



Contrast between the Foreign Policy of President Enrique Peña Nieto and President Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador

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Commentary

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Abbreviations: PRI: Institutional Revolutionary Party; PAN: National Action Party; EPN: Enrique Peña Nieto; PND: National Development Plan; SICA: Summit Mexico-Central American Integration System; AMLO: Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador; CELAC: Community of Latin American and Caribbean States; ACS: Association of Caribbean States; OAS: Organization of American States.

Commentary

The objective of this research is to make a comparison with respect to the objectives of foreign policy in his first three years of President Enrique Peña Nieto and his counterpart Manuel Andrés Lopez Obrador, as well as the activities carried out to achieve the objectives and goals in their first years. Three years. In the first instance, it is necessary to analyze the background, this is because the first years are of great importance since they attend to the problems of their predecessors or continue with the good work.

It is important to analyze the principles of foreign policy, these being the central axis of the country's foreign policy, by means of these principles the executive power is guided to be able to carry out the objectives of foreign policy, from which the long-term goals are derived, medium and short term, as well as the actions carried out by both the executive power and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to achieve these objectives, which are evaluated by the legislative power.

The Mexican Foreign Policy is essential to promote the benefits offered by a globalized world with the intention of promoting internal development, projecting the interests of Mexico abroad, taking advantage of the strength of its national identity, its culture and assuming its responsibility as a promoter of progress and peaceful coexistence among

nations. The objective of the work is to contrast the objectives, goals and results of foreign policy between the government of Enrique Peña Nieto (2012-2018) and the government of Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador (2018-2024), based on the interest of each of them, and including internal and external factors. Using the comparative method to be able to obtain the results of each one of the governments in terms of foreign policy; based on the faculties of the Executive Branch in matters of foreign policy, as well as the principles of Mexico's foreign policy, as well as the activities carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [1-3].

Foreign Policy Concept

To make a comparison of foreign policy between two leaders of the Republic, it is necessary to start from the concept of foreign policy, for which one of the main theorists such as Velázquez R, et al. [4], mentions that it is a mechanism that determines the achievement of the purposes of a nation, since it is part of the public policies of the government, which must contain the objectives, goals, strategies and instruments to achieve the predetermined achievements through the National Development Plan. On the other hand, foreign policy is defined as the result of a complex game of continuity and change Jorge S, et al. [5] in the latter a pragmatic State is observed, which responds to the global political crisis that is found at that time.

Two ways of visualizing the activity of the State in the global political arena are perceived, but both agree that the person directly responsible is the person who is in charge of the Executive Power, which can be through making a diagnosis of internal politics, of the political, economic and social situation that the international system finds itself in, starting from the evaluation of the internal and external

elements, it begins with the elaboration of the objectives of the Foreign Policy; in which, in turn, short, medium and long-term goals are set for each objective; These points allow the Legislative Branch to carry out an annual evaluation of compliance.

After listing the goals, it is necessary to look for the strategies and instruments to achieve them. There are also moments in which decisions have to be made and which are not planned, but it is necessary to respond to the political crisis that the international system is experiencing, on these occasions the governments always do so supported by the principles of foreign policy, national identity, its system of government, taking stock of its future at the time international action is carried out.

The direction of foreign policy since the beginning of the Mexican state (1821), is found in the figure of the Head of State, he bears the responsibility of carrying out internal and external policy in good terms, he has the task of directing the conduct of the country at the international level, the political constitution granting it the power to sign treaties, appoint diplomats, be commander-in-chief of the military forces and, in some cases, declare war Velázquez R, et al. [4].

Mexico's participation in the international political arena in these early years of the 21st century has been focused on international cooperation, through international forums, as part of governmental and non-governmental organizations at the international and regional levels, the activities carried out the State in the international system, start from the interest of the executive power to get involved in the international phenomenon.

On the other hand, the activities carried out by the Secretary of Foreign Relations are verified by the Chamber of Senators of the Republic [6]; political events that Mexico experienced throughout the nineteenth century, resulted in a maturity on the part of the Mexican government, by introducing the Carranza Doctrine as a way of respecting the sovereignty of the states in the Political Constitution of 1917, an event that will help to seek recognition from the government of both Venustiano Carranza and Álvaro Obregón. That the national interest is established by a single person, is not ideal, what will happen for the 1980s and early 90's, is the international integration of Mexico, which will stand out for the promotion of economic nationalism, at the same time that the federal government promotes a sense of solidarity with other developing countries Velázquez R, et al. [7]. Despite the positive results for the Mexican nation, the principles of Foreign Policy applied on the international scene are not well seen by the realist current, as in the case of Allison, who believes that they should change and adapt to the needs of reality. That was emerging.

The transformations that International Policy is undergoing have led countries to restructure their foreign policy, for which states that Mexico's Foreign Policy in the last quarter century has undergone a profound transformation [7], but that it does not respond to the behavior of a world in transit between two centuries, like the one we have lived through. Mexico's performance in the global arena is restricted by the guiding principles of Foreign Policy, which have given it an international identity, while at the same time marking the role it wishes to play globally; but beyond the principles or precepts, we perceive Mexico's foreign policy as a ship adrift, where the waves of change have affected it, causing it to lose the witch, at the same time that the direction of the country with respect to the relationship with the world.

A Foreign Policy, which has a diagnosis, clear objectives, short, medium and long term goals, allows a constant evaluation by the Chamber of Senators of the Republic [6], in this way mentions that foreign policy it is a set of policies [8], decisions and actions that make up a body of coherent and consistent doctrine based on clear, solid and immutable principles forged through its evolution and historical experience; This variant makes it possible to clarify that the objectives established by the President of the Republic in turn must be aligned with the principles of Foreign Policy.

The principles of the Foreign Policy of Mexico, which were incorporated into the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States in 1988, are the guiding principles through which the president of the country directs the activities of the Mexican state in the international political arena, at the same time allowing the Congress of the Union through the Commission of International Affairs monitor compliance with them. In accordance with the previous point, we find that in times when the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) governs in its entirety, the principles were halfway fulfilled, or rather; we did not find political friction between the executive and legislative powers due to non-compliance with one of the principles of foreign policy. Situation that occurs during the presidency of Vicente Fox [9-13].

Foreign Policy of the Government of (EPN)

After having two six-year terms in which leaders from the National Action Party (PAN) governed, again in 2012 the candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [14], Enrique Peña Nieto (EPN), came to occupy the presidency of the Republic, who will represent a political philosophy that returned to a traditionalist foreign policy, based on the principles enshrined in the Mexican Constitution, with sovereignty as the governing body of foreign policy and representing the interests of the Mexican nation.

In the foreign policy that was exercised during his six-year term, we can witness a series of changes in form and substance, at that time Mexico lived in a favorable international environment, so it was possible to have a greater presence in global and regional issues. The initiatives proposed by his team set a positive course for Mexico's relations and multilateralism, such as the issues of: human rights, transnational crime, food production and trade liberalization, etc.

After the electoral victory, the group of advisers began to work on the diagnosis of foreign policy, with the intention of preparing an official document in which the main lines of work of the government would be reflected, such as the national development plan (PND) [15] and in the sectoral program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE) documents in which the objectives of each of the social groups are incorporated [16,17], making a Mexico with a notable global responsibility.

To make it possible to meet the established goals, the government proposed four pillars in the National Development Plan (2013-2018), which are the following [10]:

1. Strengthen the international presence of Mexico.
2. Expand international cooperation.
3. Promote the value of Mexico in the world.
4. Watch over the interests of Mexico abroad.

Foreign Relations Sectoral Program (2013)

Three international priorities were established in this program, which we describe below;

- Contribute to national prosperity; promote Mexico as an attractive destination for investment, tourism and as a reliable and valuable business partner, and as a platform for access to other markets.
- Promote inclusive and sustainable development, seeking that cooperation, education, mobility of people and the exchange of knowledge so that they contribute to raising the standard of living of our society, without putting the well-being of future generations at risk.
- Strengthen the rule of law, peace and security, which requires deepening political dialogue in the bilateral and/or multilateral sphere, and ensuring the well-being of Mexicans abroad.

Likewise, the Foreign Relations Sectorial Program sets out five objectives which are aligned with the (PND) 2013-2018 [9];

- Promote bilateral relations that contribute to expanding Mexico's presence in the world.
- Contribute to multilateral forums on topics of interest to Mexico and the world.

- Promote the policy of international cooperation for development for the benefit of Mexico and other countries.
- Promote Mexico by disseminating its strengths and opportunities in economic, tourist and cultural matters.
- Protect the interests and rights of Mexicans abroad.

Foreign Relations Sectoral Program (2013)

President EPN, from the beginning of his government, worked for international relations, promoting Mexico in the globalized world we live in today. To make this political process possible, it was necessary to adhere to the following action plan [18,19]:

- In 2013, he made 18 tours to 20 countries "as part of the effort to position Mexico in the world."
- In 2014 the president made 11 international tours to 14 countries and in 2015 he made 5 visits to States such as the United States.
- With the United States of America, it recognizes that it is the main trading partner and source of entertainment, the issue of security and combating organized crime, a bilateral agenda was raised with multiple issues in the economic, academic, research, entrepreneurship and competitiveness.
- Hosted the North American Leaders Summit on February 19, 2014.
- The invitation to the then presidential candidates Hillary Clinton of the Democratic Party and Donald Trump of the Republican Party.
- In March 2013, participated in the I Summit Mexico-Central American Integration System (SICA) where both parties agreed to focus on the issues of security, migration, trade and investment.
- On July 7, 2014, the president announced the Southern Border Program that seeks to "protect and safeguard the human rights of migrants who enter and transit through Mexico, as well as order international crossings to increase the development and security of the region.
- 2013 Work was carried out on the execution of the Single FTA between Mexico and the five Central American countries to create a free trade area of more than 150.

Foreign Policy of the Government of (AMLO)

After several failed attempts to come to power, the now current president of Mexico, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), finally achieved the ascent to the presidency of Mexico and in his first months as the country's leader generated a series of changes in the Mexican political system both domestically and internationally. The most relevant international issue that I inherit is that of the conclusion of the new trade agreement (T-MEC), likewise the implications of the change in the medium and long term are not clear until

now, we see that the scenario is not one of transformation, but of an apparent return to the traditional principles of Mexican foreign policy enshrined in the constitution [20].

In this way, the foreign policy of President Lopez Obrador is considered pragmatic, unlike his predecessors, because he supports the objectives of international law, the values of world peace, as well as the principles of foreign policy found embodied in section X of Article 89 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States.

According to the National Development Plan (2019-2021), the objective of foreign policy is to conduct it in strict adherence to constitutional principles and articulated with the nation's priorities. Establishing the following strategies [21,22]:

- Deepen a relationship of understanding and cooperation with the countries of North America to achieve shared prosperity and security.
- Consolidate and deepen relations of friendship, cooperation, and understanding with countries from the different regions of the world, particularly with those from Latin America and the Caribbean, which, due to our geographical affiliation and shared aspirations, are a priority region.
- Promote inclusive and committed participation in multilateral forums and mechanisms to face global challenges and threats and seek global solutions to local problems, also seeking to contribute to the strengthening of multilateralism and adopting best practices and standards at the international level based on what is established in the global development agendas, while following up on Mexico's international obligations.
- Contribute to the sustainable human development of Mexico and our partners, mainly in Central America and the Caribbean, through international cooperation for development.

In order to achieve the objective of foreign policy, the strategies are the responsibility of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to establish short, medium and long term goals. The objective, strategies and goals must start from a diagnosis of

the political, economic and social situation in the country, at the same time of the political, economic and social behavior of the current international system, which is necessary to implement a public policy of this category.

Regarding Mexico's activity in the international system, it intensified in the first years of the government of Manuel Andrés Lopez Obrador, thanks to its participation in regional forums such as that of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), The Association of Caribbean States (ACS), and the Organization of American States (OAS), maintaining trade relations with the United States and Canada through the negotiations of the free trade agreement; equally with Europe, Asia and with less intensity with the countries of the African continent.

The specific operational strategies are carried out through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [17], since the Executive Power from its beginnings showed little interest in foreign policy matters, and this was first revealed by mentioning the phrase "the best foreign policy it is the interior" makes clear to us the importance of international relations in his current government.

Secondly, by reducing the budget allocated to International Relations, we come across a considerable cut in the budget and human resources of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [17], which has implications for the quantity and quality of diplomatic personnel and institutional consequences, such as the disappearance of Pro México, which was a trade and investment promotion agency with the objective of promoting Mexico's trade in the international system.

The first activity in terms of foreign policy of the AMLO government was to participate in the Intergovernmental Conference for the adoption of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, which was held on December 10, 2018, with headquarters in Marrakech, Morocco and with the assistance of 164 Member States of the United Nations [23].

Year	Continent	International Activity
2018	Latin America and the Caribbean (32 countries)	17 ambassadors and 2 consulates
		Countries attending the Swearing-In ceremony as president of Mexico:
		The leaders of Bolivia, Evo Morales; Colombia, Ivan Duque; Ecuador, Lenin Moreno; Cuba, Miguel Diaz-Canel; Guatemala, Jimmy Morales; Haiti, Jovenel Moise; Honduras, Juan Orlando Hernandez; Peru, Martin Vizcarra; Dominican Republic, Danilo Medina; and Venezuela, Nicolas Maduro.
		Participates as an observer state in the LII Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Central American Integration System (SICA), held in Belize.

2018	Europe, Asia-Pacific and Africa	Presentation of credential letters to the governments of: Japan, Republic of Indonesia, People's Republic of China and Republic of India, People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
		Visit of King Felipe VI of Spain and the Prime Minister of the Portuguese Republic, António Costa, to be present at the message of the President of the Republic before the Congress of the Union.
		Visit of the president of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR
2019	Latin America and the Caribbean	Visit of the presidents of the countries: Evo Morales, president of Bolivia; Jimmy Morales, President of Guatemala; Juan Orlando Hernández, president of Honduras; Nayib Bukele, President of El Salvador; Laurentino Cortizo, President of Panama; and Tabaré Vázquez, President of Uruguay
		With Jamaica it was agreed to begin negotiations leading to the signing of an Agreement for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments (APPRI).
		The Comprehensive Development Plan (PDI) comes into force. With the countries of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, with the aim of combating the structural causes of migration.
		In El Salvador, as in Honduras, PDI activities begin through the transfer of the Mexican experience of the "Sembrando Vida" and "Young People Building the Future" Program and a budget of 30 million dollars.
		Practice of Parliamentary Diplomacy by forming a Plural Working Group in the Senate of the Republic, made up of 16 legislators from all political parties, to follow up on the negotiations between Mexico and the United States on migration matters.
		Participation in Regional Forums such as: the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), the Organization of States. Americans (OAS), the Ibero-American Conference, ECLAC and the International Youth Organization for Ibero-America.
		Meeting at the XIV Summit of the mechanism of the Pacific Alliance, held in Lima, Peru.
		Assumed the presidency of the Committee of Representatives of the ALADI
		Working meeting with the President of Guatemala, Alejandro Giammattei, to address the bilateral agenda, and the programs and actions included in the Comprehensive Development Plan (PDI).
		Visit by the President of Cuba, Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez, with the aim of strengthening bilateral relations.
		Meeting with the President of Costa Rica, Carlos Alvarado Quesada, with the aim of addressing migration, trade and international development cooperation issues.
		Meeting with the President of Panama, Laurentino Cortizo Cohen, in which it was agreed to start negotiating a Strategic Association Agreement between Mexico and Panama.
Meeting with the President of the Argentine Republic, Alberto Fernández, with the aim of improving the bilateral trade relationship and on the support that Mexico could give Argentina in the process of negotiating its debt with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).		
2019	Europe, Asia-Asia Pacific and Africa	Visit of the President of the Government of Spain, Pedro Sánchez, made the first official visit by a foreign leader to the President of Mexico.
		Visit of the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Xavier Bettel.
		Visit by the Director General for International Cooperation and Development of the European Commission (DG-DEVCO), Stefano Manservigi.
		Visit of the Vice President of the Permanent Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, Shen Yueyue.

Table: Own creation table with data from the SRE

The participation of Mexico, during these three years at the head of the government, the head of state has been

very scarce, unlike the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [17], this is because most of the activities described in the

table correspond to the secretariat, as was the case of the swearing in of the heads of state of the countries of Brazil, El Salvador and Panama, in which I command a diplomatic representation.

The little importance on the part of the president to international affairs in the first years of his mandate was manifested in the 14th Summit of Leaders of the Group of Twenty (G20), held on June 28 and 19, 2019 in Osaka, Japan, Considered the summit diplomacy of the most important in the international political arena, Mexico is represented by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, taking away the interest in the issues addressed at the summit.

In its first year in office, the AMLO government, we saw how international issues were substantially postponed in the order of priorities and only gained relevance in the context of visible and unavoidable crises such as the Central American migratory flows that cross through Mexico to reach the United States. States or in the case of Venezuela and, the case of support for the former president of Bolivia.

AMLO's little interest in the international arena was very noticeable, since December 2018, he has not left the country and stressed that he would not do "political tourism" during his government, because according to him he has many things to do within the country. Country, this procedure contrasts significantly with the two previous presidents, who from the beginning of their government generated an aggressive agenda in terms of international presence. Something surprising is that AMLO chose to delegate his international presence, by stopping attending the G20 summit in June 2019 in Japan, as mentioned above, and his place was taken by Foreign Secretary Marcelo Ebrard Casaubón.

This government not only ignores global foreign policy, but also includes a disregard for regional cooperation and integration. Consequently, his foreign policy with the countries of Latin America is not clear either and AMLO surprisingly proclaimed himself the "big brother" of this region, when he met with the Mexican ambassadors on January 8, 2020.

Let's talk about the traditional, predominant and economic relationship that Mexico has had with the United States and Canada, this was affected by the arrival of President Donald Trump to the White House in 2016, in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) it was negotiated between 2017 and 2018. Resulting in an agreement with a new name: Mexico United States Canada Treaty (T-MEC). The commitment of the AMLO government and of the parliamentary majority that MORENA has in the Mexican congress has been clear regarding the renegotiation of NAFTA and the ratification of the T-MEC. After ratification

by the Senate and Parliament in Canada. This dynamic is not surprising at all, given the enormous commercial interdependence of Mexico with the United States and, although to a lesser extent, with Canada. As hard data in 2017, trade within North America represented 77% of Mexico's GDP, of which 63% of the total was concentrated in the United States and 3.8% with Canada.

One of the first international conflicts to be resolved is the situation of Central American migrants, who began to arrive in caravans passing through Mexican territory with the aim of reaching the United States, the situation of migration with Central America and the United States is very long-standing, some bilateral agreements or treaties have been attempted with the intention of lessening the problem, however, it has only been possible to monitor the fulfillment of human rights both on one border and on the other.

The situation of the caravans of Central American migrants is a legacy from the government of Enrique Peña Nieto to the government of Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador, who at the same time these groups of undocumented immigrants took advantage of the power vacuum that existed at that time, that is, a president outgoing who is thinking about different situations, except in making a decision of this nature, and on the other hand a candidate who has a month to go before taking power and who does not have the legislative powers to make a decision regarding what to do with the undocumented Central Americans [24-26].

Conclusion

When we carry out a comparative study of Mexico's activity in the international system during the first three years of the administration of Enrique Peña Nieto and his counterpart Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador, we must consider a series of variables, with the intention of identifying the patterns that are repeated and that help us observe the differences and similarities between the two leaders.

In such a way we can conclude the government of EPN, received a Foreign Policy that had a good course, this because the previous government Felipe Calderon, could not complete its objectives, such as the Pacific Alliance, which was up to Peña Nieto to complete it and put it to work.

During the first three years of the EPN president, the objectives established in the National Development Plan were met, promoting Mexico in various multilateral forums with a good political dialogue to expand and strengthen its presence in the world. Likewise, the EPN administration promoted the value of Mexico in the world through the economic, tourist and cultural diffusion of the country. For its part, the SRE made significant efforts to protect the

interests of Mexicans abroad, being one of the main tasks of the Mexican embassies and consulates established abroad.

The evidence shows that the foreign policy of President Enrique Peña Nieto was relatively active, for which the country began to gradually improve its image abroad. Constitutional reforms in the fiscal, energy, educational and other areas brought greater world attention to Mexico.

Despite the fact that problems arose in internal politics, such as the situation of insecurity, corruption, etc., affecting the image of Mexico in the outside world, for which the intentions and actions of the EPN government were focused on creating an effective and efficient Mexican Foreign Policy, with the intention of attracting foreign investment, improving the image of the country and improving the quality of life of citizens.

On the other hand, President Manuel Andrés Lopez Obrador, from the beginning, expressed little or no importance for foreign policy and the participation of the AIS in the international political arena, despite the fact that it should be a very active foreign policy, due first to the legacy left by his predecessor regarding the problem of caravans arriving from Central America, the conflict with the United States regarding the same problem of undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans, the negotiations of the Free Trade Agreement, international security and the Plan Mérida, and participation in International Forums.

In this way we can conclude that AMLO's Foreign Policy is guided by the principles of foreign policy, that the strategies are not very clear, this comes to light from the beginning of the AMLO government and until now, since the President has chosen to relegate international politics to the background, he is only attending to cases where the situation compromises Mexico's economic interests or in those cases where there is an interest or affinity more of an ideological nature of the President himself and/or his party, from which we can deduce that in this government we are going to live a poor and disregarded Mexican Foreign Policy, directly affecting the image and global economic development of our country.

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