

Panorama of the U.S. Energy Sector) should be called “El sector energético desde Estados Unidos” (The Energy Sector from the United States) because it relates the geo-technical nature of world energy resources, their location and the data that shows production, consumption and distribution from 1949 to 1998, all backed up by tables and graphs that demonstrate what has happened and where the energy sector is going. It also points out the proven existence of different fuels like coal and natural gas, at the same time that it underlines the importance of understanding the dimensions of the energy problem with regard to nuclear energy, electricity and, above all, oil, which occupies the main place given its geo-strategic importance for North America.

The author also argues with academic rigor one of her main —and perhaps the most important— hypotheses, backed up by other writers: geologically

speaking, the U.S. oil decline is inevitable and will have repercussions the world over. She broadens out what is implied in her statement in the chapter on “La seguridad energética estadounidense” (U.S. Energy Security), in which, in a corollary to this research into the crisis facing the world, she maintains that “the depletion of its oil reserves after long exploitation is what is making the issue of security important for the United States” (p. 174). We are reaching the technical limits of exploitation of this precious energy resource, and we must seek alternatives.

This indispensable book is a good starting point for understanding the arduous task we are facing that, one way or another, concerns us all. **MM**

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La seguridad nacional en México: debate actual

(National Security in Mexico: The Current Debate)

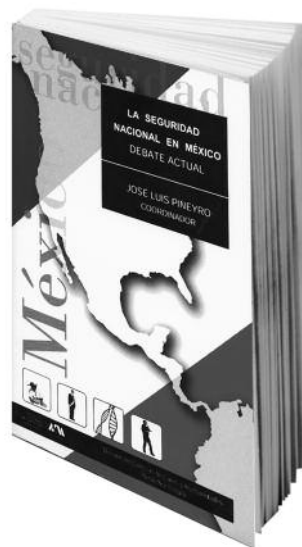
José Luis Piñeyro, comp.

UAM-Azcapotzalco

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With an integrated perspective and free of the prejudice that national security should deal exclusively with military or intelligence matters, *La seguridad nacional en México: debate actual* (National Security in Mexico: The Current Debate) allows the non-specialist to familiarize him- or herself with the topic. Using accessible language, the authors of this collective work explain their theoretical-methodological position, which acts as a crosscutting conduit for explaining the social, economic and political historical moment the country is going through at the same time that they provoke academic discussion and invite the reader to reflect.

These essays are the result of rigorous research and have the social sensitivity fitting for experts in



each of the issues dealt with. In this case, they are members of the National System of Researchers (SNI), academics from Mexico's most important universities: the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the Autonomous Metropolitan University and the Ibero-American University.

This review will comment on the chapters that deal with Mexico-U.S. relations. One example is "La estrategia de defensa de la administración Bush" (The Bush Administration's Defense Strategy), by Ana Teresa Gutiérrez del Cid, who reveals George W. Bush's hard-line policy that posits that the international order was reconceived after September 11, 2001 with a return to a Cold War mentality. Accordingly, U.S. hegemony and its military commitment to exterminating radical Islamic forces will be reflected in a unilateral, economically and socially very expensive foreign policy since the United States spends more than one billion dollars a day on its military, contrasting sharply both with its expenditures on education and pensions and low family incomes (including many Mexican families).

The essay "México y su política exterior" (Mexico and Its Foreign Policy) by José Luis León Manrique looks at foreign policy from 1945 to 2002. This review is impressive because of its historical-analytical focus which clarifies some very important national sovereignty issues, looking at three aspects: the nature of the international system, the national economic and political situation and foreign policy actors. It also appraises the most important products of that policy: the relationship with the United States, the links to the rest of the world and the connection between foreign policy and national security. The author simultaneously shows the development of Mexican and U.S. foreign policy, pointing to the positions of different administrations in both countries and emphasizing the moments of rapprochement, tension or distancing in Mexico-U.S. relations because of the way of dealing with different problems like border issues, migration, drug trafficking, trade and energy sources. León also explains how historical necessity dictated the reorganization of Mexico's state security apparatus and how our insertion in the international scene follows the Washington line. Examples of this are the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the neoliberal

model that have increased Mexico's vulnerability *vis-à-vis* its northern neighbor despite the good intentions of Mexico's multilateralism that has not crystallized as a strategy.

Rosa Albina Garabito deals with "Política económica y la seguridad nacional" (Economic Policy and National Security) when she says that a solid economy will sustain our state, since its basis is social and political legitimacy. These conditions will make stability possible, and by exercising its autonomy, the state will have control over its strategic resources and therefore be able to make decisions, thus strengthening its sovereignty *vis-à-vis* the exterior. This will prevent the confusion between national security and the security of the administration, something exemplified in Mexico with episodes like the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre and the 1970s dirty war. Garabito's thinking ranges from matters as important as Mexico's economic development and how it has been affected by the break in the social pact, unbridled privatization, shrinking public spending, declining social expenditures and the foreign debt to the desperate stratagems for obtaining financing from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund with the intention of getting international capital to return. All of this has forced Mexico's population into extreme poverty and led to higher unemployment, lower wages and increased migration to the United States, which in 2002 brought in millions of dollars in family remittances while at the same time demonstrating the degree of Mexico's financial and labor dependence on the United States. Lastly, Garabito underlines that to guarantee economic sovereignty, it will be necessary to productively include society in an economic circuit which will give the state certain amounts of political legitimacy.

The article by Juan Manuel Sandoval Palacios, "Seguridad nacional y migración internacional de México a Estados Unidos" (National Security and International Migration from Mexico to the United States), puts forward the idea that the U.S. perspective on its own security will be decisive for granting Mexico a place on its agenda because it conceives of our country as a fundamental factor for the strategy on hemispheric cooperation and security. The United States thinks that Mexican political stability is very important for meeting its political and military expectations,

as well as its fuel supply needs, basically oil. One of its priorities is the militarization of border areas using the strategy of low intensity warfare. Sandoval Palacios recapitulates Reagan administration measures to absolutely control undocumented immigrants and analyzes its policy of using force through specific programs that under later administrations would become a series of operations by the Investigations Division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) linking the Central Intelligence Agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the State Department using surveillance and prevention of undocumented migration, drug trafficking and 9/11 and terrorism as a pretext.

Military-political control enjoyed high budgets throughout the 1980s that made it possible to incorporate plans and programs that initially allowed the border patrol to use firearms and, with time, high-tech military equipment. After the signing of NAFTA and with the intention of preventing increased migration through mechanisms like Operation Guardian, Operation Safeguard and Operation Rio Grande, the strategy would be to force “illegal” immigrants into non-traditional, dangerous routes. Given this, the U.S. discourse contains the slogan of aiming for bi-national security, which former President Carlos Salinas and current President Vicente Fox have supported unconditionally, recognizing U.S. hegemony.

Mexico, for its part, has implemented the “Southern Plan” which aims to extend the control of its border with Central America to the Tehuantepec Isthmus, reproducing the treatment that the United States inflicts on our migrants and facilitating the implementation of the Puebla-Panama Plan. The author concludes that guarding the borders means the “control of geo-economic regions of a geo-strategic character” which will guarantee the United States continue to be the global hegemonic power.

In his essay “Estados Unidos: libre comercio e integración energética subordinada” (The United States: Free Trade and Subordinate Energy Integration), José

Luis Manzo Yépez explains the U.S. oil supply’s vulnerability. This is a matter of national security that the U.S. has attempted to resolve through free trade agreements disadvantageous to Mexico because of the commitments it has agreed to in order to guarantee credits to deal with its financial crises. At the same time the United States seeks to ensure its presence in strategic places to watch over investment, exploitation and commercialization of oil, gas and electricity through initiatives contained in the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the Puebla-Panama Plan. The privatization of the energy sector has been polemical, particularly under Fox, who, using multiple service contracts and acting unconstitutionally, sees the opportunity of providing foreign investment with strategic information that will eventually make it possible to supplant Pemex without making it disappear. According Manzo, the lack of financial resources is a pretext; he explains interesting alternatives for financing such as using part of the workers’ retirement funds or issuing Series “B” stock. For the author, hemispheric energy cooperation is possible if it is based on principles of economic and environmental rationality and mutual respect. Another of his essays, included in the book, “Electricidad y seguridad nacional” (Electricity and National Security) puts forward the idea that the total privatization of the electricity sector would be harmful, but that private capital participation is viable if limited and strictly regulated. The author contributes ten proposals for restructuring the electricity sector.

Because it has a multidimensional perspective, *National Security in Mexico: The Current Debate* includes articles that deal with issues like environmental sustainability; disarmament and Mexico’s peace policy; biosecurity and food security; the impact of bio-technology and transgenic crops; the state’s social policy; the function of public finances; the geo-strategic rise of the Pacific Basin; terrorism and security from Latin America; and the study of natural and human disasters. **NM**

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