

# Building Partnership with Mexico

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### Building a Partnership with Mexico



- 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. Also 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, including on public security.

# A Massive Relationship

#### **US-Mexico** Trade



2017 Trade in goods and services:



US trades over 1 million per minute with Mexico.

Currency in USD. Source: BEA 2017

#### **US-Mexico** Trade

#### Mexico is:

- 2nd largest export market
- 3rd largest trading partner
- 3<sup>rd</sup> 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**

Each day there are over

### 1 million

border crossings









Source: Bureau of transportation statistics, 2016

#### Areas of U.S.-Mexico Bilateral Work



- 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

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



- Finalizing USMCA
- 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

Migration & border

Management

Finalizing USMCA

Surging Criminal Violence in Mexico

Strengthening Mexican law enforcement institutions and bilateral cooperation

Negative public perceptions

Potential Terrorism

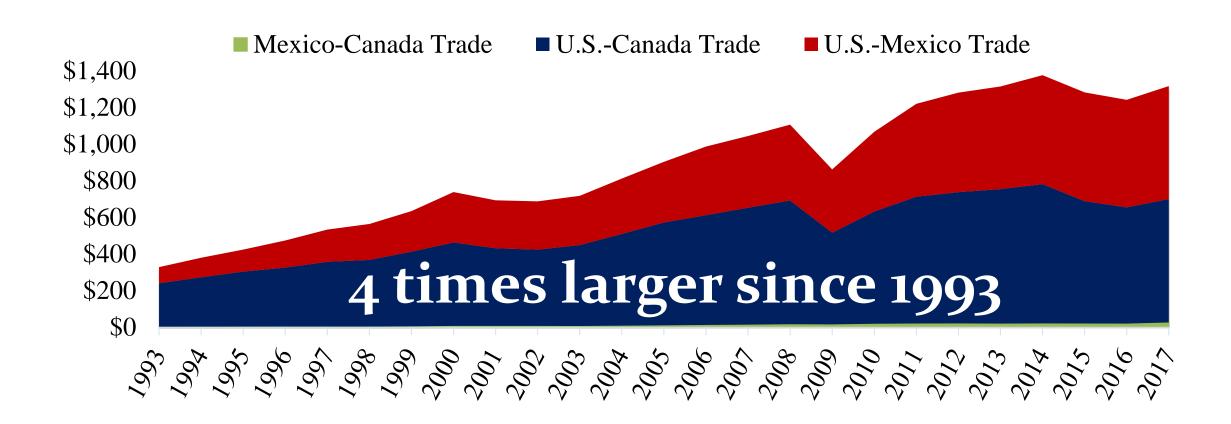
**Countering Corruption** 

Central American migrants

Reducing poverty in Mexico

# Economic Security

#### North American Trade in Goods and Services



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

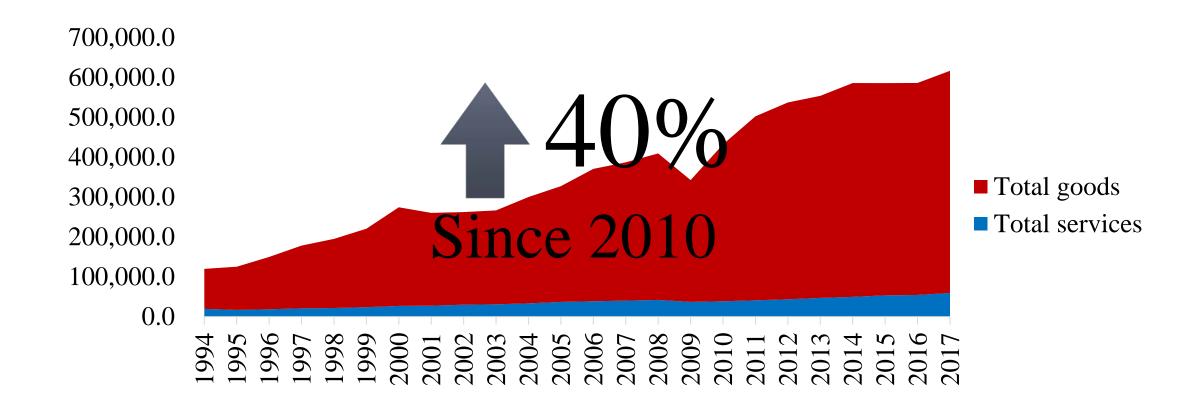


#### North American Trade

- Canada, Mexico and the US trade \$1.3 trillion a year,
- \$3.6 billion a day, reflecting shared production networks.
- More than US trade with all the European Union and 1.9 times more than with China.
- Up to 14 million US jobs supported by trade with neighbors.
- 50 percent of NAFTA trade is intermediate goods.

#### 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

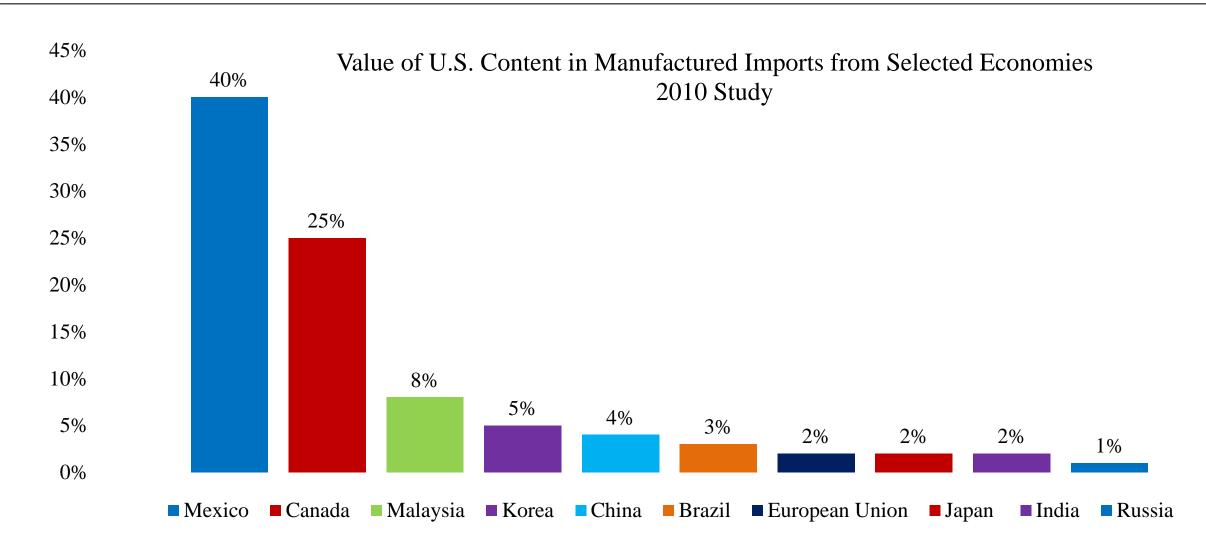
### Rank Order: Top US States' Trade with Mexico 2017

| State      | Volume \$USD<br>(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<br>Carolina | 8.3                     |
| Ohio       | 14.7                       | Kentucky          | 7.7                     |
| Tennessee  | 11.7                       | New Jersey        | 7.4                     |
| Georgia    | 10.4                       | New York          | 6.4                     |



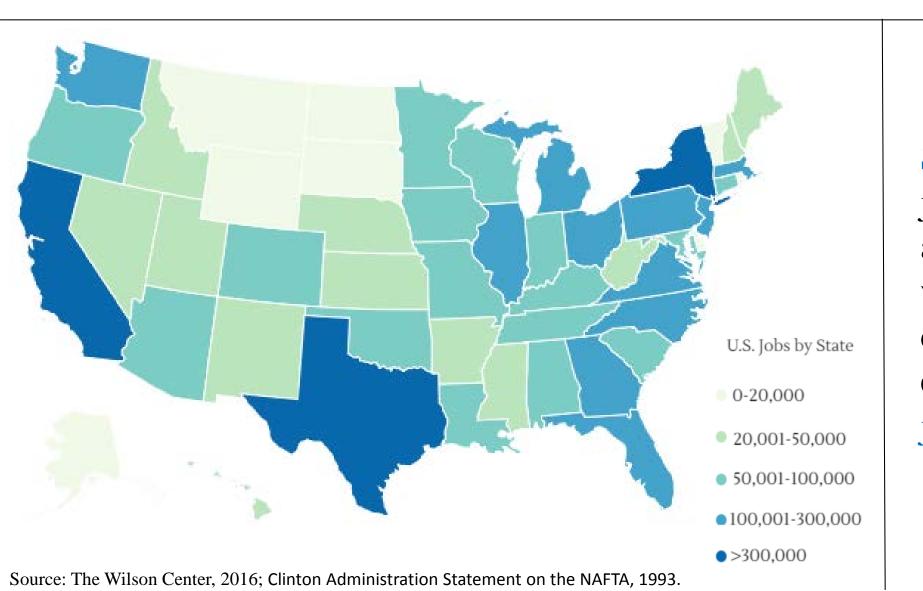
Source: Secretaria de Economia, 2017

### 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



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

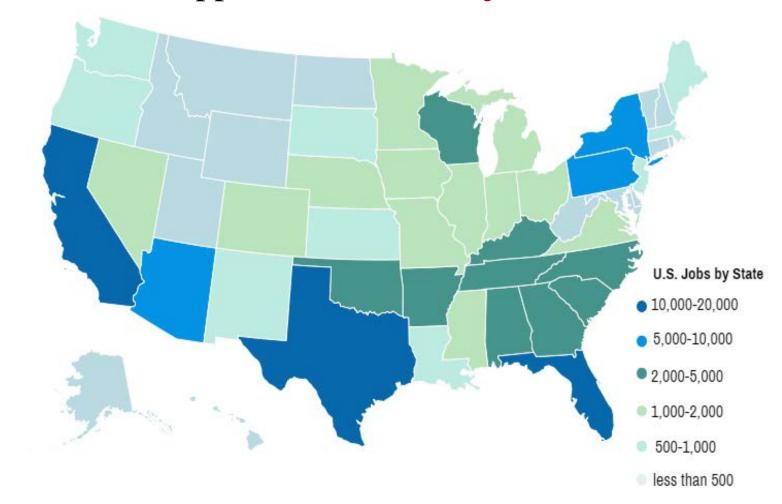
The US had \$452 billion FDI in Canada and Mexico.



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

### U.S. Jobs Created by Mexican Investment<sub>2016</sub>

Mexican investment supports 123,000 US jobs.



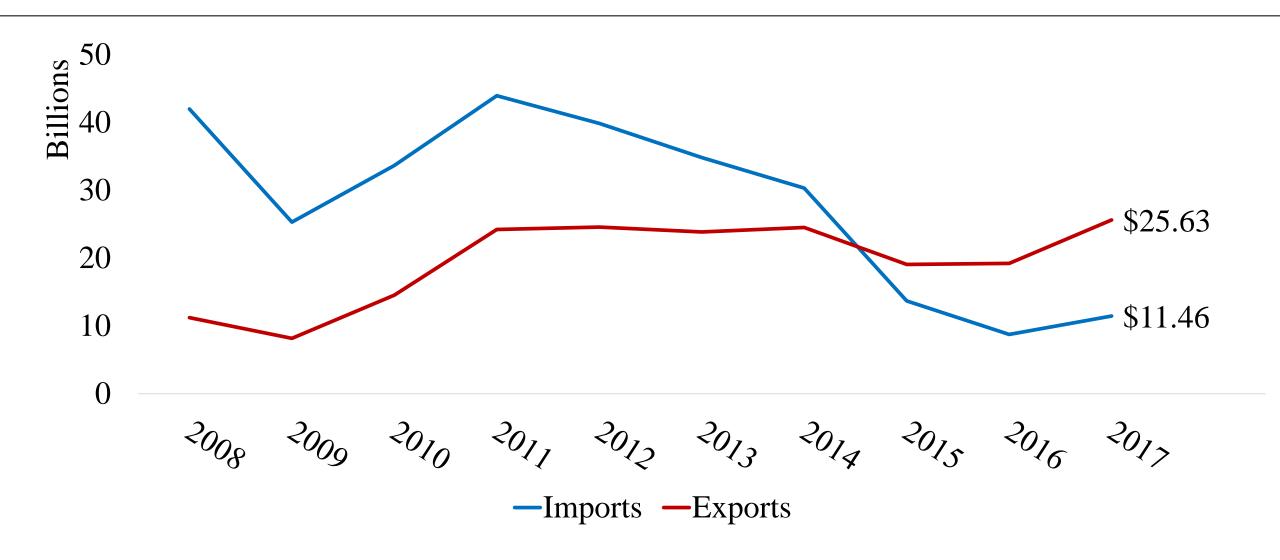
Source: Wilson Center, 2015.

# Energy

### 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 bringing changes, e.g. bigger role for PEMEX, reduce exports of crude oil?

### U.S. Energy Trade Surplus with Mexico



Source: US Census Bureau, 2017

# Border Management Licit and Illicit Flows

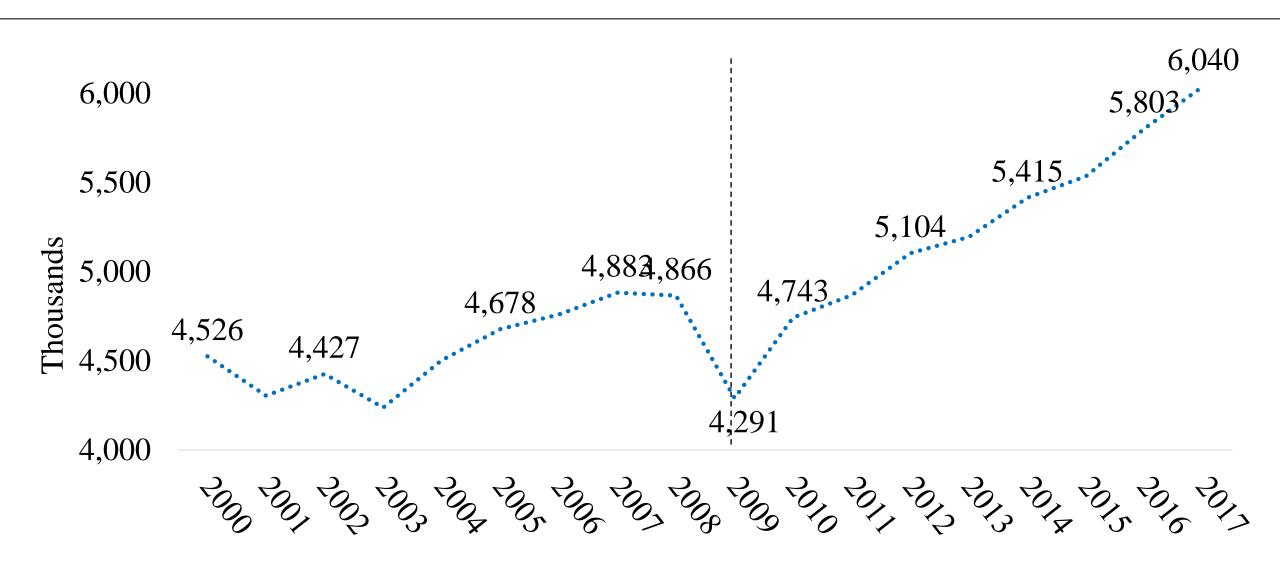
### Moving toward Co-Management of the Border



### 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

### Trucks Crossing the US-Mexico Border

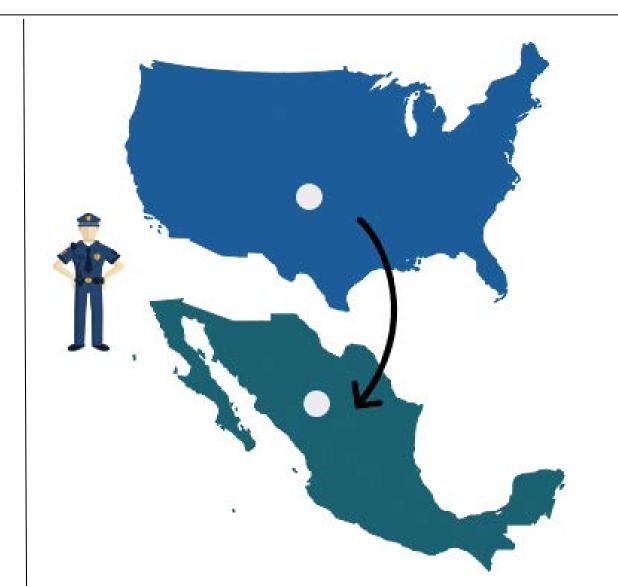


Source: Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2017

# Border: Migrant Flows

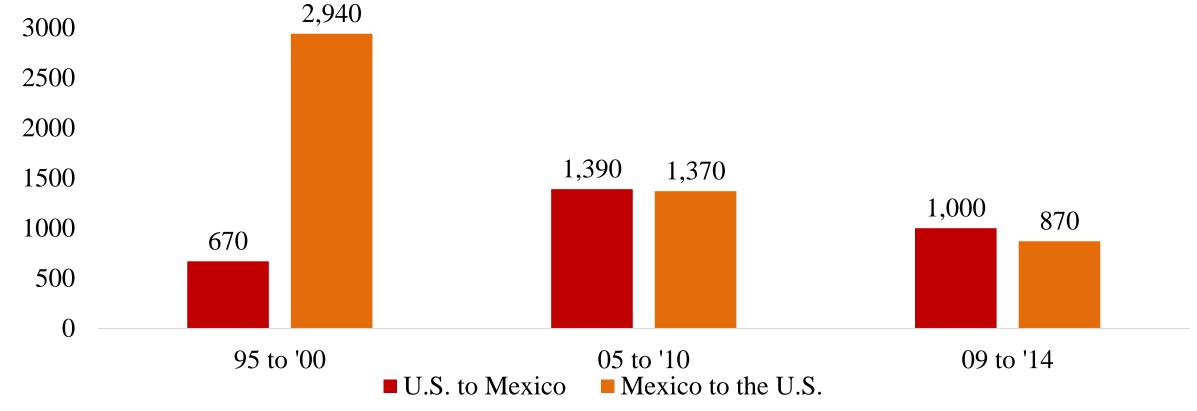
### Migrant Flows

- 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.



### Net Migration from Mexico

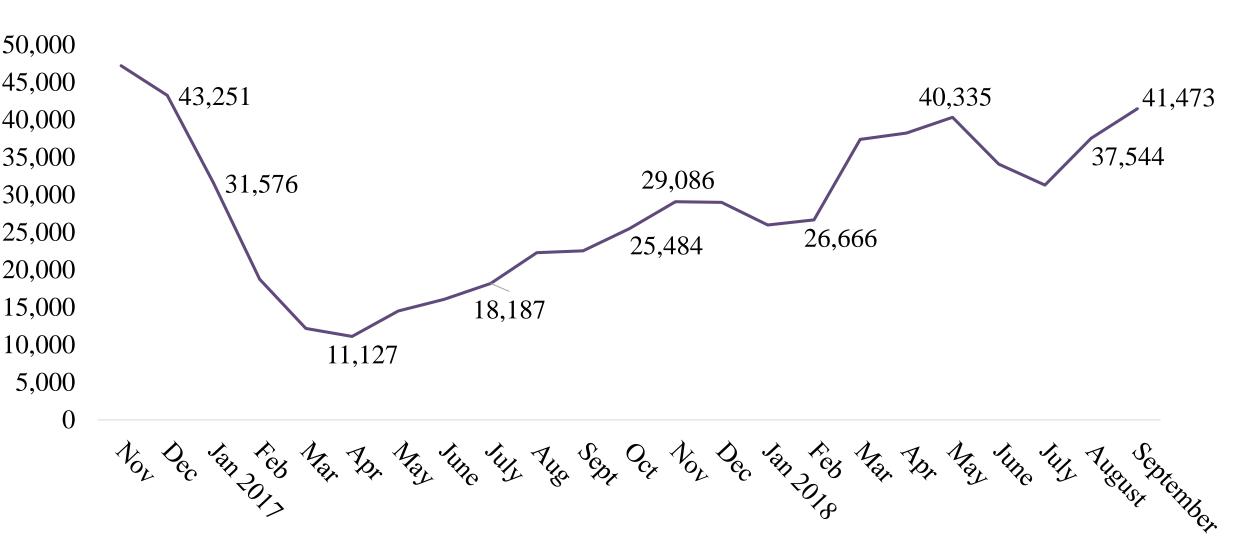
• In 2016, there were 1.3 million fewer unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the U.S. than in 2007



Source: Pew Research, 2017

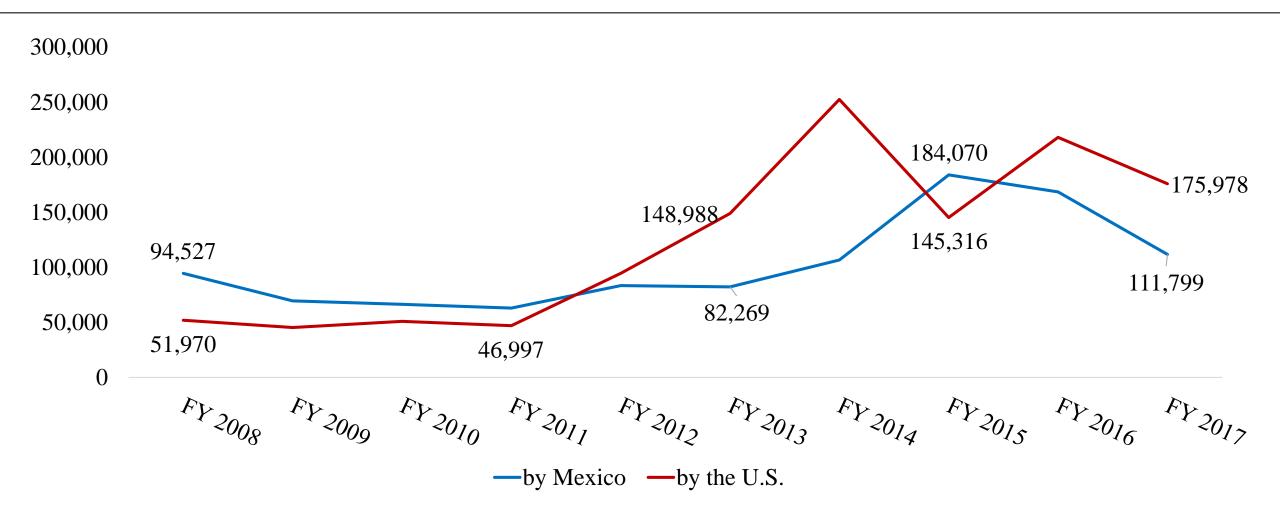
# Recent Apprehensions

### USBP Southwest Border Monthly Apprehensions



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

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 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).
- 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 took place October 11-12, 2018.

Mexico's Senate condemned U.S. border migration policies in June and called for 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.

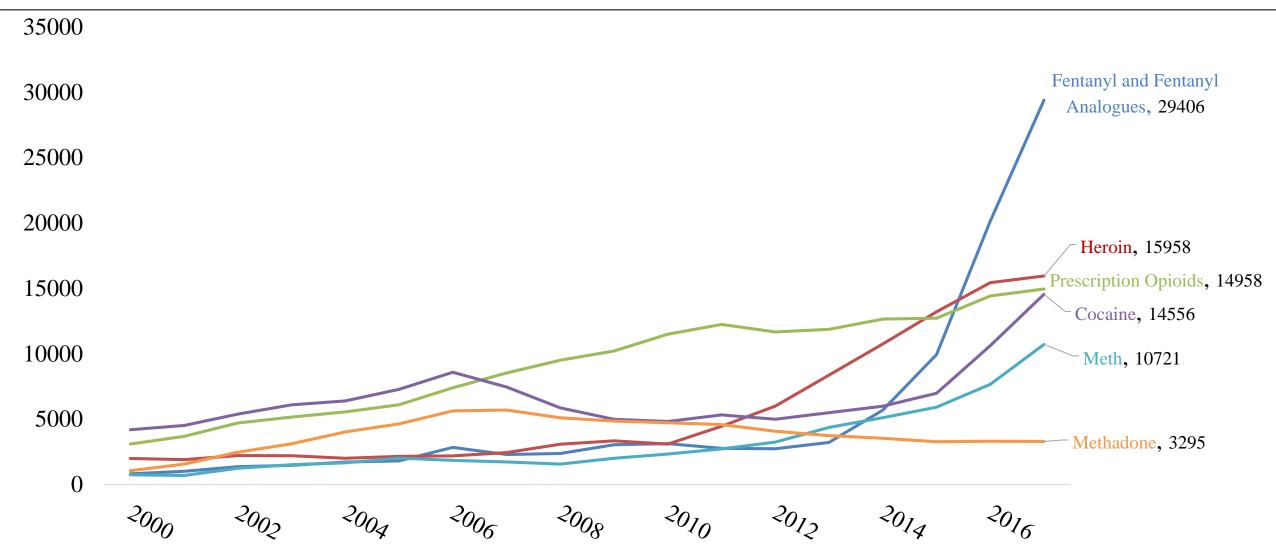
\$2.9 billion appropriated by the US since 2008.

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

Mexico has spent over 10 times more.

# Opioids Change the Game

## Urgency: US Drug Overdose Deaths 2000-2017



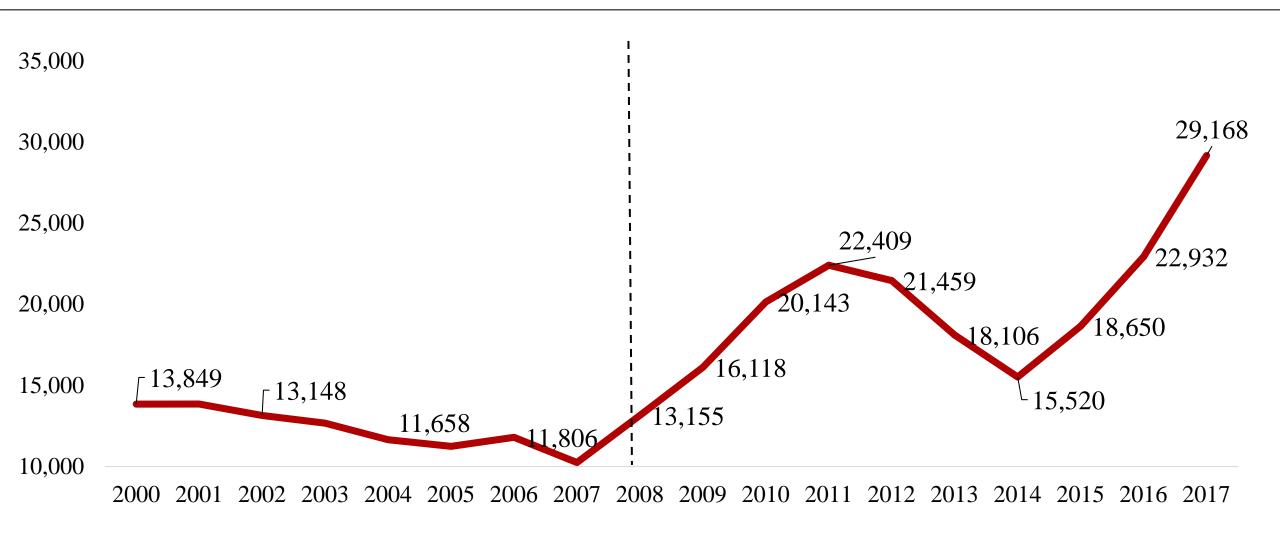
Source: CDC Wonder Database; CDC Provisional Counts of Drug Overdose Deaths as of 8/6/2017

## 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.

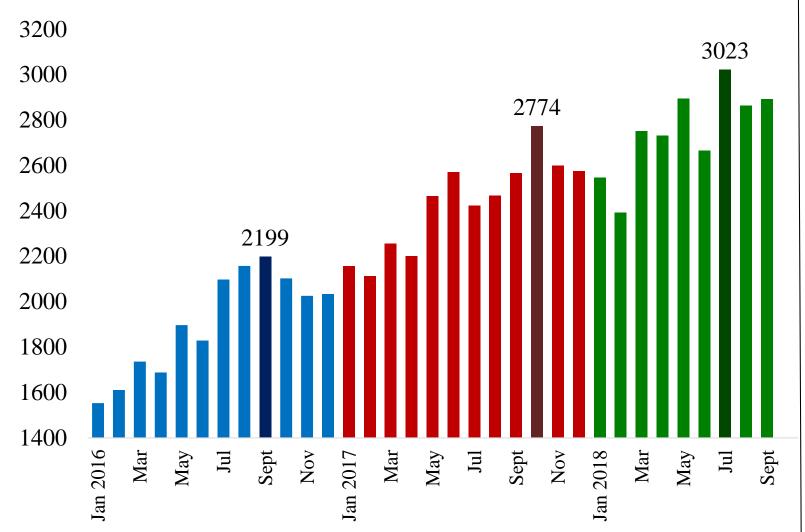
## Violence up in Mexico

## Urgency: Homicides in Mexico



Source: Secretaria Ejecutiva de Seguridad Nacional, 2000-2017

## Homicides in Mexico: Criminal Insurgencies?



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.

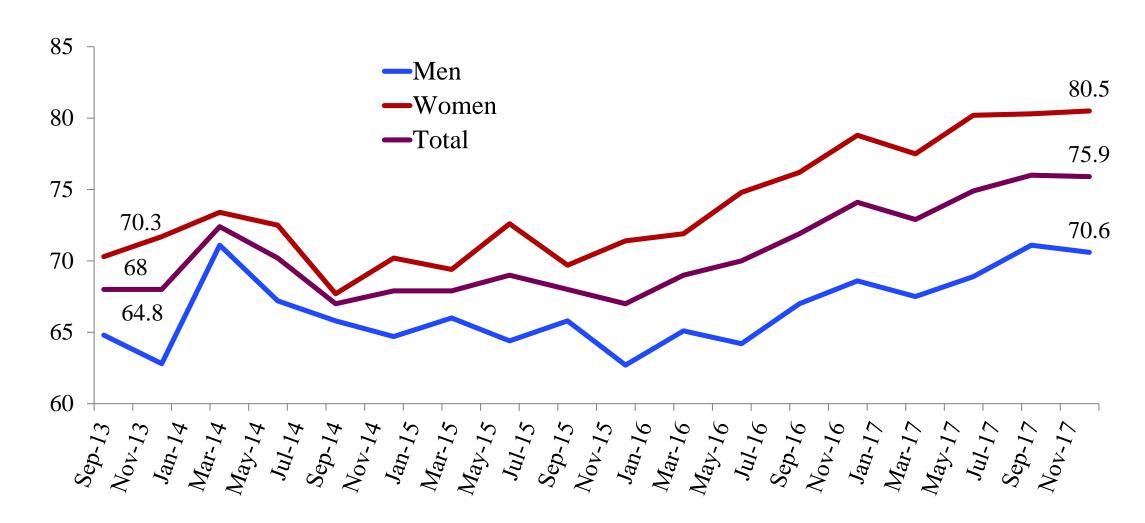
Cartels fighting, but types of crime expanded & affects more states.

Crime cost up to 17.6% GDP.

U.S. travel warnings for resorts.

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

### Percent of Mexico's population that feels unsafe

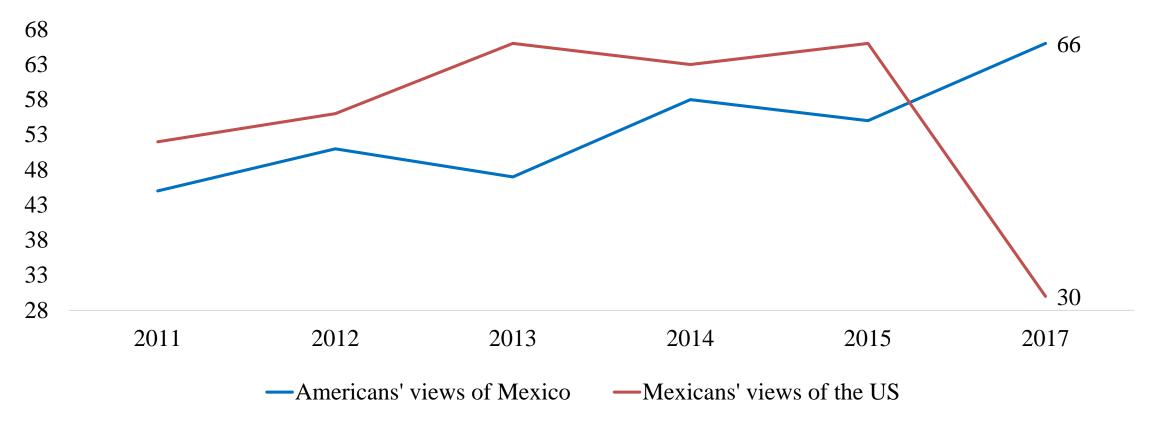


Source: INEGI, 2017

# Perceptions of Bilateral Relations and NAFTA

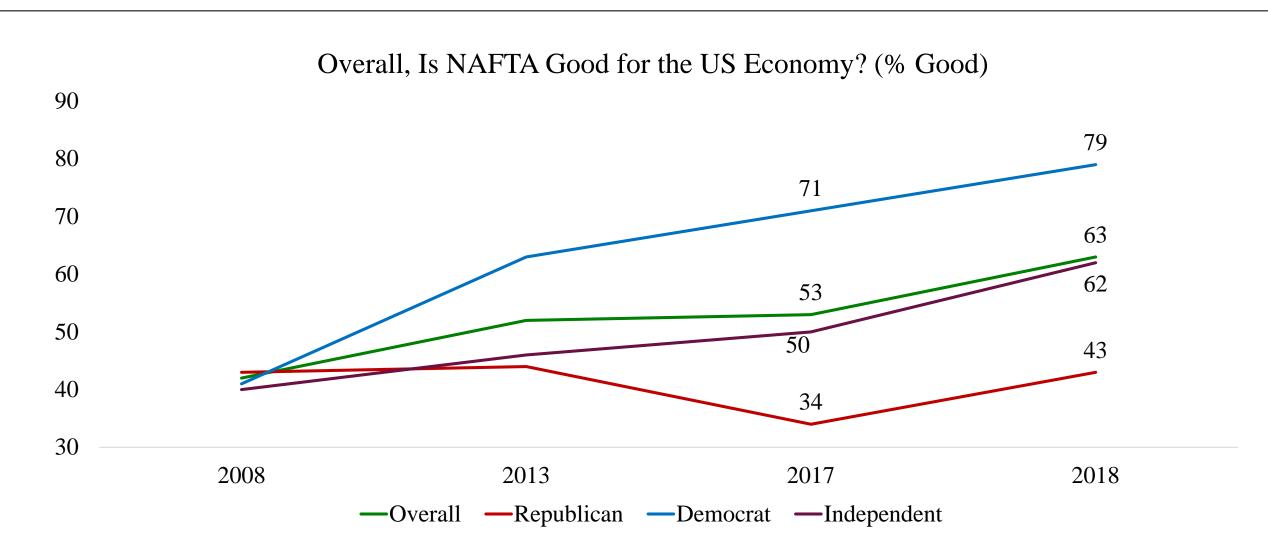
## Americans' and Mexicans' Perceptions of each other (per cent favorable)

• 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.

### US Opinion: NAFTA is Good for the US Economy?



Source: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs August 2017.

# NAFTA/USMCA Negotiations

#### What's at Stake?

\$ 1.3 trillion of North American Trade Nearly 14 million U.S. jobs & millions more in Mexico and Canada

46,000 U.S. trucking jobs supported by crossborder trade; \$137 billion in annual vehicle and parts exports to neighbors and the world.

\$452 billion U.S. investment in NAFTA partners & their \$388 billion in the U.S.

\$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)

#### 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.

#### • 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.

#### • Intellectual Property Rights, Modernization, Labor

- 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

- Allows U.S. dairy farmers to export the equivalent of 3.6% of Canada's dairy market into Canada.
- Eliminates Canada's Class 6 and Class 7 milk categories and associated pricing schedules.

## Next Steps: United States

- Presidential signature before **December 1**<sup>st</sup>
- The U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) must complete a study of the agreement's economic impact.
- 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.

## 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?

# Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

Still in place

#### Costs of Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

Over 400,000 U.S. jobs lost<sup>1</sup>

GDP decline of 0.2% (\$36 billion)<sup>1</sup>

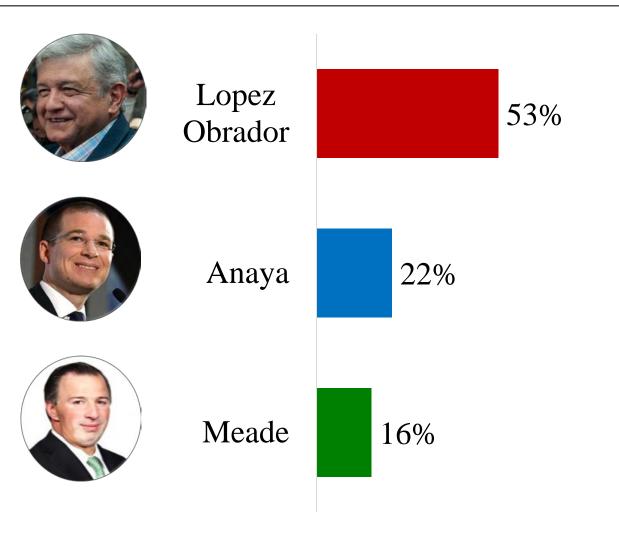
16 U.S. jobs lost for every 1 gained<sup>1</sup>

Decline of 2% in all imports and 1% in all exports<sup>1</sup>

Costs to U.S. Consumers: \$7.5 billion a year, before retaliation from the European Union, Mexico and Canada<sup>2</sup>

# Mexico's 2018 Presidential Election

#### Presidential Results



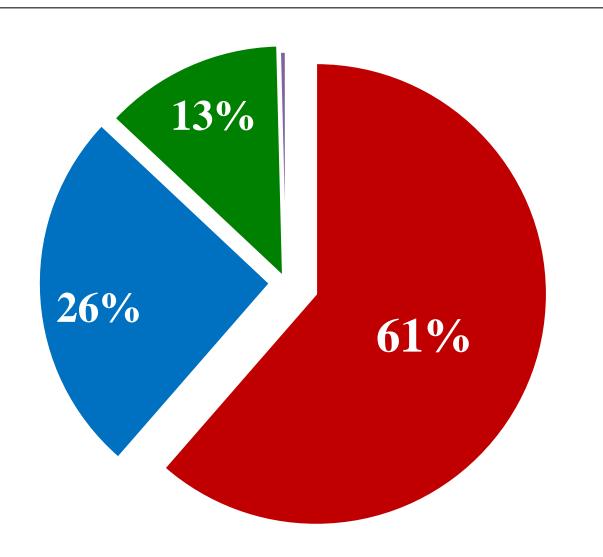
Voter turnout: 63.5%

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.

Source: Instituto Nacional Electoral; Consulta Mitofsky, 2018

### Chamber of Deputies – November 2018



Morena307 seats



- PRI63 seats
- No party 2 seats













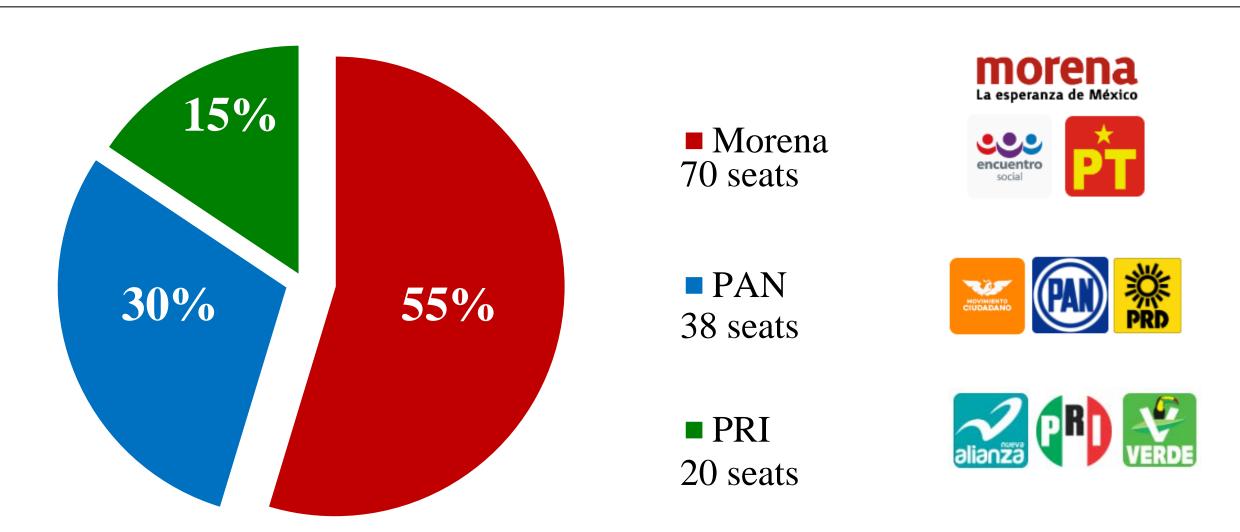






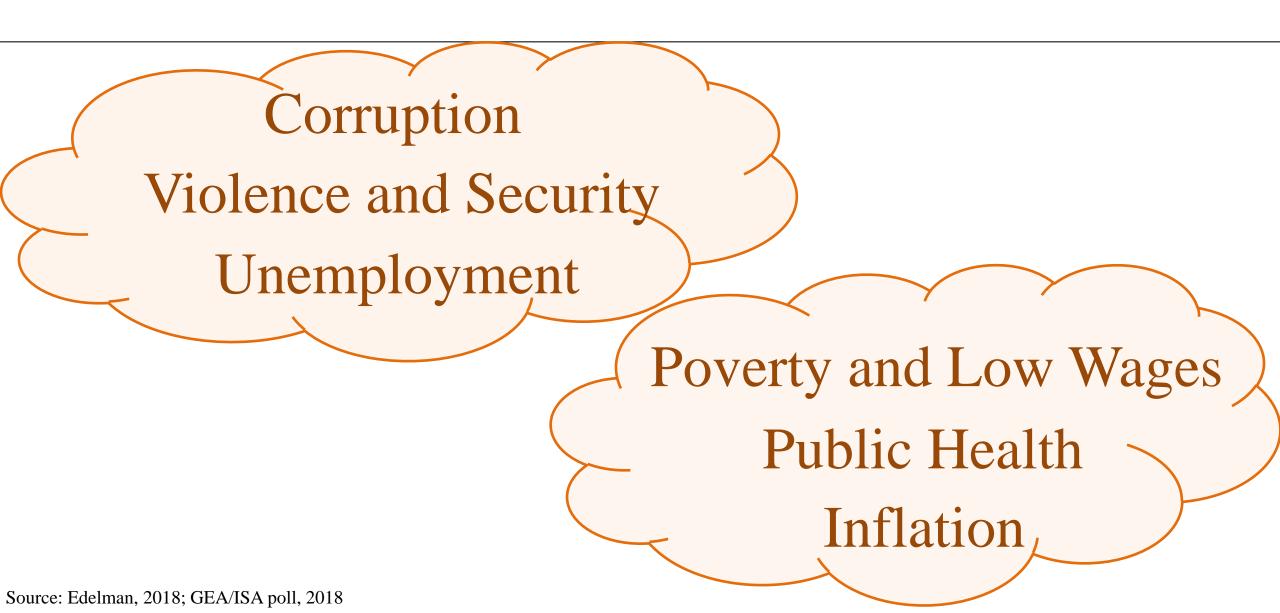
Source: Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, 2018

#### Senate – November 2018



Source: Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, 2018

#### Issues that Mexicans care about & influenced their votes



## AMLO's Policy Proposals



#### **Poverty:**

- Increase minimum wage.
- Launch new youth **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 **trade negotiation with U.S**. Focus on expanding trade with others.

#### **Economic Policy:**

- Focus on developing Mexico's **internal market**
- Infrastructure projects (for example, railway line)
- Redirect government spending to social programs; won't raise taxes or increase debt
- Lower taxes in border cities with the US

#### **Education:**

• Eliminate teacher's evaluation.

Launch new youth scholarships, universities.

## AMLO's Policy Proposals

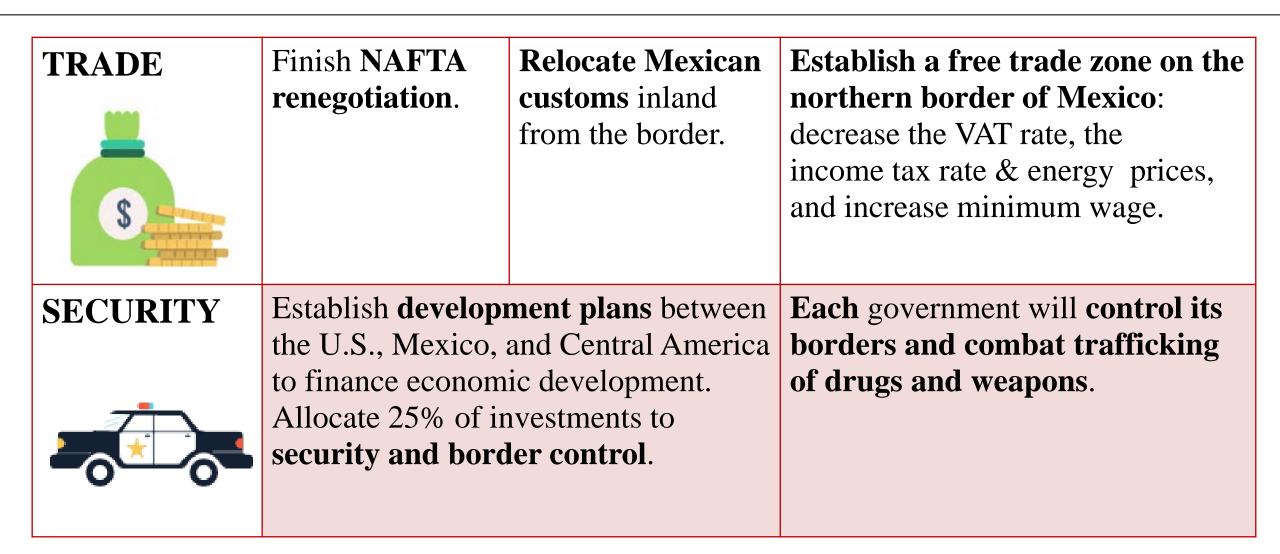
#### **Energy:**

- **Review of contracts. Postpone new auctions** (for at least 2 years).
- Strengthen the role of PEMEX for exploration and choosing partnerships.
- Limit **gasoline price** increases.
- Build new refineries to supply gasoline; aim to reduce crude exports.

#### **Security:**

- Create an independent Secretariat of Public Security.
- Centralize command of police forces (mando único); set up geographic security districts.
- Put intelligence agency CISEN under Public Security Secretary.
- Return of the military to the barracks in a 3-year framework.
- Police professionalization: better trained and better paid police
- Social investment: more youth **job and educational opportunities**.
- Review security cooperation with the U.S.
- Amnesty for lower-level offenders; support for victims, use redistributive justice approaches.
- De-criminalize marihuana and, possibly, growing opium poppy.

## AMLO's Proposals to Trump – July 12 Letter



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<br>development<br>plan in border<br>cities. |

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

## AMLO's early months: Signposts

- 1. Taking the reigns of the government
- 2. Tackling on public security and corruption
- 3. Working with the private sector
- 4. Setting energy strategy
- 5. Maintaining budget prudence
- 6. Managing U.S. relations (trade, migration, crime)

# Maintaining a Partnership with Mexico?

## 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 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, to further develop the complimentary nature of the two economies, to create jobs for the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and to outperform global competitors.

#### Rebuilding Confidence:

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



## Building Partnership with Mexico

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