

THE UNDERWORLD ORDER AND HOW TO SURVIVE IT

El orden inframundial y cómo sobrevivir a él

A ordem do submundo e como sobreviver

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Resumen:

Este artículo pretende proponer un método a través del cual los “otros” países puedan garantizar su seguridad interna, reforzando el rol de la sociedad civil en los asuntos internos y externos. Para poder hacerlo primero identifico a esos “otros” países, considerando tres variables: sus membresías, sus niveles de pobreza y un índice del estado de la democracia. Luego probaré en qué sentido los países están en riesgo analizando los resultados de las variables y las condiciones actuales de México y Chile; y, finalmente propondré una manera civil de sobrevivir al orden inframundial.

Palabras Clave:

Orden mundial, orden inframundial, sociedad civil, super potencias, organizaciones internacionales, organizaciones de la sociedad civil.

Abstract:

This paper pretends to propose a method in which the “other” countries can lay its internal safety, by reinforcing civil society’s role on internal and external issues. To be able to do so, first I must identify those “other” countries; I’ll do it by noticing three fundamental variables: Memberships and the reason of its commitment; their poverty level and a democracy index. Then, I’m going to prove in which way they are under risk by analyzing the results of the variables and the current conditions of México and Chile and, finally, I’ll propose a Civil way to survive the Underworld Order.

Keywords:

World order, underworld order, civil society, Civil Organizations, superpowers, international organizations

This paper has as its main objective to highlight the importance of civil society involvement in the decision making and taking within a country. Taking into consideration the complex process of globalization and technology development of this time and age, as well as the different ways in which the world is now connected, being conscious of how crucial the power of civil organization is for the development of any country.

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First, I'll describe the ruling system, I identify that superpowers, aware of the changes in the international system, created and beefed up International Organizations (IO) among other States; trying not only to handle the new paradigm that interdependence and technology represented, but also setting the rules that the rest must follow to have a role in the international scene. Today, IOs demands the countries to change their internal policies, indicating how they should manage important political and economic issues, whether they want to get into the organization, to get its membership.

In this sense, there exists a World Order; nevertheless, it is a superpower's world order in which the "other" States, the medium and small ones don't have a place. This part of the international system, in which States are, voluntarily, taking off some of its attributions that could be crucial ones; and aggressively losing policy spaces that compromises their capacity to attend critical internal issues; is not a World Order, but an Underworld Order who maintain those countries in constant danger. This paper pretends to propose a method in which those "other" countries can lay its internal safety, by reinforcing civil society's role on internal and external issues.

To be able to do so, first I must identify those "other" countries; I'll do it by noticing three fundamental variables: World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank (WB) memberships and the reason of its commitment; their poverty level and a democracy index. Then, I'm going to prove in which way they are under risk by analyzing the results of the variables and the current conditions of México and Chile and, finally, I'll propose a Civil Way to survive the Underworld Order. As a note, all the data used is the latest from the World Bank's Data Bank.

The World Order

Humanity is facing an accelerated complex process of globalization and technology development that turns the world smaller, locals becomes global. Three decades ago, capitals started becoming international; it begins to be usual to find products made in different countries, companies made the supply chain global. Various States found within economic integrations policies a useful tool to obtain economic development. Soon, this globalization effect develops into a knowledge one; international students, cultures, migrations gain much more attention and turn into a central topic in the international agenda. States and Civils developed interdependence levels never seen in human history. It is evident that the world changed abruptly the last 35 years. But, what happened with the International System and the role of the State in it? Are we still living in a State-Ruled World Order? Can we keep the traditional idea of Sovereignty unmoved? These questions will be answered.

It all started with the end of the World War II, which meant not only the end of the cruelest conflict of the 20th century, but also the beginning of the ultimate

State-Ruled Bipolar World Order. Commanded by the United States and the Soviet Union, as well the birth of several International Organizations, the UN being the main example, with the objective to preserve peace after WWII. A major conflict was avoided, partially through the initiation of proxy wars across the globe. After more than four decades of conflict, in which both superpowers used all the possible resources to increase their areas of influence, in the late 1980s, the Soviet Union ultimately collapsed.

Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost brought a new era, however brief, a State-Ruled Unipolar World Order, led by the United States. As John Ikenberry (2002) suggested, this era is characterized by US attempts to create and improve international relations and institutions (International System) on their own, offering their protection to the world and the world accepted to live under their shelter. Following this idea, US, facing the incessant growing of Russia and China, needed to apply a new strategy in order to keep the unipolar control of the world. Nevertheless, the United States failed in their mission to maintain comprehensive control. Their subsequent failure became a significant factor that contributed to the rise of several State actors who strengthened their capability of influence and leadership on the international stage. Fareed Zacaria (2008) has argued that the reinforcement of the others (Germany, Japan, Singapore even China and Russia), was an outcome of the lack of American action in their own system that forced the whole world to open their markets, borders and establish liberal economic policies, whilst upholding a policy of US self-preservation.

We have seen two characteristics of the post-Cold War World Order so far: US as the only superpower and the constant emergence of other States as a consequence of its incapability to keep control of the International System. However, as it was told, this new era was also the beginning of an exponential globalization, incited, by the intense growing of technology; frontiers become blurry and new actors, not precisely central governments, appear and become strong on the international stage. These actors, most of them civils organized in Non-Governmental Organizations, turn into strong influencers, some of them are even able to set the agenda of some States. Increasingly, international politics and policies, commerce, cultural relations, are being developed by two actors away from the State: Civil Actors (enterprises, NGOs, etc) and subnational governments in actions called Paradiplomacy, every international interaction from a subnational government without the central government interventions is a Paradiplomatic Action. Francisco Aldecoa (2000) points the spaces that the central government is not able to fill up as the main cause of the expansion of this kind of initiatives. The Inclusion of these two actors in the scenario is the last characteristic of the world order that the end of the Cold War developed.

Paradiplomacy and civil international actions brought into debate two different ideas: first, the State central role in the international stage and second, the

idea that a new Non State-Ruled World Order has born. Taking these two ideas into a single discussion, I use Judith Kelly's International Actors on the Domestic Scene to add some important elements. It is noticeable that interdependence between countries is increasing every moment; this phenomenon exposed the incapability of the powerful States to take everything under control. Even they recognize that and are not only creating and beefing up International Organisms (IO) among other States, but also, they are giving them some supranational characteristics which request behaviors from States in order to be part of the International Organism. Being more specific, IO demands the countries to change their internal policies, indicating how they should manage important political and economic issues, if they want to get into the organization, Kelly (2004) called this procedure: Membership Conditionality. Therefore, the State is, voluntarily, taking off some of its attributions that could be crucial ones; they are aggressively losing Policy Spaces and if powerful countries are being requested to do it and consenting this loose of capabilities, the "other" countries can't, apparently, stand against the system rules.

At this moment, we can distinguish that the world order has changed, and we are living in a different International System from the post-Cold War, in which civil and not central governments actors are taking relevance. Let's add a final argument that shows the role the State is playing nowadays. The empty spaces the State has given because, I think, a misunderstanding idea of globalization and modernity, are creating neomedievalism, Gilberto Aranda (2015) supports this idea using what he calls vietnamization: an excessive privatization of the State resources; and the feudalization of the State: progressive decentralization of the functions and processes. So, the State is not only giving its faculties to Supranational International Organizations but sharing the administration of its national resources with civil society through enterprises or similar entities. These concepts and idea will appear several times in this text.

To recapitulate, Cold War's conclusion could theoretically have brought about a new world order ruled by the United States. However, with hindsight this outcome didn't last too long. The US allowed the emergence of other governmental and non-governmental actors which are disputing International System leadership, turning the International stage into a crucible of interests supported by thousands Non-State organisms and organizations: Supranational organizations, subnational governments, Non-Governmental Organizations, Enterprises; which are seriously jeopardizing the State's capacity to authoritarian ruled not only the International Stage, and the International System, but also the internal issues; evidently compromising the sustainability of the traditional concept of Sovereignty.

The underworld order: who and why

We have described a World Order in which superpowers created International Organizations to maintain the world among their hands; nevertheless, through the

years, little by little, it seems that this configuration, the Non-State one, is taking control of the system, jeopardizing State's capacity, even, to design and develop their internal and foreign policies; and if for superpowers is noticeable that this is happening, for countries who doesn't have power enough to set the agenda, nor to preserve their interests on international scenario through the use of force, nor the economic influence; for those other powers, things appear so much worst.

It's crucial to identify who those 'other powers' are and why, and as it was mentioned, I'll do it by noticing three fundamental variables: World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank (WB) memberships and the reason of its commitment; their poverty level and a democracy index. In the next paragraphs I will explain why I chose those three variables, starting with the memberships.

Given the described world order, despite the seemingly dangerous path of conditionality demanded by International Organizations (IO), countries decided to take that course, Judith Kelley calls this phenomenon: socialization (Kelly, 2004). An example will serve to clarify a bit: recently, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam decided to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), put aside "orthodox socialism" and opt for a State-Controlled free market economy, designed a five-year plan to take the free commerce into the engine of development of the country, a similar formula was used by China a couple of decades ago.

To carry out its plan, it was essential for the Vietnamese to belong to the WTO, along with the International Monetary Fund and to make their contributions also to the World Bank; otherwise it would have been impossible; the difficulties to commercially relate with other countries without their memberships would have diminished that plan, it is a way of saying: are you thinking of getting your people out of poverty and underdevelopment through relating to us?, then you have to belong to the club. Vietnam offers a population of almost 100 million people, whose GDP per capita doesn't reach 2,000 USD per year (according to World Bank data), as cheap workforce, the world order will pay with "novel products", innovative factories ready to employ Vietnamese with salaries much lower than 200 USD per month.

Then, while conditionality motivates internal changes into the countries to belong to any International Organization, socialization guides countries to the same direction (Kelly, 2004). Western powers set their standards and the others follow them.

As we already notice, in this global era what happens in Vietnam will have a significant impact in other countries all over the world, especially to manufacturers belonging to the underworld order; Mexico, for example, which in the 90s set the development bases in keeping the price of its workforce competitive. At that time, it was the entry of China into the game what scared the Aztec nation, it was impossible to compete against the Chinese workers' massification that allowed salaries much

lower than Mexicans (currently the Mexican minimum wage is around 130 USD per month).

Currently, Mexico is negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada, these nations put on the table, almost as a requirement, a considerable salary leveling; a country with 40 million people on poverty that has based its development on the competitiveness of its manufacturing production for almost four decades and that is not even designing a different development strategy, will not be considered that option, and those North American powers know it. In Mexico the years of membership have not worked to get out of poverty and underdevelopment, and it doesn't seem that it will change soon either.

The previous ones were a couple of examples of how, with an economic desire, the countries decide to belong to the IO despite of having obvious risks, simply because they expect to have a considerable return. Although it is possible and there are a few countries that can boast about it, membership as a tool to get out of underdevelopment through free trade, do not ensure anything. Therefore, I consider it as the first variable to identify the countries belonging to the underworld order.

Until now, another variable has recurrently appeared indirectly and it's time to take it into the scene: the levels of poverty that afflict these countries. When I talk about poverty, I'm considering inequality as well, and both are going to be considered for the classification; however, in order to simplify the reading, I'm going to use just the word: poverty. I will measure poverty by analyzing percentage of the population under the national line of poverty, inequality using the Gini Index, having in mind that a Gini index of 0 represents total equality, while an index of 100 implies total inequality.

It is essential to consider these variables not only because, as we have seen, eradicate poverty is one of the main reasons for the countries to submit to membership conditionality, but, in addition, we have to keep in mind that poverty comes with implicit social limitations, for example, poverty is also related to a precarious diet or malnutrition, poor quality education, among other things.

All these characteristics play as disincentives to citizen participation in the democratic life of a country in a collective, organized and institutionalized way. It is necessary to make a parenthesis to explain what I mean by "institutionalized". In Mexico, in the presidential political campaign of 2012 in which Enrique Peña Nieto, current president of Mexico, competed against Andrés Manuel López Obrador, a movement called #Yosoy132 took hold in response to the information siege imposed by the main tv network in the country and its intended configuration by which they try to impose the candidate of their choice.

A few years later, the movement was lost, it did not achieve the formalization of a structure and become a citizen institution that continued watching over the interests of that part of the population. We have examples like that in different

countries of Latin America, the student movement in Chile is one of them, in this country it took an important force in 2006 in search of, among other things, getting free higher education, the movement has not managed to be structured at the national level, is not only out of focus at this point but also de-focused.

In counterpart and returning to Mexico, a citizen movement was born in that country a few years ago without an apparent personified leadership but having as a more visible figure the former independent local deputy, mr. Pedro Kumamoto. This movement has managed to form a solid structure through a platform called *wikipolítica*, within which independent political talents have been found throughout the country, capable of influence political decision making, the institutionalization of the movement is giving results. Like that, there are other examples not only in Latin America, but in the world, in Spain, the so-called Platform of Affected by Mortgages, which rescued people from eviction through different mechanisms, after a few months of structuring it in Barcelona, became an institution with representation in 200 municipalities of the Iberian country. Until here the parenthesis.

Poverty inhibits citizen participation in the democratic life of a country in a collective, organized and institutionalized way because civil society does not find a solution to its immediate problems on this. I will try to demonstrate the above with a simplistic comparison, I will continue using Mexico, a country with more than 40 million people in poverty and its northern neighbor, the United States, with a poverty rate of 2.6%. the US is a superpower, in which there are 1.4 million registered civil society organizations, while in Mexico (other power), with that high percentage of poverty has only 10,700 registered civil organizations according to data obtained through the #NGOfacts campaign. The difference is notorious and overwhelming, civil society in Mexico is not organized.

High poverty levels are the next variable to identify a country member of the underworld order, because it inhibits civil societies' participation. It will become an important value for the present paper, and that's why I considered the capability of the civil society to decide who is going to take the destiny of its country in his or her hands; and through a democracy index I will know societies feeling about democracy in its fullest sense.

Analyzing the index results of the "other" powers, will point not only if a country belongs to the underworld order, but also if it has a real opportunity to take out the poverty of its society by getting their memberships or not. In other words, if the democracy index shows that an apparent "other" power has better results than a superpower, it may indicate that this non-superpower country has a chance to reduce significantly poverty and inequality in a middle term.

It is pertinent to clarify: for this paper, democracy is the system through which citizens access to power by an electoral way. Nevertheless, I'm going to talk of

democracy considering Robert Dahls elements for a democratic government to keep responding to the citizens for a considerable period of time, it must ensure the citizens right to formulate and attend its preferences; to signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action; and to have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government, that is, weighted with no discrimination because of the content or source of the preference (Dahl, 1995).

Attending to this, and because its composition, I'm using the *Electoral Democracy Index*¹ from Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), to compare if the ideal of electoral democracy is achieved in its fullest sense.

Now allow me to apply the method, because I already introduce several Mexican issues, I'm going to use it; in addition, and trying to generate some extra interest from the local reader, I will classified Chile as well.

First, according to what it was told, I must see if Mexico and Chile are members of the WTO, IMF and WB. Mexico is member of the WTO since 1995, but it was an early member of the previous GATT since 1986, this is a very important point because of the Mexican conjuncture of that decade, I will return to this idea, but let me finish with the memberships. Mexico has its membership of the IMF since 1945, again Mexican conjuncture is important. Finally, Mexico is member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) since 1945 and since 1961 of the International Development Association (IDA).

Is the moment to tie up wages, in 1982 Mexico went in a severe Financial Crisis, the "debt crisis", Mexico's president Jose Lopez Portillo nationalized the banking as his last presidential action crying in his final government report. Mexico needed help, with an inflation rounding the 100% and no money to take up the economy, Mexico had to do something, but what should it do to be able to do anything: clarify its going into the stablished superpower world order. Is not that Mexico was a rebel country in the Cold War context, it was always lined by western rules, nonetheless, it wasn't that docile, for example, Miguel Aleman, president of México from 1946 to 1952, asked the IMF for a credit between those years, but the IO refuse to approve it because president Aleman didn't keep the exchange rate parity between 1948 and 1949. Those were other times.

Likewise, the decade of the 40 was good for Mexico, not only because the US needed raw Materials to fight the war, oil especially. It is important to remember that oil industry was expropriated just two years early in 1938, so this gave Mexico a powerful resource of negotiation. Besides, they were Mexican hands who turn on the US industry through the immigrational program called *braceros program*.

¹ The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the weighted average of the indices measuring freedom of association (thick) (v2x_frassoc_thick), suffrage (v2x_suffr), clean elections (v2xel_frefair), elected executive (v2x_accex) and freedom of expression (v2x_freexp_thick); and, on the other, the five-way multiplicative interaction between those.

That's why Mexico was always close to those western practices but retaining the capability for taking care of its sovereignty by itself, taking decisions by its own hands. After the debt crisis in 1982, that could not be anymore, and it turn itself entirely into the described superpower world order in change of a credit line a flexible one, recently renewed by the way (2017).

On the other hand, Chile has its membership from the WTO since 1995 and it was part of the GATT since 1949. But, was already member of the IMF since 1945, same date for the IBRD and 1960 to the IDA. Apparently, Chile was preparing its road into the world since several decades ago, although Pinochet's dictatorship delays it some years, and today Chile already fulfill that project: nowadays, its development platform is set on free trading, but is hold historically by copper. Copper is Chilean main natural resource, its most important employer and the principal contributor to the GDP; it is a crucial weapon of negotiation.

In 1971, president Salvador Allende, decided to nationalize the copper, it is important to remark not the fact in this occasion, but the discourse, because in order to materialize the nationalization they add the next transitory disposition to the 10th article of 1925 constitution:

"...by demand of the national interest and executing the sovereign and inalienable right of the State to freely dispose of its natural resources [...], foreign companies that constitute the great mining of the copper are nationalized and declared therefore incorporated into the full and exclusive domain of the Nation" (Arroyo y Suárez, 2000:100)

In those days, Salvador Allende recognize the value of the copper to ensure Chilean sovereignty and its people's wellness and though that the nationalization would be the best way to get it. We all know what happened to him and his government; nevertheless, it is important to take out the statement, a statement like this it is not common anymore, it is not allowed. Don't get me wrong, I'm not manifesting my opinion about the action, that would be matter of another article, I'm just trying to emphasize the statement.

Once we finished with memberships, poverty is our next step, to be consequent I'm going to use data from the World Bank's Data Bank, although several of them are not the most recent ones, using the closest data to 1992 and the latest available to analyze the evolution of the variables. I chose 1992 trying to make a parallelism between Chilean transition to democracy after Aylwin presidency begins in 1991 and after 1991 Mexican mid elections in which the Federal Electoral Institution, a decentralized agency, watched the elections for the first time.

In those terms, it is time to begin with Poverty. In 1992 Mexico had 49% of its population under the national poverty lines, which means that 43,6 million were poor in Mexico that year; the latest year available is 2016: 50,6% of the Mexican population were living under the national poverty line. In this sense, Mexico not

only maintain 50% of its population on poverty for decades, but also has its Gini index in 48,2% (2014) almost the same as in 1998 (49%) and 1992 (51%); the data shows the failure of the Mexican administration fight against poverty and inequality through the years. This situation has an explanation and we will discover it by the analysis of the democracy index.

On the contrary, Chilean case its substantively different. In 1992, 32,8% of the population lived under the national poverty lines; 22 years later, Chile reduced that statistic until 11,7%, even it is a major number, Chilean Governments achieve to reduce almost 1% average a year. It is possible to observe a similar tend in the behavior of the Gini Index, not as pronounced as the poverty situation, but significant as well: in 1992 the index was set on 54,8%, in 2015 the index was reduced into 47,7%; not an ideal number, but it is noticeable the improve

This is a crucial moment of this paper: the democracy analysis. I'm about to use the *Electoral Democracy Index (EDI)* from the V-Dem Platform, this index goes from 0 to 1, an EDI closest to 1 represents that a country is near to ensure the compliance of the core values of democracy:

"...making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate's approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance..."²

I'm going to start with Mexico, the last Mexican presidential election was in 2012, in that year, the index was in 0,67. Chile had presidential elections in 2017, but I'll use the 2014 number because that date is closest to the Mexican, in that year Chilean index was on 0,87. It exists an overwhelming difference among these two countries.

After decades of memberships and an investment of millions of dollars trying to satisfy demands of the OIs, Mexico has failed in ensure its democracy, the index result allow us to infer that Mexican citizens don't feel that rulers respond to them and their demands, they don't fully believe that civil society organizations can operate freely, nor that elections are clean and nor marred by fraud, neither none of the other variables mentioned. How can poverty could be defeated if there isn't a well-structured democracy, if the current system is not reliable, if the people don't trust in the democracy they are living in.

Poverty in Mexico is a democracy issue embedded deep into the Mexican political structure, an issue that can just be solve with a transformation of the

² Variable description in V-Dem Platform: <https://www.v-dem.net/en/analysis/CountryGraph/>

democratic institutions, and by institutions I mean: organisms, laws, rules, times, and a long etcetera. As long as democratic system remains the same, there will not be membership useful to take out poverty of Mexican population. Therefore, Mexico as an active member of the underworld order, will continue offering cheap workforce to the superpowers in a world ruled by the OIs they created.

Chilean case is clearly different, but still a member of the underworld order. Even though they were able to considerably reduce poverty and achieve a faithful democratic system, they remain suffering the attack of the ruling system and I'm going to explain myself. The last years of Bachelet's Government, Chilean economy fell into a trench, due in a considerable amount to the speculation of the markets. Few weeks ago, Paul Romer, World Bank's Chief Economist, admit in an interview with the Wall Street Journal that there where political motivations in the mistaken actions developing the "Doing Business" index, harming not just the government of president Bachelet, but millions of Chileans who suffer the ravage of these so called "mistakes".

The World Bank deliberately modified an index who provoked several damages to a government elected by the people of a country and not just that, incited an economic recession in a very stable country, jeopardizing the capability of the government to immediately solve the problem. That kind of actions are taken just against underworld order country members.

How to survive it

The enforcement of the civil society role into the internal and international scene is the basis of the method I'm about to explain. As we saw underworld order countries lack of civil participation both in internal and international issues. We could think that, If Mexican democratic system doesn't work and is not faithful, is because civil society allows it with disinterest and apathy. Likewise, Chilean matter about de WB "mistake" if civil society could scrutiny OIs statistics treatment and/or there were civil institutions who develop alternative statistics with scientific models as "rigorous" as the ones of the WB, the negative impact of the situation could be reduced. That sounds good, you may think, but how can we do that; and the answer is: building civil choices, for example, through cooperativize the problems. I will explain myself.

Nobody knows their needs better than people themselves, but it is quite common that no one makes public that need, even if an individual decides to go into the city hall and express its demands, there are less than few probabilities to be heard. It is important for the individual to recognize that need not as exclusive of him or her, but as a collective one, and notify other members of the community, cooperativizing the problem; showing the community that a student need not only affects that particular part of the society, but affects the doctors as well, and the workers and its children, women and men, teachers; the central idea is: if there is

need unsolved in a society, no matter how focused it seems, it must be transformed into a matter of concern for the entire society.

Then, a community aware of the situation will feel an uncontrollable urge to take the street and shout it, and maybe, if the crowd is bigger enough, the government will take some rush actions to apparently solve the issue and pacify the situation for a while. There are two options from here, take that rush actions as a real solution and return home until the need shows up again, or take that rush actions as a first victory and go further by institutionalizing the collective demand, forging neighborhood committees that constantly presses the local government: executive and legislative. Letting them know that is not over yet.

Solidarity is the logic of cooperativism. As Karen Faulk (2008) relates, people, in moments of despair, “[...] quickly learned to rely on one another and to work together”. She refers to the workers occupation of the Buenos Aires Una Empresa Nacional (BAUEN) hotel and how they achieved to rescue a broke company and theirs’ source of work and wellness by taking control of the situation, putting themselves in everybody’s shoes and working together, side by side.

There is an important risk in this stage, if the pressure doesn’t provoke a short or midterm outcome, people will start to get impatient and the civil institution could turn either into a violent movement or simply disappear. To prevent this situation, while the pressure is being exerted, political participation of the institution must increase, trying to get into power spaces, legislative or executive by elections if it’s possible, been majority is the goal. Politicians won’t change anything that means to modify their status quo. Following the BAUEN example, after the first moments of the workers occupation, the workers threatened by the rudeness of the precariousness inside the hotel and the police force trying to take them out, outside the hotel; could leave the movement and let it disappear, but they didn’t, they resist, they identify their unity as its main strength and soon after the occupation they had organized into and registered as a workers’ cooperative (Faulk, 2008).

At the end, BAUEN still a cooperative administration, workers succeed their battle against powerful economic and political interests, and its experience should be told as an example of peoples’ exercise of sovereignty, a civil way to survive the outside influence. Civil society must fill with unity every space of living, even diplomacy spaces, until nothing happens without a civil institution approval whether inside or outside the government power spaces.

Diplomacy is a special case, there are several external service regulations who considered to employ *Assimilated Staff*, this staff is not necessary diplomatic career personal, but they have the same duties and rights. It is time to open this spaces to civil society, of course it is important the existence of a career diplomatic service but is crucial for its evolution to integrate civil society, for a long time, citizens

considered themselves alien to international affairs; and politicians took advantage of it. Through the cooperativized method, also diplomacy could be socialized.

I'm going to conclude with an example, I'm going to use the Chilean student movement, at risk of being rejected by my fellow colleagues. From outside it seems that they complied with the mentioned requirements, they apparently convinced the entire student community, they pressed three different governments, they have a structure, the movement even placed some representative at the congress. So, why after all these years there is not a satisfying outcome. Two things happened, the structure of the movement was and still fragile, it was unable to control the energy of the mass and some violent outbreaks appear. That situation broke the most important thing: the cooperativization of the problem, if in any moment they gained the confidence of the society, those violent outbreaks threw everything down.

Is the student movement condemned to failure? No, it must reinforce the structure not only with students, but with the entire civil society.

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