Mexico and the United States: La Linea
The Border as a Dividing Line

- "The Line" marks boundaries determined by war and established in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
- At La Linea, sovereignty is asserted most aggressively and asymmetry in the bilateral power relationship is most neutralized
- Mexico and the United States are "equal" at the border as nowhere else as a matter of law.
The Old U.S.-Mexico Relationship (1)
Foreign Countries that Happened to be Distant Neighbors (1821-1993)

• The Nineteenth Century was a time of conflict.
  o Mexican Independence (1821)
  o Secession of Texas (1836)
  o U.S.-Mexican War (1846)

• The Twentieth Century Border was (mostly) demilitarized and bilateral relations were proper, but neither was genuinely collaborative or friendly.
  o From Zimmerman Telegram (1917) to Enrique S. “Kiki” Camarena (1985)
The Old U.S.-Mexico Relationship (2)
Foreign Countries that Happened to be Distant Neighbors (1821-1993)

The bilateral relationship was characterized by finger pointing on migration, narcotics, guns and extradition.

- The borderland was a stepchild of national policy in both Distrito Federal and Washington.
- The official reality was little cooperation.
- The border was a no-man’s land and haven for fugitives and outlaws.
- The border was a place of collision for forces generated elsewhere.
La Linea Sin La Ley
The Lawless Line
The New U.S./Mexico Reality (1)

• North/South flows (licit and illicit) and corridors matter more than East/West jurisdictional lines

• The United States and Mexico compose an increasingly integrated economy set on a shared production platform

• The border shutdown on 9/11-looking at every piece of straw-was a wake-up call for both countries
The New U.S./Mexico Reality (2)

The lawful flows are massive in the post-NAFTA/TLC era

- U.S.-Mexico Foreign Direct Investment
  - U.S. is the #1 source of FDI in Mexico
  - U.S. FDI stock in Mexico: $101 Bn (18,000 U.S. companies operating in Mexico)
  - Mexican FDI stock in the U.S.: $17 Bn (CEMEX; BIMBO)

- U.S.-Mexico Merchandise Trade (2015) "One Million Dollars A Minute"
  - Imports to the U.S. from Mexico: $280.5 Bn (40% of finished product content is created in U.S.)
  - Exports from U.S. to Mexico: $226.2 Bn (second largest market)

- U.S.-Mexico Transnational Travel
  - One million border crossings daily
  - International Visitors Inbound from Mexico (2015): 17 Mn
  - Trade accounts for 6 Mn U.S. jobs spread across 55,000 companies
  - U.S. Resident Outbound to Mexico (20120 25 Mn)
The Twenty-First Century Border Declaration (2010) establishes officially a collaborative bilateral border regime.

- Emergence of common doctrines
  - Co-responsibility: from terrorism to natural disasters
  - Perimeter security and joint assessment
  - The centrality of risk management and traffic segmentation

- "Borders" viewed as opportunities for cooperation and coordination
  - Operational coordination: reduce transaction costs
  - Pre-Inspection and Preclearance: operate in each other’s country
  - Data harmonization: the electronic single window
  - Infrastructure consultation: jointly build capital stock
  - Coordinated risk management: at, between, and away from ports of entry
Mexican Migration to the U.S.  
Mexican Women’s Fertility: 1960 – 2000

1960: 7.25
1965: 7.16
1970: 6.77
1975: 6.07
1980: 4.97
1985: 4.08
1990: 3.44
1995: 2.88
2000: 2.41
Mexican Migration to the U.S.

- Literacy Rate in Mexico 1980 – 2009
  - (ages 15-24)
  - 1980: 91.9%
  - 1990: 95.4%
  - 2000: 96.6%
  - 2009: 98.5%

- Average Annual Salary in Mexico - 1991 – 2010
  - 1991: $3,250
  - 1995: $3,760
  - 2000: $5,010
  - 2005: $7,820
  - 2010: $8,930

- High School Enrollment in Mexico - 1991 – 2010
  - 1991: 53.6%
  - 1995: 58.5%
  - 2000: 72.7%
  - 2005: 82.3%
  - 2010: 88.8%

The New Normal: Migration from the Northern Triangle Countries in Central America

POVERTY
41.8% live in extreme poverty

VIOLENCE, CRIME AND INSECURITY
145K gang members  
homicides per 100K people:  
57.9 in Honduras, 31.8 in Guatemala y  
80.9 in El Salvador.

ORGANIZED CRIME AND DRUG DEALING
Cocaine is smuggled through the corridor and produces violence

DROUGHT, DRY CORRIDOR
15.9 million hectares and 666K families affected, Total population in the corridor: 10.5 million  
3.5 million need humanitarian assistance  
714K people displaced

LOW ECONOMIC GROWTH
GDP growth in 2016:  
3.1% in Guatemala, 3.5 in Honduras & 2.4 in El Salvador.

FROM 2014-2016, APPROXIMATELY 500K MIGRANTS TRAVELED EACH YEAR

ARMED CONFLICTS – 1970s & 1980s
Caused long term impact in El Salvador and Guatemala

NATURAL DESASTERS
Earthquake in El Salvador in 2001  
Hurricane Mitch in 1998  
Huracán Thomas en 2010

UNEMPLOYMENT
El Salvador - 5.3%  
Guatemala - 3.1%  
Honduras – 7.4%

HUMAN SMUGGLING
International networks with recruiters, guides and smugglers

FAMILY UNIFICATION
14% seek to join their family
Central America, the Caribbean, Mexico and the United States
U.S. Border Patrol Agents – Southwest Border

U.S. Border Patrol Agents – U.S. Southwest Border

FY 00 FY 01 FY 02 FY 03 FY 04 FY 05 FY 06 FY 07 FY 08 FY 09 FY 10 FY 11 FY 12 FY 13 FY 14 FY 15 FY 16

8,580 9,239 9,506 9,891 11,032 13,297 15,442 17,408 17,535 18,506 18,546 18,611 18,156 17,522 17,026
Mexico’s Response - Train Migration Routes (Southern Mexico)

HIGHWAY ROUTES
TRAIN ROUTES
Train stations with the highest boarding volume

Tehuantepec Isthmus Train
Arriaga-Medias Aguas: 226.9 miles
Mayab Train
Escárcega-Medias Aguas: 326 miles
The Future is North America (1)
From Colombia to the Arctic on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic Oceans

- The emergence of North America as an economic and security powerhouse: a half billion people and 25 percent of global GDP
- "The 21st Century Border Declaration" (Obama/Calderon) is mirrored in U.S./Canada relations by the "Beyond the Border Declaration" (Obama/Harper)
  - Both replace the "Security and Trade Prosperity Partnerships" (Bush/Harper/Fox) of 2005
The Future is North America (2)
From Colombia to the Arctic on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic Oceans

Parallel bilateral approaches (U.S./Canada, U.S./Mexico, Canada/Mexico) to be superseded over time by trinational conceptions and tripartite associations

• Central America and the Pacific Alliance
• The pivotal importance and role of border communities: *El Tercer Pais, Todos Somos Fronterizos*

The next generation's challenge of integration:

• Central America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Alliance: A gateway to the south, east, and west

No entry: Hungarian border police stand guard opposite refugees standing behind a fence at the Hungarian border with Serbia near the town of Horgos, Serbia

Great Wall of China, 3rd Century B.C. - present
Berlin Wall
Wall in the Age of Trump
Trump at the Border

President Trump Views Wall Prototypes, March 13, 2018. AP Photo