

Building Partnership with Mexico

E. Anthony Wayne Career Ambassador (ret.)

Public Policy Fellow, Wilson Center

wayneea@gmail.com

@EAnthonyWayne

Presentation to Boise State Honors College, 09/18



- 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, sadly, illicit flows. The same is 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 and environmental interests.
- In recent years, government-to-government collaboration has been unprecedented. Security-related cooperation has grown immensely.

Managing a Massive Relationship

US-Mexico Trade



US-Mexico Trade

Mexico is the US':

- 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.

- Economic competitiveness
- Education
- Energy
- Environment
- Border management and migration
- Public security and justice collaboration
- Fighting drug trafficking & organized crime
- Counter-terrorism
- Health issues
- Human rights
- Central America and the region
- Work in the UN, G20, OECD and OAS
- Consular issues

- Modernizing NAFTA
- Clean Energy and Environment Cooperation
- North America Caucus on regional and global priorities
- Trilateral Trusted Traveler Program
- Dialogue on Countering Illicit Drugs

Serious Challenges to Address

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

Modernizing NAFTA

Strengthening Mexican law enforcement institutions and bilateral cooperation

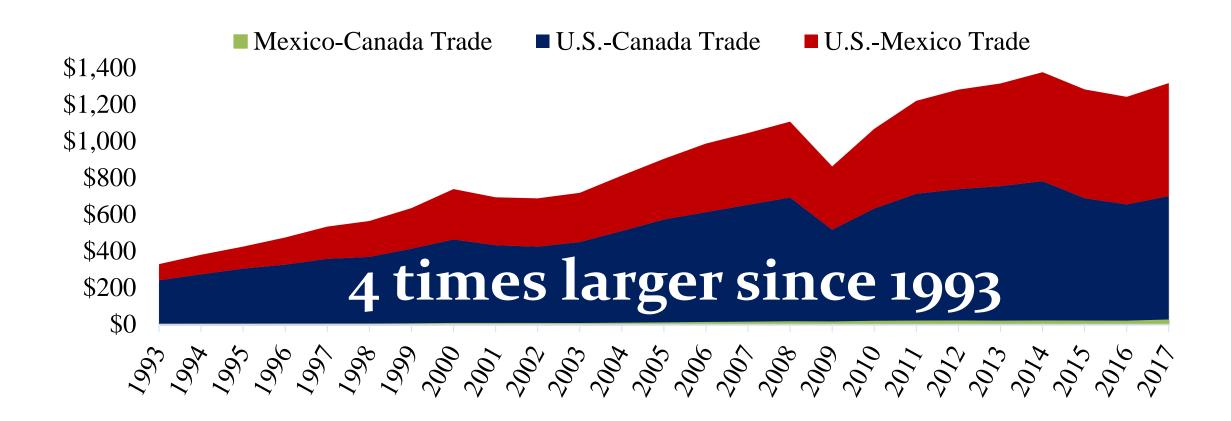
Regional migrant flows

Immigration & border Management

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

Economic Security

North American Trade in Goods and Services



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



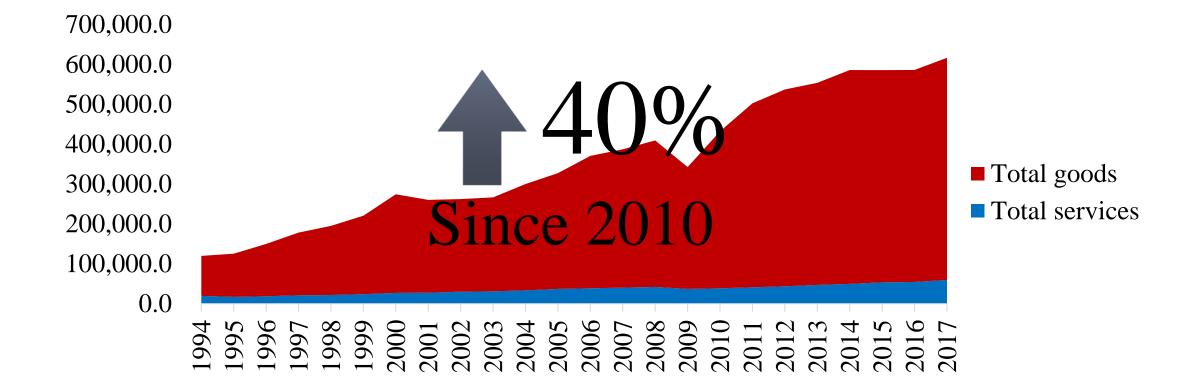
North American Trade

- Canada, Mexico and the US trade \$1.3 trillion a year,
- \$3.6 billion a day, reflecting major shared production networks.
- More than US trade with all the European Union and 1.9 times more than with China.
- 14 million US jobs are supported by trade with both 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



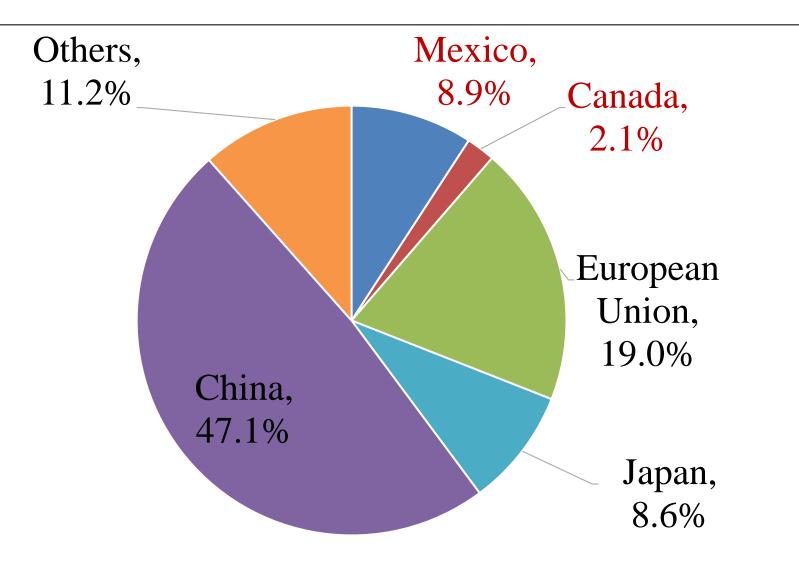
Source: The Wilson Center, "Charting a new course", 2017; US Census Bureau, 2017; BEA, 2017

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

US Trade in Goods Deficit but Service Surplus



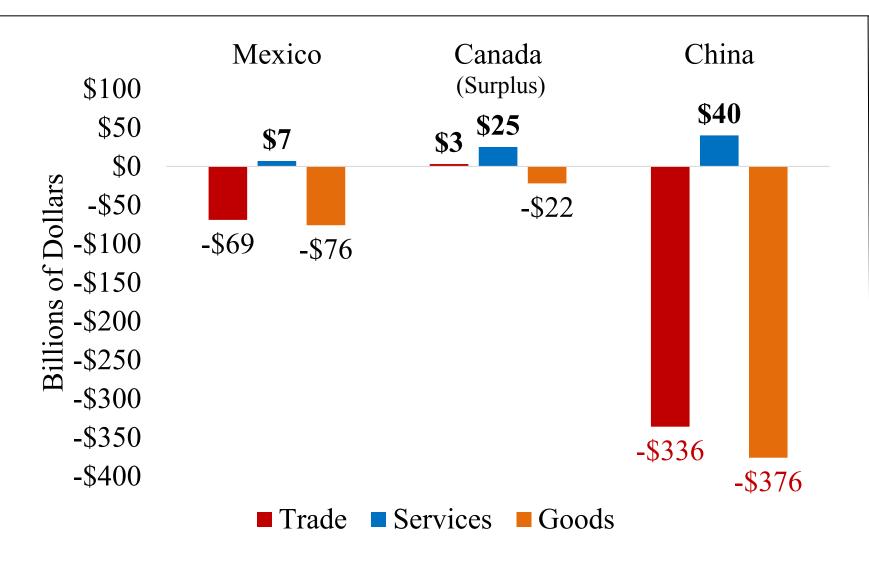
U.S. Trade Deficit with Mexico dropped

2.7%

as a portion of Total U.S.-Mexico Trade between 2010-2017

Source: BEA, 2017

US Trade in Goods and Services 2017

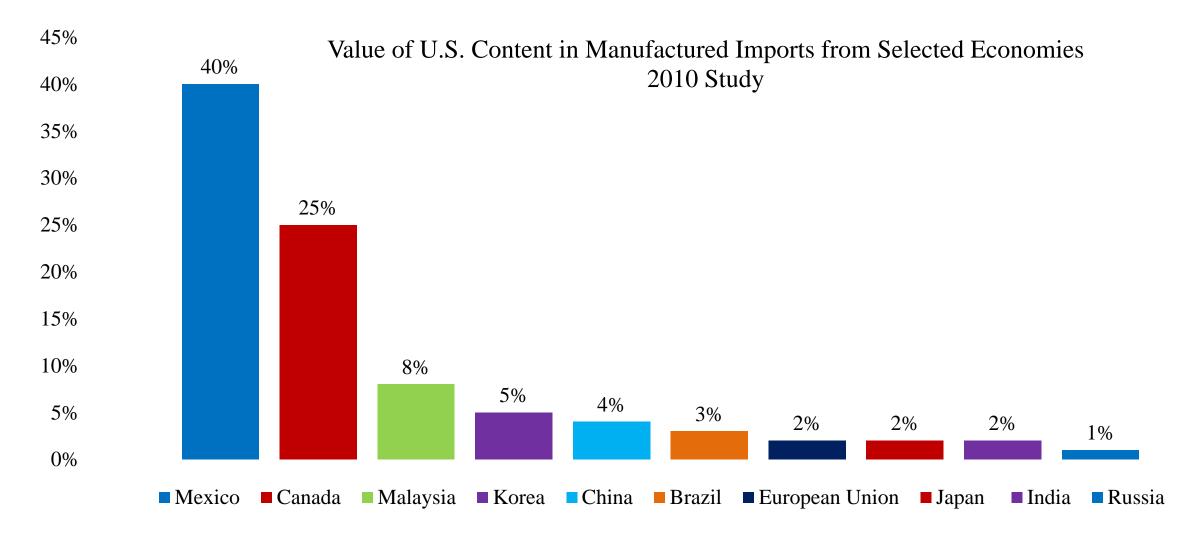


\$25 billion surplus in services & \$3 billion total trade surplus with Canada

\$7 billion surplus in services with Mexico

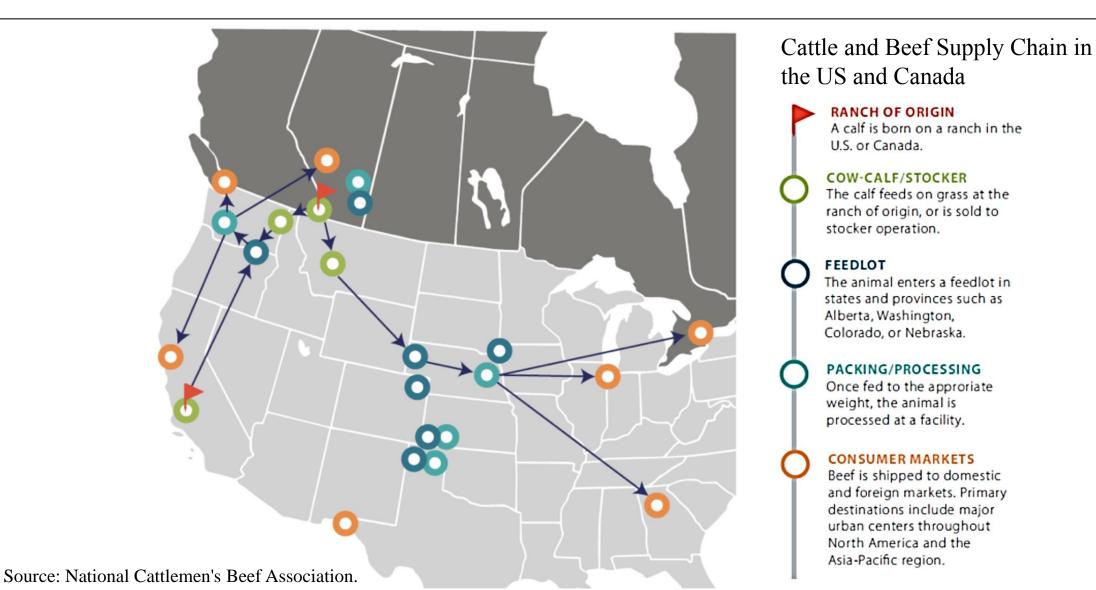
Source: BEA, 2017

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

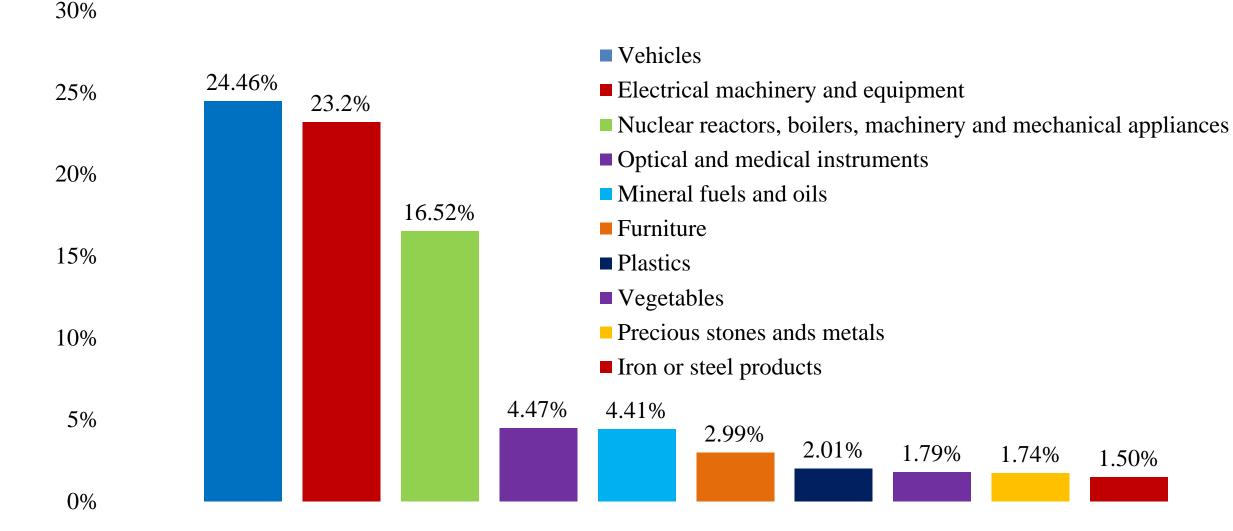


Source: Robert Koopman et al. "Give Credit Where Credit is Due: Tracing Value Added in Global Production Chains". NBER Working Paper No 16426.

US-Canada Cattle and Beef Trade



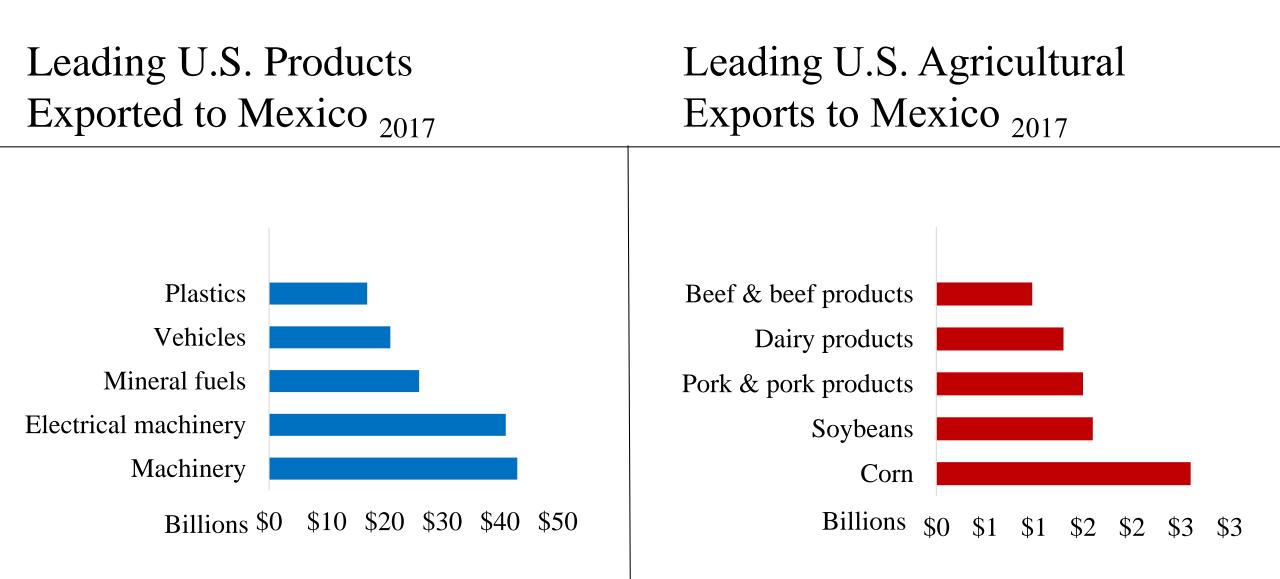
Leading Mexican Products Exported to the US Manufactured Goods Dominate 2015



1.74%

1.50%

Source: OECD Stats, 2015



Source: Office of the U.S. Trade Representatives, 2017

Where have the manufacturing jobs gone?

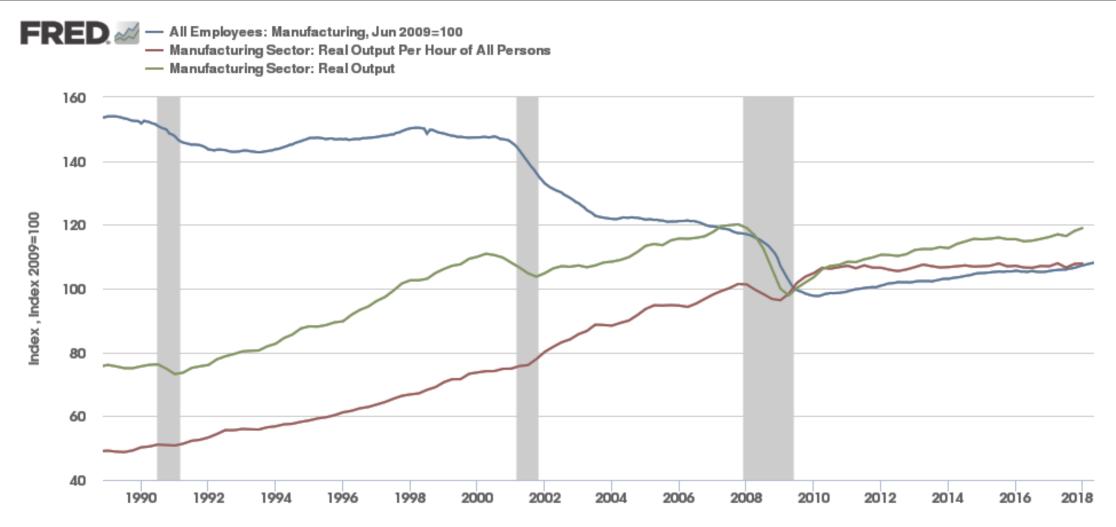
Competition from China 2 - 2.4 million

New Technology 4.7 million

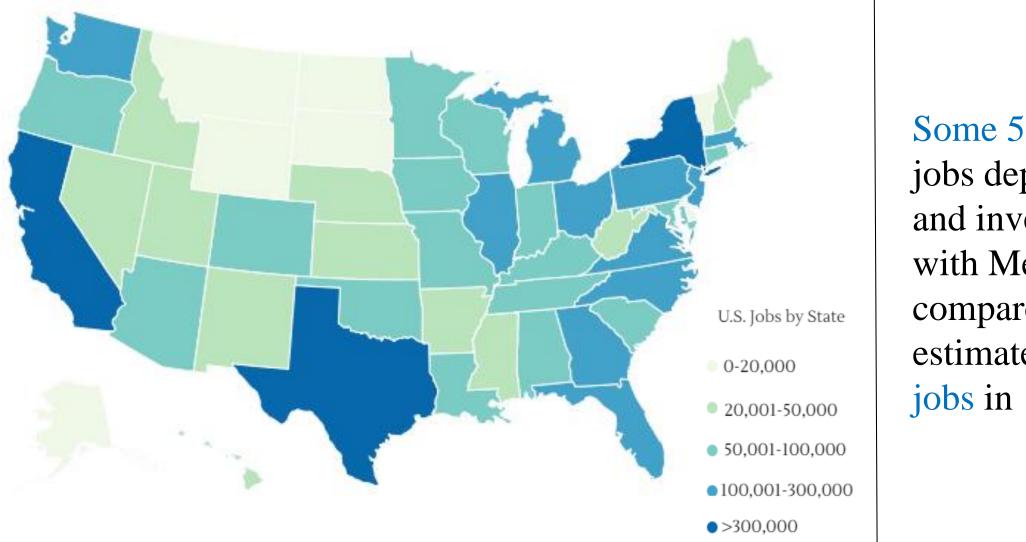


Source: Autor et. Al, 2016; Hicks and Devaraj, 2015

U.S. Manufacturing Employment and Output



Mexico trade supports some 5 million jobs



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

Some 5 million US jobs depend on trade and investment ties with Mexico (2015), compared to an estimated 700,000 jobs in 1993.

U.S.-Mexico and North American Investment

Mexico's FDI in the US \$17 billion

\$



US FDI in Mexico \$88 billion



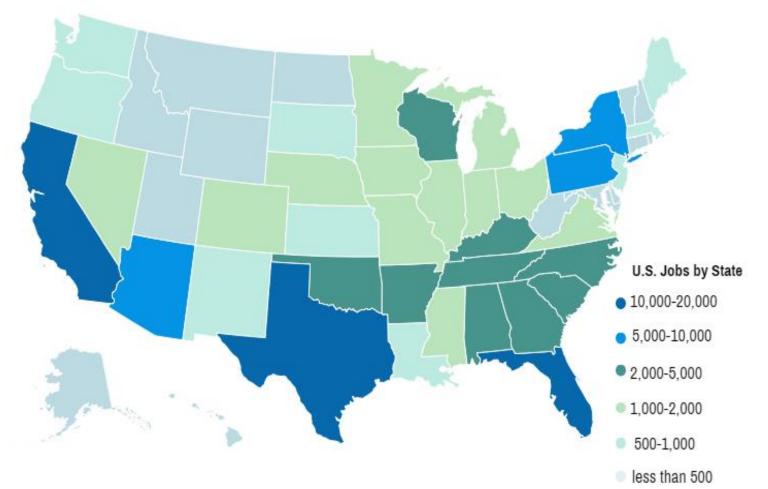
In 2015, Canada's and Mexico's FDI in the US reached \$388 billion

The US had \$452 billion FDI in Canada and Mexico.

Source: US BEA, data last published on July 25, 2016.

U.S. Jobs Created by Mexican Investment₂₀₁₆

• Mexican investment supports 123,000 US jobs.



Source: Wilson Center, 2015.

Reforms and Partnership

Mexico's Major Reforms₍₂₀₁₃₋₂₀₁₈₎

- Education
- Telecommunications
- Energy
- Judicial and Law Enforcement

More partnership with the U.S.

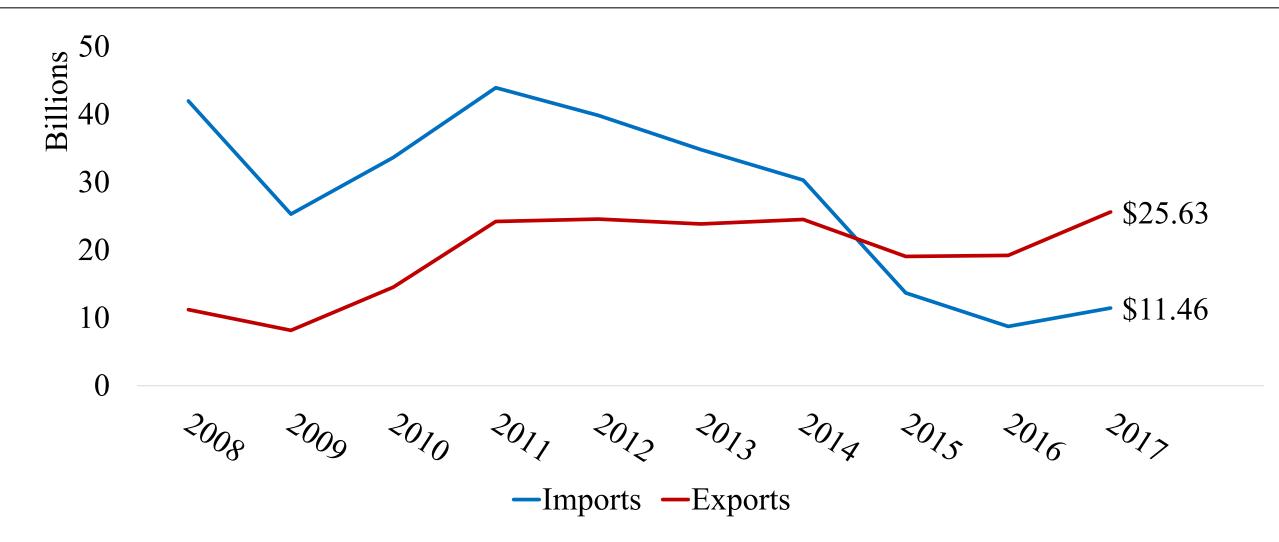


Energy and the Environment

Energy and the Environment

- Increased U.S. investment in Mexico's energy sector following reform
- Increased U.S. natural gas and gasoline sales to Mexico
- New dialogues between energy regulators
- U.S. and Mexico work to protect border environment, river basins, and endangered species
- AMLO's plans may bring changes, e.g. bigger role for PEMEX

U.S. Energy Trade Surplus with Mexico



Investment and Cooperation in the Energy Sector

- Pemex has signed joint operating agreements with Exxon, Chevron, Shell, etc.
- Exxon Mobil plans to invest \$300 million in Mexico over the next 10 years.
- Sempra Energy is investing \$800 million: \$500 million in a pipeline project between Texas and the Mexican Gulf port of Tuxpan.
- U.S. energy equipment exports enhanced via new investment.
- In 2017, U.S. and Mexico authorities agreed to work on expanding cross-border energy infrastructure, including in electricity.
- North American cooperation, investment and trade help ensure reliable low-cost energy to power manufacturing across region and build Energy Security.
- AMLO seeks more Mexican refineries, will slow new offerings.

Border Management Licit and Illicit Flows

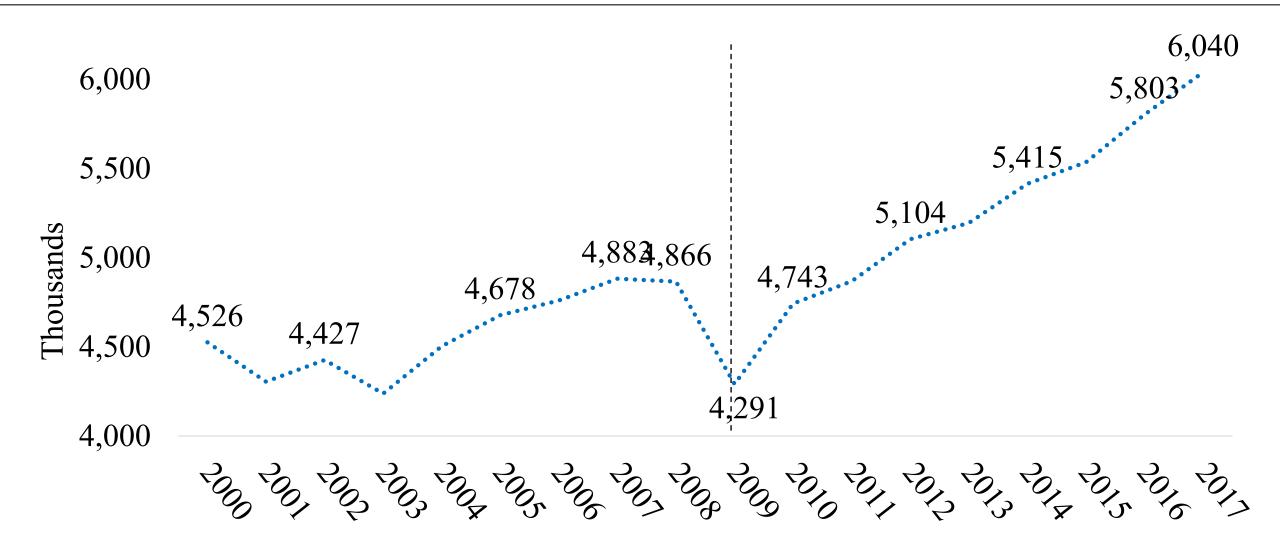
Moving toward Co-Management of the Border



2012-2016 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.
- 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

Trucks Crossing the US-Mexico Border



Source: Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2017

Americans' Views towards Border Wall

| | Total | Democrat | Republican | Independent |
|---|-------|----------|------------|-------------|
| Support building a wall along the US-Mex border | 38% | 18% | 68% | 32% |
| Agree that building a wall along the US-Mex border wastes taxpayer money | 60% | 81% | 35% | 57% |
| Agree that building a wall along the US-Mex border is necessary for national security | 35% | 20% | 61% | 29% |

Source: Ipsos Poll, 2018

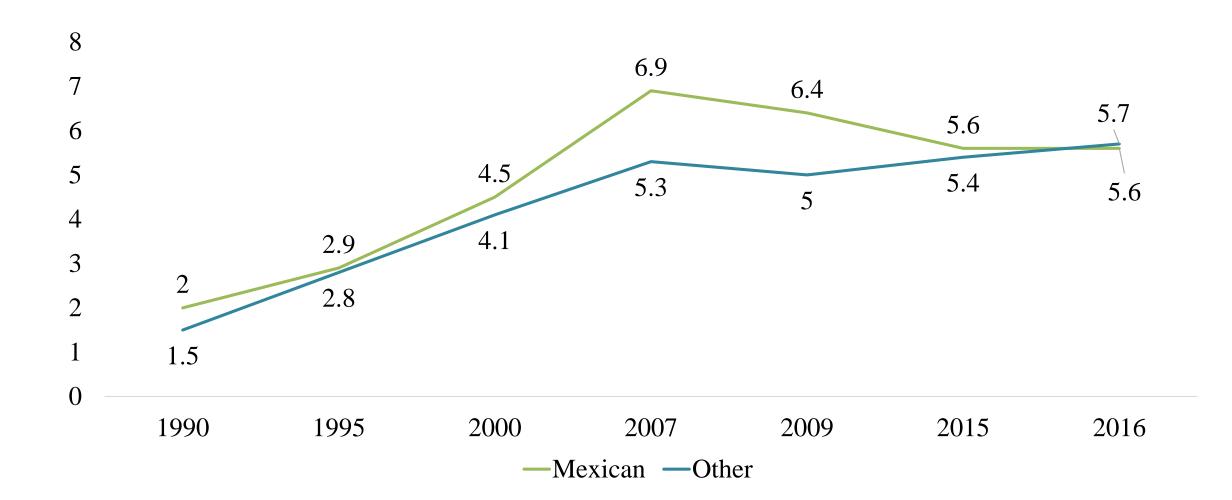
Border: Migrant Flows

Migrant Flows

- The flow of Mexican immigrants to the U.S. is 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.



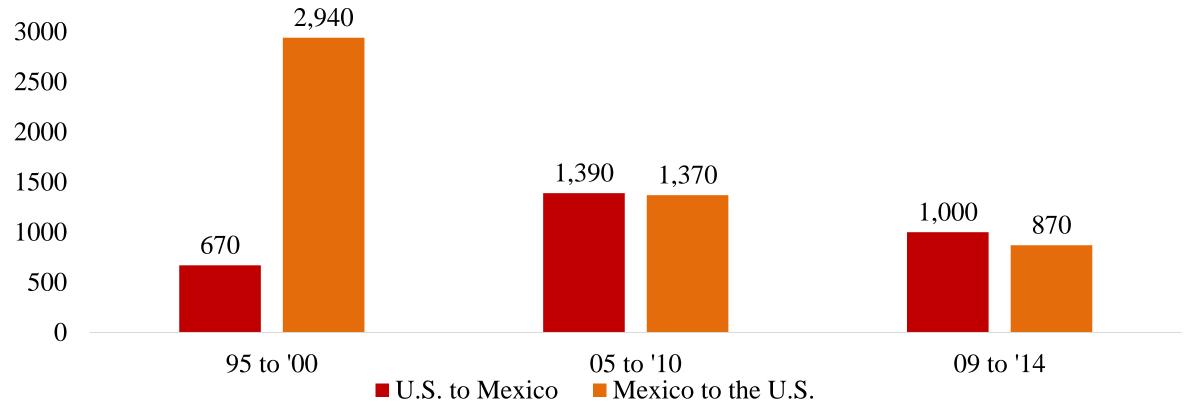
Number of Unauthorized Immigrants in the U.S.



Source: PEW Research Center, 2016

Net Migration from Mexico

• In 2016, there were 1.3 million less unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the US than in 2007



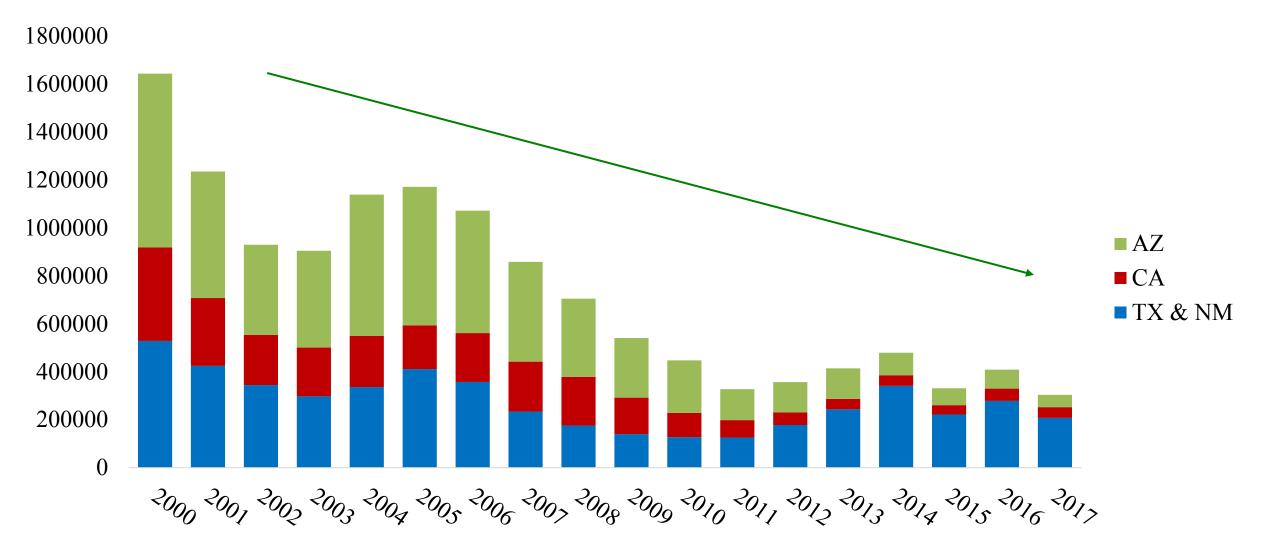
Recent Apprehensions

USBP Southwest Border Monthly Apprehensions



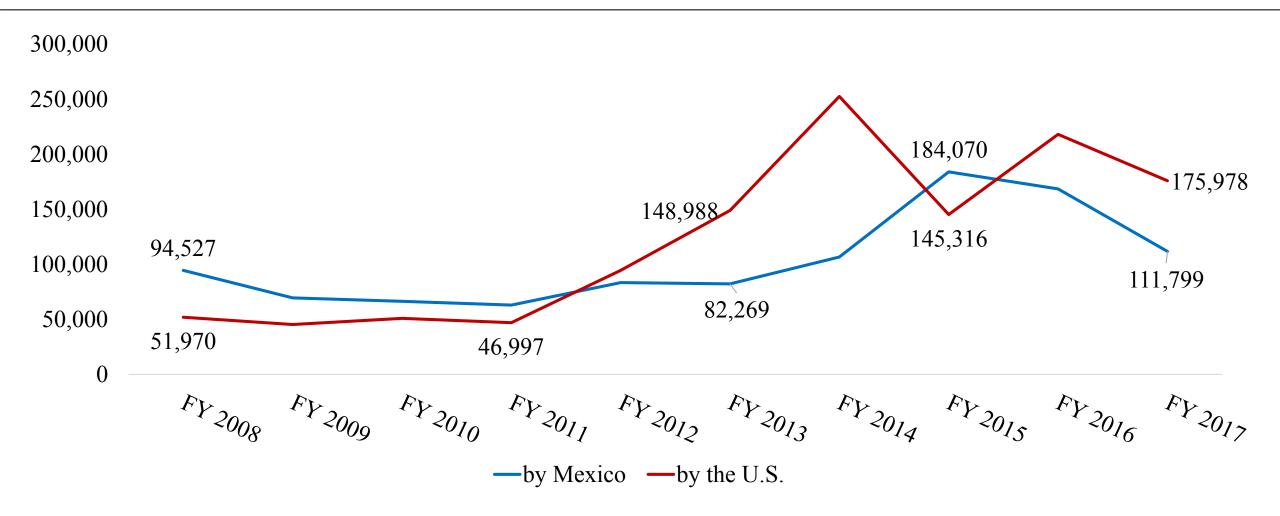
Source: U.S. Border Patrol Monthly Apprehensions (FY 2017 - FY 2018)

Southwest Border Apprehensions by State



Source: U.S. Border Patrol FY2000 - FY2017

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



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

Helping Northern Triangle

Addressing Central American Migration

The US and Mexico enhanced cooperation in response to the 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 in Miami. Commitments include:

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

A second conference in Washington in 2018 has been postponed.

Mexico's Senate condemned U.S. policies in June and called the government to end security and immigration cooperation.

Bilateral Cooperation Against Crime

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.

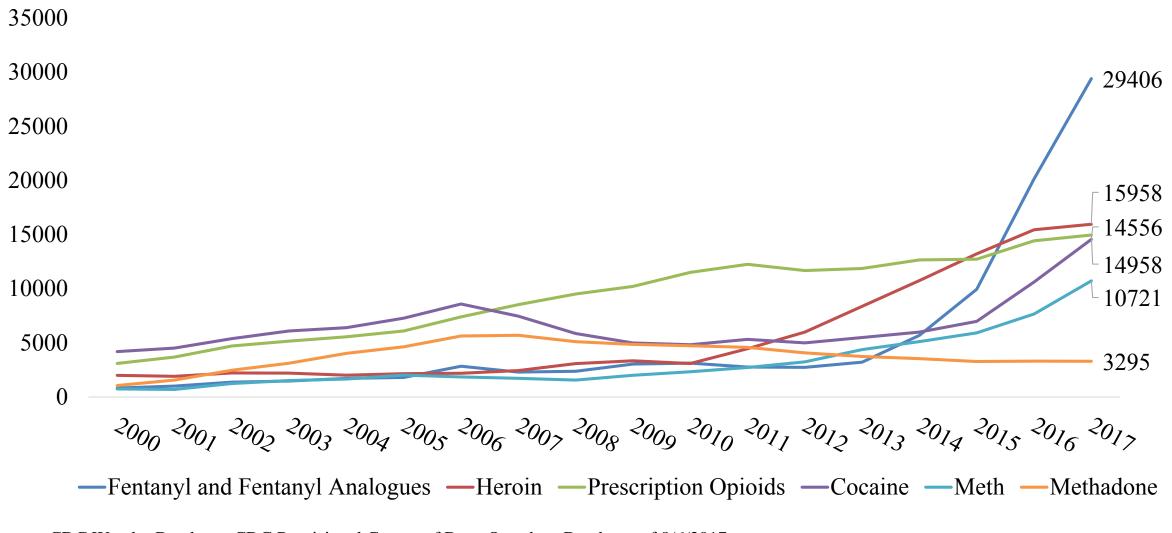
\$2.6 billion appropriated by the US since 2008.

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

Mexico has spent over 10 times more.

Opioids Change the Game

Urgency: US Drug Overdose Deaths 2000-2017



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

U.S. Opioid Crisis

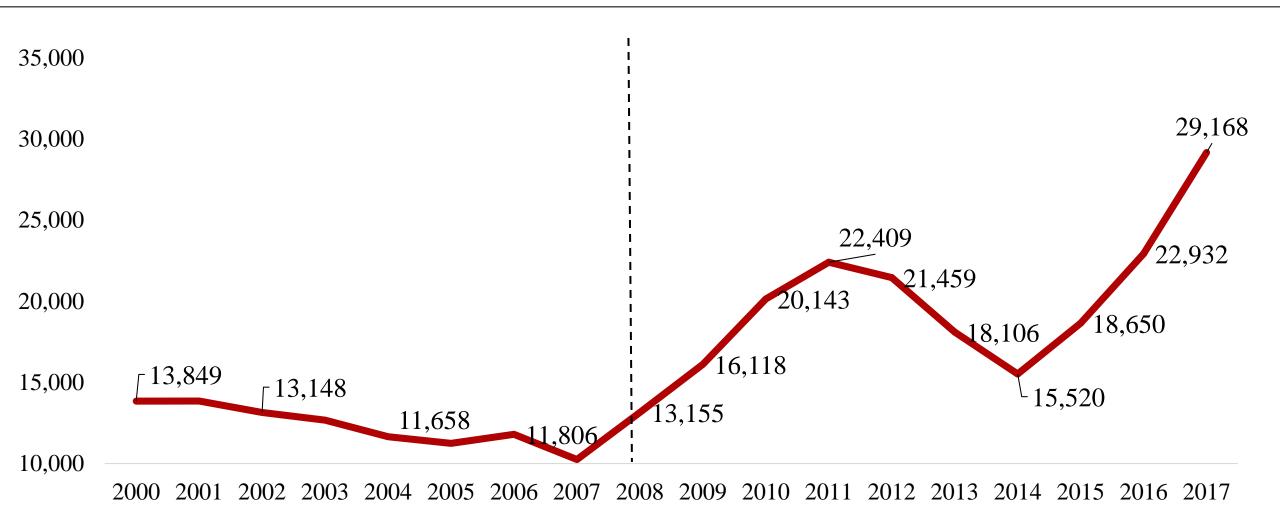
- Opium derivatives use: over 5% of the U.S. population in 2013.
- Since 1999, overdose deaths involving opioids has quadrupled.
- Economic cost of the opioid crisis is estimated at 2.5% of GDP.
- Illegal drug border flows mostly via legal points of entry; quadrupling flows through mail and delivery services.
- Opium and heroin production in Mexico has grown substantially, as has transshipment of illicit opioids, e.g., Fentanyl, from China.
- In 2016, the U.S. and Mexico launched a working group on drugs and dismantling criminal networks.

2017 US-Mexico Agreements to Combat Illicit Drugs

- Partner to destroy criminal organizations "Unprecedented" cooperation.
- Address the demand for illicit drugs among US citizens.
- Necessary tools: physical barriers, technology, patrolling, eradication, enhanced law enforcement and justice actions, and anti-addiction programs.
- Go after all elements in the chain: means of production, cross-border distribution networks, flows of cash and profits, weapons procurement.
- AMLO has ordered a review of Mexican policies and of cooperation with the U.S.

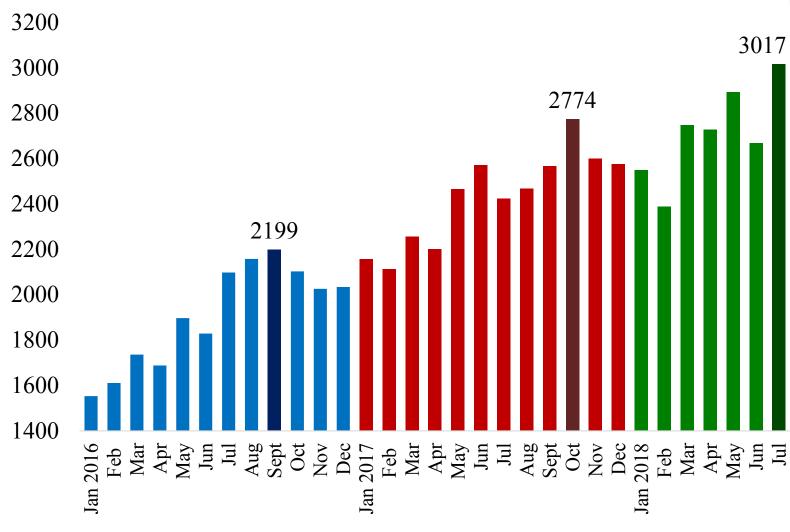
Violence up in Mexico

Urgency: Homicides in Mexico



Source: Secretaria Ejecutiva de Seguridad Nacional, 2000-2017

Urgency: Homicides in Mexico



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.

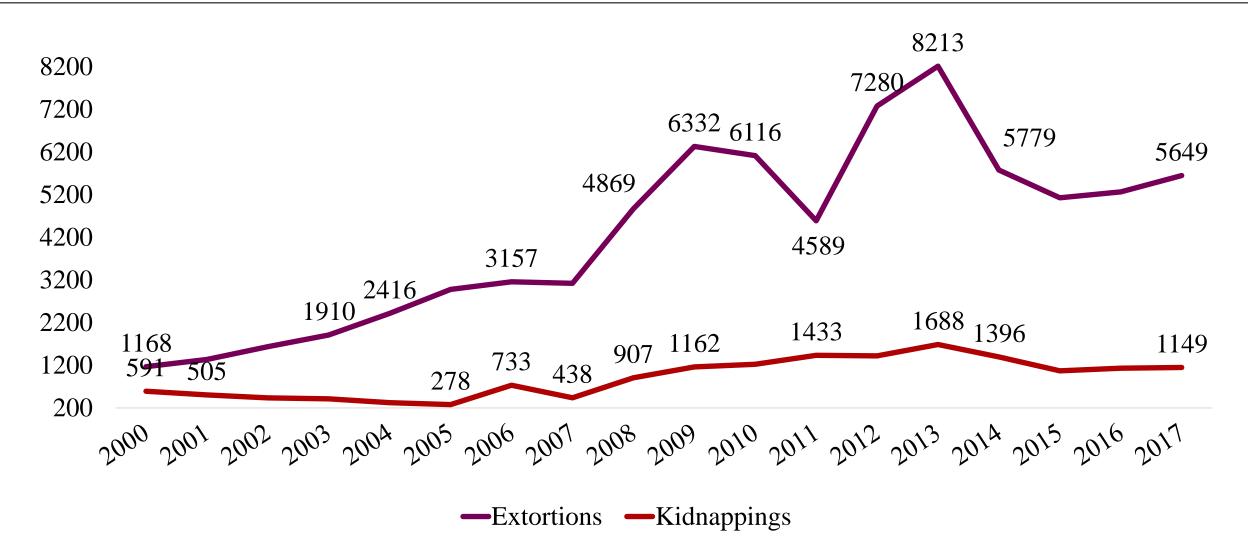
Cartels fighting, but types of crime expanded & more states affected.

Est. crime cost up to 17.6% GDP.

U.S. travel warnings for resort

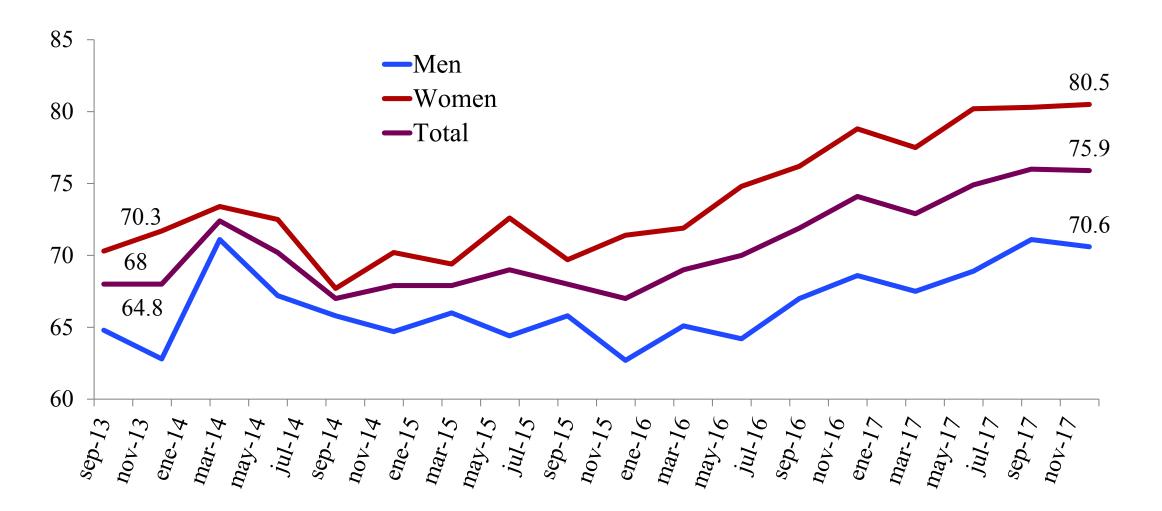
areas.

Other types of crime: serious but not like killings



Source: Secretaria Ejecutiva de Seguridad Nacional, 2017

Public Perceptions: % of the population that feels unsafe

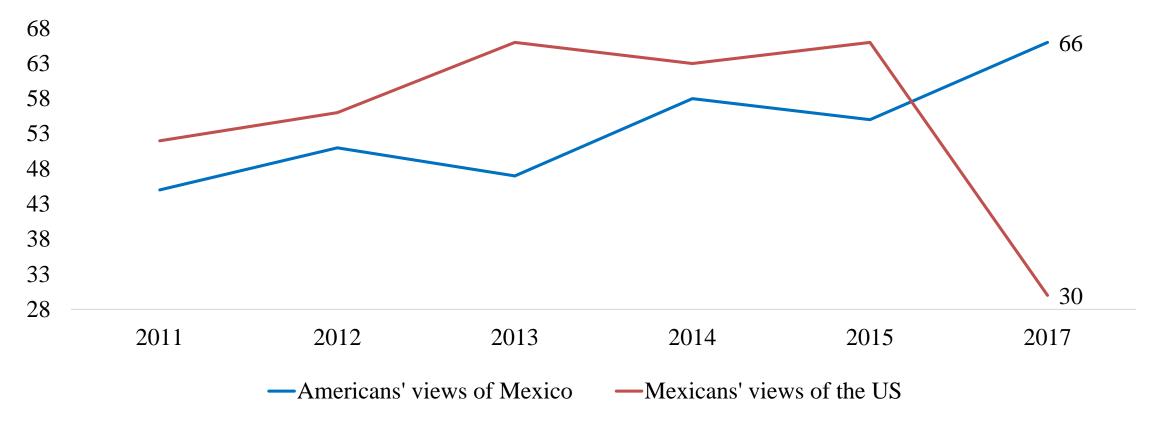


Source: INEGI, 2017

Perceptions of Bilateral Relations and NAFTA

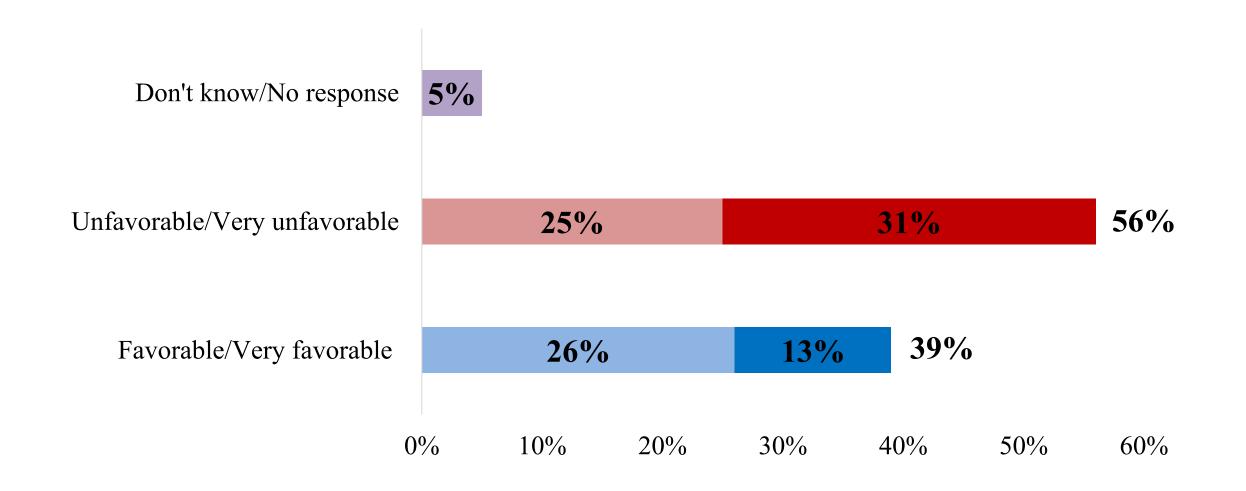
Americans' and Mexicans' Perceptions of each other (per cent favorable)

• 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.

Mexican Opinion of the U.S.



Source: Buendia y Laredo 2018.

Americans views of FTAs & Tariffs on Steel and Aluminum

Free trade agreements have been a Good/Bad thing for the US



Raising tariffs on steel and aluminum would be a Good/Bad thing for the US



Source: Pew Research, May 2018.

US Opinion: Is NAFTA Good for the US Economy?

-Overall -Republican -Democrat -Independent

Overall, Is NAFTA Good for the US Economy? (% Good)

Source: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs August 2017.

NAFTA Negotiations

What's at Stake?

\$ 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".

NAFTA Countries are richer each year due to "extra" trade growth



The pure economic payoff for the U.S. is \$400 per person

Source: NAFTA 20 Years Later. Petersen Institute for International Economics, 2014

WAYS TO IMPROVE NAFTA

U.S. withdrawal from NAFTA would be incredibly costly.

However, these 5 updates to the agreement could favor both U.S. competitiveness and American workers:

Account for recent technological advances.

Now that the Internet and smartphones are everyday tools of business and commerce, issues such as cross-border data flows and exports of digital products should be included in updates of the agreement.

Revise customs processes and requirements.

Simplifying customs rules and paperwork would make it easier for small U.S. businesses to take advantage of new online platforms, like Amazon and Etsy, that have make it easier to venture into foreign trade and find buyers abroad.

Update NAFTA's rules of origin.

NAFTA includes rules about what percentage of a product must be produced within North America in order to enter the U.S., Mexico, or Canada tariff-free. A detailed analysis should be done to determine how these rules could be strengthened to incentivize investment and job growth in the U.S.

Strengthen the NAFTA side agreement on labor rights.

While the countries of North America have already agreed to abide by their own labor laws in a NAFTA side agreement, incorporating labor issues into NAFTA itself could better ensure that companies don't leave the U.S. in an effort to avoid the cost of respecting workers' rights.



Eliminate obstacles to service exports.

Since the U.S. has an advantage in the high skill industries that make up much of services trade, like financial and educational services, special emphasis should be placed on eliminating obstacles to these exports.

Further protection of U.S. workers requires investment in workforce development:







Aligning higher education with labor market demand



Wilson Center

Trump to Announce Plans for Renegotiation of NAFTA: Five Ways to Improve the Agreement



1

<u>n an staine sta</u>

NAFTA Modernization Controversial Issues

Controversial topics include:

- Focus on reducing US trade deficit
- Eliminate or weaken dispute settlement provisions in Chapter 19 to expand U.S. freedom to enforce rigorously trade laws
- Eliminate or weaken the Investorto-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) process

- Strengthen rules of origin to ensure greater US and North American sourcing of inputs
- Five year "sunset clause" for treaty
- Preserve preferential purchasing programs such as "Buy America;" cap Mexican and Canadian access
- Stronger Mexican Labor Rights

US-Mexico Preliminary Trade Agreement



- 75% of the value of a vehicle to be produced in the U.S. or Mexico (up from 62.5%)
- 40%-45% percent of auto content from workers earning over \$16 per hour.
- Possible cap on tariff-free Mexican cars.
- **16-year lifetime for the agreement,** with a review every six years and possible 16 years renewal.
- Eliminate settlement system for anti-dumping disputes, Ch19. (Potential deal breaker for Canada)
- Reduced coverage for Investor-to-State Dispute Settlement.
- Energy: undisclosed changes.
- Labor: undisclosed changes.
- Improved Goods Market Access chapter; provisions to incentivize NAFTA textile production.
- Updated annexes on ICT, Pharmaceuticals, Medical Device, Cosmetic Products & Chemicals.
- Stronger agricultural chapter covering biotech, Science-Based SPS measures.
- Expanded IPR Protections and internet coverage.



Remaining Issues to a Trilateral Agreement

Canada's Dairy Sector

• Dispute Settlement Mechanism

• Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

Questions about the new Rules of Origin

- 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 for U.S. consumers and for export?
- 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?

Source: Anthony Wayne, 2018.

Costs of Withdrawing from NAFTA

From 256,000 low skilled jobs lost up to 1.2 million jobs lost (3-5 years).¹ 95,000 workers would have to relocate to other sectors (3-5 years).¹

GDP decline up to 0.64% (\$120 billion).¹

Hard hit sectors: agriculture/livestock/food; motor vehicles; machinery; other manufactured; services; transportation and logistics; textiles.³ Investors see U.S. growth slowed and harm to specific sectors and equity markets.²

Strategic dangers: reduced cooperation against drug trafficking and on migration; move back to "*distant neighbors*" with revived anti-Americanism.

Sources: 1) Impact Econ; 2) Trade Leadership Council Survey; 3) ImpactEcon, Trade Leadership Council Survey, Food and Agricultural Letter, Atlantic Council, MEMA/BCG.

Benefits of Enhancing Economic Integration across the US-Mexico Border

| STUDY | IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT & GDP |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| The Perryman Group 2018 Study | US Border States Employment: +702, 421 to +1.4 million jobs GDP: +\$69 billion to +\$140 billion Largest impact in California Mexico Border States Employment: +95, 948 to +193, 526 jobs GDP: +\$4.8 billion to +\$9.7 billion Largest impact in Nuevo Leon |

Steel and Aluminum Tariffs Still in place

Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

| June 1 | The U.S. imposed 25% tariff on imported steel and 10% tariff on imported aluminum from Mexico, Canada and the European Union. |
|---------|--|
| June 6 | Mexico imposed 15%-25% tariffs on \$3 billion worth of U.S. products (e.g. pork, steel and cheese). |
| June 22 | The European Union imposed 25% tariffs on \$3.4 billion worth of U.S. goods (motorcycles, cranberry juice, cigarettes, denim and peanut butter). |
| July 1 | Canada imposed 25% tariff on U.S. steel imports and 10% tariff on aluminum and other U.S. goods. Tariffs cover up to \$12.6 billion worth of U.S. goods. |

Costs of Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

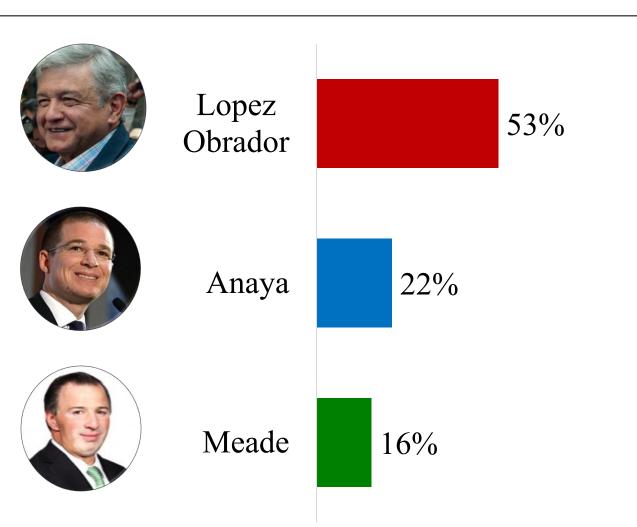


Costs to U.S. Consumers: \$7.5 billion a year, before retaliation from the European Union, Mexico and Canada²

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

Mexico's 2018 Presidential Election

Presidential Results

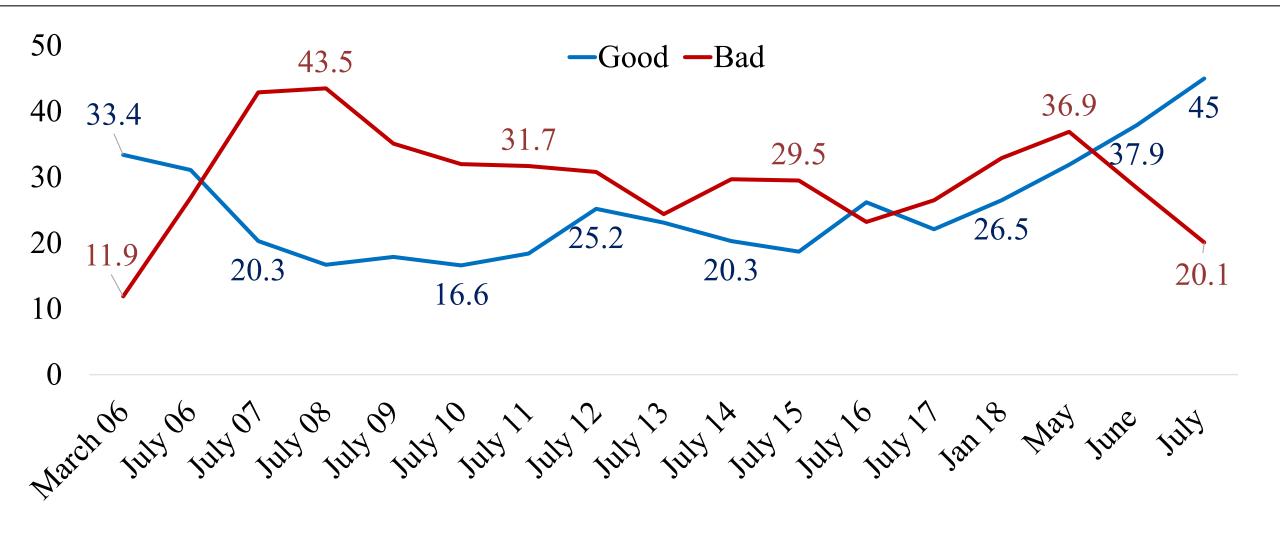


Voter turnout: 63.5%

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

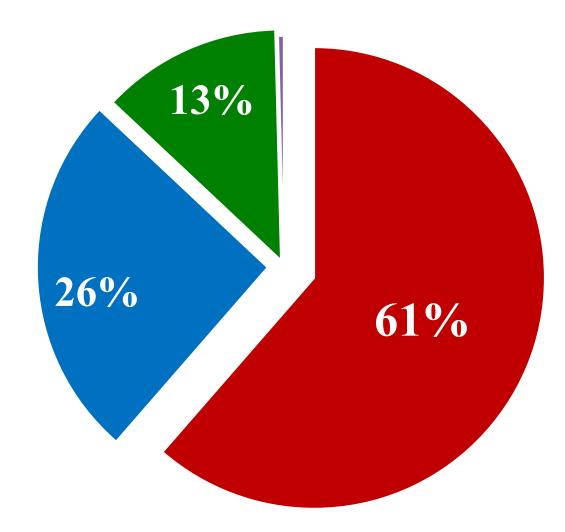
Over 65% of the Mexican population believe the security, economic and political situation will improve in the short-term under AMLO's Presidency.

Mexican's views of AMLO



Source: Consulta Mitofsky, 2018

Chamber of Deputies – November 2018



Morena307 seats

PAN 128 seats

PRI63 seats

No party2 seats

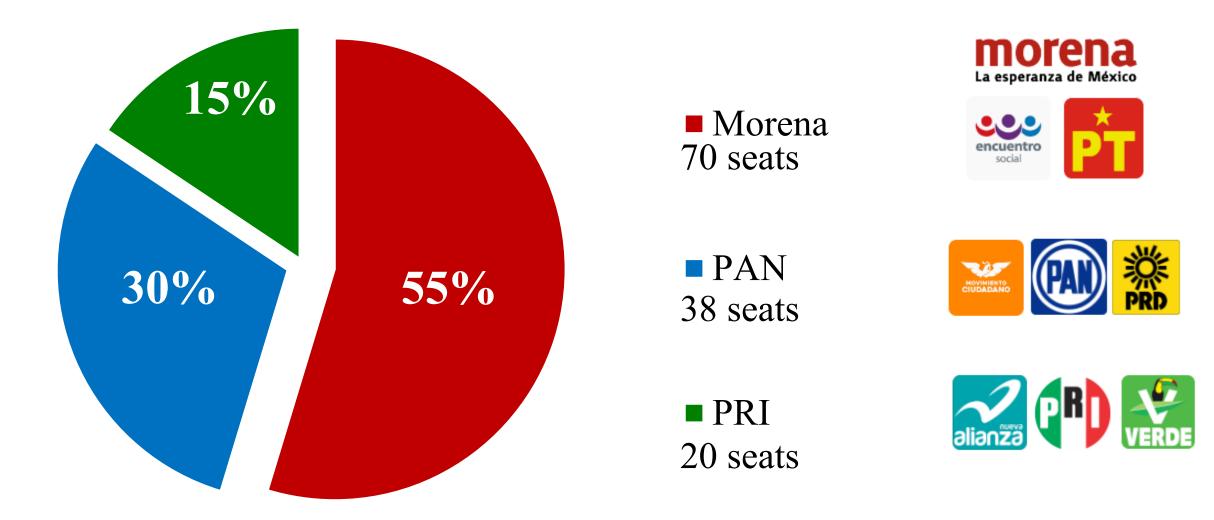




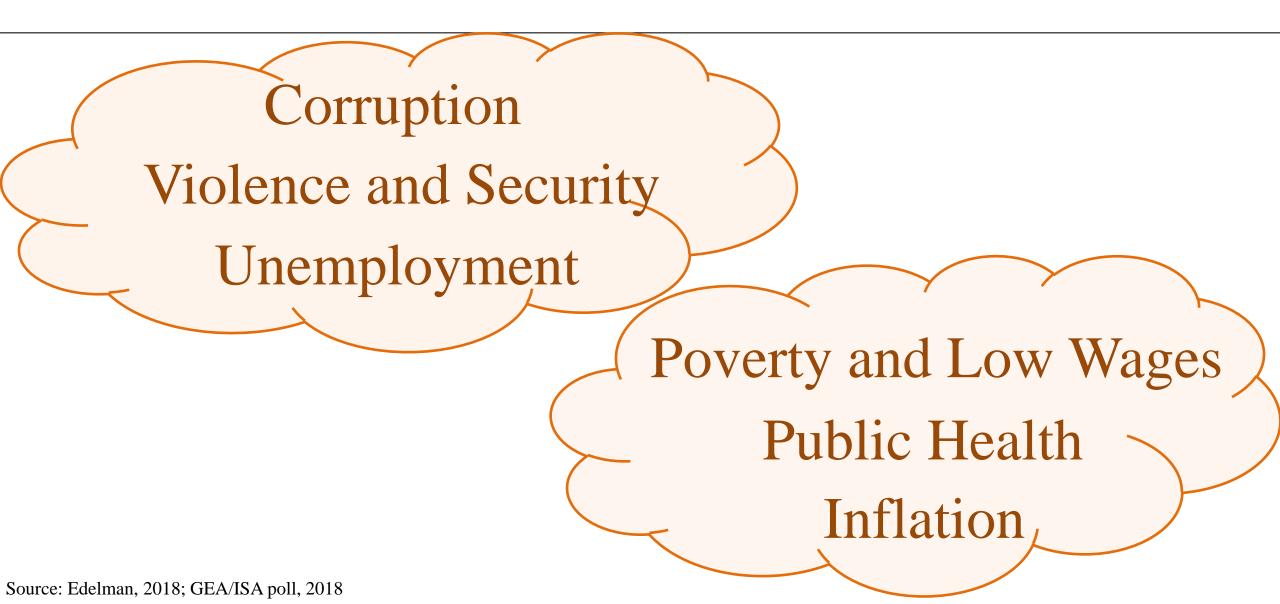




Senate – November 2018



Issues that Mexicans care about & influenced their votes



AMLO's Policy Proposals



Poverty:

- Increase minimum wage.
- Launch new jobs programs.

- Subsidize inputs for small farmers.
- Guarantee free universal health coverage.

Corruption:

- Better supervision of public spending.
- Cut public-officials salaries, perks and reduce staff.
- Name new independent Anti-Corruption prosecutor. Absolute autonomy of the General Attorney's office.
- Legal reforms to **increase penalties for officials** who use public money for personal gain.

Trade:

• Conclude the **renegotiation of NAFTA**. Focus on expanding trade.

Economic Policy:

- Focus on developing Mexico's internal market
- Infrastructure projects (for example, railway line)

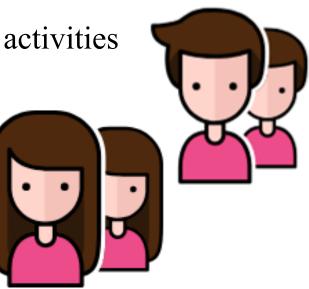
Education:

• Eliminate teacher's evaluation.

- **Redirect government spending** to social programs.
- Attract investment.
- Launch youth job/education programs.

AMLO'S PROGRAM "YOUTH BUILDING THE FUTURE" GENERAL OBJECTIVES

- Increase job and training opportunities for **2.6 million young Mexicans** of 18-29 years old that are not studying or in employment
- Reduce numbers of young people that are not employed, in education programs or being trained (NEETs) across the country
- **Reduce** the country's **unemployment** rates
- Reduce youth involvement in criminal activity or non-productive activities
- Reestablish linkages between communities
- Increase Mexico's productivity levels and economic growth



AMLO'S PROGRAM "YOUTH BUILDING THE FUTURE" ELEMENTS

Scholarships for training

- Award 2.3 million scholarships of \$3.6 thousand pesos monthly
- Certify youth enrolled in the program
- Award participating companies as social responsible organizations
- Coordinated by the Department of Labor (STPS)

Scholarships for college

- Award 300 thousand annual scholarships of \$2.6 thousand pesos monthly
- Coordinated by the Department of Public Education (SEP)



AMLO's Policy Proposals

Energy:

- **Review of contracts** since the Energy Reform. **Postpone new auctions** (for at least 2 years).
- Strengthen the role of PEMEX with a preferred role for exploration and choosing partnerships.
- Limit **gasoline price** increases.
- **Build new refineries** to supply gasoline (\$100 billion pesos).
- \$75 billion pesos of next year's budget will be allocated to **oil extraction.**

Security:

- Create a new **Department of Public Security.**
- Support for crime victims.
- Better-trained and better-paid police.
- Go after cartel finances.
- Armed forces off the streets in a 3-year framework.
- **De-criminalize marihuana** and, possibly, **growing poppy.**
- **Reintegration** of nonviolent drug offenders and **forgiveness** to some criminals.
- More job and educational opportunities.
- Review cooperation with the U.S. Merida Initiative.



AMLO's Policy Proposals on Science, Technology and Innovation



- Increase public expenditure to 1% of the GDP on Science, Technology and Innovation.
- Increase scholarships and number of researchers on these issues.
- Use technology to increase agricultural productivity.
- Review of document "*Towards the Consoidation and Development of Public Policy on Scicence, Technology and Innovation*" created by UNAM and other 80 higher educational institutions.
- AMLO has expressed interest on creating a **Department of Information Technology,** policy suggested by the National Chamber of the Electronic, Telecommunications and IT Industry.
- Strengthen U.S.-Mexico cooperation on science and technology.
- Stronger role for **CONACYT** under María Elena Álvarez leadership.
- CONACYT as intermediary through which the Federal government will coordinate public of policy on Science, Technology and Innovation.

"Towards the Consoidation and Development of Public Policy on Scicence, Technology and Innovation"

- Make Science, Technology and Innovation a **national priority**.
- Define **national and regional objectives** based on the country's needs.
- Define strategy and implementation plan.
- Sustain **public funding** on this sector. **Expand the system** of Science, Technology and Innovation.
- Strengthen partnerships between governments and educational institutions.
- Develop a regulatory framework aligned to the proposed objectives.

AMLO Proposals to Trump – July 12 Letter

| TRADE | Resume NAFTA renegotiation talks; AMLO's team will work with EPN's team. | Relocate Mexican customs 20-30 km 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 the minimum wage. |
|----------|--|--|--|
| SECURITY | - | nvestments to | 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 Proposals to Trump – July 12 Letter

| MIGRATION | Improve economic opportunities. | Migration cooperation based on the respect for human rights. | Development plan between the U.S., Mexico, and Central American countries to mitigate poverty and retain the migration . | |
|-------------|---|--|---|---|
| DEVELOPMENT | Encourage tourism with high-speed train from Cancun to Palenque. | Creation of 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

Critics concerns about an AMLO Presidency

Backward-looking agenda: bigger economic role for the State?

Fiscal Responsibility vs new Social Programs e.g. increase public investments, social programs and subsidies without tax and debt increases?

- **Slow the Education Reform?**
- Weaken Energy Reform?
- **Corruption:** no effective plan?

Public Security: not sufficient to reverse violence?

US-Mexico Bilateral relationship. NAFTA? Clashes over migration, border anti-drug policy? Non-interventionist foreign policy?

Will he listen to his cabinet/others? Will he become more authoritarian?

AMLO's Challenges

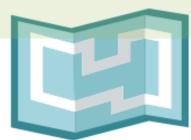
Lack of experience governing

- Carrying out promised reforms
- (salary + personal cuts and decentralization)

Having enough resources and income without increasing taxes

- Developing specific policies & effective implementation
- (e.g. security & corruption)
- Meeting high popular expectations







Maintaining a Partnership with Mexico?

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

Trade:

• Successfully complete NAFTA modernization negotiations, so all three can claim wins.

Bilateral Security Cooperation:

- Avoid further deterioration in cooperation. Collaborative review of programs.
- Better manage together migration and travel issues; intercept terrorists.
- Better fight organized crime, attacking production, distribution, logistics, finance networks, arms smuggling, and addiction/demand; support Mexico in reducing related violence.
- Deepen coordinated support for Central America to address root causes of migration.

Improve Competitiveness:

- Enhance technology, information sharing and processes to improve security and facilitate of legitimate trade and travel.
- Invest in programs, including workforce development and education, to further develop the complimentary nature of the two economies, create jobs and improve global competitiveness.

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



Presentation to Boise State Honors College, 09/18