guarantee commitments
 - E.03.01 Integration in general/Economic integration needs democracy/democracy protection to prosper
 - E.03.02 Integration in general/Economic integration does not require democracy/democracy protection to prosper
 - E.03.03 Integration as an instrument to lock in domestic liberal economic preferences
- E.04.01 Tying hands/supranational guarantee/Dissuasion of domestic groups contrary to democracy
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- E.05.01 Specific event triggered the design of the provision
- E.06 Asymmetric value of provisions for different countries
 - E.06.01 Provision needed for my own country
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 - E.06.03 Provision needed for country X
 - E.06.04 Provision not needed for country X
- E.07.01 Asymmetric enforcement capacity of different member states
- E.07.02 Rhetoric with no cost

Annex III List of quotations for codes E.01 to E.07
Atlas.ti© Output

QUOTATIONS FOR CODES E.01

Report: 11 quotation(s) for 4 codes

HU: Institutional design of democratic clauses
File: [E:\DOCUMENTOS\Democratic clauses and internation...\Institutional design of democratic clauses.hpr7]
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Date/Time: 2017-03-24 16:36:58

Mode: quotation list names and references

Quotation-Filter: All

E.01 Normative congruence

E.01.01 Democracy was the spirit of the epoch

E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do

E.01.03 Moral repudiation of military dictatorship and coup d'etat (even without supporting enforcement mechanisms)

P 5: Conde, Roberto.docx - 5:4 [UNASUR condensa o sintetiza el.] (11:11)

Codes: [E.01.03 Moral repudiation of military dictatorship and coup d'etat (even without supporting enforcement mechanisms)]
No memos

UNASUR condensa o sintetiza el aprendizaje de haber sufrido 100 años de golpes de estado, y que todos hemos llegado al convencimiento de que los golpes de estado ha sido una calamidad para nuestras naciones, y que no tenemos otro camino que generar una convivencia democrática estable, un juego político plural y diverso y que es dentro de esas reglas del juego que es que podemos plantearnos cada partido sus desafíos.

P 5: Conde, Roberto.docx - 5:55 [Hay una conciencia histórica,] (78:78)

Codes: [E.01.03 Moral repudiation of military dictatorship and coup d'etat (even without supporting enforcement mechanisms)]
No memos

Hay una conciencia histórica, sin duda, eso de que usted va a escuchar en cualquier sociedad sudamericana que recorra de que un golpe de estado nunca más una dictadura nunca más, ese clamor de nunca más está instalado a fuego en la conciencia, por lo tanto hay una base moral en la conciencia colectiva. Y hay una cierta necesidad en nuestros pueblos de tener un documento de repudio moral y político de cualquier golpe de estado, y que luego las sanciones se puedan cumplir. O sea que sí, con un cierto realismo político todos sabemos que muchas de esas sanciones no se puede cumplir, este pero no por eso tienen que dejar de existir y de expresar un consenso político de la época.

P16: Sanguinetti, Julio María.docx - 16:1 [dominó el espíritu ese momento..] (9:9) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.01 Democracy was the spirit of the epoch]

No memos

dominó el espíritu ese momento de la historia, estamos hablando del año 83 en la Argentina, del año 85 en Uruguay y en Brasil, el 87 en Chile, antes en Perú, más tarde vendrá Paraguay, pero en general la región se re-democratiza. En ese momento y en ese espíritu, renace y se refuerza la idea integracionista

P16: Sanguinetti, Julio María.docx - 16:23 [hay cosas que a veces flotan en] (47:47) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.01 Democracy was the spirit of the epoch]

No memos

hay cosas que a veces flotan en el ambiente de la época, y en estos años flotaba en el ambiente de la región el tema democrático como un gran emblema, nuestros países habían sufrido mucho en la etapa de los golpes de estado

P21: Lacalle Herrera, Luis Alberto.docx - 21:4 [uego aparece la cláusula democ..] (10:10) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do]

No memos

uego aparece la cláusula democrática en Las Leñas, la aprobamos porque nadie está en contra del tema democrático

P21: Lacalle Herrera, Luis Alberto.docx - 21:6 [cuando uno propone algo como u..] (12:12) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do]

No memos

cuando uno propone algo como una cláusula democrática es muy difícil decir que no.

P21: Lacalle Herrera, Luis Alberto.docx - 21:9 [a mí me lo trajo el Canciller ..] (14:14) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do]

No memos

a mí me lo trajo el Canciller estaba ya negociado, yo firmé. Me habrá preguntado y yo dije que sí, no era mi prioridad, yo la firmé, porque la formaron todos, muy difícil decir que no

P21: Lacalle Herrera, Luis Alberto.docx - 21:32 [yo después de mi experiencia e..] (45:45) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do]

No memos

yo después de mi experiencia en estar en reuniones internacionales, que difícil es ponerse en contra de algo, hay como una inercia de quedar mal, de no ser él

P25: Volonté, Alberto.docx - 25:16 [Sanguinetti que no era un homb..] (31:31) (Super)

Codes: [E.01.02 There was a moral commitment (to democracy) and formalization of DPM was the right thing to do]

