

Building Partnership with Mexico

E. Anthony Wayne Career Ambassador (ret.)

Public Policy Fellow, Wilson Center

wayneea@gmail.com

@EAnthonyWayne

Tampa, Florida Council on Foreign Relations, December 2018



- U.S.-Mexico ties touch more U.S. lives daily than any other country via trade, border connections, tourism, and family ties as well as illicit flows. Even more true for Mexico.
- An estimated 35 million U.S. citizens are of Mexican heritage.
- The shared 1990-mile border (3,201 km) creates overlapping security, economic, community and environmental interests.
- In recent years, government-to-government collaboration has been unprecedented, including on public security.

US-Mexico Trade



US-Mexico Trade

Mexico is:

- 2nd largest export market
- 3rd largest trading partner
- 3rd largest Ag export market: \$19 billion in 2017
- 1st or 2nd export market for 28 U.S. States
- 1st export market for U.S. Southern Border States

US-Mexico Border Crossings



Areas of U.S.-Mexico Bilateral Work

Trilateral Work: Canada, Mexico and the U.S.

- Trade Facilitation
- Economic competitiveness
- Energy
- Border management and migration
- Public security and justice collaboration
- Fighting drug trafficking & organized crime
- Counter-terrorism
- Central America, the region, international
- Consular Issues for US and Mexican citizens
- Health issues
- Education, Innovation
- Environment
- Human rights



- Energy & Environment Cooperation
- Regional and global priorities
- Trilateral Trusted Traveler Program
- Countering Illicit Drugs

Serious Challenges to Address

U.S. drug demand and cross-border criminal networks

Finalizing USMCA

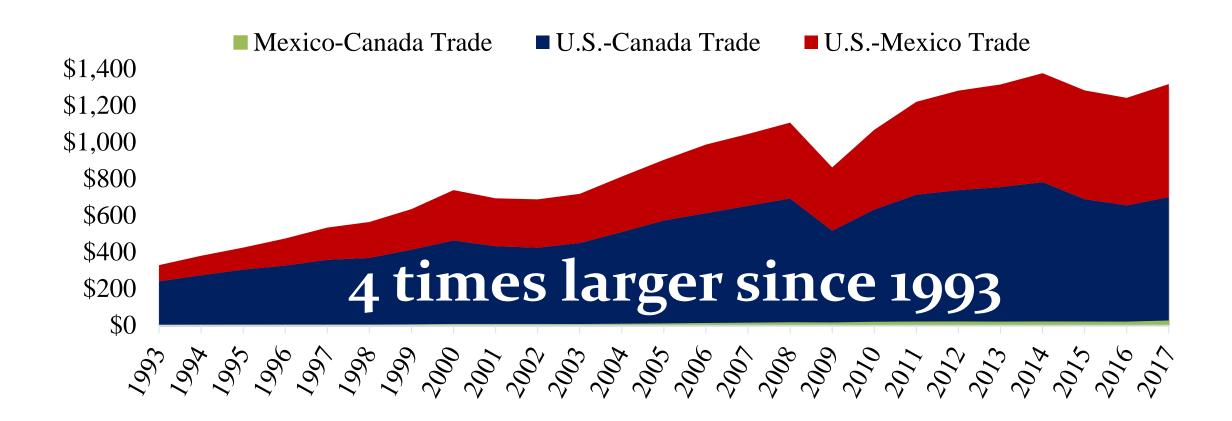
Strengthening Mexican law enforcement institutions and bilateral cooperation

Central American migrants

border Management Surging Criminal Violence in Mexico Negative public perceptions Potential Terrorism **Countering Corruption** Reducing poverty in Mexico

Migration (Caravans) &

North American Trade in Goods and Services



Source: Secretaria de Economia, 2017; BEA, 2017; Census Bureau, 2017.





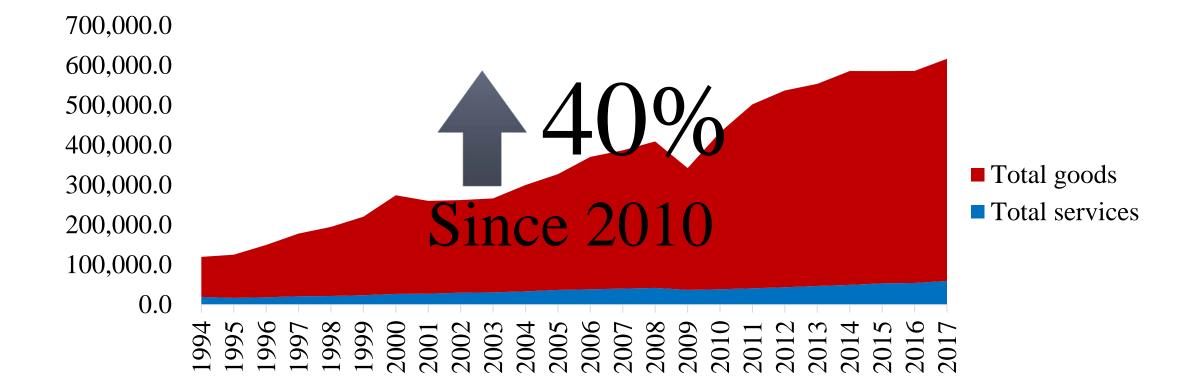
North American Trade

- Canada, Mexico and the US trade \$1.3 trillion a year,
- \$3.6 billion a day, reflecting shared production networks.
- More than US trade with all the European Union and 1.9 times more than with China.
- Up to14 million US jobs supported by trade with neighbors.
- 50 percent of NAFTA trade is intermediate goods.

Source: Secretaria de Economia, 2017; BEA, 2017; Census Bureau, 2017, Brookings Metropolitan Policy program, 2017.

U.S. Trade with Mexico has multiplied by 6 since 1993

• The U.S. sells more to Mexico than to all the **BRICS** countries together

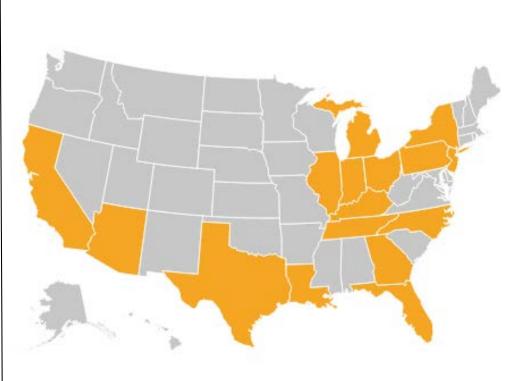


Source: The Wilson Center, "Charting a new course", 2017; US Census Bureau, 2017; BEA, 2017

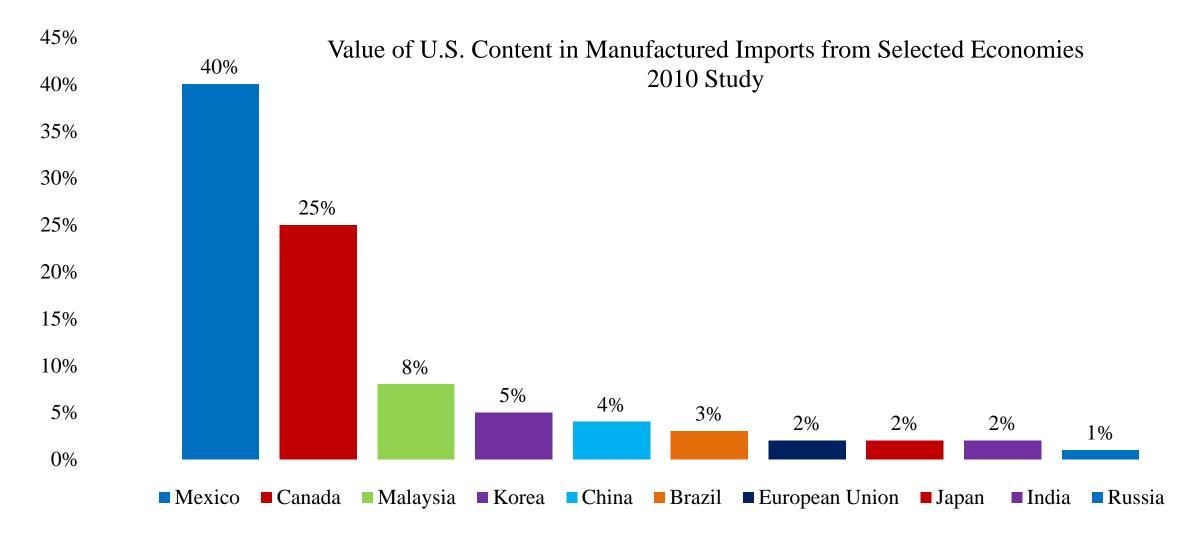
Rank Order: Top US States' Trade with Mexico 2017

State	Volume \$USD (Billions)	State	Volume \$USD (Billions)
Texas	187	Indiana	9.8
California	73.1	Florida	9.7
Michigan	65.5	Pennsylvania	9.5
Illinois	22	Louisiana	8.6
Arizona	15.5	North Carolina	8.3
Ohio	14.7	Kentucky	7.7
Tennessee	11.7	New Jersey	7.4
Georgia	10.4	New York	6.4

Source: Secretaria de Economia, 2017

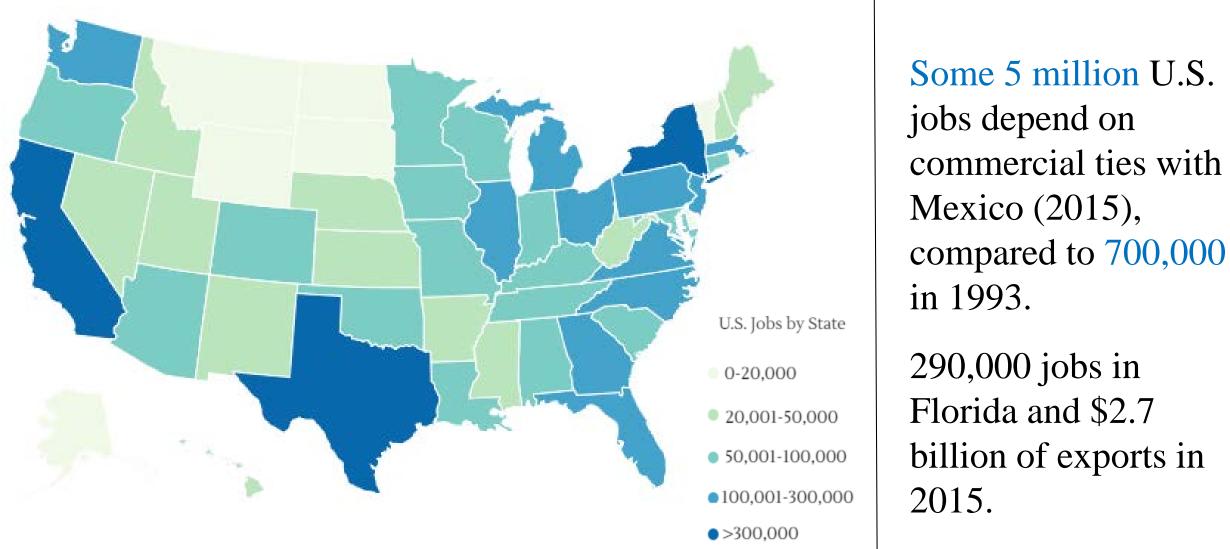


More U.S. Content in Imports from Mexico and Canada



Source: Robert Koopman et al. "Give Credit Where Credit is Due: Tracing Value Added in Global Production Chains". NBER Working Paper No 16426.

Mexico trade supports some 5 million jobs

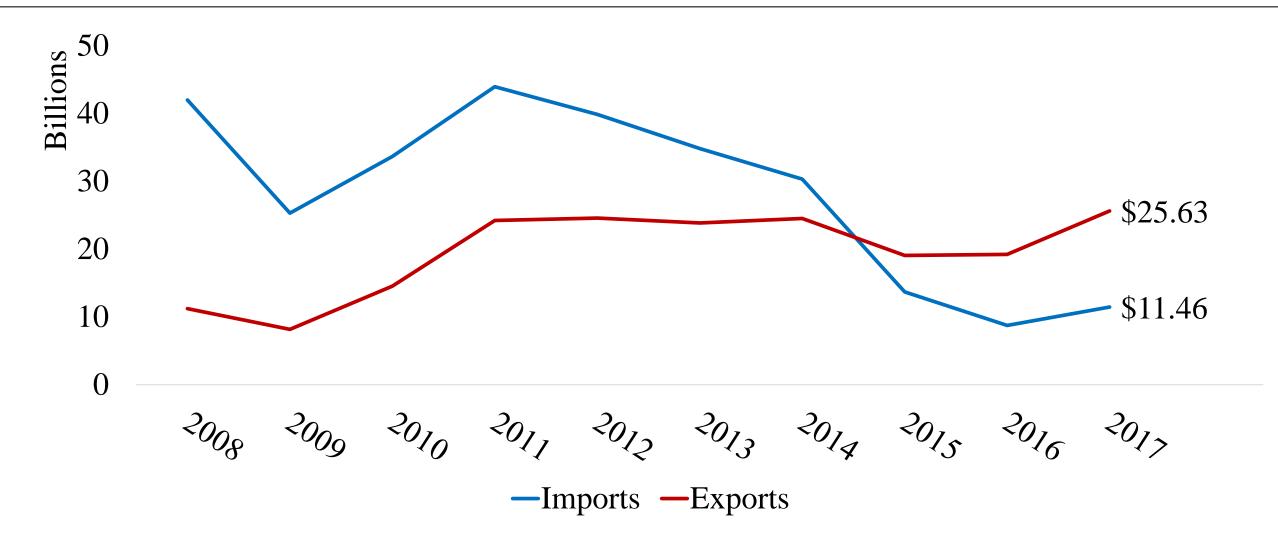


Source: The Wilson Center, 2016; Clinton Administration Statement on the NAFTA, 1993.

Energy and the Environment

- Increased U.S. investment in Mexico's energy sector following 2012 reform (oil, gas, infrastructure, renewables).
- Greater U.S. natural gas and gasoline sales; energy security.
- New dialogues between regulators and governments.
- U.S. and Mexico work to protect border environment.
- AMLO bringing changes, e.g. bigger role for PEMEX, reduce crude exports of crude oil & gasoline imports, freeze on new exploration offers, curtail independent regulators.

U.S. Energy Trade Surplus with Mexico



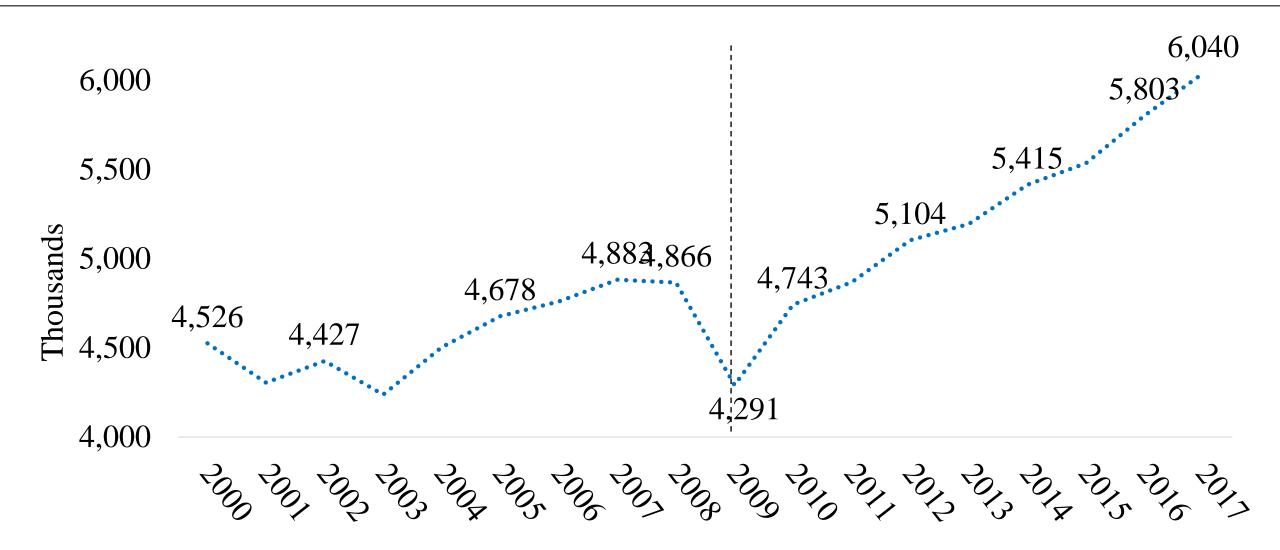
Moving toward Co-Management of the Border



2008-2016 from blame to "shared responsibilities"

- Making the border more open to legitimate travel and commerce.
- Working to align customs regulatory frameworks; increase joint use of customs facilities on the border; improve infrastructure.
- New mechanisms to communicate, coordinate and more effectively counter illicit trade and travel: drugs, guns, money and people.
- Steps to increase security and reduce cross-border violence.
- New programs to share information on potential border crossers.
- Working to create a Trilateral Trusted Traveler Program.
- Cooperation slowed in 2018.

Jobs at stake: Trucks Crossing the US-Mexico Border



Source: Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2017

Ę

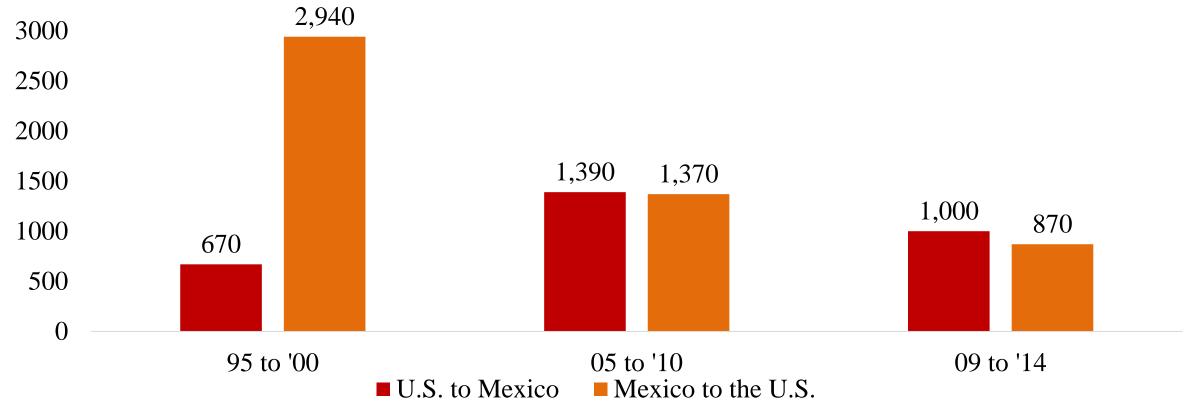
Migrant Flows

- Mexican immigrants flows to the U.S. at the lowest levels since the 1990s.
- The number of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. has been dropping since 2007.
- In FY 2017, apprehensions of Mexican unauthorized immigrants declined 31.22% from FY 2015.

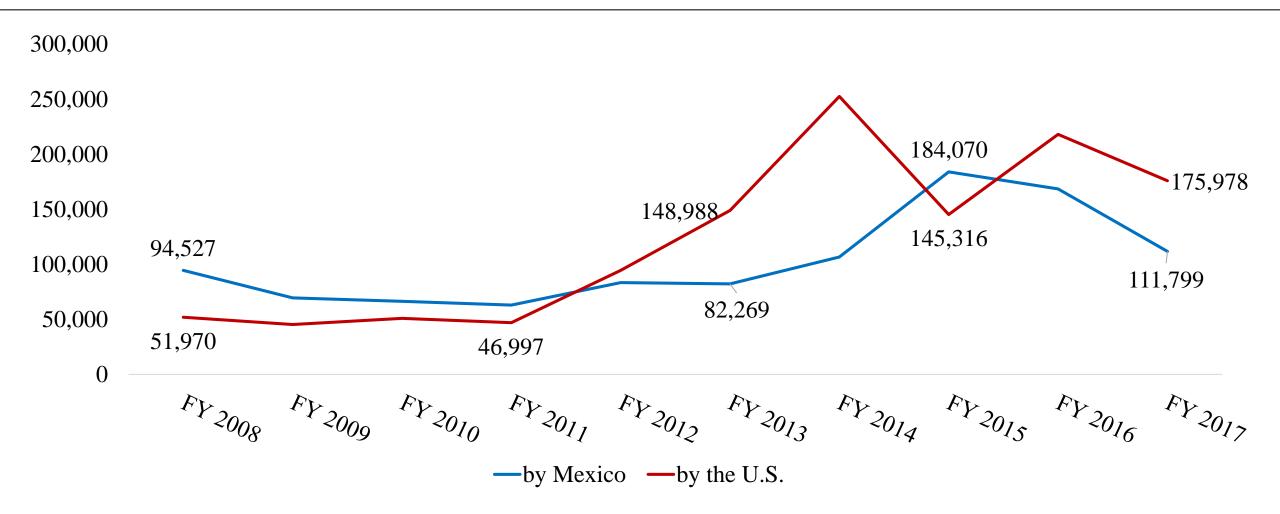


Net Migration from Mexico

• In 2016, there were 1.3 million fewer unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the U.S. than in 2007

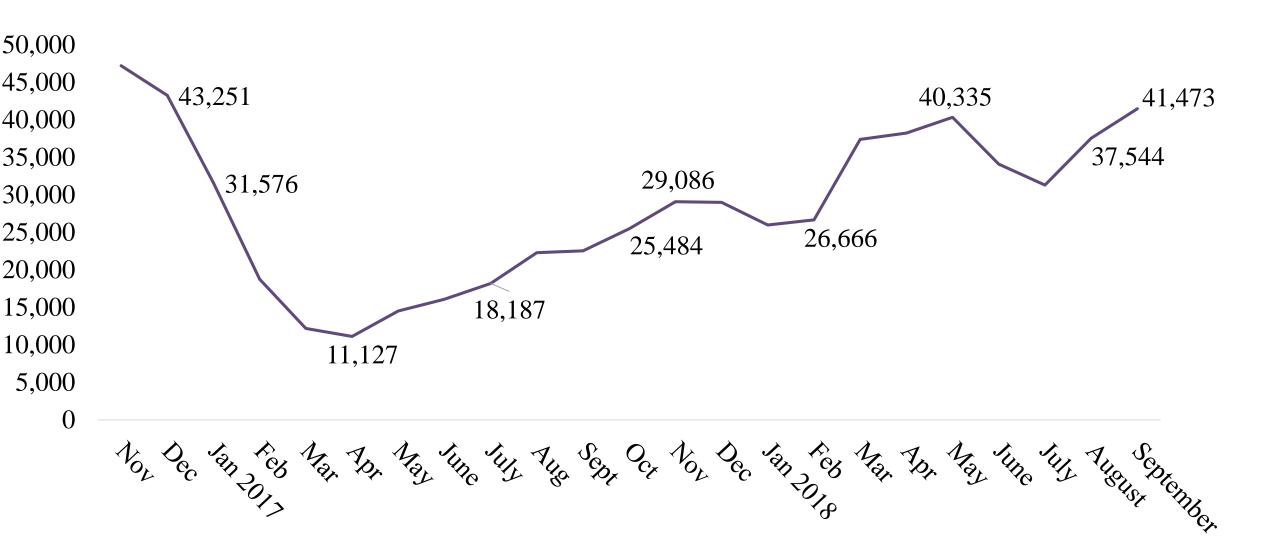


U.S. Southern Border Apprehensions from countries other than Mexico & Mexican Apprehensions from Latin America & the Caribbean



Source: U.S. Border Patrol Monthly Apprehensions (2008-2017) Unidad de Politica Migratoria (2008-2017)

Southwest Border Apprehensions: Central Americans



Source: U.S. Border Patrol Monthly Apprehensions (FY 2017 - FY 2018)

Addressing Central American Migration: more needed

The US and Mexico enhanced cooperation in response to 2014 surge of child and family migrants, including work at Mexico's southern border against smuggling of people & drugs.

In June 2017, the US and Mexico hosted a Conference on Prosperity and Security in Central America. Commitments include:

- U.S. FY 2018 budget request for **\$460 million** for the Northern Triangle (NT); Mexico \$53 million.
- Create a **migration observatory** to study and share information on regional migration flows.
- Improved cooperation to combat transnational criminal organizations.

A second conference in Washington, October 11-12, 2018, but Mexico's Senate condemned U.S. border migration policies in June and called for the government to end security and immigration cooperation.

Need to forge agreed multi-pronged regional approach with new Mexican government.

US-Mexico Law Enforcement/Security Cooperation

Mérida Initiative Programs & Agency-to-Agency Cooperation

Defense Dialogues & Cooperation

Security Coordination Group

US-Mexico Mérida Initiative: Evolving

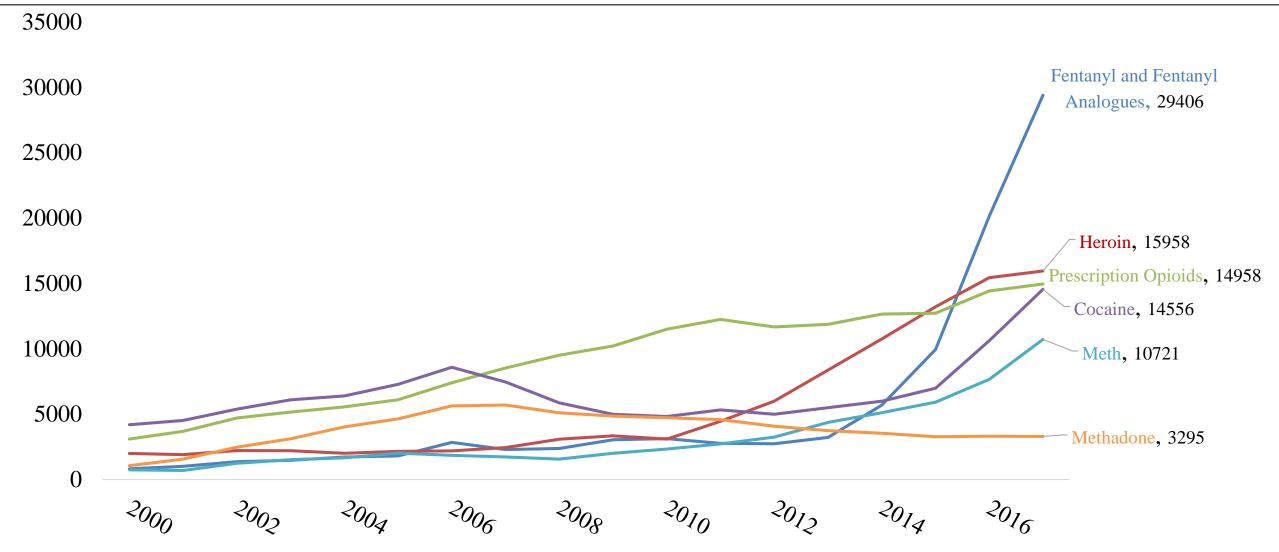
- 1. Disrupting the operational capacity of organized crime.
- 2. Institutionalizing reforms to sustain the rule of law and respect for human rights in Mexico.
- 3. Creating a "21st Century Border".
- 4. Building strong and resilient communities.

\$2.9 billion appropriated by the US since 2008.

\$1.6 billion already spent on training and equipment via over 100 programs to bolster Mexican capacity.

Mexico has spent over 10 times more.

Urgency: U.S. Overdose Deaths 2000-2017



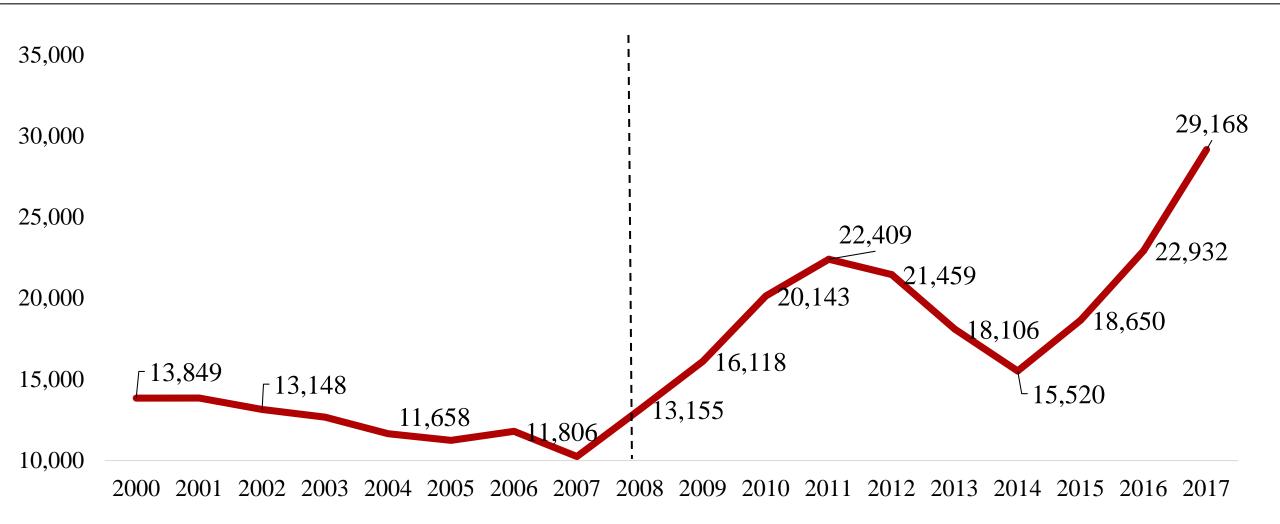
Source: CDC Wonder Database; CDC Provisional Counts of Drug Overdose Deaths as of 8/6/2017

Ē

2017 US-Mexico Agreements on Illicit Drugs

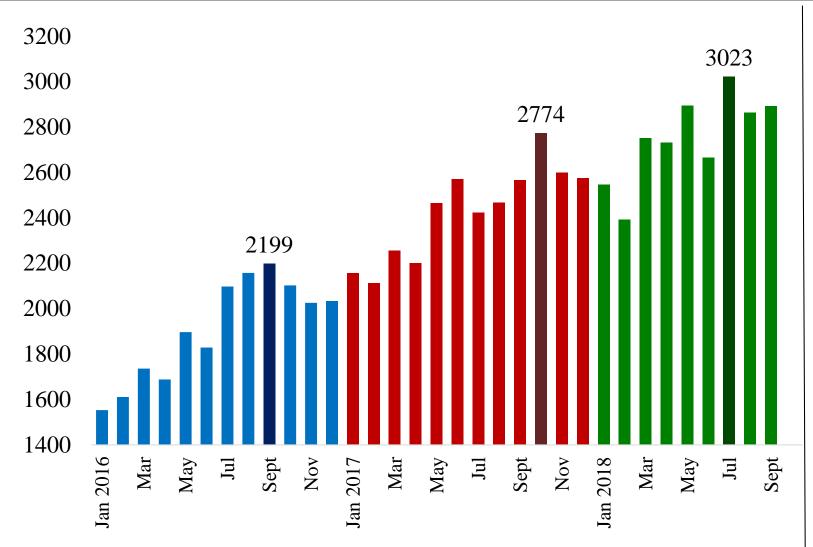
- Partner against criminal organizations: "Unprecedented" cooperation.
- Address the demand for illicit drugs among US citizens.
- Necessary tools: physical barriers, technology, patrolling, eradication, enhanced law enforcement cooperation, anti-addiction programs.
- Go after all elements in the chain: means of production, cross-border distribution networks, flows of profits, weapons procurement.
- AMLO ordered a review of Mexican policies & cooperation with the U.S.; introduced a new multi-pronged anti-crime strategy.

Urgency: Homicides in Mexico set record in 2017



Source: Secretaria Ejecutiva de Seguridad Nacional, 2000-2017

Mexico's Homicides: Criminal Insurgencies?



Source: Secretaria Ejecutiva de Seguridad Nacional, 2017; Reuters, 2017; El Pais, 2017.

29,168 killings in 2017; the most violent year since 1997.

July 2018: most violent month since 1997. Violence up in 2018.

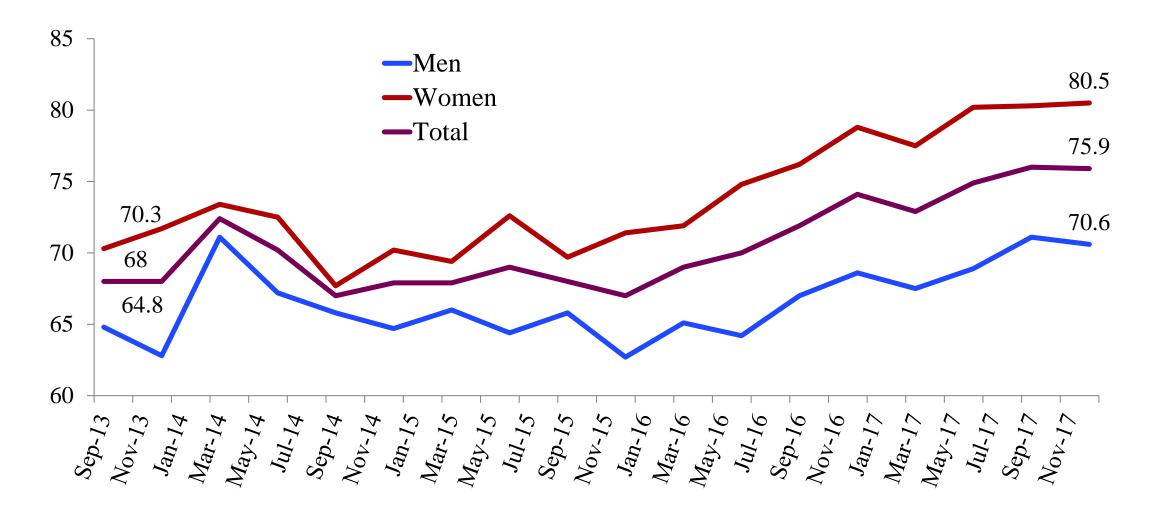
Law enforcement and judicial process overwhelmed.

Cartels fighting, but types of crime expanded & affects more states.

Crime cost up to 17.6% GDP.

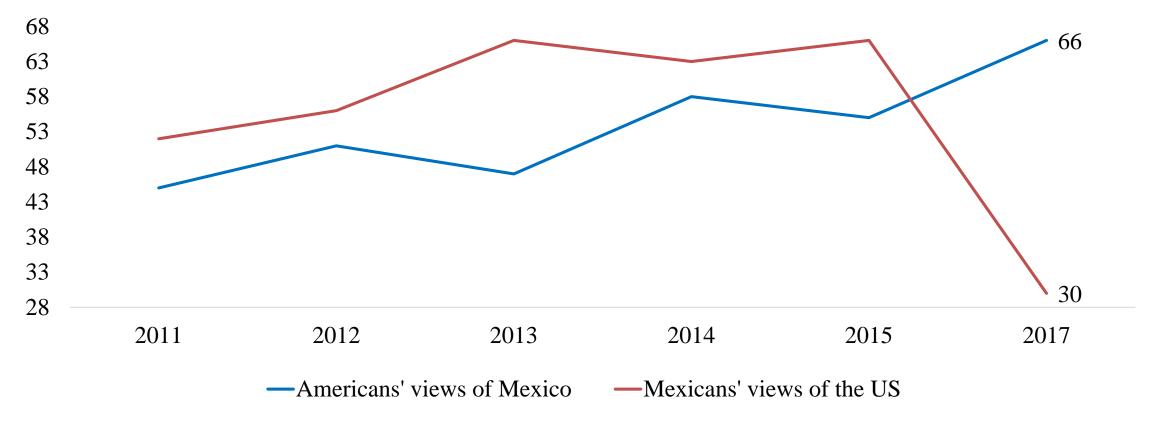
U.S. travel warnings for resorts.

Percent of Mexico's population that feels unsafe



Americans' and Mexicans' Perceptions of each other (per cent favorable)

• In 2017 polling, 66% of Americans had positive views of Mexico; while only 30% of Mexicans had positive views of the US.



Source: Gallup, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2017.

US Opinion: NAFTA is Good for the US Economy?

Overall, Is NAFTA Good for the US Economy? (% Good) -Overall -Republican -Democrat -Independent

Source: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs August 2017.

What's at Stake in NAFTA and the new USMCA?

\$ 1.3 trillion of North American Trade Nearly 14 million U.S. jobs & millions more in Mexico and Canada \$452 billion U.S. investment in NAFTA partners & their \$388 billion in the U.S.

46,000 U.S. trucking jobs supported by crossborder trade; \$137 billion in annual vehicle and parts exports to neighbors and the world. \$43 billion worth of food and ag goods exported to Mexico and Canada

\$88 billion in U.S. services exports & \$31.5 billion services trade surplus

Source: NBC News, "Auto Industry Declares War on Trump Over NAFTA"; US Chamber of Commerce, "The Facts on NAFTA"; IDFA, "Food and Agriculture Letter on Importance of North American Market"; Services Coalition, "Risks of NAFTA Withdrawal for US services and Digital trade".

Main elements of the USMCA (T-MEC)

• New Rules of Origin for Vehicles

- 75% of the value of a vehicle to be produced in the region (up from 62.5%).
- 40%-45% percent of auto content produced by workers earning over \$16 per hour.

• Less Dispute Settlement

- Keeps NAFTA's dispute-settlement provision (Chapter 19) for private companies; keeps state to state (Ch. 20).
- Limits investor dispute (ISDR) to key sectors and in scope for U.S.-Mexico, eliminates them for U.S.-Canada.

• Stronger on Intellectual Property Protection, Labor, & Environment

- Expanded IPR Protections and internet coverage toward U.S. objectives.
- Achieved or exceeded most of modernization goals sought in TPP, including labor rights provisions.

• Sunset Clause:

- 16-year lifetime for the agreement, with a review every six years and possible 16 year renewal.
- Dairy
 - expanded U.S. dairy exports to Canada; reduce Canadian dumping of dairy products.

Next Steps: United States

- President Trump and other leaders signed on November 30.
- The U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) must complete a study of the agreement's economic impact in early 2019.
- Congress will have to pass legislation to implement the USMCA.
- President provides Congress with the final legal text and implementation plan. After Congress receives the final bill, it has 90 days in session to approve it.
- Democrats approach unclear; Trump threatens to pull out of NAFTA.

Questions new Rules of Origin, Labor rights in Mexico

- 1. Will measuring wage rates and content in the supply chain be workable? How costly and accurate will it be? Who will enforce it?
- 2. How much will the new rules raise the prices of North American vehicles?
- 3. Will manufactures move production out of North America?
- 4. Will some manufacturers forgo the NAFTA benefit and pay a tariff instead?
- 5. Will the U.S. auto industry be less competitive?
- 6. Will the new rules create or destroy jobs?
- 7. Are new protections regarding labor rights in Mexico strong enough and enforceable? Key for many Democrats.

Source: Anthony Wayne, 2018.

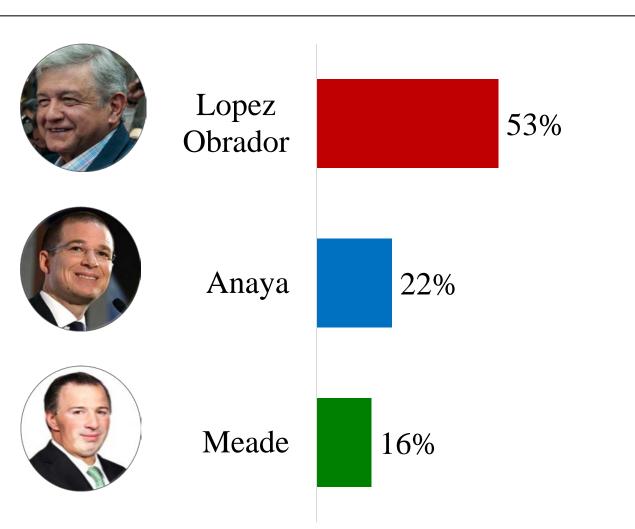
Costs of Steel and Aluminum Tariffs: still in place

Over 400,000 U.S. jobs lost1GDP decline of 0.2%
(\$36 billion)116 U.S. jobs lost for every 1 gained1Decline of 2% in all imports
and 1% in all exports1

Costs to U.S. Consumers: \$7.5 billion a year, before retaliation from the European Union, Mexico and Canada²

Sources: 1)Peterson Institute for International Economics & Trade Partnership Worldwide, 2018; 2) American Action Forum, 2018

Presidential Results



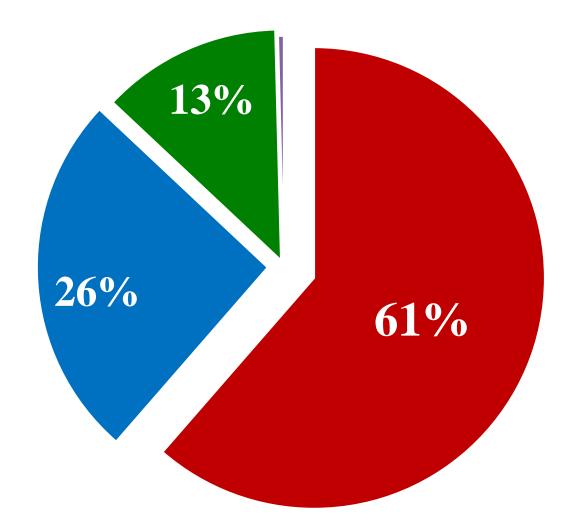
Source: Instituto Nacional Electoral; Consulta Mitofsky, 2018

Voter turnout: 63.5%

Over 60% of the Mexican population is satisfied with the election's results.

Over 65% of the Mexican population believe the security, economic and political situation will improve in the short-term under AMLO's Presidency.

Chamber of Deputies – November 2018



Morena307 seats

PAN128 seats

PRI63 seats

No party 2 seats

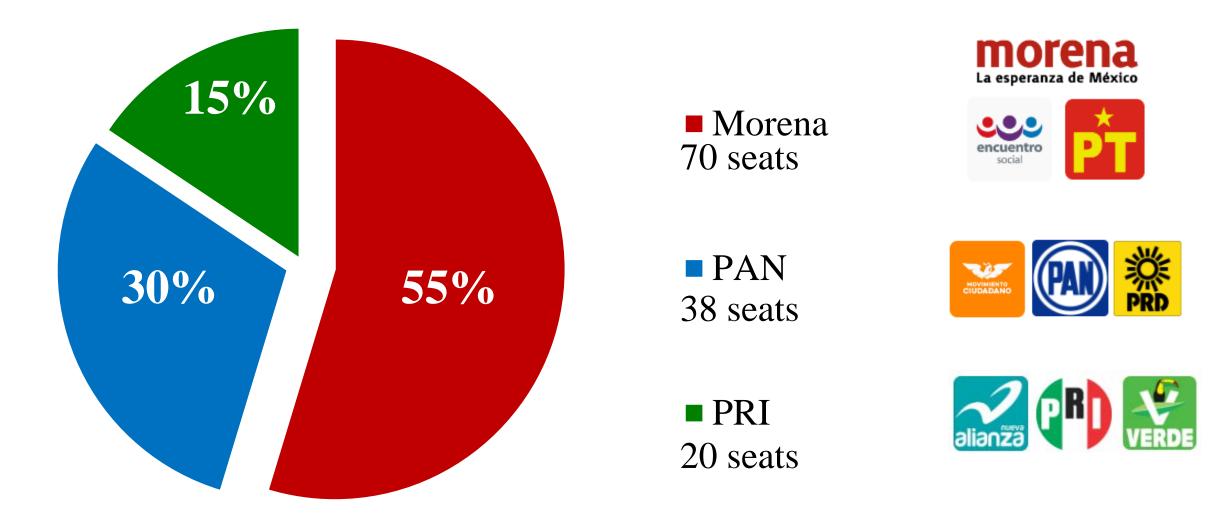




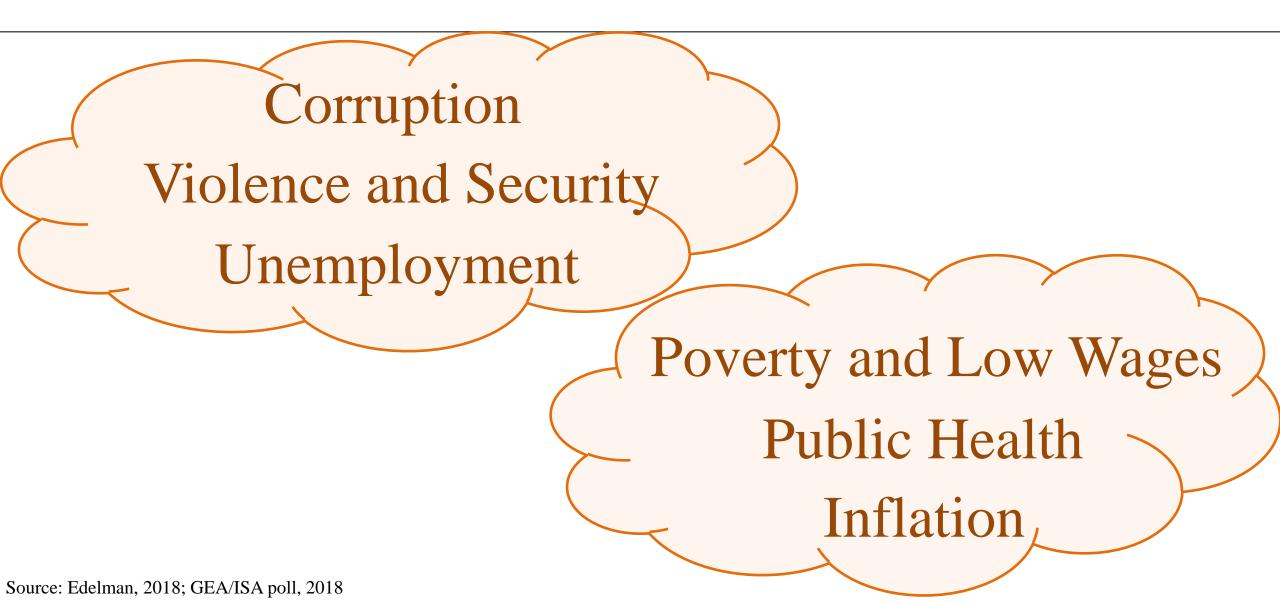




Senate – November 2018



Issues that influenced Mexicans' votes



AMLO's Policy Proposals

Poverty:

- Increase minimum wage.
- Launch new youth **jobs programs.**

- Subsidize inputs for small farmers.
- Provide **universal health coverage.**

Corruption and Government Efficiency:

- Better supervision of public spending; increase penalties for using public money for personal gain.
- Cut public-officials salaries, perks and reduce staff.
- Name independent Anti-Corruption prosecutor; autonomy of the new "fiscal general."
- Use **plebiscites** to consult with the people.

Trade:

• Finish and implement USMCA. Focus on expanding trade with others.

Economic Policy:

- Focus on developing Mexico's internal market
- Infrastructure (Ex. Yucatan and isthmus railways)

Education:

• Eliminate key parts of Education Reform.

- **Redirect government spending** to social programs; won't raise taxes or increase debt
- Lower taxes in border cities with the US
- Launch new youth scholarships, universities.

AMLO's Policy Proposals

Energy:

- **Review contracts.** Postpone new auctions (for at least 2 years).
- Strengthen the role of national oil company PEMEX.
- Limit **gasoline prices** and decrease prices in several years.
- Build new refineries to supply gasoline; aim to reduce fuel imports.

Security: Multi-pronged strategy

- Create an independent Secretariat of Public Security, with intelligence agency incorporated.
- Create National Guard of over 50,000 to do law enforcement in Defense ministry.
- Create several hundred geographic security districts.
- Law enforcement professionalization; respect human rights; better justice.
- Social investment: more youth **job and educational opportunities**.
- Amnesty/forgiveness for some; support for victims, use redistributive justice approaches.
- **De-criminalize marihuana** and, possibly, **growing opium poppy.**
- Promote civic culture.
- Review security **cooperation with the U.S.**

AMLO's Proposals to Trump – July 12 Letter

TRADE	Finish NAFTA renegotiation.	Relocate Mexican customs inland from the border.	Establish a free trade zone on the northern border of Mexico : decrease the VAT rate, the income tax rate & energy prices, and increase minimum wage.	
SECURITY	Establish development plans between the U.S., Mexico, and Central America to finance economic development. Allocate 25% of investments to security and border control .		Each government will control its borders and combat trafficking of drugs and weapons.	

Source: Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, lopezobrador.org.mx, Político.mx

AMLO's Proposals to Trump – July 12 Letter

MIGRATION	Improve economic opportunities to keep Mexicans in Mexico.	Migration cooperation based on the respect for human rights.	Development plans to mitigate poverty and avoid migration .	
DEVELOPMENT	Encourage tourism with high-speed train from Cancun to Palenque.	Create an economic and commercial corridor in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.	Reactivate Mexico's agricultural sector.	Urban development plan in border cities.

Source: Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, lopezobrador.org.mx, Político.mx





- -The 10 projects on latest *consulta* were all approved (November 25)
- -All received more than 90% approval except Maya Train (89.9%)
- (Tabasco Refineries, Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Plant Trees, Pension, Scholarships)
- -Only 925,000 people voted, less than 1% of Mexico's population;
- Less than previous *consulta* (1,067,000 people voted)
- -Another consulta on National Guard and whether AMLO should indict past corruption cases scheduled for March 2019

-First Consulta: new Mexico City Airport cancelled; markets negative

Migrant Caravan Crisis/Migration



- Most urgent area for U.S.-Mexican cooperation.
- Estimated **5,000-7,000 mostly Central American** migrants near or headed to U.S. border; other caravans reported. Trump threatens to close border.
- Hundreds of migrants stormed the U.S. border on 11/25; U.S. officials used tear gas to repel them and temporarily closed a border crossing near Tijuana/San Diego.
- Mexico deported nearly100 Central American migrants that stormed the border.
- **Migrants waiting** in makeshift shelters to **apply for U.S. asylum**; U.S. officials process only about 100 requests per day. About 5,600 U.S. troops on the border.
- President Trump talks about "criminals;" closing border would cost billions to U.S.
- Mexico deported 11,000 Central Americans since October & offered asylum/jobs.
- Two governments **need to defuse situation & agree longer term solutions**.

AMLO's early months: Signposts

- 1. Early management of government.
- 2. Maintaining budget prudence (Budget due Dec. 15).
- 3. Tackling public security and corruption
- 4. Working with the private sector
- 5. Setting energy strategy
- 6. Managing U.S. relations (migration/border, crime, trade)

U.S.-Mexico Relations: Early Months Set Tone

Trade:

- Complete USMCA ratification; end metal tariffs; begin cooperative implementation.
- Enhance facilitation of trade and travel with focus on border.

Bilateral Security/Migration/Border Cooperation:

- Avoid further deterioration in cooperation.
- Better manage together migration; integrate AMLO's development ideas.
- Deepen support for Central America to address root causes of migration.
- Review cooperation against organized crime (attacking production, distribution, logistics, finance networks, arms smuggling, and addiction/demand) and support Mexico's efforts to reduce crime and violence.
- Continue close cooperation against terrorism.

Improve Competitiveness:

- Identify and revive a bilateral and North American agenda to enhance economic competitiveness.
- Invest in programs, including workforce development and education, that build for long-term.

Rebuilding Confidence:

• Take steps to rebuild deteriorating trust or risk becoming "Distant Neighbors" again.



Building Partnership with Mexico

E. Anthony Wayne Career Ambassador (ret.) Public Policy Fellow at the Wilson Center

wayneea@gmail.com



Tampa Florida Council on Foreign Relations, December 2018