

ABSTRACTS

ANA COVARRUBIAS VELASCO, *Calderón's Foreign Policy: Aims and Actions.*

This paper makes a partial evaluation of the foreign policy of the Felipe Calderón administration through a comparison of official documents that set out the objectives and strategies of this policy –the National Development Plan, the sectoral program and Foreign Ministry reports– with three empirical cases: The Merida Initiative, relations with the rest of Latin America and actions in the multilateral sphere. This reveals a degree of congruence between foreign policy actions and these documents, especially in the cases of relations with the rest of Latin America and the multilateral sphere; the success of these actions is also questioned.

Keywords: Merida Initiative, United States, Cuba, Honduras, Unity Summit, CELAC, Security Council, G20, COP16, Rio Group.

RAFAEL VELÁZQUEZ FLORES and ROBERTO DOMÍNGUEZ, *Taking Stock of Mexico's Foreign Policy During the Felipe Calderón Administration According to Three Levels of Analysis: Limitations and Achievements.*

At the outset of his term of office, Calderón's foreign policy maintained a low profile due to the domestic political and social situation, the international crisis and the president's personal concerns. Once interior and exterior conditions improved, the administration was able to drive forward a more dynamic foreign policy. This paper analyzes the foreign policy project set out by Felipe Calderón, reviews Mexico's international relations during the first part of the administration using systemic, state and

individual levels of analysis, and examines the state of affairs at the close of the term in office.

Keywords: foreign policy, levels of analysis, Felipe Calderón, taking stock.

JORGE A. SCHIAVON, *What do Mexicans Want from International Affairs? Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in Mexico (2006-2012)*.

This paper analyzes the preferences of Mexicans in regards to international affairs during the Felipe Calderón administration, on the basis of the survey “Mexico, the Americas and the World”. It answers three questions: is it possible to identify patterns of continuity or change in public opinion in Mexico on international relations issues during the Calderón government? To what extent do global events affect the population’s preferences on foreign issues? Do events within Mexico have any observable impact on the domestic outlook on international affairs? It examines the views of Mexicans in 12 areas of international scope: interest, knowledge, identity, activism, threats, foreign policy objectives, instruments, regional priorities, security, trade and finances, multilateralism and migration.

Keywords: public opinion, preferences, foreign policy, Mexico and the World, Felipe Calderón, 2006-2012.

ARTURO SANTA CRUZ, *Felipe Calderón’s Foreign Policy towards North America: Internal Crisis and Redefining Borders*.

This paper presents a panorama of the foreign policy of the government of Felipe Calderón towards the rest of North America. Given that the issue of cooperation on security with the United States was of the greatest importance, it takes a central role in this paper. The first section deals with the analytical framework and historical context of the period in question; the second looks at the security agenda with Washington; the third concerns other aspects of this bilateral agenda; and the fourth examines the

Mexico-Canada agenda. The fifth section addresses Mexico's policies towards the region as a whole and presents a number of observations on the future of North America.

Keywords: North America, Canada, United States, Mexico, security.

GUADALUPE GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ and RAFAEL VELÁZQUEZ FLORES, *Mexico's Foreign Policy towards Latin America during the Felipe Calderón Administration (2006-2012): Between Political Prudence and Economic Pragmatism.*

Calderón's government established a relatively modest, low-profile policy of developing closer ties with Latin America – with goals that were limited in scope – in order to provide an immediate response to some of the problems inherited from the previous administration and to retrieve platforms for dialogue. This paper briefly describes Mexico's foreign policy towards Latin America during the longstanding PRI regime and the six years of rule by Vicente Fox; it sketches out the external scenario for Mexico and its principal challenges in the Latin American region; it sets out the domestic context for Mexico since Calderón's assumption of the presidency; it reviews the economic agenda for Mexico and the region; and it analyzes the political agenda for Mexico and Latin America during the Calderón administration.

Keywords: Mexico, foreign policy, Latin America, Felipe Calderón, political agenda, economic agenda.

LORENA RUANO, *Institutional Inertia against a Difficult Background: Mexico's Relations with Europe during the Felipe Calderón Administration, 2006-2012.*

The institutional inertia provided by the Association Agreement signed between the European Union and Mexico has enabled the relationship to continue and deepen, despite an adverse global climate and a number of issues that have caused tension in the relationship, related to insecurity in the country. In 2008 a "Strategic Association" was formed between Mexico and the European Union that expanded issues of political dialogue to in-

clude security, climate change and reform to the international financial system. The period even closed with an upturn in trade and a positive tone resulting from multilateral work and from the perception in Europe that Mexico is a growing power with which closer ties should be forged.

Keywords: global agreement, strategic association, economic crisis, G20.

ROMER CORNEJO, *Relations between Mexico and China: the Politics of Perplexity.*

This paper presents an overview of the principal events affecting the relationship between Mexico and China, in order to explain the deterioration it underwent in 2012. It begins with a look at the foundations of Mexico's foreign policy, set out in the National Development Plan, before turning to trade relations, characterized by increasing trade, Mexico's growing trade deficit, negotiations on safeguards and the reaction of the affected sectors in Mexico. Subsequently, the text presents the diplomatic interactions and disagreements, and finally reviews aspects of the perceptions each country holds of the other that may affect the state of their relations.

Keywords: Mexico, China, Felipe Calderón, Confucius Institutes, trade deficit.

MARTA TAWIL, *Mexico and the Middle East during the Government of Felipe Calderón.*

This paper studies the actions carried out by Mexico in relation to the Middle East in the fields of trade and investment, politics, scientific and cultural cooperation and the multilateral agenda (human rights and the environment). The foreign policy focus of Mexico with regard to the Middle East during this administration was dominated by economic interests. The positions taken by Mexico on the issues of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Iran's nuclear program were in line with those assumed in the past. The factor bearing the greatest weight on these sensitive political issues is

Mexico's close relationship with the United States, filtered through the preferences, interests and prejudices of the President and decision-makers in Mexico and Washington.

Keywords: Middle East, Mexico, Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Persian Gulf, nuclear program.

HILDA VARELA BARRAZA, *Mexico's Foreign Policy towards Africa, 2006-2012: An End to Short-Term Measures?*

Taking as a reference point the historical development of relations between Mexico and Africa, it is suggested that although changes in foreign policy were observed, these were not of any substance in the case of Africa. In Mexico's foreign policy a self-ascription as an emerging middle power was evident (although this concept does not appear in official documents), which in Africa translated into the deployment of a large number of activities. However, it is likely that these are short-term in nature. Moreover, with regard to the foreign policy objective of supporting internal development, not enough evidence was found to support this assumption.

Keywords: Mexican foreign policy towards Africa, Calderón administration, political changes in Africa, diversification of foreign policy, emerging middle power.

JORGE CHABAT, *Security and Calderón's Foreign Policy.*

This paper offers a brief overview of the evolution of the issue of security in Mexican foreign policy since the government of Salinas de Gortari and shows how it acquired increasing importance despite the mistrust shown by the Mexican political class towards the outside world, in particular the United States. The paper claims that collaboration on the security issue dramatically increased during the government of Felipe Calderón due to two

factors: growing international interaction, especially with the United States, and the increase in insecurity and violence within Mexico since 2005.

Keywords: Mexican foreign policy, security, Felipe Calderón, Mérida Initiative, international cooperation.

JORGE DURAND, *Taking Migration Out of the Bilateral Relationship: Taking Stock of the Felipe Calderón Administration.*

Felipe Calderón chose to leave the issue of migration out of negotiations with the United States, in order to focus on the war on drugs and national security. This paper looks at the complexity of the migration issue for Mexico over this period, the international agenda and Mexico's position in different forums of negotiation, together with the legal reforms around the issue of transit migration. Meanwhile, it points to a new phase in migration and describes the context of the handover of power in Mexico while making suggestions for handling the question of migration in the country.

Keywords: migration, migratory reform, Calderón, United States.

ALEJANDRO ANAYA MUÑOZ, *Foreign Policy and Human Rights during the Felipe Calderón Administration.*

Felipe Calderón's government pursued continuity in Mexico's foreign policy on human rights in line with the two previous administrations. This continuity may be explained by the pressure exerted "from outside" on the Mexican government by international human rights groups, and by the effect of applying an external "lock-in" on new foreign policy on the issue. This policy has had little impact on respect for human rights in Mexico. The foreign policy of openness and multilateral activism has been a significant aspect of a process (one that is incomplete and contentious) of redefining the identity of Mexico in the international sphere.

Keywords: foreign policy, human rights, Felipe Calderón, international pressure, external "lock-in".

LUZ MARÍA DE LA MORA, *Mexico's Trade Policy during the Government of President Felipe Calderón (2006-2012): Progress and Challenges.*

The trade policy of Calderón's government continued that of previous administrations. Unilateral reduction of tariffs led to greater opening up of the country's economy; measures to boost trade were implemented and major trade disputes were resolved. By contrast, the agenda of trade negotiations made little progress and suffered setbacks. Despite the continuity in policy, business leaders and legislators both sought to overturn trade policy decisions that, however, led to a lack of trade integration. At a domestic level, unilateral liberalization made it easier to import commodities but did not lead to the formation of supply chains. At an external level, economic integration made little progress in creating better conditions for Mexican exports.

Keywords: **trade negotiations, Mexico's trade policy, trade liberalization, tariff elimination.**

JUAN PABLO PRADO LALLANDE, *International Development Cooperation in the Foreign Policy of President Calderón.*

International development cooperation is a foreign policy instrument used by nations with processes and impacts that depend on the make up of the regulations and institutions charged with its implementation. In the final year of Calderón's term in office the International Development Cooperation Law was adopted. These regulations oblige the Mexican government to put in place a number of entities to bolster the institutional nature and impact of this tool. The aim of this paper, based on institutional theory, is to evaluate Mexico's international development cooperation under President Felipe Calderón, analyzing the most representative actions and characteristics and drawing attention to the legal and institutional transformations that have taken place since the new law entered into force.

Keywords: **international cooperation, foreign policy, institutionalization, regulations, Amexcid.**

CÉSAR VILLANUEVA RIVAS, *Chronicle of a Decline Foretold: Mexican Cultural Diplomacy During the Felipe Calderón Administration.*

This paper analyzes the administrative transformation of the Department of Cultural Affairs, freedom of expression, the year of Mexico in France, the image of Mexico in the world and the closure of Mexico's diplomatic mission to UNESCO. During this administration, cultural diplomacy waned and lost its institutional standing. Efforts to counteract the deteriorating image of Mexico abroad through cultural diplomacy lacked the financial resources necessary to expand their activities and, combined with a series of poor decisions and circumstantial events, the cultural activities run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs entered a clear phase of decline.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, country image, cultural cooperation.

OLGA PELLICER, *Mexico as a Middle Power in Multilateral Policy, 2006-2012.*

The international political situation in the second half of the first decade of the 21st century offered greater opportunities than in the past for middle powers to have an impact on multilateral policy. With this in mind, the paper reviews three multilateral experiences Mexico was involved in over the 2006-2013 period: the initiative to create the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), its role on the UN Security Council, and hosting the 16th Conference of the Parties (COP16). Analysis of these cases casts light on the potential and limitations of Mexico's foreign policy. Moreover, it enables evaluation of the significance of its multilateral action on the consolidation of its role as a middle power.

Keywords: multilateral policy, middle power, CELAC, Security Council, COP16.

BLANCA TORRES, *Climate Change Leadership and the Repositioning of Mexico's International Status.*

Mexican leadership on climate change in international forums during the Calderón administration, which coincided with a cycle of international

negotiations on the issue (from Bali to Doha), is part of a strategy to further Mexican involvement in efforts to create an international system based on universal compliance. This issue is one of importance in the multilateral field, and reflects a number of domestic factors (mitigation capabilities, energy endowment, economic structure and ecological vulnerability) and general foreign policy interests. Mexico was not wholly successful in its objective to form a bridge between countries with distinct interests and positions, but its leadership helped it to maintain a key position at the negotiating table.

Keywords: climate change, CMNUCC, Kyoto Protocol, common but differentiated responsibilities, distributive justice, COP16-18.

Traducción de GONZALO CELORIO MORAYTA