

**INDIGENOUS GROUPS, GLOBALIZATION,
AND MEXICO'S *PLAN PUEBLA PANAMÁ*:
MARRIAGE OR MISCARRIAGE?**

Imtiaz Hussain

Department of International Studies

Universidad Iberoamericana

Mexico, DF--01210

Tel.: 525-950-4000, ext. 7599, FAX: 01-52-55-5950-4134

e-mail: imtiaz-hussain@uia.mx

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Chapters:

1:	INTRODUCTION: AFTER THE <i>SEXENIO</i> CRISIS: A <i>LOS PIÑOS</i> CRISIS?	1
	Background: There Goes the Chief Executive-ship!	1
	PPP: Planning a Policy Post-mortem?	5
	Through the Micro Glass:	5
	Macro Effects and Contexts:	16
	Four Turn-of-the-Century Stories:	17
	Economic Re-structuration:	17
	National Political Integration:	20
	Central American Undulations:	21
	Mexico-US Bilateral Relations: The Mornings After	22
	Four Policy-making Adjustments:	23
	Globalization and Indigenism:	24
	Virtuous versus Vicious Liberalization:	31
	Relative Pursuits and Absolute Gains:	35
	Mainstream from the Outside:	38
	Riding a Theoretical Rollercoaster:	39
	Structuring the Research:	46
	Manuscript Organization:	46
	Findings Summarized:	48
2:	<i>GLOCALIZATION, FRAGMEGRATION, & CHAORD:</i> ARCHITECTURAL DISCORD, THEORETICAL TRIAGE:	51
	Introduction: Many-a-road-to-travel?	51
	Around the Mulberry Bush:	52
	Units of Analysis:	52
	Levels of Analysis:	54
	Direction of Dynamics:	56
	Perpetual Flux:	57
	Upgrading Explanations:	58
	Theory of Turbulence:	61
	Micro, Macro, Micro-macro Parameters:	61
	State-centricism versus Multi-centricism:	63
	Centralizing-Decentralizing Axis:	64
	Economic, Social, and Political Realms:	68
	<i>Fragmegration</i> in Comparative Light:	69
	Tightening Hypotheses:	73
3:	SPUTTERING PAST & PARADIGM POROSITY: MEXICO'S CENTRAL AMERICAN MALAISE	75
	Introduction: End of History?	75
	Mexico, Central America, and Two Undulating Centuries:	76
	Periodization: Ten Pockmarks	79

	Guatemalan Thorn:	86
	US Interventionism:	88
	Closing the Circle: Phases and Patterns	90
	Theoretical Enigma: To Fit or not to Fit	97
	Conclusion and Implications:	106
4:	KISS OF LIFE OR LOVE? IMPORTED OXYGEN AND COLLECTIVE CA ACTION:	107
	Introduction: Fleeting Futures?	107
	Collective Action: Regionalism:	108
	Comparative Contexts:	112
	Political Constraints:	112
	Economic Constraints:	118
	Comparative Prospects:	129
	National Action Plans: Engine of Structural Growth?	132
	Conclusions: To Rupture or Infrastructure?	138
5:	PPP NUTS & BOLTS, HUMPS & BUMPS: RIDING A PAPER ROLL?	141
	Introduction: Blueprint Blues	141
	Infrastructural Development of Institutional Entrapment?	149
	Specific PPP Objectives:	150
	King of the Hill or Mouse in a Trap? Mexico's PPP Chapter:	155
	Spaces and Catalyzers:	155
	Damn-the-torpedoes Assault:	157
	Development Mexican Style:	158
	PPP Initiatives	161
	Sustainable Development:	161
	Human Development:	164
	Combating Natural Disasters:	169
	Tourism Promotion:	171
	Trade Facilitation:	172
	Production Infrastructure: <i>Maquiladorization</i>	173
	Highway Infrastructure: Storm in a Teacup?	178
	Atlantic Corridor:	180
	Pacific Corridor:	184
	Tehuantepec Corridor:	185
	Nicaraguan Dry Canals:	191
	El Salvador-Honduras Bridge:	196
	A Tale of Three Canals:	196
	Energy Infrastructure: Of Light and Heat	199
	El-Salvador:	200
	Guatemala-Mexico:	201
	Honduras:	203
	Telecommunications Infrastructure:	
	Investment for the Future?	205
	Conclusions:	206

6:	GASPING GRASSROOTS & EVASIVE ELITES: BACKBONE-BUILDING IN A WAR ZONE	211
	Introduction: Ballgame with Fire?	211
	Globalizing Forces:	212
	Localizing Forces.	221
	Lateralizing Forces.	224
	Turbulence Theory in the Trenches:	227
	Rosenau's Parameters & PPP:	227
	State-centricism at Bay?	235
	<i>Glocalization</i> Growth:	241
	Conclusions: More Squeeze, More Juice	251
7:	TAKING FLINGS? CENTRAL AMERICA IN NORTHERN EMBRACE:	255
	Introduction: No Policy an Island	255
	Comparative Overview: Of Gullivers and Lilliputlians	256
	North American Experiences: Yardstick?	257
	Integrative Pursuits: Common Platforms, Unknown Destinations	259
	CAFTA-CA4FTA-PPP Comparative Themes:	270
	Negotiation Structures:	270
	Development Gap:	272
	Developing-Developed Country Syndrome:	273
	Cultural Considerations:	274
	Policy-making Inclinations:	276
	Wages and Industrial Migration:	277
	Exogenous Affiliations:	278
	Society-State-Supranational Nexus:	279
	Similarities:	280
	Differences:	281
	Conclusions:	284
	Observations:	284
	Implications:	287
	Lessons:	289
8:	AT THE END OF THE ROPE: HANGING, SWINGING, OR LEAPING OVER?	291
	Introduction: Squaring the Circle?	291
	Hypotheses-testing:	291
	Mexico's Turn-of-the-Twenty-First Century Stories:	295
	Policy-making Adjustments:	296

ILLUSTRATIONS:

Tables:

1.1	Legal Protections for Indigenous Peoples:	29
1.2	Liberalization and Anti-Liberalization: PPP from Polar Viewpoints:	34
1.3	PPP and a Theoretical Kaleidoscope:	44
2.1	Transformation of Three Parameters:	62
2.2	State-centric, Multi-centric Models, and Agents of Change:	64
2.3	Rosenau's Familiar and Emerging Worldviews:	70
3.1	Mexico's Central American Foreign Policy Approaches:	77
3.2	Guatemala-Mexico Historical Spars:	87
3.3	US Military Intervention in and Around Central America:	89
3.4	Comparing Two Instances of Mexican Assertiveness:	94
3.5	Theoretical Placement of Historical and Contemporary Developments:	97
4.1	Central American Exports (% of GDP):	111
4.2	Average Central American Tariffs:	112
4.3	Central American Comparative Profile:	114
4.4	Socioeconomic Infrastructure:	119
4.5	Poverty Infrastructure:	121
4.6	Transportation Infrastructure:	124
4.7	Future Infrastructure: Children	124
4.8	Inequality & Information Skills Infrastructure:	125
4.9	Central American Economic Dependence on US Foreign Trade (in %):	127
4.10	US Economic Assistance (in 1982 \$):	128
4.11	Central American States: An Economic Profile	129
4.12	National Action Plans for Selected CA Countries:	133
5.1	Indigenous Law as Proposal and Reflecting Proposals:	142
5.2	Proposals, Positions, and Interpretations:	143
5.3	Land, Indigenous Groups, and Mexico:	147
5.4	PPP Lay-of-the-Land:	151
5.5	Interpreting PPP Human Development Directives:	167
5.6	Corridors or Closing Doors?	182
5.7	Tehuantepec Corridor and Affected Indigenous Groups:	187
5.8	Dry Canal Comparisons:	198
6.1	Central America as a Corporate Haven?	213
6.2	Organizations at Various Levels:	219
6.3	Local Reactions Against PPP:	222
6.4	Lateralizing Anti-PPP Pressures Beyond Local Confines:	225
6.5	Three-Parameter Transformation: Seeds	227
6.6	PPP Through Rosenau's State-centric, Multi-centric Models, & Agents of Change:	236
6.7	State-centric, Multi-centric Models, and Indigenous World Against Agents of Change:	238
6.8	Orientation & Axes, Parameters & Realms:	241
7.1	Before the Negotiations: Comparative Central American Observations:	260
7.2	Integrative Background and Negotiations Theory:	288
8.1	Hypotheses, Tests, Results:	292
8.2	Mexico's Turn-of-the-Twenty-First Century Stories:	295
8.3	Mexico's Policy-making Adjustments Still Adjusting?	297

Figures:

2.1	Globalization-Localization Interface.	66
2.2	Dynamics at the Local-Global Interface:	67
2.3	<i>Fragmegration</i> in Theoretical/Empirical Contexts:	71
5.1	The PPP Corridor Network:	181
5.2	PPP Dry Canal Corridors:	186
5.3	Nicaragua's Dry Canal and Golden Future:	193
6.1	PPP Through Theoretically Juxtapositioned Eyes:	246
6.2	PPP in a <i>Fragmegrative</i> World:	249

Abbreviations:

AC:	Atlantic Corridor
AMI:	Mesoamerican Information Highway
ANIPA:	National Indigenous Assembly for Autonomy
BICE:	<i>Banco Centroamericana de Integración Económica</i> (see CABEL)
CA:	Central America(n)
CABEL:	Central American Bank for Economic Integration (see BICE)
CACM:	Central American Common Market
CA4FTA:	Central American Four Free Trade Agreement
CAFTA:	Central American Free Trade Agreement
CAM:	Committee of Migration Directors (Central America's)
CAPP:	Comisión de Acreditación y Promoción de Proyectos Educativos para la Región Mesoamericana
CBI:	Caribbean Basin Initiative
CBM:	<i>Coredor Biológico Mesoamericano</i>
CECC:	Coordinación Comisión Educativa y Cultura Centroamericana
CELADE:	ECLAC's Latin American and Caribbean Center for Demography
CERT:	Council of Energy Resources Tribes
CICAFOC:	<i>La Coordinación Indígena y Campesina de Agroforestería Comunitaria</i>
COCOPA:	
CR:	Costa Rica
CRM:	Regional Conference on Migration (Central America's)
CWE:	Capitalist world economy (Immanuel Wallerstein's term)
DEMOGLO:	Democratization-globalization
ECLAC:	Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean (UN affiliated)
EGP:	Guerrilla Army of the Poor (Guatemalan)
ES:	El Salvador
EZLN:	<i>Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional</i>
FAR:	Revolutionary Armed Forces (Guatemalan)
FDNG:	<i>Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala</i>
FMLN:	<i>Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional</i> (El Salvadorean)
FONDIN:	<i>Fondo de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas de América Latina y el Caribe</i>
FTA:	Free trade agreement
FTAA:	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GATT:	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP:	Gross domestic product
GLAD:	Globalization-liberalization-and-democratization
GEAD:	Globalization-regionalization-and-democratization
HDI:	Human Development Index
IADB:	Inter-American Development Bank
IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (see WB)
IEN:	Indigenous Environmental Network
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IOM:	International Office of Migration
IRC:	Inter-hemispheric Resources Center
ISI:	Import-substitution industrialization

ITU:	International Telecommunications Union
IWN:	Indigenous Women's Network
MERCOSUR:	Mercado de Sur
NAFTA:	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAPs:	National Action Plans
NATO:	North American Treaty Organization
OAS:	Organization of American States
OCA:	Optimum Currency Area
ORPA:	Organization of the Peoples in Arms (Guatemalan)
PAN:	<i>Partido de Avanzada Nacional</i> (Guatemalan)
PAN:	<i>Partido Acción Nacional</i> (Mexican)
PC:	Pacific Corridor
PGT:	Guatemalan Worker's Party
PPP:	Plan Puebla-Panamá
PRD:	<i>Partido Revolución Democrática</i>
PRI:	<i>Partido Revolucionario Institucional</i>
PRONAMCOM:	Guatemala's National Competitiveness Program
RICAM:	International Network of Mesoamerican Highways
RMALC:	Mexican Network of Action Against Free Trade
SICA:	Sistema de Integración de Centroamérica
SIEPAC:	
SIEMCA:	Statistical Information System on Migration in Central America
SIEMMES:	Statistical Information System on Migration in Mesoamerica
SMEs:	Small-and-medium enterprises
TBC:	Trade-building capacity
TC:	Tehuantepec Corridor
TIM:	Trans-Isthmus Megaproject
UPCA:	United Province of Central America
URNG:	<i>Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca</i>
WB:	World Bank (see IBRD)
WC:	Washington Consensus
WTO:	World Trade Organization

Abstract:

As President Fox's "conceptual umbrella," *Plan Puebla-Panamá* (PPP) sought a mouthful of goals from 2001: extend the Washington Consensus to Central America (CA) through much-needed infrastructures; irreversibly replace conflict with supply-side economic development; finally bury a long history of Mexico-CA suspicion and struggles; and give Mexico an overdue leadership nod; among others. By 2003, Mexico officially abandoned these, even though multilateral agencies and private sector companies scrambled to preserve vested blueprint projects against increasing indigenous opposition, networking trans-nationally for the first time. What happened?

A content analysis of PPP suggests two fundamental mistakes: (a) making deeper US integration the PPP *sine qua non*, and (b) taking local indigenous support for granted even as various PPP projects threatened indigenous culture. Broader still, the globalization-localization tussle these dynamics depicted also predicted *lose-lose* long-term outcomes. Since no familiar international relations paradigm satisfactorily explains these, various components of Rosenau's catch-all turbulence theory is applied with very revealing consequences. The *fragmegration* it postulates at the interface of both state and non-state actors and realism-liberalism variants captures many of the PPP dynamics suggesting (a) Fox's predicament and Mexico's stalemate may be symptoms of a broader chief executive malaise globalization imposes on every country today; and (b) the empirical tumult expected from these collisions in the trenches, is also present on the theoretical drawing board.