

Identity Topics

Identity, Economic Cooperation and Mexico's China Policy

Bo Rongkang Xu Jin

Abstract: Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Mexico, bilateral economic cooperation has developed rapidly. However, until the current Mexican President Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador came to power, Mexico's emphasis on China did not increase simultaneously with the growth of economic cooperation. There may even be misalignment during the period. So, what factors will affect the importance that a country's government attaches to a specific bilateral relationship? This article believes that the identity and economic cooperation expectations of China and Mexico jointly affect the importance that Mexico attaches to its relationship with China. This article uses Using a method that combines discourse analysis and consistency testing, four research cases were selected based on whether identity perceptions were similar and whether mutual expectations were met. During the Echeverría administration, Mexico and China had similar identity perceptions, but had mutual economic expectations. were not satisfied. During the Calderon administration, economic cooperation between Mexico and China developed rapidly, but huge cognitive differences emerged in the political field. During both periods, Mexico did not attach importance to bilateral relations with China. Salinas During the Pena administration, Mexico and China had different identity perceptions, and the space for economic cooperation was also very limited. The relationship between the two countries was at a low point. During the Pena Nieto administration, China and Mexico had similar identity perceptions, economic cooperation expectations were met, and the bilateral relations between the two countries became increasingly close. Identity has a higher priority than expectations for economic cooperation. The satisfaction of expectations for economic cooperation can promote the development of the relationship between the two countries. Identity determines the degree of development of the relationship

between the two countries. Keywords: identity, economic cooperation, China-Mexico

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China and Mexico officially established diplomatic relations on February 14, 1972. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, economic cooperation has developed rapidly. In 2003, China became Mexico's second largest trading partner. Mexico is also China's second largest trading partner in Latin America. Currently, China Mexico and China have signed a number of bilateral treaties, covering trade, investment, culture, tourism, education, science and technology, transportation and extradition. In 2013, China and Mexico established a comprehensive strategic partnership. The Mexican government held talks in Beijing and Hong Kong has established an office dedicated to promoting the development of economic cooperation between the two countries. Logically, both countries have the need to strengthen further cooperation in other aspects besides economic interests. However, before the current President Lopez Obrador took office, The political relations between China and Mexico have not developed simultaneously with the economic relations, and there has even been misalignment. For example, in 2001, when China applied to join the World Trade Organization, Mexico and China failed to reach an agreement on market access and other issues. Mexico also became the last country to reach an agreement with China among the members engaging in bilateral negotiations with China. In 2006, the Felipe Calderon government had serious differences with China on climate governance issues and generated diplomatic friction.

The above situation shows that the development of political and economic relations between China and Mexico is not synchronous. China's priority on Mexico's diplomatic agenda has not increased simultaneously with the deepening of bilateral economic cooperation. This is an experience that needs to be explained. Therefore, we need to clarify theoretically, what factors will affect the importance that a country's government attaches to a specific bilateral relationship?

A literature review

As to why Mexico has not prioritized developing relations with China on its diplomatic agenda, the existing literature can be summarized into four general theoretical explanations: The first explanation is that the Mexican government lacks the ability to get rid of the influence of the United States and promote diplomatic diversification. Foresight and ability. The second explanation is that the economic competition between Mexico and China in the U.S. market has hindered the development of bilateral relations between China and Mexico. The third explanation focuses on Mexico's domestic problems. The last explanation believes that China and Mexico lack political cooperation. and cultural identity. These four explanations are described and analyzed below to determine whether they successfully

explain the issues raised above. First, Mexico lacks the vision and ability to get rid of the influence of the United States. Jarona Vijas It is believed that Mexico has not yet formed a strategic political platform to guide its diplomatic actions. Therefore, each session

Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico: / [onsulta_nva.php](#) [2022-07-15] «Footprints of the Republic - 2001: Joining the World Trade Organization», Xinhua News Agency, October 10, 2009 // [yiygov yy / yy / 2009 - 10 / 10 / yyyyyyyoy htm](#) [2022-07-15]

The government has different views on whether to reduce its dependence on the United States. Professor Cornell also believes that Mexico does not attach great importance to its relations with China because of the influence of the United States. Mexico is not even willing to recognize that China is the second largest country in the world. Although Mexico's relationship with China has been influenced by the United States, but this is not a decisive factor. As mentioned above, Mexico and China have signed several treaties involving science and technology, culture, education, tourism and other fields. Mexico has realized the rise of China and is seeking economic cooperation. Scholars such as Morin believe that Mexico is the only Latin American country that shares a common border with the United States, which causes Mexico's foreign policy to depend more on its national capabilities. That is, when Mexico's national capabilities are at a high level, it is under pressure from the United States. When the country is small but its national capabilities are relatively low, its foreign policy is mostly subject to the will of the United States. Due to factors such as geographical proximity and asymmetric levels of material national power, the United States has always had a huge influence on Mexico's foreign policy. However, this does not mean that the U.S. factor is the decisive factor affecting Mexico's policy toward China. The U.S.'s huge influence on Mexico is strong or weak on different issues. Not all of Mexico's foreign policies are in step with the United States. Mexico has the power to make its own decisions. Mexico has been pursuing diplomatic autonomy and diversification. There is still much evidence in history of Mexico's independent decision-making towards China. For example, in 1971, despite the opposition of the United States, Mexico voted to restore the People's Republic of China's lawful seat in the United Nations and recognize China. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal government representing China. Therefore, the influence of the United States cannot fully explain the reason why Mexico does not prioritize China on its diplomatic agenda.

Second, there is economic competition between Mexico and China in the U.S. market. Scholars such as Leon Manriquez believe that the bilateral trade deficit between Mexico and China has caused Mexico to hold a widespread negative view of China. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement Since the signing of the Agreement, China and other Asian countries have established an intermediate platform in Mexico to export products to the United States. Gonzalez Garcia also believes that most of the conflicts between Mexico and China are concentrated in the field of trade. Mexico regards China as its counterpart. U.S. exports

1. 墨西哥政府对中国政策的不同看法。Cornell教授也认为，墨西哥并不重视与中国的关系，这是因为美国的影响。墨西哥甚至不愿意承认中国是世界上第二大国。尽管墨西哥与中国的关系受到美国的影响，但这并不是决定性因素。如上所述，墨西哥与中国在科技、文化、教育、旅游等领域签订了多项条约。墨西哥已经认识到中国的崛起，并寻求经济合作。Morin等学者认为，墨西哥是唯一与美国拥有共同边界的拉丁美洲国家，这使得墨西哥的外交政策更加依赖于其国家能力。也就是说，当墨西哥的国家能力处于较高水平时，它会受到美国的压力。当国家较小但国家能力相对较低时，其外交政策主要受制于美国的意志。由于地理接近性和国家实力的不对称性，美国一直对墨西哥的外交政策有着巨大的影响。然而，这并不意味着美国因素是影响墨西哥对华政策的决定性因素。美国对墨西哥的影响在不同问题上或强或弱。并非墨西哥的所有外交政策都与美国保持一致。墨西哥拥有做出自己决定的能力。墨西哥一直在追求外交自主和多元化。历史中仍有大量证据表明墨西哥在对待中国方面具有独立的决策权。例如，1971年，尽管遭到美国的反对，墨西哥还是投票恢复了中华人民共和国在联合国的合法席位并承认中国。中华人民共和国政府是代表中国的唯一合法政府。因此，美国的影响并不能完全解释墨西哥为何不将中国作为其外交议程的优先事项。

2. 其次，墨西哥和中国在美国市场存在经济竞争。Leon Manriquez等学者认为，墨西哥和中国之间的双边贸易赤字导致墨西哥对中国的看法普遍负面。1994年北美自由贸易协定签署后，中国和其他亚洲国家在墨西哥建立了向美国出口产品的中间平台。Gonzalez Garcia也认为，墨西哥和中国之间的许多冲突都集中在贸易领域。墨西哥将中国视为其对手。美国的出口

3. Octavio Amorim Neto and Andrés Malamud "What Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America? Sy Brazil and Mexico 1946 - 2008" in Latin American n Politics and Society Provided by the Mexican Ambassador to China Historical information

4. supporting New China's restoration of its lawful seat in the United Nations»y Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China Department, June 25, 2021, http://www.1fmpcrgov.gov.cn/web/wjb_67308_5 [2022-08-01]

5. 墨西哥政府对中国政策的不同看法。Cornell教授也认为，墨西哥并不重视与中国的关系，这是因为美国的影响。墨西哥甚至不愿意承认中国是世界上第二大国。尽管墨西哥与中国的关系受到美国的影响，但这并不是决定性因素。如上所述，墨西哥与中国在科技、文化、教育、旅游等领域签订了多项条约。墨西哥已经认识到中国的崛起，并寻求经济合作。Morin等学者认为，墨西哥是唯一与美国拥有共同边界的拉丁美洲国家，这使得墨西哥的外交政策更加依赖于其国家能力。也就是说，当墨西哥的国家能力处于较高水平时，它会受到美国的压力。当国家较小但国家能力相对较低时，其外交政策主要受制于美国的意志。由于地理接近性和国家实力的不对称性，美国一直对墨西哥的外交政策有着巨大的影响。然而，这并不意味着美国因素是影响墨西哥对华政策的决定性因素。美国对墨西哥的影响在不同问题上或强或弱。并非墨西哥的所有外交政策都与美国保持一致。墨西哥拥有做出自己决定的能力。墨西哥一直在追求外交自主和多元化。历史中仍有大量证据表明墨西哥在对待中国方面具有独立的决策权。例如，1971年，尽管遭到美国的反对，墨西哥还是投票恢复了中华人民共和国在联合国的合法席位并承认中国。中华人民共和国政府是代表中国的唯一合法政府。因此，美国的影响并不能完全解释墨西哥为何不将中国作为其外交议程的优先事项。

As a direct competitor, Mexico cannot adjust its political attitude towards China. Batsage believes that Mexico is the country that has adopted the most defensive trade measures among Latin American countries to protect itself from the impact of China's trade practices. This has led to a very serious bilateral relationship. Tensions. The above-mentioned authors pointed out the economic conflict between China and Mexico and the protectionist measures implemented by Mexico, but more evidence shows that Mexico has made considerable efforts to attract direct investment from China in industries such as business, services, and tourism. For example, The Confederation of Mexican Businesses announced that it will launch China courses for Mexican businessmen across the country in 2020 to understand the opportunities for developing business projects in China and to prepare for accepting Chinese investment. From this perspective, Mexican businessmen generally hold views on China. The negative attitude view is one-sided. Although Mexico regards China as a competitor in the U.S. market, it also pays attention to expanding opportunities for bilateral cooperation with China.

Third, domestic factors in Mexico have led to Mexico not attaching importance to its relations with China. Uscanga believes that Mexico lacks domestic governance capabilities. Fighting corruption and domestic crimes consumes a lot of energy from the Mexican government and prevents the Mexican government from devoting a lot of resources to adjusting its foreign policy. Fierro elaborated that Mexico's foreign policy toward China has been unstable due to domestic factors. A typical case is the failure of China's bid to build the Mexico City-Queretaro high-speed railway in 2014. It is undeniable that domestic issues have affected Mexico's This not only affects the bilateral relations between Mexico and China, but also has a negative impact on other bilateral relations. For example, at the beginning of 2020, the United States expressed concerns about uncertainties such as regulatory changes, contract enforcement, and corruption in Mexico. Spain and Germany also stated that if the new Mexican government does not respect energy project contracts signed with foreign companies, it will be difficult to attract future European investment into the country. In summary, Mexico's domestic problems have affected Mexico's foreign relations. This has not only affected Bilateral relations with China have also had a negative impact on Mexico's relations with other countries. Therefore, this view is not sufficient to explain why Mexico does not attach great importance to bilateral relations with China.

Fourth, there is a lack of cultural identity between Mexico and China, and there are even conflicts in political values. Scholars such as Ramirez Bonilla believe that because the first two Mexican governments in the 21st century promoted Western democracy, human rights, and religious values, they believe that China does not possess these values, so China-Mexico relations

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There are many misunderstandings. Carreras believes that Chinese companies lack understanding of local regulations and customs in Latin American countries, thus damaging China's national image in Mexico. Public diplomacy led by the Chinese government has not produced the expected results in Mexico. It is also believed that the level of cultural exchanges between China and Latin American countries is low, which affects the mutual understanding between the two countries, which in turn leads to very weak political and economic cooperation between the two countries. If Mexico's foreign policy is explained based on cultural similarities, in theory, Mexico attaches great importance to cooperation with the United States. The relationship is affected by the cultural similarities between the two sides. However, a report released by the Pew Research Center in 2020 showed that Mexico's favorability towards China is 14 percentage points higher than that of the United States. Therefore, cultural identity differences are regarded as an obstacle to China-Mexico relations. The core reason is that it is undesirable.

Two theoretical frameworks

On why Mexico did not prioritize developing relations with China on its diplomatic agenda in the early days

First things first, there are differences in identity cognition between China and Mexico and the low level of economic cooperation expectations has led to the lack of extensive common interests between the two countries. In order to verify this argument, this article will propose theoretical hypotheses to verify the impact of identity and economic cooperation expectations on the country. On the impact of the emphasis on specific bilateral relationships.

(1) Theoretical hypothesis

This article believes that two factors, the identity of China and Mexico and the level of economic cooperation expectations, jointly affect the importance Mexico attaches to its relationship with China. Identity is divided into two situations: cognitive similarity and cognitive difference. Economic cooperation Expectations are divided into two situations: satisfied and unsatisfied. The combination of the above two variables can be divided into four situations: similar identity cognition, economic cooperation expectations are met; similar identity cognitions, economic cooperation expectations are not met; identity cognition differences, Economic cooperation expectations are met. Identity cognitive differences and economic cooperation expectations are not met. According to the combination of variables and theoretical logic, this article puts forward two hypotheses and uses a combination of theory and cases to prove the hypothesis. Hypothesis 1: Identity recognition between China and Mexico When the economic cooperation expectations of both parties are actively met, the Mexican government will attach great importance to its relations with China and seek to expand

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Bilateral cooperation with China. Hypothesis 2: When there are differences in identity perceptions between China and Mexico or expectations for economic cooperation between the two sides are not met, Mexico will not prioritize developing relations with China on its

diplomatic agenda. According to liberal theory, the higher the level of expectations for economic cooperation between countries, the closer the political relations between countries. The following theories can support the view that economic cooperation promotes political cooperation. (1) The theory of costs and benefits of war. Solomon Polachik in 1980 « Conflict and Trade » points out in the article that free economic exchanges between countries will allocate resources in the most efficient way, promote economic growth and domestic prosperity, and improve the overall wealth of countries participating in international economic exchanges. Rosecrans in The book "Virtual Nations: Wealth and Power in the New Century" demonstrates that economic interdependence makes political relations between countries friendlier from two aspects: economic virtualization and wealth mobility. (2) Signaling theory: Carrying out trade. Two countries that communicate with each other have more ways of communication, such as the need to establish more embassies, consulates and other economic institutions, which will help to better understand each other's situation, reduce the uncertainty of information, and avoid information conflicts between countries. Insufficiency leads to conflict. (3) Domestic political and economic alliance theory. The research of Gerald Schneider and Gunter Schulz started from the game between different domestic departments and concluded that when the trade department prevails, countries will tend to resolve military conflicts peacefully. (4) Cultural identity theory. Economic exchanges between countries can not only produce objective material benefits, but also promote mutual understanding between the people of each country and cooperation in the economic field. The mechanism can be expanded and spilled over to other areas to continuously improve the level of cooperation, thereby establishing a dispute settlement mechanism, establishing common interest expectations and norms, and promoting the continuous optimization of the political relations between the two countries.

National identity is a representative concept of constructivism. Constructivism believes that a country is an entity with identity and interests. Identity and interests are endogenous to the interaction between actors and can be reconstructed through further feedback. Alexander Wendt defined identity as Defined as the attributes of intentional actors, it can produce motivations and behavioral characteristics. The content of national identity includes two aspects: on the one hand, its internal self-perception, which can construct national attributes; on the other hand, it is external cognition, which Formed in the interaction between countries,

Solomon Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol 24 No 1 19 80 pp 55 - 78 [US] Written by Richard Rosecrans, translated by Li Zhenchang: «Virtual States: Wealth

and Power in the New Century» Taipei: Lian Jing Publishing House, 2000 Edward D Mansfield and Brian M Pol linsed Economic Interdependence and International Conflict:

ational Conflict:

Kuang Yanxiang: «Peace or Conflict: Political Consequences of Economic Interdependence», published in «International Forum», Issue 3, 2007, No. 45 pages

[US] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2001, page 282.

Refers to the role positioning of the country in national society. Identity determines interests and interests determine behavior is the core view of identity constructivism. National identity affects the choice of national strategy by affecting the definition of national interests. The impact of national identity on national diplomatic behavior comes from two aspects. First, it affects the formulation of national diplomatic strategy by influencing the country's preferences and definition of interests. Second, the national identity will exist in a normative form, thus restricting the choice of national strategy. Introducing identity cognitive factors It can explain why two countries have mutual expectations for economic cooperation and have huge space for economic cooperation but do not choose in-depth cooperation. If one party believes that the other party is not a partner with integrity and justice, it will worry about the stability and long-term nature of subsequent cooperation. They will also care more about the relative gains between the two parties to prevent the other party's growing strength from becoming a threat to themselves.

Based on the above theory, this article takes Mexico's identity and economic cooperation expectations with China as its Variables, consider whether Mexico attaches importance to political relations with China as the dependent variable. The two independent variables jointly affect the bilateral relations between China and Mexico (see Table 1). Only when identities are similar and mutual expectations for economic cooperation will both parties have broad common interests, and put bilateral relations with each other at the top of the diplomatic agenda.

Table 1 Identity, economic cooperation and bilateral relations

	economic cooperation expectations met	Economic cooperation expectations are not met
Identity and cognitive similarity	Pay attention to bilateral relations	Not paying attention to bilateral relations
Differences in identity perception	Not paying attention to bilateral relations	bilateral relations deteriorate

Source: Made by the authority

(2) Case selection for

specific analysis of identity and mutual expectations. This article will use a qualitative method that combines discourse analysis and consistency testing based on process tracking. Discourse analysis can define the identity of the actor based on the analysis of existing data, and mutual expectations. The combination of consistency testing and process tracking can identify whether there is a correlation between independent variables and dependent variables. This article believes that both international structure and domestic government can have an impact on the identity of actors. At the level of international structure, This article will examine the evolution of Mexican and Chinese identities in the international system, applying discourse analysis to each case to determine when their identities are most similar and when they are least similar. At this level, the article attempts to identify the and Mexican identity over the years, and detect the periods with the most and least matches with them. As for the domestic government level, the article will implement discourse analysis in each case to show the continuum of Mexico's foreign policy discourse related to China. nature and change. Primary sources for discourse analysis will include archives of governments, intergovernmental organizations, treaties, conventions and negotiations.

Since the hypothesis of this article focuses on the historical process of path dependence, we will choose relevant cases covering the entire historical period from 1972 (the beginning of China-Mexico bilateral relations) to 2022 (the current status of China-Mexico bilateral relations). This article organizes the cases of Mexico since the establishment of diplomatic relations. The total number of bilateral agreements signed by the government and China was analyzed. The types of bilateral treaties signed by Mexico during each presidential term were analyzed. It was found that during some presidential terms, the Mexican government was more willing to diversify the themes of cooperation with China, while during some presidential terms, the Mexican government was more willing to diversify the themes of cooperation with China. The government has signed fewer agreements with China and is less interested in developing bilateral relations with China. Similarly, by observing the evolution of Mexican direct investment in China and the evolution of Chinese direct investment in Mexico, the article will identify areas of foreign investment cooperation. The Most and Least Active Mexican Governments

Based on the above classification of identity recognition and mutual expectations, this article selected four cases, arranged in chronological order as follows: The Mexican government during the term of President Luis Echeverría, Carlos Salinas Salinas), the Mexican government under Felipe Calderón, and Enrique Peña Nieto. eña Nieto) during the term of the Mexican government. Among them, under Luis Eche During the term of President Verria, Mexico and China had similar perceptions of national identity, but their expectations for economic cooperation were not met. During the term of President Carlos Salinas, there were differences between Mexico and China in their perceptions of national identity, but their expectations for economic cooperation were not met. have not been actively satisfied. During the term of Felipe Calderon, there were differences in national identity perceptions between Mexico and China, but expectations for economic cooperation were met. During the term of Enrique Peña Nieto, the differences between Mexico and China National identity perceptions are similar and economic cooperation expectations are met (see Table 2).

Table 2 Case analysis of the Mexican government

	economic cooperation expectations met	Economic cooperation expectations are not met
Identity and cognitive similarity	Government of Enrique Peña Nieto Government of Luis Echeverría	
Differences in identity perception	Government of Felipe Calderón	government of carlos salinas

Source: Made by the author

Three case analysis

This article conducts process tracing and consistency testing in the above four cases to observe the expected results of the theoretical model produced under the interaction of identity and economic cooperation expectations. That is, in the first case, it is necessary to test Mexico's attitude toward China. Whether the degree of emphasis will change with the realization of economic cooperation expectations and whether it is consistent with the identities of China and Mexico in the international system. In the second and third cases, it is necessary

Test whether the two parties still have no further cooperation behavior when the identity cognition is satisfied but the economic cooperation expectations are not satisfied or the identity cognition is different and the economic cooperation expectations are satisfied. In the fourth case, it is necessary to test whether the identity cognition and economic cooperation expectations are satisfied. When neither is satisfied, will bilateral relations deteriorate and become the period when Mexico attaches least

importance to its relations with China? (1) China and Mexico have similar identity cognitions, and the level of economic cooperation needs to be improved (1970-1976) In the 1970s, China and Mexico The national identity of both countries is that of a "Third World" country. This identity changed the focus of the two countries' foreign relations and narrowed the distance between them. When Luis Echeverría became the president of Mexico, the international environment Some changes have taken place: first, the balance of strategic power between the United States and the Soviet Union has developed in a direction that is favorable to the Soviet Union; second, the Soviet Union has pursued a hegemonic policy, and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has gradually disintegrated; the economic strength of the United States has relatively declined and it has been deeply mired in the Vietnam War. The centrifugal force of Western countries towards the United States has increased. Third, the rise of third world countries has changed the balance of world political forces. The world structure is developing in the direction of multipolarity. Changes in Mexico's domestic environment are mainly concentrated in the economic field. The emergence of the United States Due to the economic crisis, Mexico's import-led economic model that relies on the United States urgently needs adjustment, and diversification of trade relations is imperative.

In this context, the foreign policy of the Echeverría government has two focuses: First, it emphasizes diversification, including the diversification of foreign economic relations, diversification of ideology, and the emphasis on the peaceful coexistence of countries with different political systems. The second is to pursue Third Worldism and clearly declare that the interests of Mexico and developing countries in the "Third World" are basically the same. President Echeverría emphasized that Mexico can accept and tolerate different types of political ideas and actively help Mexico shape the third world. World Country Identity. In October 1971, President Echeverría stated at the United Nations General Assembly that Mexico's foreign policy is committed to strengthening relations with developing countries. At the same time, China is based on the development trend of the international pattern in the 1970s. In 1974, when meeting Zambian President Kaunda, Mao Zedong pointed out that the United States and the Soviet Union were the first world, and Japan, European countries, Australia, and Canada were the second world. In the world, Asian countries except Japan all belong to the third world, and all of Africa and Latin America belong to the third world. ̂ The Echeverría government realizes that there are an increasing number of countries and organizations that support China's return to the United Nations and the Security Council, and those who isolate China The policy cannot continue. ̂ In the 1970s, China and Mexico had basically the same interpretation of the identity of third world countries. This national identity can be reflected in the joint communiqué signed by the two countries: "China and Mexico as third world countries

̂ «Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Diplomacy», Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 1994, pp.

̂ 600-601. Feng Xiuwen: «"Don't forget friends in the third world" - Interview with former Mexican President Echeverría» Published in "Centennial Tide", Issue 3, 2011, Page 61.

On the other hand, we resolutely reject the hegemonic practices and old and new colonialism that have been condemned by history.” This kind of identity

This prompted Mexico to take the initiative to ease political relations between the two countries: First, Mexico clearly supports the restoration of the

The Republic's position as a legitimate seat of the United Nations. Secondly, Mexico took the initiative to sever ties with the Taiwan authorities.

“diplomatic relations”, Finally, on February 14, 1972, Huang Hua, the then Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, and Mok

Garcia Robles, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations, signed a communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations in New York.

During this period, Mexico and China had low expectations for economic cooperation, and economic cooperation did not have an impact on the two countries.

This is mainly due to two reasons: First, the level of cooperation between the two parties is low.

The fields are mostly agriculture and simple handicrafts, which are far from the industrial trade that Mexico expects. Mexico's

China's main export products are cotton, sugar, cereals, yarn and textiles. China exports rice, canned food and

Food, as well as thread, raw silk, paper, animal hair, leather and other products are put on the Mexican market. 2

The trade volume between the two sides fluctuates greatly, and the total volume is very limited. As far as China's total exports to Mexico are concerned,

In 1973, China's exports to Mexico were US\$13 million, but by 1975 they had dropped significantly by 75%. By the end of 1976, China's total exports to Mexico were

only US\$8.6 million, accounting for only half of Mexico's exports at that time.

0.14% of total imports (see Table 3).

Table 3 China's exports to Mexico during the Echeverría administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	China versus Mexico Total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total imports	Imports from China account for Mexico Proportion of total imports
1973	1.3	-	9.3	1.4
1974	0.8	-61%	9.3	0.9
1975	0.2	-75%	9.3	0.2
1976	0.1	-50%	9.3	0.1

Source: IMF "Direction of Trade Statistics". <https://data.imf.org/regular.aspx?key=61726>

1973 [1973 1.3 9.3 1.4]

Looking at Mexico's total exports to China, the value of Mexico's exports to China in 1973 was US\$39 million.

Yuan, but it fell by 56% the next year and fell by 62% in 1976. Although exports recovered by 49% in 1975, by

Accounting for only 0.28% of Mexico's total exports (see Table 4).

“Joint Communique on the Visit of the President of the United Mexican States to the People's Republic of China” Website of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China

Website http://www.gov.cn/jw/2013-05/05/content_2419844.htm [2022-08-15]

“The Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement announcing that the Mexican government would “sever diplomatic relations” with the Chiang Kai-shek Group”, published in the People's Daily in 1971

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“Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Mexican States”, published in “People's Daily”, February 1972

Edition 1 on January 16th.

Table 4 Mexico's exports to China during the Echeverría administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	mexico vs. China's total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total exports	Exports to China account for 10% of Mexico's exports Proportion of total population
1964	1.5	0	1.5	1.5
1965	1.5	0	1.5	1.5
1966	1.5	0	1.5	1.5
1967	1.5	0	1.5	1.5

Source: IMFy "Direction of Trade Statistics". <https://data.imf.org/regular.aspx?key=617265>

1964-1967

Mexico only defines itself as a third world developing country at the economic level. Mexican politics

The Mexican government has no plans to participate in political conferences related to third world countries. The Mexican government is even worried about conflicts with domestic

Conservative groups are conflicted and unwilling to openly support the socialist path of third world countries. In the economic

The recognition of third world countries in the economic field has led Mexico to contact third world countries such as China.

When China cannot meet Mexico's expectations for economic cooperation, the Mexican government will not have enough motivation to

attaches great importance to relations with China.

(2) Differences in identity cognition between China and Mexico, limited space for economic cooperation (1988-1994)

Carlos Salinas pursued neoliberal economic policies during his administration, prioritizing relations with the United States

relations. President Salinas delivered his inaugural address on December 1, 1988, stating that in terms of foreign policy

It is necessary to pay more attention to economic benefits and seek a new balance in relations with the United States. In the Asia-Pacific region, Mexico's relationship with Japan

The priority of relations with Japan is higher than that of China, because the Mexican government believes that the economic benefits that Japan can bring to Mexico are far greater than that of Japan.

Higher than China's

The Mexican government describes Mexico's national identity in the "National Development Plan 1989-1994"

As a liberal industrialized country, the trend of regional integration will ultimately allow the Mexican government to focus on

to achieve integration with the United States. At that time, Mexico did not regard China as a liberal industrialized country.

Therefore, no strategy has been formulated to promote cooperation with China, and the total economic cooperation between China and Mexico is still very small.

Limited, and the growth trend is very unstable, with negative growth in most years (see Table 5).

Table 5 Mexico's exports to China during the Salinas administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	mexico vs. China's total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total exports	Mexico's exports to China account for Proportion of total exports
1988	1.5	0	1.5	1.5
1989	1.5	0	1.5	1.5
1990	1.5	0	1.5	1.5

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Source: IMFÿ "Direction of Trade Statistics". <https://data.imf.org/regular.aspx?key=61726>

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In addition to the low total trade volume between the two sides, Mexican and Chinese products still have serious problems in the North American market.

The competitive relationship has been further aggravated by the Salinas government's trade protectionist actions in setting tariff rates.

Bilateral relations between Mexico and China. According to the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mexico imposed fluoride levies on China.

15% tariff, and tariffs exceeding 500% on certain types of yarn and fabric. April 1993,

The Mexican government announced a series of countervailing measures, further exacerbating tensions with China.

In the political field, the Salinas government advocates reconciliation with the Taiwan authorities as part of its efforts to promote Mexico's presence in the East

As part of the Asian export strategy, this has greatly worsened the relationship between Mexico and China. President Salinas believes that

Because, in terms of status, it is impossible for the Mexican and Chinese governments to cooperate and engage in economic cooperation with the Taiwan authorities.

Cooperation will bring greater economic benefits. For example, in 1991, senior Mexican officials visited Taiwan Province of China.

Taipei City, triggering protests at the Chinese Embassy in Mexico.

Until the end of President Salinas' administration, relations between Mexico and China remained tense.

Due to the lack of a common identity and expectations for economic cooperation, developing relations with China has not been a priority for the Mexican government.

considered a high priority by the government. During the Salinas administration, Mexico defined itself as a liberal labor

industrial countries, the focus of economic cooperation is on Western industrial countries. Therefore, economic cooperation with China is at a

The unstable state involves trade protection and sanctions. This stage is the low point of the relationship between the two countries.

(3) Differences in identity cognition between China and Mexico, huge space for economic cooperation (2006-2012)

The identity perception of Mexico and China in the political field during Felipe Calderon's administration

Differences, especially in terms of democratic systems and the cultural functions of democracy, have affected the development of relations between the two countries.

Although the two countries have huge space for cooperation at the economic level, they have not yet formed a highly institutionalized cooperation opportunity.

Mexico still regards the United States as the focus of its diplomatic work and does not prioritize developing relations with China.

primacy. The Calderon administration's national development plan demonstrates the government's foreign policy priorities.

The matter corresponded to the promotion of democratic values. At that time, Mexico and China had different understandings of democracy.

Mexico does not recognize China as a democratic country.

The trade cooperation space between the two countries eases the relationship between China and Mexico and becomes the ballast stone of the relationship between the two countries.

On June 7, 2007, President Calderón and President Hu Jintao held talks in Berlin. The two sides discussed in-depth

expressed their views on transforming the "China-Mexico strategic partnership". In June 2008, the Chinese and Mexican governments signed a

«Countervailing Quota Transitional Trade Agreement», Mexico will cancel China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001

Anti-dumping measures were enacted at the time. As far as foreign trade is concerned, although Mexico

Colombia's total exports to China have been increasing every year. In the first three years of the administration, Mexico's exports to China increased respectively.

By the end of the administration, Mexico's exports to China only accounted for 13%, 10% and 6%.

177% of total exports (see Table 6).

Table 6 Mexico's exports to China during the Calderon administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	mexico vs. China's total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total exports	Mexico's exports to China account for Proportion of total exports
2006	177%	13%	10%	6%
2007	177%	13%	10%	6%
2008	177%	13%	10%	6%
2009	177%	13%	10%	6%
2010	177%	13%	10%	6%
2011	177%	13%	10%	6%

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs. // [http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/01/20110119.un.org.china.mexico.en.html](#)

China's exports to Mexico have also continued to grow, increasing by 20% in 2007 and 2008 respectively.

21% and 16% , In 2010, China's exports increased again to 40% by the end of the Calderón government.

At that time, China's exports to Mexico accounted for 15-45% of Mexico's total imports (see Table 7). , Creating a new era in bilateral trade

Table 7 China's exports to Mexico during the Calderon administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	China versus Mexico total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total imports	Imports from China account for Mexico's imports Proportion of total
2006	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%
2007	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%
2008	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%
2009	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%
2010	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%
2011	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%	15-45%

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs. // [http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/01/20110119.un.org.china.mexico.en.html](#)

Economic cooperation expectations play a role in promoting the relationship between the two countries, while identity factors determine the relationship between the two countries.

During the administration of President Calderon, the differences in political identities between China and Mexico limited the relationship between the two countries.

Further development. From April to May 2009, affected by the influenza A virus (H1N1) epidemic in Mexico,

Trade between Mexico and China has brought huge economic benefits to both countries, and the cooperation period has steadily increased. This desire has simultaneously strengthened Mexico's view of China as a cooperative partner. During President Peña Nieto's administration, China's total exports to Mexico have been rising almost every year, reaching a record high in history. In 2018, At the end of the year, China's exports to Mexico accounted for 18.06% of Mexico's total imports (see Table 8).

Table 8 China's exports to Mexico during the Pena Nieto administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	China versus Mexico Total exports	Export growth	Mexico Total imports	Imports from China account for Mexico Proportion of total imports
2012	100	0	100	0
2013	100	0	100	0
2014	100	0	100	0
2015	100	0	100	0
2016	100	0	100	0
2017	100	0	100	0
2018	100	0	100	0

Source: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, "China's Exports to Mexico: 2012-2018" (2019), p. 10.

During this period, China's foreign direct investment in Mexico also showed a steady growth trend, promoting Mexico's domestic economic development. Although affected by the high-speed rail bidding incident in 2015, China's The amount of direct investment in Mexico fluctuated slightly compared with 2014. China's direct investment in Mexico from 2016 to 2018 The increase in direct investment exceeded 50% (see Table 9).

Table 9 China's direct investment in Mexico during the Pena Nieto administration (unit: billion US dollars %)

years	China versus Mexico Direct investment amount	investment growth	Mexican Total foreign direct investment	Chinese investment accounts for 10% of Mexico's foreign direct investment Proportion of total investment
2012	100	0	100	0
2013	100	0	100	0
2014	100	0	100	0
2015	100	0	100	0
2016	100	0	100	0
2017	100	0	100	0
2018	100	0	100	0

Source: Mexican Ministry of Economy, "Foreign Direct Investment in Mexico: 2012-2018" (2019), p. 10.

In addition to import and export trade cooperation, Mexico and China have also carried out cooperation in many fields such as economy and culture. A large amount of cooperation. The two countries have signed a number of diplomatic cooperation documents, such as eight documents on promoting investment and industrial cooperation.

Memorandum of understanding, as well as signed cooperation documents on technical cooperation, industrial property cooperation, cooperation between Pemex and China National Petroleum Corporation, and cooperation between Pemex and China Development Bank. In addition, the two heads of state announced that 2015 will be the "Mexico Tourism Year", a number of activities were carried out to promote Chinese tourists to visit Mexico. Since then, cultural exchanges between the two countries have made significant progress. Academic exchanges and scholarship programs have continued to develop, and joint scientific research has

continued to increase. Mexico regards China as a diplomatic relationship. When conflicts arise between the two countries, Mexico responds quickly to avoid worsening relations between the two countries, such as the high-speed rail bidding incident in 2014. The Mexican government initiated an investigation related to the construction, operation and maintenance of the Mexico City-Queretaro high-speed rail. In the international public bidding, the Mexican government announced the cancellation of the bidding results three days after the Chinese company China Railway Construction Corporation won the bid. Some Mexican politicians and mass media hinted that corruption might be involved. This situation caused serious concern for the Chinese government, because it was China's first major local infrastructure project, the Mexican government responded quickly and agreed to provide financial compensation to the Chinese enterprise Railway Construction Corporation, showing the Peña Nieto government's intention to maintain good relations with China.

In 2017, then-U.S. President Trump requested the renegotiation of some provisions of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the formulation of stricter immigration policies. Under this situation, Mexico paid more attention to its relations with China and sought to negotiate between China and the United States. To find a balance between countries, the Peña Nieto government stated when renegotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement that Mexico is also willing to actively participate in the "Belt and Road" construction and seek further cooperation with China in the fields of trade, investment, energy, telecommunications, tourism and other fields. Cooperation. In 2018, China and the member states of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, including Mexico, signed the "Santiago Declaration", aiming to expand multilateral cooperation, focusing on politics, security, trade and investment, infrastructure and other issues. In summary it can be seen that

the fulfillment of identity and economic cooperation expectations has an impact on promoting the in-depth development of Sino-Mexico relations and increasing the importance of China in Mexican foreign affairs. During this period, Mexico regarded both China and Mexico as developing countries, countries and emerging economies. Although the United States has caused certain obstacles to Sino-Mexico relations, the extensive interests of both parties in the economic field have enabled the relations between the two countries to continue to move forward.

Four Conclusions and Enlightenment

The above four research cases confirm the hypothesis originally proposed in the article, that is, people with similar identities

The Mexican government will place China as a priority in diplomatic relations when both parties have different economic cooperation expectations and their economic cooperation expectations are met. In contrast, when the identity perceptions of the two countries are different or their economic expectations are not actively met, the bilateral Relations tend to become fragile. The higher the identity between China and Mexico, the further the role of economic cooperation expectations in promoting diplomatic relations will be further strengthened. Mexico will attach great importance to its relations with China. The first case is Luis Echeverry. During the Asian administration, the international situation and domestic background provided a good opportunity for the Mexican government to contact China. Mexico and China found common characteristics in their national identities. Mexico regarded itself and China as third world countries, and began to ease its relationship with China. However, economic cooperation with China at that time did not help Mexico solve its domestic economic development problems. Mexico was worried that excessive contact with China would affect its relationship with the United States. Therefore, this Mexican government did not have enough motivation to attach great importance to its relations with China. Relations. The second case is that during the Carlos Salinas administration, international economic regional integration was prevalent. Mexico regarded itself as an industrialized country with a liberal economy. At that time, Mexico's diplomatic focus was achieved through the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Economic integration with the United States. At that time, China's industry was not yet developed, and Mexico regarded it as a developing country. Therefore, the benefits from economic cooperation between the two countries were very limited. Under the influence of limited identity recognition and limited benefits from economic cooperation, Mexico and China The relationship was at a low point. In the third case, during the administration of Felipe Calderon, the total economic cooperation between China and Mexico increased year by year. However, there were huge differences between the two countries in ideological fields such as democracy, human rights, and sustainable development. At this time, strengthening relations with China was not regarded as Mexico's top priority. The fourth case was during the administration of President Enrique Peña Nieto. China and Mexico recognized each other's status as developing countries and strengthened economic cooperation. At this time, Mexico's imports from China accounted for the largest share of its total imports, and China's foreign direct investment in Mexico was also in a period of rapid growth.

To sum up, identity and mutual expectations for economic cooperation determine the priority of China in Mexico's diplomatic agenda. The fulfillment of expectations for economic cooperation can promote the development of bilateral relations. Identity determines the degree of development of bilateral relations between the two countries. Identity The priority of recognition is higher than the expectation of economic cooperation. When one country regards the other party as a rival or enemy, the huge space for economic cooperation cannot prevent the deterioration of the relationship between the two countries. The above conclusion provides important information for the development of future bilateral relations between China and Mexico. Enlightenment

First, expand the depth of economic cooperation between China and Mexico and expand the expectations for economic cooperation between the two parties. The expectations for economic cooperation are an important driving force for the further development of bilateral relations. In the medium and long term, China can provide Mexico with new development models and cooperation directions. Chinese enterprises Those with capital, technology, and strong will and interest in exploring the Mexican market can become reliable partners for countries in the region to move towards a new development model. China and Mexico can actively deepen cooperation in production capacity, promote e-commerce cooperation, and balance the trade structure. In this process, the joint construction of the "Belt and Road" can become a platform for China and Mexico to connect their cooperation needs.

Help countries in the region unlock more development potential.

Second, consolidate and develop the comprehensive strategic partnership between China and Mexico and deepen the political identification between the two countries. China and Mexico are both developing countries. They are at a similar stage of development and shoulder the same development tasks. In 2013, the heads of state of China and Mexico It was announced that the relationship between the two countries will be upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partnership. The bilateral relations between China and Mexico are in a golden period in history. Since the outbreak of the new crown epidemic, China and Mexico have maintained close exchanges and cooperation in fighting the epidemic, enhancing political mutual trust. Through this Opportunities provide that China and Mexico can further deepen their political identity, strengthen in-depth cooperation in political, economic, social, cultural and other fields, and build a community with a shared future for China and Mexico to work together. In addition, China can strengthen its ties with Latin American multilateral organizations. By strengthening cooperation with Pacific Alliance countries, including Mexico, we will strengthen the development concept of the Asia-Pacific region and propose medium- and long-term

plans and suggestions for the development of China-Mexico relations. Third, pay attention to public diplomacy with Mexico and deepen the social and cultural identity of the two countries. National identity includes two aspects: internal self-perception and external cognition. In addition to attaching importance to the construction of its own identity, China also attaches great importance to the dissemination of Mexico's identity, that is, the construction of Mexico's identity perception of China. China's national image is the Mexican public's The overall value judgment and emotional orientation of China's national nature and behavioral characteristics. Public diplomacy can integrate scattered information about China, create a positive cognitive environment for the country's image, and prevent the Mexican public from being misled by individual media and having a one-sided perception of China's image. China needs to pay attention to the information demands of the Mexican people, provide timely feedback on negative information about China, make reasonable use of new media platforms, improve the effectiveness of public diplomacy, and deepen Mexico's social and cultural recognition of China.

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)