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NOTA EDITORIAL

Para la mesa directiva de la Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales es motivo de orgullo cerrar el año 2016 con la edición número 14 de nuestro boletín informativo mensual.

En las noticias del último mes del año, resaltamos la visita de trabajo que realizó a Huatulco, Oaxaca, el Dr. Rafael Velázquez Flores, presidente de la Asociación. El objetivo de este viaje fue empezar con la planeación de nuestro XXXI Congreso Anual, que también será ocasión para conmemorar 50 años de existencia de nuestra asociación.

Por otro lado, reproducimos en este número cuatro artículos que fueron elaborados con motivo de nuestro XXX Congreso Anual, que se llevó a cabo en la ciudad de Tijuana, BC, el pasado mes de octubre. Los dos primeros (tanto el del profesor Santos López Leyva

como el de la Mtra. Carolin Dorothee Antoni) fueron presentados originalmente en el *workshop* “Germany and Latin America in the 21st Century” realizado durante el congreso. Por su parte los trabajos tanto de Eduardo Crivelli Minutti como de Jessica De Alba Ulloa, fueron preparados para el *workshop* “Insecurity and Conflict Management in Latin America”, el cual también fue parte de las actividades del congreso.

En ocasión de estas fechas de cierre de año, aprovechamos para desearles una sana convivencia con familiares, amigos y seres queridos. Que estas fechas les permitan descansar y disfrutar en un ambiente de armonía, paz y felicidad total. Asimismo, les deseamos que el AÑO NUEVO los colme de bendiciones, salud y felicidad. ☺





¿QUÉ ES LA AMEI?

La Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales (AMEI) es una Asociación Civil sin fines de lucro. Su función primordial es promover y difundir los estudios sobre la realidad internacional. Asimismo, motiva el intercambio de opiniones entre sus miembros para la mejor comprensión de la problemática global y mantiene una estrecha colaboración a nivel nacional e internacional con instituciones públicas y privadas dedicadas al estudio y al análisis del acontecer mundial.

La AMEI está integrada principalmente por académicos de prestigiosas instituciones de enseñanza

e investigación. Aunque el núcleo fundamental de los participantes pertenece al sector académico, existen participantes que provienen de otras áreas como el Servicio Exterior Mexicano e incluso de la iniciativa privada. La Asociación actualmente agrupa a más de mil especialistas en Relaciones Internacionales, procedentes de distintas instituciones y campos del conocimiento: Ciencias Políticas, Sociología, Derecho, Economía, Historia y otras disciplinas del quehacer humano. Es la única asociación mexicana en su género con participación en eventos académicos en México y en el extranjero. 📍

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Presidente de la AMEI realiza visita de trabajo a Huatulco, Oaxaca

El Dr. Rafael Velázquez Flores, presidente de la Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales, A.C. realizó una visita de trabajo a Huatulco, Oaxaca, con el objeto de empezar con la planeación de nuestro XXXI Congreso Anual, que también será ocasión para conmemorar 50 años de existencia de nuestra asociación.

En su visita, el Dr. Velázquez Flores se reunió con el

Dr. Modesto Seára Vázquez, presidente de honor de la AMEI y rector de la Universidad del Mar.

Asimismo, se entrevistó con Ramón Sinobas Solís, delegado regional en Huatulco del Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo (FONATUR). Más aún, se reunió con representantes hoteleros y de aerolíneas con el objetivo de gestionar descuentos y tarifas especiales para los asistentes al congreso. 📍



La AMEI presente en VIII Congreso de Relaciones Internacionales del Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata

La Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales estuvo presente en la inauguración del VIII Congreso de Relaciones Internacionales del Instituto de Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata, celebrado a finales de noviembre, en la

ciudad de La Plata, Argentina. El Dr. Rafael Velázquez, presidente de la AMEI, fue invitado a presidir la ceremonia de inauguración. 📍



La AMEI presente en IV Congreso de la Federación Latinoamericana de Asociaciones de Estudios Internacionales (FLAEI)

La Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Internacionales participó en el IV Congreso de la Federación Latinoamericana de Asociaciones de Estudios Internacionales (FLAEI) celebrado en la ciudad

de Montevideo, Uruguay a finales de noviembre. Asimismo, el Dr. Rafael Velázquez, presidente de la AMEI, participó en la reunión ejecutiva de la FLAEI. 📍



Academia Diplomática de Chile designa a miembro del Comité Académico de la AMEI parte del Consejo Asesor de la Revista "Diplomacia"

El Dr. Juan Pablo Prado Lallande, responsable del Comité Académico "Organismos Internacionales y Derecho" de nuestra asociación, fue designado Miembro del Consejo Asesor de la prestigiosa Revista "Diplomacia", que edita la Academia Diplomática Andrés Bello del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile.

El Dr. Prado Lallande es también Miembro del Consejo Asesor de la Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales (Asociación Española de Profesores de Derecho Internacional y Relaciones Internacionales, Madrid), Miembro del Consejo Editorial de la Revista Española de Desarrollo y Cooperación (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Instituto Universitario de Desarrollo y Cooperación, Madrid) y Miembro del Consejo Editorial de la Revista de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales (Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales-Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Puebla).

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Guía para Colaboradores
DIPLOMACIA es una revista de la Academia Diplomática de Chile "Andrés Bello" cuyo objetivo es colocar reflexiones sobre temas de coyuntura y procesos en marcha en el ámbito internacional. Todo ello buscando la pluralidad de perspectivas y la entrega de los contextos, bajo los cuales se profundizan los conocimientos sobre la realidad internacional contemporánea. Personalidades académicas y diplomáticas, altas autoridades de organismos internacionales, representantes de la sociedad civil y del periodismo internacional son parte de quienes cooperan con esta iniciativa. La revista publica artículos, comentarios de libros y documentos de consulta cuyo contenido y enfoque son de interés para una amplia gama de estudiosos. Su material es examinado por un Consejo Editorial en cuanto a su interés académico, pero los contenidos son de responsabilidad de los respectivos autores.

Los artículos publicados en DIPLOMACIA se encuentran listados en la página web Apuntes Internacionales. www.apuntesinternacionales.cl - www.academadiplomatica.cl

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- Joseph Tutchin, ex Director de Latin American Program, Wilson Center, USA.



GERMAN LEGACY OF KNOWLEDGE IN LATIN AMERICA

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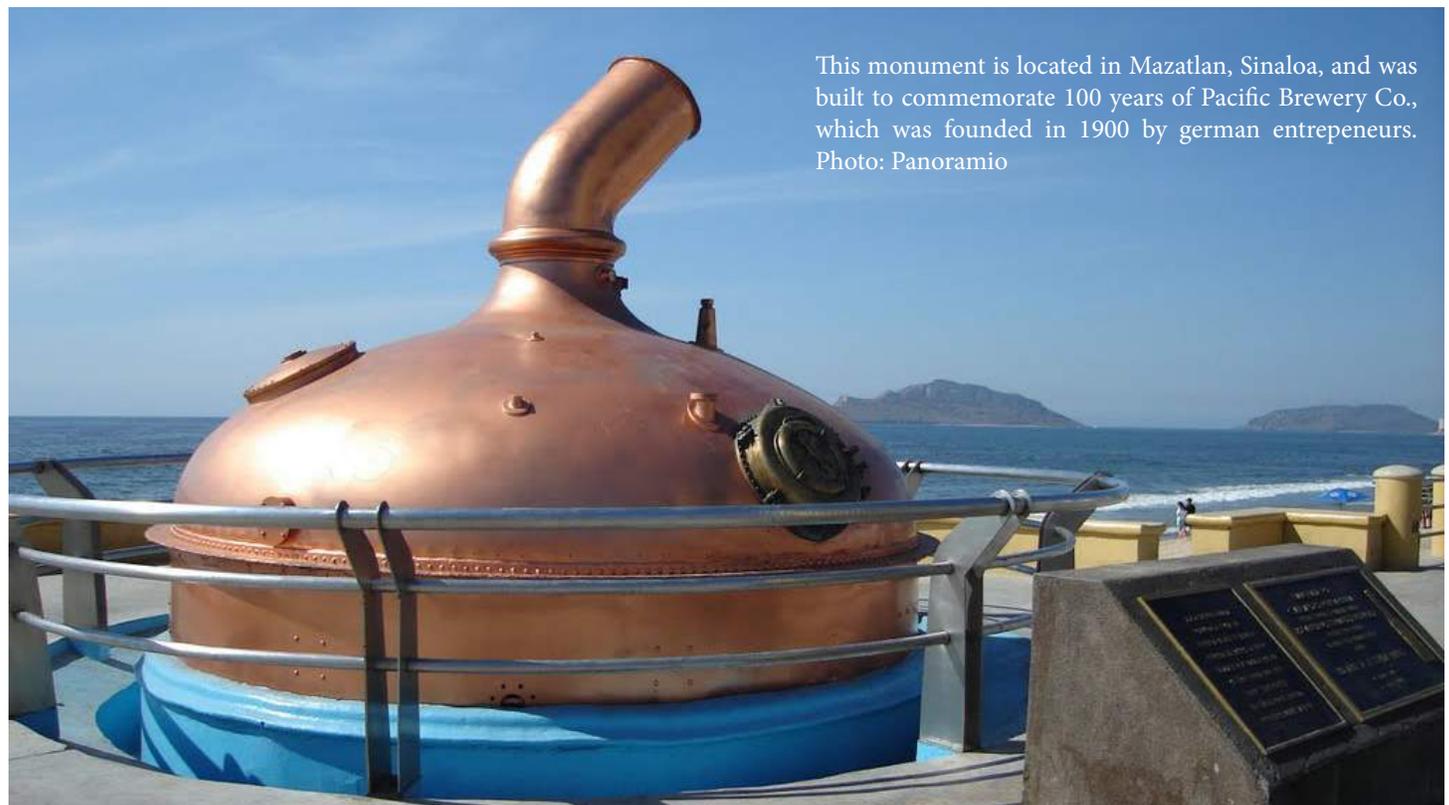
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The purpose of this work is to highlight the contributions that Germany has made to the development of Latin America, particularly to Mexico; and the potential that the German economy manifests for supporting the development of Latin American countries. A historical account of these contributions is given as well as indicators from the German economy that shows strong performance in international competitiveness and may favor the development of other countries is reviewed.

I learned of the existence of Germans and Germany for the first time in the early 1950's. I was five or six years old when I met a tall, white, ruddy man. I never knew his real name because everyone in the mountains of Sinaloa just called him "The German."

Surely this man well regarded throughout the community, both for his physical appearance and his intelligence. He was the doctor for that remote community. He was also an adviser for the people in a variety of ways: giving advice regarding livestock, land and forestry development. The main activity of region was the cultivation of poppy fields; those who worked in processing opium gum were called "chemists." "The German" was a good chemist.

Years later, I wondered how "The German" got to the mountains, given that the only means of transportation were horse and mule. Also, the transportation of food was very difficult; there was no school, and most of the people were illiterate. This man treated people with *metoquinas* and *quinine* for malaria. He also treated them for parasites and other diseases.



This monument is located in Mazatlan, Sinaloa, and was built to commemorate 100 years of Pacific Brewery Co., which was founded in 1900 by german entrepreneurs.
Photo: Panoramio

There were many Germans and other Europeans who lived in the mountains of Sinaloa; perhaps that is why there are some white people in those places, who are called "the blondes of the mountains".

Years later when I was studying Economics, I learned that a brewing industry came to Mexico and Latin America from Germany. The Germans founded the Pacific Brewery Co., located in Mazatlan Sinaloa, in 1900. Although beer had been produced in the city since 1866; it was made with malt and hops, which were imported from Germany. Mr. Celso Fuhken produced an excellent beer, but production was limited.

In 1880, the National Brewery Co., owned by James Lang was opened and they created Blue Ribbon beer. But it wasn't until 1900 that Jorge Claussen, German Evers, Cesar Buelken and other Germans opened the Pacific Brewery Co., which still produces Pacifico beer

and has won many awards worldwide.

In 1890, Joseph M. Schnaider and Wilhelm Hasse, along with some entrepreneurs from Monterrey Mexico, founded the Cuauhtemoc Brewery Co., in the northern city of Monterrey. Their first beer was called Carta Blanca. Like these, Germans in Latin America founded several breweries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Major technological projects based on knowledge generated in Germany have been promoted in Latin America. Perhaps the most significant example is the successful project managed by the National Atomic Energy Commission of Argentina (CNEA), which developed its own technologies at the Atucha nuclear power plant. It was based on the reactor built by the German company Siemens, which also provided them with technological assistance.



The German Geographer, Alexander Von Humboldt, visited Mexico from 1803 to 1804. After travelling from Acapulco to Veracruz, Humboldt concluded that Mexico was the "country of inequality," since 18 families at the end of the 18th century were wealthier than any other family in the Western Hemisphere. The picture shows Alexander von Humboldt in his library, located in Oranienburger Straße 67, Berlin, painted by Eduard Hildebrandt. Credit: Universität Potsdam



This project was sponsored by the Argentinian government with the participation of researchers from various public institutions. Its implementation allowed the dissemination of various technologies.

The German Alexander Von Humboldt visited New Spain (now Mexico) from 1803-1804. He traveled around the country and conducted a population census where he estimated that there were about 6 million inhabitants and 40% were indigenous. In his *Political Essay* of 1822, he called Mexico the "country of inequality," since 18 families at the end of the 18th century were wealthier than any other family in the Western Hemisphere (Moreno-Brid and Ross, 2009, p. 27).

In the field of Economics, other than Marxism, there are two other major contributions from German intellectuals to Latin American economic thought. The first is the concept of National System. The second is the concept of Systemic Competitiveness.

Friedrich List introduced the concept of National System in his book *National System of Political Economy* published in 1841. He perceived the national economy as an integrated whole. Considering List's ideas, Freeman (1987) developed the concept of National Innovation System.

Under capitalism, countries that achieve economic development have a state that plays a central role. No country develops if it does not protect its industries in their infancy. This idea is the foundation for the policies of the Import Substitution Model in Latin America. The State is responsible for industrialization by encouraging

the development of "productive power." This is the recognition of a need for purposive articulation between the economic sectors (Selwyn, 2014).

Individuals would be in vein laborious, economical, ingenious, enterprising, intelligent, and moral, without a national unity, without a division of labor and cooperation of productive power. A nation cannot otherwise attain to a high degree of prosperity and power, nor maintain itself in the permanent possession of its intellectual, social and material riches (List, 1856, 74, in Selwyn, 2014: 35).

List has a different economic vision from the liberal ideas of the English classical economists. This economist notes that the division of labor and the specialization of a country are the result of development; therefore they are not its causes. The specialization of a country is due to the accumulation of capital, investment, increase in the output and prosperity of the nations in the world. Economic development is the result of the generation and expansion of "productive power."

Productive power includes three types of capital: natural, material and mental. Natural capital includes land, sea, water and all mineral resources in general. The second refers to all objects and instruments that are used directly or indirectly in the production process, such as material resources and machines. Mental capital refers to the skills, knowledge, training, organizations, institutions and government within a society. The combination of these three types of capital create wealth in a nation; a process that improves their productive power. List paid special attention to the creation of mental capital.

From List's ideas emerged the concept of National System of Innovation (NIS), which was first used by Freeman in 1987 to refer to a group of agents, institutions, and practices linked to innovative activity (Dutrénit and Capdevielle, 1993).

The concept of NIS is addressed in multiple ways by different authors, but with a common set of elements: education, knowledge, culture of innovation and institutional factors.

The second concept that has been successful in the field of economic studies is Systemic Competitiveness, by the German Development Institute. Esser, Hillebrand, Messner and Meyer Stamer (1996) stated that this concept is an important reference point for industrialized

In the field of Economics, other than Marxism, there are two other major contributions from German intellectuals to Latin American economic thought. The first is the concept of National System. The second is the concept of Systemic Competitiveness.





and developing countries.

There are two elements that stand out this concept:

1. The acknowledgement of four analytical levels in the economy (meta, macro, meso and micro);
2. The linkage between aspects related to industrial economics, innovation theory and industrial sociology with arguments of recent debate on economic management developed in the field of political science about policy-networks.

At the meta level, the goal is societal integration. As List would say, productive power should lead a project of social transformation in order to facilitate the elements that accomplish the integration of a national productive system since it's not only economic reforms that provide guidance to the country. These authors (p. 40) say: "The pending task of many developing countries and those in transition, is to overcome social fragmentation and improve their learning ability. Especially the ability to respond promptly and effectively to the requirements of adjustment." The objective of the meta level is to ensure the coordination of the elements of the four economic levels.

The macro level refers to the stabilization of the macroeconomic situation of a country. This level is based on the reforms of fiscal and budgetary policies as well as the monetary and exchange rate policy. It refers to the implementation of strategies such as:

1. A fiscal policy that aimed increasing government revenues.
2. Implement measures to reduce public spending.
3. Match fiscal and monetary policies, this means that a fiscal policy oriented to stabilization should not be offset by an expansionary monetary policy.
4. Ensure economic balance with the exterior through the balance of payments.

The micro level is about the companies, which should take under consideration:

1. The noticeable globalization of competition.
2. The existence of new competitors from the late industrialized countries.

3. The high differentiation of demand.
4. The shortening of production and products life cycles.
5. The acceleration of innovative processes, new information technologies, and new organization of production and distribution.
6. New marketing dynamics.
7. The existence of very dynamic business environments.

The meso level refers to public and private institutions that work together and is responsible for designing and implementing:

1. Industrial and trade policies that promote direct foreign investment, subsidies, privatization and nationalization, and industrial security, etc.
2. A technology policy that fosters innovation, introduction of new technologies, technology transfer, and commercialization of technology, etc.
3. Strategies that protect employment, promote flexibility and personnel training.
4. An education policy that aimed at higher coverage of different educational levels, quality, growth with equity, and prioritize education as a driving factor of development that should reflect an improvement in society's welfare.

From 1996 to 2015, Germany was in fourth place in scientific publications worldwide. They only ranked behind the United States, China and the United Kingdom, but with a greater number of citations than the Chinese publications.





Today, Germany is a country with a strong economy and a leader of European integration. Its production processes are supported by a knowledge-based economy. The following are some indicators that reflect the position of Germany in the world. According to Academic Ranking of World Universities by Shanghai University (2016), 38 German universities are placed among the top 500 in the world. They displaced the United Kingdom and only the United States and China ranked higher; thus becoming one of the countries with a higher growth in this indicator. In this matter, it is also important to note that the German University was the first research university worldwide.

From 1996 to 2015, Germany was in fourth place in scientific publications worldwide. They only ranked behind the United States, China and the United Kingdom, but with a greater number of citations than the Chinese publications, according to Scopus.

In 2012, the PISA test shows that Germany ranked 16th in math and 10th in science. Germany ranked 10th in the World Bank Knowledge Index that same year.

According to the World Economic Forum, in 2015, they ranked 4th in competitiveness, 10th in higher education quality, and 5th in training programs for work and innovation.

In 2014, they ranked 4th on the Human Development Index, which is considered the main index to measure developmental levels.

Those are just some of the indicators that reflect Germany's performance as a knowledge-based economy and reveal its potential to provide support to the Latin American countries in their pursuit of development. These indicators show Germany's competitiveness in productive activities such as medicine, agriculture, energy generation, the automotive industry and the financial sector. 🇩🇪

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ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS MAY BE USED TO IMPROVE THE RELATION BETWEEN MEXICO AND GERMANY

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Abstract

The cooperation between Germany and Mexico in the sustainability sector (focused on environmental-social problems) is increasing. As a PhD-Student in the sustainability disciplines, having the German nationality, studying at a Mexican University, I had the possibility to obtain professional experience as well as additionally compare Mexico and Germany not only professionally but also on a personal level – knowing both countries first hand. I had already made personal experiences in both countries during my studies of an international Master programme hosted by a cooperation of a German university teaming up with a Mexican university. I am convinced that the advantageous link between Germany and Mexico can be improved further through capacity building of both countries by joint efforts and an approach of new applied theories (for instance resilience, socioecological systems), cultural exchanges and the active integration of industrial partners of Germany in Mexico (e.g. BMW).

Let me introduce you to my research project in Mexico. It is located in the Huasteca Potosina where the collaboration between the “Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit” (GIZ), Mexican Universities and Governments are noticing improving over the past years. The study focus in that area is the understanding of the relation between the ecological and social area to improve sustainability.

My investigational project supports the understanding of the dynamics of a socioecological system (SES), which passes through the so called adaptive cycle. The dynamics of SESs associated with small holder farmers are characterized by the close relationship between factors of global changes like over exploitation of natural resources and the local development of the livelihood of the farmers. In this research the causes and external drivers of spatio-temporal dynamics of land use and livelihood of a tropical SES are analyzed. The project led to the conclusion that the main driver for structural changes in the SES with impacts on land use and lifestyles were international and local politics.

La Huasteca Potosina. Photo: Crónicas UGMEX



Research Project

Introduction: Socio Ecological Systems and the Adaptive Cycle

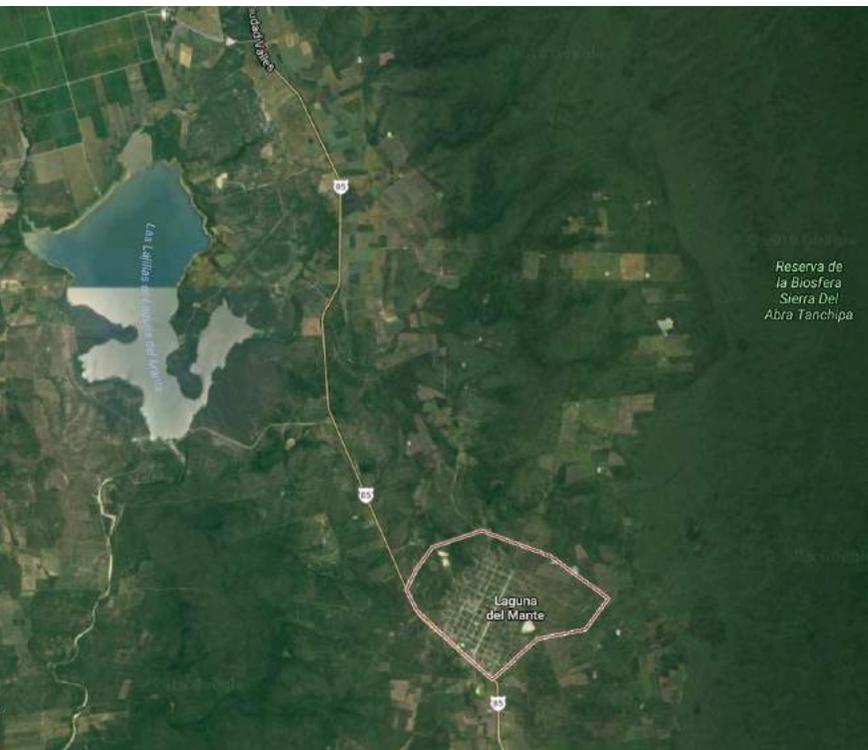
A SES consists of natural and human subsystems, which are interacting and it is a highly dynamic system (Berkers, et al., 1998). Each subsystem has its own inherent elements, structures, and functions which are changing over time and interacting with each other (Berkers and Folke, 1998; Chapin, Kofinas and Folke, 2009). The analysis of a complex socio-ecological system (SES) enhances the understanding of the interaction between the different factors (ecological, social, economic, and governance) involved in the processes of the system (Lebel, et al., 2006). ASES, in the understanding of complex systems, never reaches a long-term stable equilibrium (Gunder son and Holling, 2002).

Phenomena of global social and environmental changes have dramatically influenced in the distribution, condition, and availability of natural resources and social well being in the past six decades (Steff en, et al., 2007; Steffen, et al., 2015). Particularly, human appropriation of land and land use change are currently and will stay the leading global change drivers due to urgent needs (Foley, et al., 2005). Human land use will enhance deforestation and land conversion to intensive

agriculture, causing changes in the multifunctionality of landscapes (Grau, et al., 2008; Wassenaar, et al., 2007).

History (past political situations and decision) influences land tenure regimes. Land tenure provides access to natural resources for groups or individuals (FAO, 2002). The understanding of the past can support people's ability to adapt to future perturbations (Costanza, et al., 2007). Therefore, the analysis of land-system histories shall be applied to evaluate the resilience of the SES system and the possibility for a transformation (change of t he system which results in a fundamentally new system) and thus lead to the adequate management of human interactions with and within the system (Dearing, Braimoh, Reenberg, Turner, & van der Leeuw, 2010).

Humans and their behaviour are the main drivers in global environmental changes. Nevertheless, several spatial and temporal processes are interacting between different drivers and are influencing the actual situation of land-dynamic processes (Rockström, et al., 2009). Other important processes in these dynamic global SE system are cross-scale interactions (interactions across different spatial, temporal, quantitative, or analytical dimensions) (Gunderson, et al., 2002; Cash, et al., 2006; Chapin, et al., 2009; Gibson, et al., 2000) as well as spatio-temporal changes of communities (Dearing, Braimoh, Reenberg, Turner, & van der Leeuw, 2010).



Location of **Laguna del Mante**, on the east side of the province San Luis Potosi, Mexico.



Introduction to the Research Project

In this project the causes of spatio-temporal dynamics of land use and livelihood of a tropical SES (ejido Laguna del Mante (LM)) and external drivers are analyzed: LM was chosen as subject of study as this region is characterized by various changes in land use. This research project analyses the influence of historical events occurring at different spatial scales of the current agricultural landscape matrix of LM. Particular different drivers of land use change are identified. The analysis of the spatio-temporal dynamics is based on qualitative research methods and secondary information.

Specifically, information on historic events of perturbation, which act as drivers of changes in land use in the SES, was collected by means of intensive face-to-face “life history” interviews, creating an overall picture of the informant's or interviewee's life in relation to agriculture and land use change (Corbetta, 2007; Dhunphat, 2000). The framework of the adaptive cycle (Gunder son, et al., 2002) was used as a diagnostic tool to analyse the states and transitions of the LM system across time and to analyse the impact of different drivers in land use change.

What Is The Status Of The Relationship Between Germany And Latin America: Breaking This Question Down To The Analysis Of Ses And Two Local Mexican Areas: LM And San Luis Potosí

In the context of the research area LM and of the university city San Luis Potosí, German impact can be seen in the industrial and research sector. As the inclusion

of interdisciplinary, intercultural communication, exchange of knowledge, and the understanding of SESs can improve sustainability, this impact and international interaction shall be taken into account in the analysis of the relationship between Germany and Latin America.

Further more, the goals of SES research, as the improvement of sustainability, are achieved more efficiently when knowledge from different research efforts can inform and advance each other (Fischer et al., 2015, Bulletal., 2016). Also, this concept shall be applied in the analysis.

Situation In The Research Sector

1. The research area LM is located in the North of the Sierra Madre Oriental, a hot spot area of biodiversity in Mexico, but also with a high fragmentation of the ecosystem. The area currently suffers from degradation which is caused by an insufficient implementation of conservation management, deforestation, land use change and subventions, which are harmful for the environment. This situation requires a new management concept for the land use of that region in a sustainable manner. This may be achieved through further conservation of existing protected areas and also zones which are located between those. The German international service provider in the field of international cooperation for sustainable development “Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit” (GIZ) is building a local Mexican network between different stakeholders (universities, governmental institutions, social institutions, etc.) to realize an innovative concept for the sustainable development of the Sierra Madre Oriental (GIZ, 2016).

2. The “Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí” (UASLP) provides the international Master “Environment and Resources Management” ENREM in collaboration with the University of Applied Science of Köln, Institute for Technology and Resources Management in the Tropics and Subtropics (ITT) since 2008. This master educates students from Latin America and Germany to be familiar with the culture, language, and politics of both sides and to obtain transdisciplinary skills in an intercultural professional communication for a sustainable development (ENREM, 2016).

The improvement of cultural understanding and exchange of knowledge is one important step to enhance the links between Germany and Latin America.





3. The master program ENREM is an international Master between Germany and Mexico, based on inter disciplinary. Interdisciplinary is one important step in sustainability research (also in context with the new Sustainable Development Goals, where the goals are interconnected – often the key to success of one will involve tackling issues associated with each other). Germany can still improve the professional importance and impact of interdisciplinary studies by providing further possibilities and opportunities in the development of positions and research projects. The basis of international cooperation and interdisciplinary which are fostered by first small experiences and projects like a Master program can therefore become sustainable in themselves while driving sustainability on a global level.

4. The “Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí” (UASLP) is part of the network of “Centers for Natural Resources and Development ” (CNRD), which is financed by the “Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung” (BMI), “exceed”, and the German academic exchange organization “Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst ” (DAAD). Objectives of the CNRD are: a) conduct transdisciplinary research; b) serve as science-politics interface; c) foster innovation and exchange in higher education; d) develop capacities for lifelong learning; e) build and expand network of expertise. Financed by the CNRD the UASLP is elaborating a new international Master-program between 5 countries (Kenya, Egypt, Germany, Mexico, Indonesia) (CNRD, 2016).

5. The “Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí” is analyzing the socio-ecological relations and impacts of the growing automotive industry (Germany included through BMW) in San Luis Potosí.

The improvement of cultural understanding and exchange of knowledge is one important step to enhance the links between Germany and Latin America. Especially interdisciplinary and complex system thinking education is important to improve academic research projects between the countries and to master international challenges like improving sustainability. International Masters or programs like the CNRD give young professional and students the possibility to experience the daily life as well as the professional environment in the other country. Further collaborations between investigational projects are necessary for the improvement of the already available links mentioned above, as well as including different stakeholders (local habitants) who might have been left out of the process so far to increase the exchange of knowledge and understanding.

Additionally, the growth of the industrial sector causes unpredictable impacts in the urban development, which needs further investigation of expected socio-economic and ecological changes to minimize negative consequences (e.g. contamination, criminality, social inequality, etc.). Minimization of negative consequences would need to intensify the communication between the industrial, governmental, and academically sector. German factories have to take responsibilities in intercultural training of ex-pats, as well as in a sustainable integration into the Mexican city.

Improved cooperation and communication between the foreign company and local population are needed. This communication needs intercultural understanding but also the understanding of socioecological dynamics.

Mexico and Germany should define common objectives of academic education to provide and improve job opportunities for young academic professionals from both in both countries.

Situation In The Industrial Sector

In 2011 Mexico was on the eighth place worldwide in the production of cars. Especially in San Luis Potosí the automatize sector is growing. One of the new factories in San Luis Potosí is BMW, who will start production in 2019. In the first years 1500 workers will be newly employed (BMW, 2016).

How Can We Improve The Links Between Germany And Latin America?





Further more, the industrial sector should provide more support and possibilities to include nearby communities in their economic success, for example with education centers and socioecological development projects.

Mexico and Germany should define common objectives of academic education to provide and improve job opportunities for young academic professionals from both in both countries. Germany for example is still focusing on traditional disciplines and is missing out on the importance of interdisciplinary studies, which can already be found in Mexico. Especially in the current situation, where complex system (socioecological systems) thinking in sustainable areas is getting more important, both countries should provide conditions for an intercultural and professional exchange in that area. 🌱

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A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH OF THE REGIONAL SECURITY IN THE PROCESS OF LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION

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Abstract

Today, insecurity at different levels and different forms of violence affect greatly the Latin American societies and thus it's also disturbed regional governance, that's prevents to consolidate Latin America as an inclusive and harmonious area of peace. However, this problem is not new and, at different times, the Latin American countries have implemented various strategies to address the challenges of continental security. To understand how security strategies with actors and issues that cross this region are articulated, scholars of the international system have developed and made use of various theories or approaches that illuminate important aspects of the complex reality of Latin America region. In this sense, historical-intellectual context of the end of the Cold War helped catapult the constructivist approach to the center of international studies, explaining better the fundamentals of world politics. Constructivists argues that the structures of human association are determined by shared ideas and not just by material forces, so these ideas build identities and interests of the actors, as opposed to the other theories that assumed it as given by nature. In light of these considerations, this paper aims to explore and highlight some reflections on the construction of regional security in Latin America from Constructivist approach of International Relations.

Key Words

Latin American, Constructivism, Security, Regional integration, Identity



Introduction

In 2015 the United Nations (UN) released a report ensuring that Latin America is the most violent subcontinent in the world, because in this region it occurs around of 450000 murders per year and most of them go unpunished, also this report ensures that in this region there are 40 of the 50 most dangerous cities on the planet (Angoso, 2015).

These data attract attention, because Latin America is a region that lacks of high levels of geopolitical rivalry and it doesn't represents a space where political and religious extremism have uncontrolled demonstrations, as it occurs in other parts of the world. However, Latin America has failed to consolidate itself as a peaceful and harmonious region since violence in its various forms, -interstate and intrastate- is part of her complex reality today (Vitelli, 2016, p. 724).

In recent years, Latin American countries have taken action collectively to try to eradicate violence, insecurity and threats that profoundly affect their societies and have also wreaked havoc in their public institutions and especially on regional governance.

In light of these considerations, the constructivist perspective of international relations can help understand how through the construction of national sovereignty and a hegemonic reconfiguration in the region are rethinking the new challenges in hemispheric security. Therefore, this paper aims to explore and highlight some reflections arising about the construction of regional security in Latin America today.

Constructivism in International Relations

Since 1945, the hegemonic position of the United States (US) has been developed on the base of a relation of power sustained on the possession of material force (military and economic) higher than other country

on the world and a prestige based on a credibility strengthened by some patterns of behavior (international law, democracy, freedom and free trade) supported by the creation of international institutions that allow the standardized regulation of certain principles of behavior (Bravo Vergara & Salga Gómez, 2014, p. 449).

In the context of Cold War, US was able to coordinate and guide an international order in its influence zone based on negotiated principals to let the construction of a structure of interaction ruled by norms and institution on favor of the American interests. Thus, in Latin American the concept of national security it was equated with international safety, and security was considerate exclusive of the intervention of military, political and judicial elements, in a logical of friend-enemy that opening the door to a wave of authoritarian regimes which among other things aimed to eradicate Soviet influence and communist ideology in the region (Briones Riveros, 2013, p.3-4).

The end of the Cold War helped to expose the inability of the prevailing approaches of the time (neorealism and neoliberalism) to explain the fundamentals of international politics. In this historical and intellectual context emerges the Constructivism as an approach in international relations that believes the structures of human association are determined by shared ideas and not just material forces. These ideas build identities and interests of the actors, as opposed to other theories that considered them as given by nature (Santa Cruz, 2010).

From this point of view, it is understood that the security concepts of international actors depend heavily on how they build their identity in relation to others. The notions of security differ to the extent that the "I" is identified cognitively with the "other" and this cognitive variation depends on the meaning of anarchy and the distribution of power. Consequently, positive identification with other States will perceive security

Latin American countries have taken action collectively to try to eradicate violence, insecurity and threats that profoundly affect their societies and have also wreaked havoc in their public institutions...

threats not as a private matter of each state, but as a responsibility of everyone (Zhefuss, 2009, p. 476-477).

In this framework, it is recalled that Antonio Gramsci believed that the hegemony starts on the groups of society where the dominant establishes a moral, political and intellectual leadership over subordinate sectors, making his interests are the interests of society. Thus, from a *Gramscian* perspective, the hegemony becomes the progressive formation of alliances centered on a dominant social group, thanks to its moral and intellectual direction.

The State-owned union between force and consensus proposes a "dual perspective" in the corresponding to the dual nature of force and consent or authority and hegemony in the political and the State life. The two forms of "immediacy" mechanically happen over time with more or less 'Proximity' (Gramsci, 1975, p: 45-46). In this logical, as a hegemonic center in the continent, US has protected the region in the face of the possible threats from foreign power with the promise of welfare and justice for everyone.

However, from these ideas, it can consider that Latin America is a disputed territory in the sense of contemplate to different - internal and / or external-

groups that are disputing among themselves the control or the management of economic and scientific resources, which opens a wide field of conflicting interests in the world and that surrounds this region showing at least two projects in opposition. The first one is the affirmation of sovereignty as the basis for national development and regional integration; and secondly the reorganization of the hegemonic interests of foreign powers on the continent with bilateral free trade agreements like instruments to weaken the first one (Bruckman, 2012, p. 15).

National sovereignty and regional integration

To be a normal sovereign State, with ordinary citizens, it remains a powerful ideal, whose realization requires creative energy and repressive force, precisely, because this construction presupposes discipline and subordination to other relationships of authority. Various forms of political, economic and ideological power are combined with the State forces to achieve a totalizing domination on the groups that are outside of the State-own margins. From this perspective, the State is not just only an expression of power, but a correlation of forces between the various groups in which different forms of domination are noticed.



In the context of Cold War, US was able to coordinate and guide an international order in its influence zone based on negotiated principals to let the construction of a structure of interaction ruled by norms and institution on favor of the American interests. Photo: Pindex.com



After the Cold War, with the idea of the disappearance of “soviet threat”, many Latin American countries began to direct efforts to overcome their own internal problems that was destabilizing their sovereignty. The Security issue passed from a fear of an interstate enemy, (coming from the outside), to an intrastate policy problem present inside national territory.

In this context, currently, the internal threats from the states of the region can be traced from various forms of violence and insecurity afflicting much of Latin American governments, whose roots can be traced from considering the high levels of impunity, the deficiency of quality in public education, the deep crisis of the family institution, the failure of justice, the arms trafficking, and the lack of moral principles that give rise to a proliferation of a culture of violence that takes place in the absence of States with a lack of opportunities for a large segment of the population and a sort of a lost generation, very young, uprooted and alien to all types of securities that has generated gangs and criminal organizations (Angoso, 2015).

However, the State issues are generally not limited to its borders, because, in an increasingly globalized world, it generates negative effects on the stability and welfare of other countries that are somehow interconnected. In this sense, preventing tensions arising from distrust and uncertainty among States of a region, constitutes the central axis in the model of Cooperative Security that took root in Latin America in the late XX century, as alternative to the traditional model of dissuasion,

in which the State seeks its own security through the traditional balance of power.

The Cooperative Security designs instruments to prevent conflicts before they occur, through mechanisms of the power regulation projected beyond the borders, the defensive (not offensive) settings of the military forces, mutual transparency and exchange of military information and personnel between States.

In Latin America, national security doctrine was based for a long time in a historic rivalries border military vices that threatened democratic regimes in various stages of emergence or consolidation. However, the need to consolidate the civil power led some countries to seek diplomatic solutions to resolve outstanding disputes and promote the adoption of defensive strategies and cooperative with the neighbors (Vitelli, 2016, p. 728-731).

It is considered that cooperation policies play a fundamental role in trying to improve living conditions and advancement opportunities of developing countries, but it's also increasingly important to form a global system more just and stable (Santander Campos, 2016, p. 22). To recognize the formation of different blocks of regional integration, supranational institutions and States that participate, interact and modify each other on the dynamic perception of security, it understand the use of regional space and the national identity development for each country in this region.

Therefore, the Latin American States have chosen to



Latin American States have chosen to work together to consolidate various formal processes of regional integration and thus have recognized different threats and security priorities in common, although it is currently difficult to identify a single threat on the continent, like it was occurred in the Cold War. Photo: Russian Council





work together to consolidate various formal processes of regional integration and thus have recognized different threats and security priorities in common, although it is currently difficult to identify a single threat on the continent, like it was occurred in the Cold War.

The reorganization of the hegemonic interests

From certain perspective, the State is built and is developed through social interaction in which the concept of "I" tends to be reflected in the structures over time. Once it have created certain structures of identity and interest is not easy to be transformed, because the social system becomes an objective system (Zefhus, 2001, p 480). This it make easy by the hegemonic center builds a legitimate discourse.

The regional integration in Latin America can be tracked since 1889–1890, at the First International Conference of American States that became the Organization of American States in 1948, in which served to US to managed the atonement of its power in the American Continent through a speech that's it was of general interest to everyone, and in this sense, the ideal of American democracy acted like an instrument of hegemony to be considered a legitimate form of political equality in the face of economic or social inequality.

The 80's began to see in Latin America the outdated model of continental security protected by the US and it started the transition towards an open regionalism of the 90's as a new phase of regional integration inaugurated with the creation of the Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), constituted by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed between Canada US and Mexico, on par with new economic and political order that was brewing worldwide after the fall of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of a bipolar world.

Later, one of the forms of articulation of a

counter-hegemonic horizon in the XXI Century was the unification of peoples who historically passed through colonization, liberal, nationalist and neoliberal rule. Such articulation was accompanied by state reform and economic structure, in terms of recognition or equal recomposition, which in particular recognizes the self-determination and territoriality (Tapía Mella, 2011, p. 121).

For the first decade of the XXI century, the rise of different governments of progressive style in the region reframed the need for Latin American countries to reaffirm and exercise in practice its sovereignty over the loss of US hegemonic power, especially after the crisis of global capitalism in 2008 (Lo Brutto & Spataro, 2016, p. 199). The various processes of regional integration that emerged in this context as a counter-proposal have gestated a political, economic and social laboratory to begin to consolidating changes in Latin American society (Cordero Diaz, et al., 2015, p.11).

Thus, in 2004, by initiative of Venezuelan and Cuban governments leaders, it was created the Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América – Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblo (ALBA-TCP), a political and ideological counter-strategy on anti-American key in the scheme of an integration program" alternative "revolving around of energy, social, economic, commercial and financial spheres (Benzi 2016, p 78-91.); Also, in 2008 it was born the Unión de Naciones Sudamericanas (UNASUR), as an important regional geopolitical element with the priority to build an identity and a unified South American citizenship, while encouraging the creation of a regional space integrated

to respond was formed to challenges of the current international system (Lo Brutto and Crivelli Minutti 2016, p. 108). With these actions, by the first time Latin American aims to build an identity far of the Americans interests, and the security perception starts to be considerate from the protection and own management of the natural resources in the

For the first decade of the XXI century, the rise of different governments of progressive style in the region reframed the need for Latin American countries to reaffirm and exercise in practice its sovereignty over the loss of US hegemonic power.





region.

In 2011 also the Alianza del Pacífico (AP) was created with the intention of creating an area of deep integration among several Latin American countries which aims to improve its presence in the Asia-Pacific region, which is connected with the recent signing of the Trans-Pacific partnership (TPP) in 2016, an agreement of a commercial strategic partnership between twelve countries of the Pacific Rim, excluding to China and including the US and three Latin American countries, Mexico, Peru and Chile, covering various issues of policy bursar, represent not only a return to the Open Regionalism one with emphasis on trade liberalization but it could be considerate the reorganization of US hegemonic interests in Latin America.

However, last 21th November, President-elect Donald Trump announced he wants to pull out of the TPP and the possible decline of this agreement could give a boost to alternative initiatives including one promoted by China in which the US is not taking part (The New York Time, 2016). Anyway, Trump prefer bilateral trade over others massive international agreements what it doesn't discarded that also it could be another instrument of reorganization of the US interest on Latin America. Maybe next US government, will be more nationalist and isolationist but likewise it will search its hegemony in the region and the world.

Final considerations

The identity has been repeatedly observed as a construction that aims to maintain different forms of organization of a social group through of the conservation and transmission of collective memory in the context of different forms of reproduction of symbolic and material life itself. Thus, the State-own identity represents a recognition of different symbolic systems, ideological, lifestyles and expressive materials that give meaning to the State on its international relations.

If it wants to understand the mechanism that presides over the formation of an identity discourse in security issues of Latin America and understand their meanings not only in general historical terms, but in social terms, it is necessary to think about the fact that no field more than in the State and the policy identity has been built and conceptualized on the basis of contrast.

US has been an international actor with a high material force and a prestige based on credibility able to purpose an international leadership and consolidate a world order that permits to intervene on identities on other countries, especially in security issues, when are at stake the Americans own hegemonic interests. Now the world has focused on President-elect Donald Trump, whose government program will surely also modify ideas about security in the structure of the current



The Alianza del Pacífico (AP) was created with the intention of creating an area of deep integration among several Latin American countries which aims to improve its presence in the Asia-Pacific region. Photo: alianzapacifico.net



international system.

Hence, throughout the history of Latin America it can distinguish two great periods or ages in the configuration of a counter-hegemonic horizon. The first has to do with the development and establishment of historical blocks that revolve around the development of labor movements and socialist projects, namely, critique of bourgeois hegemony and construction of alternative political articulations from within modernity. The other time joint horizon counter-hegemonic is configured from the processes of unification, mobilization and joint political project from indigenous community movements that activate the anticolonial side or the criticism of the neocolonial continuity of state structures modern and capitalism (Tapía Mella, 2011, p. 124).

The Latin American regionalism of XXI century, questions the old sectors and postcolonial elites in the power in favor of hegemonic interests. Thus the recovery of a common past for Latin American countries can create the idea of a unified block that breaks with the traditional hegemony of the US, which has generated some extent the diversification of political-trade agreements and closer ties with other regions of the planet. ☺

The Latin American regionalism of XXI century, questions the old sectors and postcolonial elites in the power in favor of hegemonic interests.

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THE US-MEXICO-CENTRAL AMERICA TRIANGLE: IMMIGRATION, SECURITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

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Latin and Central America transitioned from a war-torn region wrought with civil wars and military coups, to a more stable one perceived to have made progress toward stability, and economic development. The Inter-American Development Bank, on July 2011, even declared the “decade of Latin America,” since most countries transitioned to democracies and started to grow economically. However, over the years those expectations have been lowered, particularly in Central America, since progress has been threatened by inequality, citizen insecurity, and organized criminal networks which operate without concern or control of borders. In this scenario, migration has been highlighted as a phenomenon which used to be mainly one of the consequences of the lack of economic opportunity. At the present time, it is a fact that immigration is not driven only by an economic factor; instead, the greater insecurity in Central American countries is a factor added into the equation, raising questions about recipient countries having an obligation towards the human crisis that this is generating.

Mexico and the United States are inevitably involved in this crossroad, since the first is a transit (and recipient to lower degree) country, used to arrive to the US, whereas the second is the preferred country of destiny for migrants, as they erroneously believe that they are always welcome. Under these circumstances, the role of Mexico has been criticized by its own citizens and Latin American audiences, as to have become a restrictive country in order to limit the flux of Central American migrants. Those populations represent around 95% of the flux in transit to the US. Of the total of undocumented immigrants in the US, 74% are from Mexico (6,650,000 62%), El Salvador (530,000 5%), Guatemala (480,000 4%), and Honduras (320,000 3%). Because of the Central American migrants’ singular and undisputed need for economic and social resources to enable them to complete their journey through Mexico, the passage of undocumented immigrants through Mexico is comprised by a cast of governmental actors, transnational companies, social networks, and criminal networks, diverse in kind, nature, and scope



Migrants from Central America ride a ‘Train of Death’ to get to America via Mexico. Photo: Huffington Post



(Casillas, 2011). The US is supposed to be investing in the countries of origin in ‘education,’ meaning by this that the government advises potential migrants that they will be returned if and when detained, as well as, promoting real economic investment.

The new influx of displaced people is seen as a problem of national security and in these circumstances, there has been a tendency of “securitizing” the migratory phenomenon, offering responses through the implementation of measures in order to contain the flux with physical and technological barriers. The constructivist approach understands this securitization process as one redefining the traditional concept of security, broadening it to non-traditional threats, including migration by incorporating arguments of the force of social identities. By tying migration and security, the link to organized crime has been successful, having repercussions in the transit and recipient countries.

On the opposite side, realism argues that securitizing migration is a mistake that leads to conceptual confusion using the logic and speech of security to deal with a social problem unrelated to security.

How does this phenomenon need to be defined and studied? taking into account that effectively, the economic factor is linked to the security one in Central America, and that solutions need to include the variable of development in order to solve a real problem affecting all countries involved.

I. Two sides of the coin: economy and violence as the root of migration

1.1 Economy as root of migration

There is some difficulty in assessing regional trends due to the mix of economic realities and policy challenges. Some experts have debated that the one unifying trend is that of achieving sustained economic growth. An interesting fact is that Latin America weathered the global financial crisis in 2008 better than most countries. Per capita gross domestic product (GDP) is steadily increasing with foreign direct investment reaching record highs. Of note is that, over the last decade, Iran, Russia, and China, have been working on an increased economic and diplomatic presence in the region. Iran is seeking to reduce its isolation, which some see as also setting a base to export terrorism; Moscow needs new

markets for its arms industry, and Beijing is principally motivated by access to natural resources. In 2005, China bought \$21 billion in goods from Latin America; by 2008, it grew to \$71 billion. Despite this competition, U.S. trade with Latin America is flourishing, reaching a record \$772 billion in 2011. However, this growth does not translate yet to ending endemic poverty and income inequality, adding the fact that Mexico’s trade with the US exceeds by far the one with Central America (see figure 1), thus benefits of the relationship are not felt (CFR, 2012).

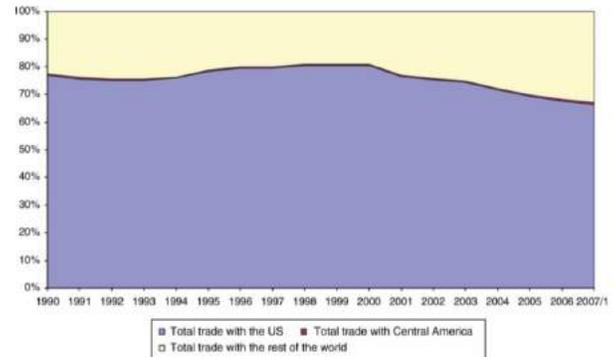


Figure 1. Total trade of Mexico with the US, Central America and the rest of the world. Source: Casillas, 2012.

It is estimated that in 2010, 31.4 percent of the region’s inhabitants—some 177 million people—were living in poverty, and income inequality in Latin American countries, being close to the highest in the world, exacerbated by low Government social expenditures, not helping resolve youth unemployment, particularly in Central America, giving credence to what some argue as a prime factor in the escalating rates of crime and violence (CFR, 2012).

1.2 Violence as the root of migration: communities of origin

The economic situation of some countries of Central America, with weak governments and institutions, some flooded with corruption or just with a great amount of incapacity to fulfil their role as the developer of their states, resulting in the violence reflected in their more vulnerable social groups. Families disintegrate, since some members have already migrated; some groups resort to gangs as part as a social circle, in order to have a form of family or belonging. Gangs have increased in countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and even Mexico. Some of them even evolved as organized crime, like the Mexican drug cartels, which have made

human trafficking one of their most lucrative business.

In this sense, as violence takes root in segments of society, it is forcing people out of their communities and their countries, who in their quest for a better life, are also subject to more violence in their journey to whichever country they seek refuge in, such as the United States or even Mexico (CFR, 2012).

Citizen insecurity and violence cast a shadow over an otherwise optimistic outlook for the region. In Central America, homicide rates are among the highest in the world, and public opinion polls routinely cite crime and public insecurity as the most important problem facing the region. The toll is staggering: 144,000 people were killed in the region in 2010. Honduras, El Salvador, and Venezuela suffer the highest homicide rates, at eighty-two, sixty-six, and forty-nine per one hundred thousand inhabitants, respectively. By comparison, the U.S. homicide rate is less than five per one hundred thousand. In short, Central America accounts for 27 percent of global homicides. The surge in violence is fueled by crisscrossing drug trafficking networks asserting control over routes and territorial pockets throughout the region. In Mexico, for instance, a government offensive against drug cartels has resulted in at least forty-seven thousand deaths in drug-related violence, most being cartel members. At the same time, such violence is exacerbated by the unprecedented proliferation of violent street gangs and a wave of common crime. According to the International Narcotics Control Board, there are more than nine hundred ‘maras’, or local gangs, with over seventy thousand active members in Central America. In addition, press freedom is threatened, as some national governments suppress media outlets working to improve transparency and accountability. Gangs and criminal organizations are also increasingly targeting journalists; in Mexico and Honduras, at least twenty have been killed in the past year (Berdal & Serrano 2005).

Historian Eric Hobsbawn (2007, cited in Berdal & Serrano 2005) ties expanding public space violence with some social development process and international culture. This, as result of fragmentation and weakening of the nation-State that is expressed in the form of social polarization. It does not only consider international terrorism, but also a series of phenomena associated with “the extraordinary expansion of global availability

and access to weapons, powerfully destructive, among individuals and groups”. This seems to be the case between organized crime and global supply chains to which they are tied, that have turned into potential factors in the destabilization of States and weak governments (see figure 2).

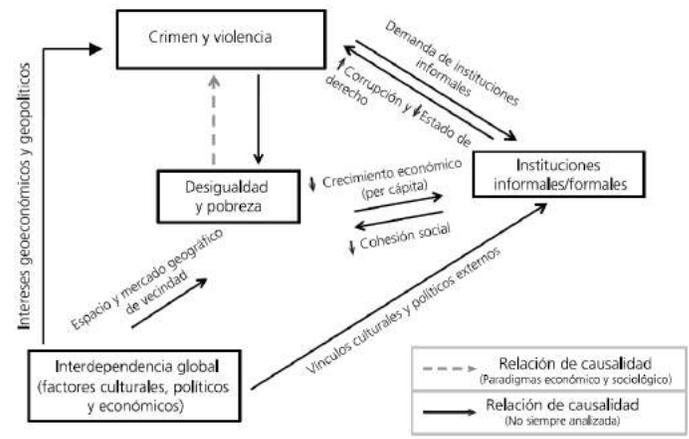


Figure 2. Interdependence, institutions and criminal violence
Source: Madrueno, 2016.

Is the characteristic of those countries, which had suffered civil wars, not to be able to recompose their societies and institutions? And in this sense, as argued by Owsiak, Diehl & Goertz (2016), is negative peace a cause of post-conflict violence? And how could violence disappear in this context.

Central American civil wars and its historical weak political institutions opened the region vulnerable to drug cartels, violent criminal gangs, and human traffickers that threaten to destabilize the region as a whole. The emerging drug/gang problems have given place to questionable responses and polemical international counter narcotics/crime programs that are resulting in regional instability similar to that experienced during Central America’s civil war era (Marcy, 2014).

Central America’s youth is where the post-war economic and political restructuring had its greatest impact. This group, comprising those between fifteen and twenty-four years old and representing 21 percent of the total population, faced an unemployment rate of over 10 percent in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama between 1995 and 2005. The gang problem began when displaced and uneducated youth turned to crime as a solution to the challenges of demobilization and reconstruction, along with the U.S. deportation of Central American gang members



Though Mexico has its share of police corruption and a dysfunctional court system, these problems are much larger in the Central American nations.

who belonged to the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and the Calle-18 (18th Street) that increased gang growth. Deportation of gang members began in 1994, increasing after 1996, with the US Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA). Upon arrival home, the deportees organized gangs in El Salvador, which then spread to Honduras and then Guatemala, where the ‘pandillas’ looked to replicate the American street gang’s lifestyle. The gangs became notorious for violence, assault and robberies against civilians. In parallel young-men demobilized guerrillas who had fought with the FMLN were ripe to join the Salvadorian gangs. As some gang members returned to the United States after their deportation, a form of revolving door phenomenon evolved, in which gang members started their version of ‘circular migration’ (Marcy, 2016).

Furthermore, the Mexican drug cartels operate practically unrestrained in their Central America backyard. This is due in large part to the successes the Mexican and Colombian militaries have had in their respective drug wars. These successes have “pushed” traffickers into a region where corruption is rampant, borders lack even minimal immigration control and local gangs provide a ready-made infrastructure for organized crime. Moreover, although Mexico has some resemblance of political stability, its neighbors, except Costa Rica, are in an almost continued state of instability. Though Mexico has its share of police corruption and a dysfunctional court system, these problems are much larger in the Central American nations. The governments of these nations are almost sitting idly and in some cases complicit while their national institutions

crumble, creating the environment that has forced many to flee to the United States, causing the humanitarian crisis of people fleeing through Mexico (Rizer, 2015).

1.3 Escaping violence to get more violence: along the migration path

Until recent times, Central American migrants could cross Mexico with certain safety. However, organized crime found a form of steady income by extorting in-transit migrants, to offset losses from the drug business due to Army effectiveness beginning in 2007, plus affected by competition from other criminal groups. Kidnaping of migrants had been a fact for many years, but in small scale, the kidnapers were not organized. This has now changed to large scale organized criminal activity (Izcara Palacios, 2016).

Violence must be understood in relation by its social-cultural dimensions, not only is fiscal value, according to Scheper-Hughes y Bourgois (2004, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016:15). The classic model developed by Galtung (1969 y 1990, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016:15) defines three forms of violence: direct, structural and cultural. The first is noticeable, it has contrast; the others are unnoticeable, as the person who executes de action is not identifiable. Structural violence is a process to creating circumstances that incite violence; cultural violence is a permanent subset that feeds the other two. For Galtung (1990, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016), violence is some form of triangle with transmissions from one corner to another. Within this triangle, cultural violence has the greatest weight and somehow makes the other two acceptable. Other recent research states that additional form of imperceptible violence has been identified: symbolic, familial and legal. These forms lead to a lack of recognition and obscuring of violence as it transforms into something different.

Bourdieu (2012, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016) uses the concept of symbolic violence, since it is exerted “with the complicity of the incorporated structures that the subjected has acquired during the prolonged confrontation with the objective structures of the domination”. The individual who suffers this type of violence is not only not aware of it, but is also accomplice of the same. A concept close to symbolic violence is that of domestic violence. This concept, introduced by Scheper-Hughes (1992, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016),

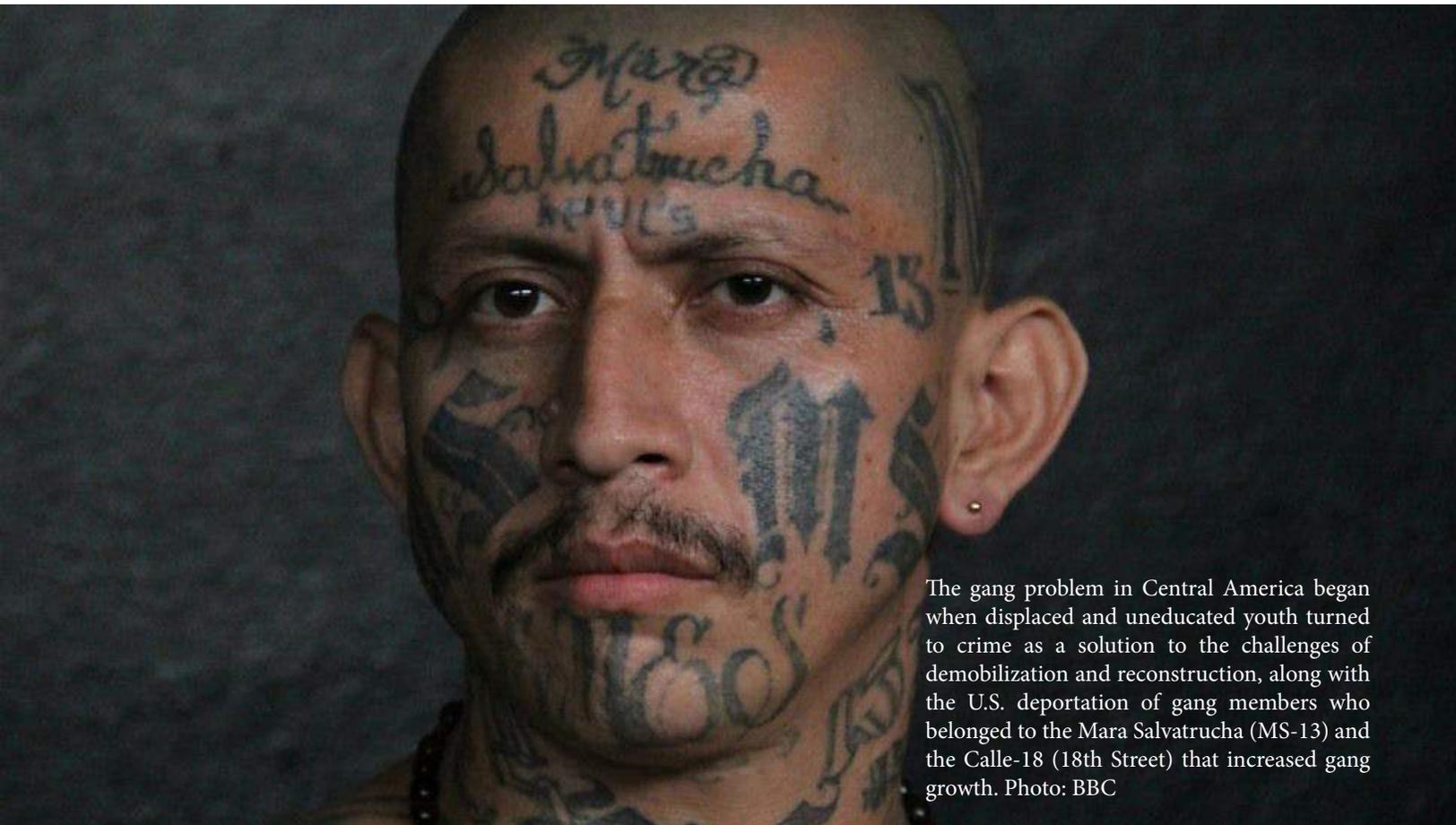


makes reference to the routine practices and expression of interpersonal aggressiveness whose purpose is to normalize violence at the micro level, and assist in victim subordination, who blame themselves. Also, Menjibar y Abrego (2012, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016) develop the concept of “legal violence”, that encapsulates the concepts of structural and symbolic violence to define the suffering generated and legitimized by the implementation of the migratory law, that pursues a ‘common good’ but hurts de Central American migrants.

Violence against migrants does not happen as an occasional or isolated event. It is a social event and therefore, socially explicable. Violence seen as a medium fit into a kind of rational consideration, an instrumental one. Considered as the ultimate goal in itself, violence is regarded as irrational as it is, grounded in emotional issues. As Casillas (2011) argues, emotions such as frustration, anger, hate, or fear, from the individual’s point of view, and fanaticism, extreme nationalism, ethnic revenge, or class resentment, from the social point of view, would be behind the considerations of irrational violence. Considering that the source of violence and/or aggression is rather a tactic in pursuit

of other purposes, like economic power based on thefts from migrants, material goods, such as the assets stolen from migrants; personal or collective satisfaction, rape for instance, leadership of a criminal group, among others, then violence would be considered as a means which, when weighed and calculated, would be consistent with an instrumental rationality (305).

The relationship between reason and violence is complex. First, it involves different considerations of reason, differences in perceptions of stakeholders, evaluators, and analysts, and the temporal scale from which to contemplate violence. It also involves the different types of violence and the perspective from which they are addressed. It is necessary to understand and observe that the power of those who commit crimes against immigrants is embedded in their perspective of local social processes, and not a violation of them, at least for the majority of criminal acts. In cases, such as kidnapping, there is a perverse form of mutual participation, as the kidnapping of migrants is not an action from organized crime, but a sort of outflow, by establishing a new criminal breed, and a form of expression of their capacity to develop, innovate, and organize. Something that ties elements from other



The gang problem in Central America began when displaced and uneducated youth turned to crime as a solution to the challenges of demobilization and reconstruction, along with the U.S. deportation of gang members who belonged to the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and the Calle-18 (18th Street) that increased gang growth. Photo: BBC



Mexican Cartels have not been weakened even as they have faced a bloody war with thousands of casualties. The cartels seem to gain strength, with growing numbers in their ranks, as result of the application of post structural violence as a means of recruitment. Photo: Proceso

Mexican and some Central Americans towns with local populations. The same is true in terms of the establishment of lesser smuggling in which they charge them for each transfer they make, for 'security' and 'rights' of transit. Second, submission and subjugation are not necessary. They are accomplished by means of persuasion and sharing of benefits with local sectors. Third, preferences may be different, ranging from material goods to others less tangible. "This leads to the creation and maintenance of a submission-dominance order not as a conscious fight against the national institutional order, but simply as an attack by national subordinate groups on foreign subordinate groups; an act of subjugation by some individuals, mostly Mexicans, against others, mostly Central Americans" (Casillas, 2011:306).

At the same time, the concept of post structural violence also encompasses different aspects of violence, direct and unnoticeable, constructing a theoretical framework that could be more applicable in the understanding of these actions. The post structural concept of violence points to those situations where the victim is transformed into a torturer as the only survival mechanism in a violent environment. This type of violence obfuscates individual's understanding and converts the struggle for survival in the only mechanism that rules his response, thus, converting peaceful migrant laborers into bloody criminals. A principal trait of post structural, violence

is the stripping of the victim's innocence loading it with guilt.

Post structural violence allows for the identification of those who originate it, along with direct violence; and, also including stealth elements since it makes the victims guilty, as they become accomplices and executioners. Direct violence is not as extensive as this, since it strips its victims of their innocence, and it is more noxious than stealth forms of violence as it exponentially increases the complicity and guilt of the victims. Post structural violence leaves indelible scars in the victim, as it generates extreme direct violence, as well as, such internal guilt that leads to suicidal feelings. Even if liberated, the victim most likely collapse under the torture of being guilt ridden. This concept was developed by Slack & Whiteford (2010, cited in Izcara Palacios, 2016) to describe ways whereby migrants confront the limitations imposed by the structural forces, and explain actions that take place in order to mitigate their vulnerable and precarious situation.

By considering post structural violence as the operative concept, it can help explain why Mexican Cartels have not been weakened in a bloody war with thousands of casualties. The cartels seem to gain strength, with growing numbers in their ranks, as result of the application of post structural violence as a means of recruitment. Contrary to popular belief, these organizations do not



there must not be forgotten, that the drug issue is fundamentally economic. As long as there is demand for drugs, there will be a supply.

attract youngsters with the lure of easy money; it is then necessary to resort to violent means in order to fill their ranks. This is the same thing happened in concentration camps during the Nazi rule. And this could be one of the key elements in order to tackle organized criminal groups.

Solutions

It is evident, that the first part of the problem has to be solved through economic development in the countries of origin. There is a need to tackle the limitations of formal democracies in overcoming structural inequalities, and this has to do with good governance: to first de-root from the minds of government officials, that the situation cannot change. The importance of fighting corruption and the fundamental necessity of think for the welfare of the State and its citizens, instead of their own short or long-term economic benefit. Transparency and efficiency in all governmental functions should follow; from the delivery of social services, like security, education, and access to safe drinking water, which will give legitimacy to governments (CFR, 2012). The first stage must be mind-changer through education, with programs planned over at least one decade implemented by cooperation with countries which can provide funds and a tight follow up of the different initiatives, like the United States, Mexico, Canada, and the European Union (or some of its members). Equally important is to build strong institutions. Security reform is an important prerequisite for effective and sustainable state building. States acquire or lose legitimacy to the extent that they provide security, which is a condition to political stability and opens the door to new investment,

peace and education. This cannot be achieved unless and until governments set the model of strict adherence to the rule of law, which is sorely lacking in much of the region. Most forms of corruption are embedded or originate within the state. In order to build legitimacy and credibility, sources of illegitimate power and authority need to be expunged (CFR, 2012).

A second measure is through financial incentives, such as tax breaks, for United States, Mexican, Canadian, and European investors working with local partners in the countries of origin. Investments by transnational corporations (TNCs) can have powerful effects on communities, and their corporate policies can “directly stimulate or dampen urban development, promote or hinder access to education, and support or thwart family cohesiveness”. Corporations should also build upon the community’s local initiatives. And all of this must be accompanied with a firm body of norms that are enforced, as mentioned previously. Also, as Kammien (2015) argues, by steering companies to become “socially responsible” and promote a higher social standard of development when investing abroad, will convert potential migrants to take advantage of the opportunity to work in their home country, relieving the pressure to move to the United States as the only option to support their families. In parallel, when there is news that there are good employment opportunities back home, many of the migrants could feel more comfortable with reliable employment from these investment initiatives. Then, migration to the United States will no longer be a necessity and migrants will have an incentive to return home.

In addition to local growth foreign direct investment, there must not be forgotten, that the drug issue is fundamentally economic. As long as there is demand for drugs, there will be a supply. The crisis, which is resulting in a threat to the security of both, the US and Mexico, there is a need to define how to reduce demand -in both countries-, reevaluate and reform drug laws, policies, and strategies; both countries need to be more aggressive in stopping arms trafficking from all sources; and both, provide additional direct assistance through the Merida Initiative to the Mexican and other Central American governments (Rizer, 2015). More important, an extensive program like the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America should be put in place, but well-funded and planned, with enough political





will to implement it. There is the Alliance for Prosperity Plan in the Northern Triangle (COHA, 2016).

All of those measures will work, only if there is a restructure of the social fabric. And this in the countries of origin, as well as stop the identification of migration with threat. Positive identities have to be created and that can only be made through public policies that reeducate people. When the other is not a threat, fear will eventually go away. But this can only happen if all mechanisms start working at the same time. Violence should be greatly reduced when economic opportunities and a firm application of the rule of law exist for real. Then, peace may arrive to all those ripped societies. 🇸🇵

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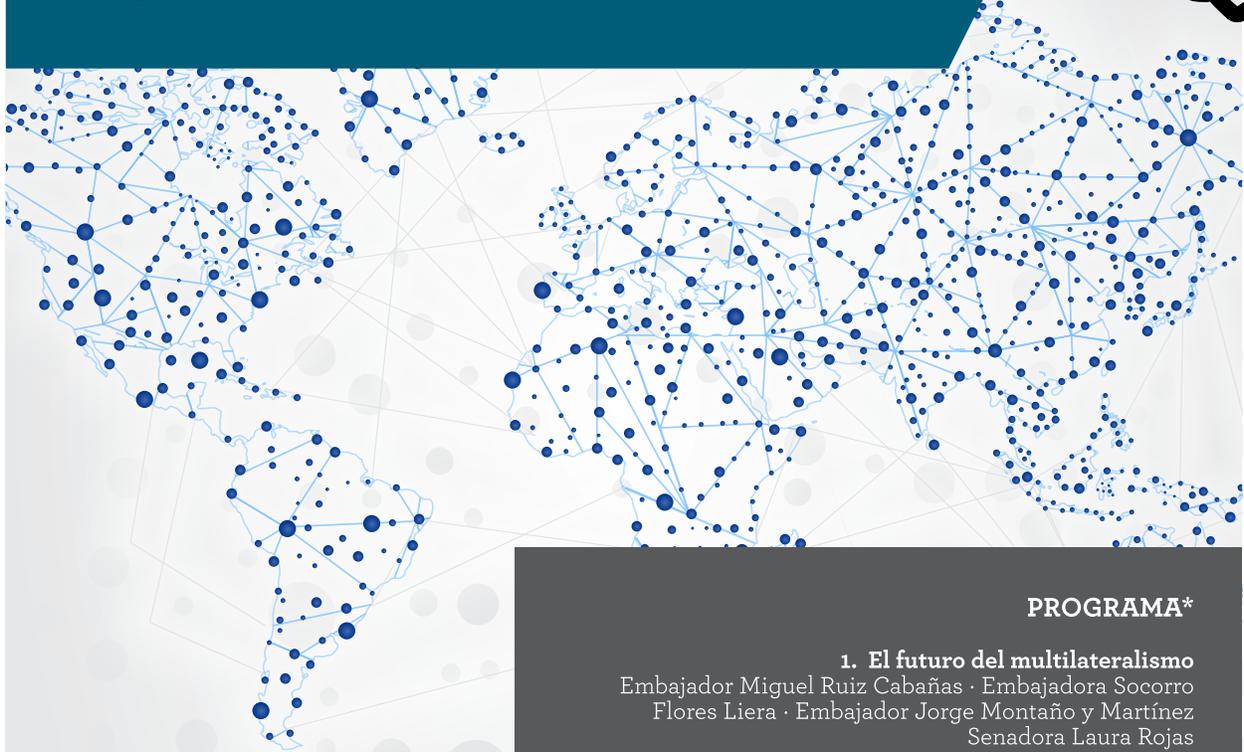
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Positive identities have to be created and that can only be made through public policies that reeducate people.





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México

DIPLOMADO EN SEGURIDAD INTERNACIONAL, SEGURIDAD NACIONAL Y DERECHOS HUMANOS EN EL SIGLO XXI

Objetivo:

Analizar los principales riesgos y amenazas a la Seguridad Internacional mediante una visión humanista que brinde las herramientas necesarias para predecir, explicar, identificar y proponer soluciones a los grandes retos de México y el mundo.

Dirigido a:

Personas involucradas en el sector público y privado en áreas relacionadas con la seguridad, las relaciones internacionales, el desarrollo estratégico y la promoción de los intereses nacionales de México; profesores o estudiantes de instituciones de nivel superior; personas que colaboren en organismos gubernamentales y no gubernamentales; y diplomáticos y comunicadores.

Contenido:

Módulo I. La seguridad nacional

Módulo II. La seguridad internacional

Módulo III. Las nuevas amenazas a la seguridad internacional en el siglo XXI

Módulo IV. Agendas de riesgo

Módulo V. El estado y la seguridad

Módulo VI. Seguridad y derechos humanos

Inicio:

17 de marzo de 2017

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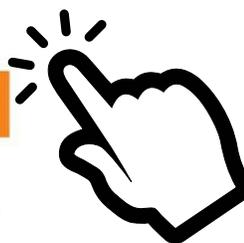
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VACANTE

La Licenciatura en Relaciones Internacionales de la Universidad del Mar ofrece una vacante para ocupar el puesto de Profesor-Investigador de tiempo completo en el área de Relaciones Internacionales. Las funciones que requiere el puesto incluyen impartir las cátedras de *Derecho Internacional Público* y *Derecho Internacional Privado*, entre otras materias afines. Además de la docencia, el interesado deberá registrar y llevar a cabo proyectos de investigación relacionados con estudios de Derecho internacional.



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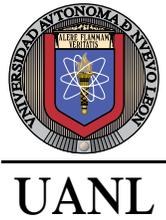
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