
ABSTRACTS

Juan Rebolledo Gout, *In Search of an Understanding with the United States*

In this essay, Juan Rebolledo Gout analyzes the historical background of the Mexico-United States relationship in the last two centuries, and emphasizes that, despite the differences that have arisen during this period, both nations have recognized that their proximity leads to daily contact, which needs to develop under the best possible conditions, entailing the need for a “new understanding” bilaterally.

The closing of the gap between the government of Mexico and that of the United States, the author explains, began a decade ago in the terrain of economy, and continued in other aspects of the bilateral agenda. During the 1994-2000 government, 22 treaties were signed, 46 inter-institutional agreements, and around 35 bilateral labor mechanisms were created; one of the most important agreements was the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Gulf of Mexico. We should mention that there are also problems perceived as “unresolvable”, for example, migration, drug trafficking, the environmental dilemmas, and some regional and multilateral matters, where there has also been progress.

According to the author, the qualitative change in bilateral relations, the “new understanding”, was based on four large criteria: the creation of bilateral rules that offered mechanisms for administrating cooperation and conflict, and that reduced uncertainty; a global concept of the relationship that would allow differentiated handling of each topic, thus preventing conflictive matters affecting the rest of the relationship; the adoption of long-term objectives; and the decision to be apprised of and give priority to high-level political opinions to avoid surprises in the relationship. According to the author, the result is positive, since advances have been concrete and dialogue fluid.

Miguel Ángel González Félix and Jorge Cicero Fernández, *The Protection of Mexicans Abroad*

The essay analyzes the main advances related to protection of Mexicans living abroad, mainly those who live in the United States, during the 1994-2000 administration. Miguel Ángel González and Jorge Cicero underline the difficult context in which these actions took place: for Mexico, the migratory phenomenon has a fundamentally human, economic and social dimension; on the other side, in the United States, the predominating view of undocumented immigration is that of a threat to national security, which explains the existence of very strict, and sometimes openly anti-immigrant legislation.

The paper is divided into four sections: the first refers to actions promoted inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE) to reinforce its ability to protect Mexicans living abroad. This is the origin of the increased number of consular offices and the creation of the SRE's Protection Policies Desk. Furthermore, the SRE's International Disputes Desk was kept, and the old figure of the "chancellors of protection" was resumed.

The second section has to do with binational protective actions. A binational migration study was done in this area; a series of border agreements were signed to provide guidance and protection, and it was resolved to establish a mechanism for exchange of information for the fight against criminal organizations engaged in the traffic of human beings. The authorities have intensified the closeness of their ties to each other in addressing migration in two areas: control of undocumented immigration and flexibility of immigration laws. The third section deals with the rights of Mexicans in the American courts and the support that the SRE provides to migrants in the form of consular guidance related to their legal rights and putting them in touch with lawyers' bars and legal groups willing to defend them. The last section relates to protective actions by Mexico in the international forums and processes such as the InterAmerican Human Rights Court and other international human rights organizations. Lastly, the authors propose that the protection of Mexicans living abroad be made a constitutional principle of Mexico's foreign policy so as to guarantee its continuity as well as greater attraction of human and financial resources.

Federico Salas, *Toward Construction of an Association among the Countries of North America*

The essay studies one of the main foreign policy initiatives of president Ernesto Zedillo's administration: the construction of an association among the countries of North America that goes beyond trade connections. This proposal starts from the fact that the economies and societies of Canada, the United States and Mexico have become increasingly interdependent and, therefore, it is best to actively support the already existing forms of trilateral cooperation and open up new, complementary spaces for cooperation. The association of the North American countries initiative appeared in 1998. Since then, trilateral meetings have been held, both in terms of *ad hoc* gatherings of the ministers and secretaries of state of the three countries and within the framework of conferences of multilateral bodies. The author examines some of the important steps that have been taken to legitimate and make the idea of a trilateral arrangement viable: the 1999 Framework Declaration and the Memorandum on international development cooperation, among others.

The author concludes that, although it is premature to judge the consolidation of a trilateral North American association, there is already progress, with the potential to consolidate a wider, more far-reaching plan in the future.

Carlos A. de Icaza, *The Latin American Identity of Mexico's Foreign Policy*

Mexico and Latin America, with a common historical and cultural patrimony, share a view of international relations that is based on respect for national sovereignty, full effectiveness of the fundamental principles and rules that govern interaction between States, and the conviction that the preservation of democratic values and republican institutions constitutes the main pillar of their societies.

According to Carlos de Icaza, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) are currently experiencing a consolidation of the profound structural transformations undertaken two decades

ago in the political, economic and social spheres. Mexico's strategy to reaffirm a privileged relationship with these countries, aimed at achieving the construction of a Latin American Community of Nations, is advancing in three directions: the hemispheric, that of regional mechanisms, and that of bilateral relations. In the first, Mexico's purpose is to have hemispheric cooperation address the development requirements of the countries of LAC in the framework of organizations such as the Organization of American States or the Las Americas Summit. As regards the second, given the vital importance of reinforcing the LAC countries' ability to have a timely influence on the principal world decisions, Mexican foreign policy pays special attention to regional cooperation and integration bodies and mechanisms (the Latin American Integration Association, the Rio Group, the Tuxtla Mechanism, and others). As for bilateral relations, the author examines the state of Mexico's relations with each of the LAC countries, as well as the activity that has occurred as refers, for example, to State visits, binational commissions, and accords signed.

The author concludes that, through the actions analyzed, Mexico has strengthened the mechanisms for dialogue and cooperation with the other LAC countries, a situation that, added to the expansion and renewal of the legal context in which cooperation between the countries of the region occurs, has a positive influence on the construction of a Latin American Community of Nations.

Patricia Espinosa Cantellano, *Two Mechanisms for Inter-consultation and Joint Arrangement: the Rio Group and the Ibero-American Conference*

In the last five to ten years, mechanisms for inter-consultation and joint arrangement have become very important, because decisions made on the basis of common interests and positions have a growing influence on the discussion and development of the main points of the world agenda.

The author recounts the agreements reached during the Rio Group meetings (G-Rio) and the Ibero-American Conference on topics such as the reinforcement of democracy, the position confronting unilateral measures, the fight against drugs, reform of the

United Nations Organization, illegal arms trafficking, the international financial situation and trade. She highlights Mexico's work as pro tempore Secretariat of the G-Rio during 1999, a period in which it was in charge of conducting inter-consultations and negotiations among the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), and between them and the European Union (EU) for the holding of the first LAC-EU Summit. The paper also stresses that the Veracruz Act, a document that reflects the historical heritage of the G-Rio, as well as the basic areas of consensus and shared principles. During the time Mexico held that position, Central American countries joined this mechanisms and, also on its initiative, cooperation in preventing and assisting in the event of natural disasters was addressed. The author concludes that through mechanisms such as the G-Rio and the Ibero-American Conference, Mexico will continue to provide active support for all aspects of the country's development.

Mario Chacón, *The New Nature of Diversification: Negotiation with Europe*

One of the foreign policy objectives of the 1995-2000 Mexico's National Development Plan was to achieve an integral accord with the European Union (EU) that would guarantee the exchange of goods and services as well as cooperation and political dialogue with that important region. Today, five years later, the Agreement of Economic Association, Political Consultations and Cooperation between Mexico and the EU has been initiated.

Mario Chacón details the process the two parties have engaged in, to establish closer ties and for purposes of negotiation, as well as each one's reasons for completing the agreement. The road was long and filled with difficulties; it included bilateral actions for an approachment to each one of the EU countries; lobbying at the community level, both by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Trade and Industrial Development; trade negotiation properly speaking and its implications: seeking the opinion of the domestic productive sectors, among the most important ones.

In this essay, the author explains in general terms the structure of the Agreement and the benefits expected in the political,

economic and cooperative arenas. According to him, the agreement places Mexico in a privileged situation in terms of the world scene, and opens up a window of opportunity that will allow Mexican society to achieve greater levels of well-being.

Rafael Cervantes, *A New Bi-regional, Strategic Association: the Latin American and Caribbean-European Union Summit*.

The Latin America and Caribbean-European Union (ALC-UE, by its initials in Spanish) Summit was held in Río de Janeiro, Brazil, on June 29 and 30, 1999. In this meeting, the leaders signed a political declaration in which they committed themselves to develop a strategic ALC-UE association that would bring a new dimension to interregional relations.

Rafael Cervantes analyzes the factors that came together to make the ALC-UE Summit possible; he examines the work done in preparation for the meeting and the agreements reached during it, and he gives an overview of the future prospects of the biregional relationship. The author concludes that the ALC-UE Summit was a highly important historical event on the international stage that made it possible to reinforce political dialogue at the very highest level between the two regions, and agree on the bases for decisive encouragement of biregional economic relations and cooperation, fundamental in consolidating a new strategic, privileged and mutually beneficial association. According to him, this will allow Latin America to face the challenges and ventures of the future in better conditions.

Carmen Moreno Toscano, *The Multilateral Vocation of Mexican Foreign Policy*

Carmen Moreno states that, during the 1994-2000 administration, Mexico developed a series of foreign policy initiatives that demonstrate the country's new role in international relations: it reinforced its international presence with the conclusion of free trade agreements and a foreign relations diversification policy; it solved the challenges of its proximity to the United States at the same time

that it intensified its contacts with Latin America and Europe and opened up new spaces with Asia, the Pacific, Africa and the Middle East. Furthermore, in the multilateral arena, it identified and promoted viable options to advance national interests.

The author stresses that the Mexican multilateral policy was active and encouraged discussion and exchange of opinions; the main topics of its agenda were the democratization of the United Nations, the new international financial architecture, international peace and security, the fight against drugs, human rights and sustainable development. Novel initiatives were presented in these areas and concrete progress was achieved.

Considering the present, overall world situation, Carmen Moreno proposes, multilateral action requires long-term strategies; special efforts to harmonize, dialogue and reconcile; and fundamentally, the basic view of a common future in order to achieve international community rules and parameters.

Eleazar Ruiz y Ávila, *The Human Rights Agenda*

Eleazar Ruiz analyzes Mexican foreign policy in relation to human rights during the government of president Ernesto Zedillo, based on compliance with Mexico's international commitments acquired when it became a country party to 58 related international instruments, and on cooperation with the mechanisms established by associating instruments or the resolutions adopted in the multilateral forums.

According to the author, foreign policy in this area has pursued Mexico's full participation in the InterAmerican System of Human Rights, it has been active in proposing initiatives in the multilateral field aimed at providing better protection of human rights, and has been concerned with promotion and protection of the rights of migrants, women, children, and indigenous populations, and with supporting international initiatives in favor of the abolition of the death penalty. The author considers that president Zedillo's government and Mexican society have committed their efforts and aspirations to fortify a culture that encourages the effectiveness and full enjoyment of human rights.

Miguel Ruíz-Cabañas Izquierdo, *The Fight against Drug Trafficking*

President Ernesto Zedillo's government is in the period in which, according to a report from the International Board on Narcotics Inspection, the trafficking, distribution and consumption of illegal drugs increased to the degree that the activities of criminal organizations connected with drug trafficking and the related crimes acquired a transnational nature and became a problem of national security. Miguel Ruíz-Cabañas says that Mexico has been a producer of narcotics and a transit country for them; this, added to other factors, encouraged the design of a strategy to combat drug trafficking internally as well as bilaterally, regionally and multilaterally. As a result, the mechanisms and agreements that were produced by encounters between the different institutions, countries and regions contributed to establishing a legislative and cooperative framework that avoided the adoption of unilateral measures, which are sometimes a source of tension and disagreement among countries. The author highlights the fact that, during the 1994-2000 Mexico's administration, 32 bilateral cooperation agreements were signed with the countries of North America, Latin America and Europe, as well as with Asia and the Middle East. Multilaterally, regional governments and bodies held a variety of meetings, including notably the World Summit against Drugs. According to him, these actions have made it possible to attain concrete results in different areas of the fight against drug trafficking, have promoted cooperation with other countries and regional and international bodies, and above all, have provided a better understanding of the phenomenon, its current situation, and the challenges for the future.

Enrique Berruga Filloy, *The Mexican Policy of International Cooperation*

According to the author, the current, globalized world presents advantages such as the spreading of knowledge and commercial liberalization, but also disadvantages, such as the polarizing of disparities in the distribution of wealth, both among countries and within each nation. For the author, in this complex scenario it is

obvious that well-being and stability are indivisible, common international goods: in order to attain greater equilibrium, both the developed and the developing countries have to cooperate with each other. The 21st century requires intense international cooperation if we want to preserve peace, stability and integral, sustained development. As a country with intermediate development, Mexico is both a receiver and a donor of international development cooperation; this is the origin of its intense exchange with Central America and the Caribbean, as well as with Japan, Canada, the United States, and the European Union. The bases were laid during the 1994-2000 administration for the development of a real system of international cooperation. Consequently, the Mexican Institute of International Cooperation was created in 1998 (as a deconcentrated body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); it is in charge of Mexico's international development cooperation policy.

The author proposes working on international cooperation from different stances to achieve a development that harmoniously brings together the components that are necessary in order to achieve it. Mexico has positive, dynamic political, economic and cultural relations with most of the international community; therefore, its diplomatic work in the field of international cooperation still has a lot of facets to be explored and studied more deeply.

Marco A. Alcázar and Laura Mora Barreto, *The Tuxtla Mechanism and Central America in Mexico's Foreign Policy*

According to Marco Alcázar and Laura Mora, Mexico's shortening of the gap between itself and Central America is due particularly to the history of the country and of the isthmus, similar in many aspects, as well as to the principles of Mexican foreign policy, one of which relates to international development cooperation.

The Tuxtla Mechanism is one of the instruments of cooperation between Mexico and Central America. The authors review the historical, social and political context from which it arose, and report on the political process that has made it possible to deepen the relationship between the two parties. As the fruits of this period of closer contact, they mention the incorporation of Central

America into the Rio Group, the advances made in consolidating a free trade zone, the institutionalization of the Puebla Process, and regional and bilateral cooperation with the countries of the isthmus.

As the authors explain, Tuxtla I meant recognition of the importance of the Central American isthmus countries for Mexico's national security; Tuxtla II, the renewed impulse toward a favored association between Mexico and Central America; Tuxtla III, the institutionalization of regional cooperation and the impulse toward regional integration, and Tuxtla IV can be profiled as the forum in which the concept of Mesoamerica can be reinforced. According to the authors, Mexico and Central America have constructed a shared vision of the future of this region, which will have to be approached with determination and intelligence if we want to take advantage of the opportunities and overcome the challenges raised by the international circumstance of the new century.

Rosalba Ojeda, *Mexico and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Mechanism*

Within the program for modernization and joining the end-of-century world trends, Mexico includes a closing of connections with the Pacific Basin. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Mechanism is the principal political, economic, trade and cooperation forum in the region. Rosalba Ojeda sets out how this forum works under a plan according to which the developed economies support those that are in the process of becoming so, in order to thereby lessen the differences in level of development and create a sense of community among the members of the mechanism. This plan is sustained by the concept of open regionalism, a process that is more an integrating than an excluding force for those countries that are not part of the forum. On the other hand, the mechanism backs up the design of a new international financial architecture that contributes to establishing a more stable, predictable system with early crisis detection procedures, effective surveillance systems, and greater possibilities of assistance for affected countries. By joining the APEC, says the author, Mexico attains real possibilities of business and economic and technical cooperation, has

timely access to evaluations about the economic performance of the region, and contact with first-level, state of the art technology sources. The author concludes by saying that Mexico will be the APEC headquarters in 2002, a situation that will give it a perfect stage for projecting itself into the political, economic, financial, cultural and tourist spaces of the Asia-Pacific region.

Jaime Nualart, *Cultural Promotion of Mexico as a Foreign Policy Instrument*

Education and culture are both elements of social cohesion and integration, and triggers of scientific and technological progress. Today they are a guiding principle of international cooperation, and it is because of this that cooperation in these areas is acquiring renewed importance in international relations. This essay centers on cultural cooperation, which in the case of Mexico, takes two directions: defense of cultural patrimony, and the dissemination of artistic activities. Art and culture, Jaime Nualart explains, are the best ambassadors of a nation. With this in mind, the Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the Educational and Cultural Cooperation Desk of the Mexican Institute of International Cooperation (Imexci), encourages bilateral or multilateral educational and cultural agreements and programs regulated by a program negotiation and/or renewal mechanism established in the 1995-2000 National Development Plan. In this way, educational cooperation is given a strategic value that focuses on the formation of human resources and on the exchange of experts, as well as on the preparation and execution of joint projects, joint financing of priority actions, specialized advisory activity, and exchange of materials.

According to the author, in facing the challenges, the Imexci has to be supported by the work of cooperation functionaries—formerly called cultural attachés—, whose professionalism and experience work together to provide feedback for the Ministry's decisions in terms of priorities and forms of cultural and educational cooperation. The new view of culture is sustained by significant economic activity, since cultural industries are in the process of global expansion. The State, the author concludes, will have to

find the formulae that allow it to adapt to a process in which culture acts explicitly in the political, social and economic life of peoples.

Roberta Lajous Vargas, *Mexico in the New International Scenarios*

Rooted in the conclusion of bipolarity in the world, says Roberta Lajous, we are witnessing a dynamic international situation with regionalism on the one hand, and on the other, multipolarity. Within regionalism we can distinguish three economic blocs: the first is composed of the member countries of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the South Cone Common Market, and the possible conformation of the Free Trade Area of The Americas; the second, by those of the European Union; and the third, by those that will probably join together in Asia. The author recounts the achievements and backsliding observed in each of these regions, as well as those of the intra- and extra-regional trade scenarios.

As regards multipolarity, Roberta Lajous differentiates the centers of power into world powers (for example, the United States, Germany and Japan), transitional powers (China, the Russian Federation, and India), and regional or subregional powers (South Africa, Brazil and Mexico). She also analyzes the economic, military and demographic trends of the identified powers in order to have an overall view of their strengths and weaknesses, and taking these factors into account, she proposes scenarios of multipolarity.

Based on the two major trends discussed, regionalism and multipolarity, the author points out several routes Mexico can follow. She considers it indispensable to reinforce Mexican foreign policy, a process that is accompanied by internal development directed toward achieving palpable results with solid foundations for Mexican society.
