
ABSTRACTS

Martha Bárcena Coqui, *The Reconceptualization of Security: The Contemporary Debate*

This essay presents and analyzes the debate occurring in the academic world about the concept of security, as well as the proposals found in this respect in a variety of documents of international bodies. It is divided into two large sections; the first examines the concept of security, its origins and transformations, as well as the academic debates that have grown up around it. According to Martha Bárcena, the debate today is divided among the traditionalists, who say that security is a military-type term; the expansionists, who are in favor of involving not only military and political, but also social, economic and environmental aspects, and the critics, who emphasize that security must be considered a social construction. The author also presents some of the theoretical proposals directing toward the adoption of concrete policies, including notably, the theory of cooperative security, the concept of world security, security studies and the theory of security complexes. The second section analyzes the transformation of the concept of security based on debates that occur inside international bodies such as the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as the Organization of American States. In the conclusions, according to Bárcena Coqui, the majority of proposals related to the concept of security are of the expansionist tendency, as reflected by the inclusion of new problems in the area of security, in participation by new actors, and in the growing interpenetration of foreign and internal security.

Lilia Bermúdez Torres, *United States Security: Reconceptualization and Trends*

This article defines the elements of the new international security agenda developed by the United States at the end of the Cold War. It also analyzes the main proposals advanced for each aspect of the agenda, the mechanisms for implementing it, and the actors involved. In general, the new view of United States security, in addition to the military, economic and political aspects, connects domestic problems with international ones, gives priority to the economic revitalization of the country, promotes democracy and the free market, and takes global threats (like drug trafficking or environmental deterioration) into account, incorporating them into its agenda. As Bermúdez Torres points out, with the aim of implementing its new agenda, the United States government has had to restructure bureaucratically. Notable in terms of the actors involved are the executive and the legislative branches, which have experienced serious discrepancies with respect to the priority topics of the agenda, a fact that has resulted in lack of implementational continuity and coherence. At the end, the author presents some of the security scenarios visualized at the dawn of the new millennium and highlights the need for the United States to take on a new strategic focus based on equilibrium in the situation and prospects of different regions, particularly as refers to China, Russia, Southeast Asia and Latin America. In the conclusions, Bermúdez Torres emphasizes how the many topics and actors involved, and the failure to rank priorities, have diminished the coherence of the American security policy.

Javier Felipe Basulto Poot, *Toward a European Union Defense Policy*

The purpose of this essay is to analyze the military defense and security aspects of the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Foreign Policy (CSFP). The article is divided into three sections. In the first, Basulto Poot recounts the political events that led the EU to develop a CSFP that, besides having its own defense structure, would aim to preserve the internal stability and consolidation of a united front in terms of security. In the second section, the author

examines the lines along which the EU's future security and defense policy will have to be developed such as its tasks, decision mechanisms, jurisdictional bodies, means for implementing military-type decisions, and the relationship it will have with the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as with the United Nations (UN). The third section develops the main challenges the EU will have to face in implementing its common security and defense policy, in particular staying independent from the influence of NATO—specially the United States—, and of the UN. The author concludes that Europe will not, at least in the coming years, become a military super power, since development of its common security and defense policy will be overcast by the presence of NATO, which will continue to be the guarantor of the continent's security.

Miriam Villanueva Ayón, *Human Security: An Expansion of the Concept of Global Security?*

This essay shows the advance of research on the concept of human security developed in the International Research and Prospective Program of the Instituto Matías Romero. The paper is divided into two large sections; in the first, Villanueva Ayón explains how, after the Cold War, the concept of security was transformed in that it stopped being merely military, and acquired a multidimensional nature. The term human security began to appear in 1992, within the United Nations; one year later, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) became its main promoter. According to the UNDP, human security is a category that, beyond the concept of defensive security (limited to territory or military might), it entails personal, economic, food, health, community, environmental and policy security of all individuals.

In the second part, the author analyzes the main promoters of human security, dividing them for that effect, into countries, international bodies, nongovernmental organizations and academic organizations. The activism of the Canadian government stands out in relation to the foregoing, since by forming a global security strategy based on the precepts of the UNDP, it has redefined its foreign policy. As the author points out in her conclusions, despite the lack of consolidation of the concept of security, it has been

gradually incorporated into academic debates and into the foreign policy agendas of nations.

Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor, *Interamerican Relations: Questions of Policy, Right and Diplomacy*

This article analyzes the counterpoints that have characterized the inter-American system since its origins, including the divergences between the philosophy and interests of the Latin American countries and the United States, the conflict between regional autonomy and universalism, and the ability to create collective security mechanisms, as well as the low effectiveness in establishing economic cooperation instruments. Sepúlveda Amor takes as his point of departure, some of the ideas stated by Ismael Moreno Pino in *Derecho y diplomacia en las relaciones interamericanas* (Law and Diplomacy in Inter-American Relations), concerning the structure and functions of the Organization of American States (OAS). The inter-american system has existed officially as a mechanism for international association since 1889, when the United States called the first conference in Washington, whose objectives were mainly of an economic-commercial nature. The Chapultepec (1945) and Río de Janeiro (1947) conferences were held later, and included the aims respectively, of laying down the bases to solve the economic problems that arose during the postwar period, and of codifying the principles of collective defense. In both meetings, Mexico unsuccessfully proposed that the concept of continental security be tied into economic balance and development. 1948 saw the holding of the Bogotá Conference, which approved a pact that institutionalized the inter-american system through the OAS Letter—in which the Mexican theses had a decisive influence—and an economic cooperation agreement was negotiated. Despite the foregoing, the Cold War displaced the topics of economic cooperation and development to the benefit of security matters. According to the author, the series of counterpoints in the inter-american system has caused vacuums that the OAS has been incapable of filling, as well as the Latin America's consequent weakness on the international scene. In the light of the end of the Cold War and the commemoration of the OAS's 50th anniversary, the article invites one to think about the functions the hemispheric body will have to

perform in the new century, as well as the role Mexico will have to perform within the context of the inter-american system.

Alfredo Pérez Bravo and Iván Roberto Sierra, *The Reversion of the Panama Canal*

The time period stipulated in the Torrijos-Carter Agreements for the Panama Canal and its surrounding zones to revert to Panamanian sovereignty ended on December 31, 1999. In 1903, the governments of Panama and the United States signed the Hay-Bunau Varilla Agreement, which laid the legal bases for the construction, operation and running of the waterway by American government agencies. The establishment of a ten-mile strip along the route was also negotiated, that would be the site of United States military installations. The final construction of the canal began in 1904 and it was opened to navigation in 1915. Since then, the interoceanic canal has become the point of passage for approximately 5% of the world's trade. Approximately 144 international sea routes converge in it. According to the authors, the resounding military, technical and administrative presence of the United States in the isthmus during the first decades the canal was in operation reaffirmed the clause under which the canal zone had been ceded perpetually to control by the United States government, which behaved as if it were an extension of United States territory. Consequently, throughout the 20th century, Panamanians waged a diplomatic struggle to recover their territorial integrity. This struggle ended in September 1977 when the Torrijos-Carter Agreements were signed, under which the interoceanic canal and its surrounding areas would revert fully to Panama at noon, Panamanian time, on December 31, 1999. This fact, singularly important for Panama as well as for the rest of the Latin American countries, involves a series of administrative, economic, infrastructure- and security-related challenges that Mireya Moscoso's government will have to face. If reversion of the canal and its surrounding zones handled correctly, it offers important opportunities for Panama to become a diversified center of development, where industry and agriculture follow in the steps of the successful services sector.

Rosalva Ruiz Paniagua, *Sanctions as an Instrument of National Security, Drug Trafficking and Religious Freedom Foreign Policy: the United States Case.*

This article presents an analysis of sanctions as an instrument of foreign policy and national security by the United States government. It is divided into five parts. In the first, Ruiz Paniagua describes how, over the years, the United States has used sanctions to pressure or punish countries that, from its point of view, violate American values or interests. In this respect it highlights how this policy has been revalued due to the end of the Cold War.

In the second part, the author analyzes the debate that the punitive policy has created within government and academic circles, and that has to do with definition, frequency, diversity, effectiveness, costs, objectives and alternative options. In the third part, she explains the popularity of sanctions as a result of struggles between the executive and the legislative branches for control of foreign policy. These struggles in turn are a product of the division of powers in the American political system. The fourth part presents the case study of enforcement of the 1986 anti-drug law and the certification process that arises from it. For example, it expounds on the case of Mexico in the last three years. The fifth part analyzes the religious liberty law, which penalizes countries where religious persecution occurs. According to the author, the sanctions debate inside the United States legislative branch leans toward restricting the use of sanctions as an instrument of foreign policy and toward penalization of individuals or companies instead of countries.

Manuel Rodríguez Arriaga, *Mexico in the European Council*

On December 1, 1999, the European Council's Committee of Ministers approved the resolution under which Mexico joined this organization as a permanent observer. The article deals with the importance of this fact, from the point of background and development, as well as its implications for Mexican foreign policy. It is divided into five sections. In the first, Rodríguez Arriaga presents the conditions that prevailed during the nineties—a result of the end of the Cold War—that led to closer ties between Mexico and

Europe. In the second, he develops the reasons why the Council of Ministers agreed to Mexico's joining. Notable among these reasons is the evolution of the country's ties with Europe and the possibility of its national development and foreign policy experiences enriching the Council of Europe's work. The author also describes the powers Mexico will have from now on as a permanent observer. In the third section, he describes negotiations by the Mexican diplomats with the main institutions of the Council of Europe, as well as other activities that awakened Europeans' interest in Mexico, such as its participation in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The fourth section refers to the conditions required for a country to be accepted as a permanent observer of the Council of Europe, and explains why they are not the same for everyone. In this regard, he mentions that Mexico and Japan faced more difficulties than the United States or Canada. In the fifth section, Rodríguez Arriaga specifies the Council of Europe's objectives, as well as the committees, groups and mechanisms employed in pursuing its purposes. According to the author's conclusions, Mexico's entrance into the Council of Europe will open up new opportunities of political communication and cooperation for the country with each one of the Council of Europe's 41 members, as well as multilaterally. Mexico will also be able to get useful experience for the development of its public institutions and policies.

Fernando Espinosa, *Human Rights and Democracy in the Latin America-European Union Relationship*

The purpose of this essay is to analyze the problems inside the European Union (EU) so as to present a unified definition of the concepts of human rights and democracy. It also presents some of the instances of symmetry and asymmetry between the EU and Latin America (LA) with respect to these concepts. Espinosa emphasizes the case of Mexico in each of the five sections of the paper. In the first section, the author distinguishes the transformations undergone by the concepts of human rights and democracy in terms of importance and definition, within the framework of the EU-LA relationship from the time of the Cold War until the present. In the second section, he discusses how the many actors in the bi-regional relationship influence the treatment of human rights topics and

democracy. In the third, he analyzes the symmetries and asymmetries between the EU and LA in relation to human rights and democracy; according to the author, the symmetries are essentially of a formal nature, while the asymmetries are of a practical one. In the fourth section, he reflects on the ambiguity of the EU's foreign policy with respect to the topics of human rights and democracy. As Espinosa points out in the conclusions, the importance of human rights and democracy in the EU-Mexico relationship will depend on the nature of the interests in the relationship, as well as the specific weight of the actors involved.
