

rels will be challenged and Mexico will face extensive internal crises. But in the long term, viewed in terms of the century, Mexico will both weather the crises and benefit from the massive inflows of money from the United States.

Finally, when we look at Mexico's population, we see not only continued growth during a time when labor will be needed to fuel it but also a soft landing in population growth by mid-century, indicating social stabilization as well as easing demographic pressures on society. The population pattern also allows for increased migration to the United States during the 2030s, resulting in increased remittances and therefore enhanced capital formation without the burden of the overpopulation within Mexico's boundaries. Although not critical for Mexico's development, this migration will certainly be something that supports it.

Thus, we can see Mexico, which has joined Europe in some measures of its standard of living, passing through an inevitable period of turbulence and growth on the way to order and stability. Then, around the middle of the twenty-first century, while the world is at war, Mexico will emerge as a mature, balanced economy with a stable population—and will rank among the top six or seven economic powers in the world, with a growing military power to boot. Mexico will be the leading economic power of Latin America and, perhaps allied loosely with Brazil, will pose a challenge to U.S. domination of North America.

MEXICO'S GEOPOLITICS

During the 1830s and 1840s, Mexico lost its northern regions to the United States, following the Texas rebellion and the Mexican-American War. Essentially, all of the lands north of the Rio Grande and the Sonoran Desert were taken by the United States. The United States did not carry out ethnic cleansing; the existing population remained in place, gradually being overtaken by the arrival of non-Hispanic American settlers. The border was historically porous, and both U.S. and Mexican citizens were able to move readily across it. As I said before, a classic borderland was created, with clear political boundaries but complex and murky cultural boundaries.

Mexico has never been in a position to attempt to reverse the American conquests. It adopted the view that it had no choice but to live with the loss of its northern land. Even during the American Civil War, when the Southwest was relatively unprotected, the Mexicans made no move. Under the emperor Maximilian, Mexico remained weak and divided. It couldn't generate the will or power to act. When Mexico was approached by the Germans in World War I with the offer of an alliance against the United States and the return of northern Mexico, the Mexicans declined the offer. When the Soviets and Cubans tried to generate a pro-communist movement in Mexico to threaten America's southern frontier, they failed completely. Mexico couldn't move against the United States, nor could it be manipulated by foreign powers to do so, because Mexico couldn't mobilize.

This was not because anti-American sentiment wasn't present in Mexico. Such sentiment is in fact deeply rooted, as one might expect given the history of Mexican-American relations. However, as we have seen, sentiment has little to do with power. The Mexicans were absorbed by their own fractious regionalism and complex politics. They also understood the futility of challenging the United States.

Mexico's grand strategy was simple after 1848. First, it needed to maintain its own internal cohesion against regionalism and insurrection. Second, it needed to secure itself against any foreign intervention, particularly by the United States. Third, it needed to reclaim the lands lost to the United States in the 1840s. Finally, it needed to supplant the United States as the dominant power in North America.

Mexico never really got past the first rung in its geopolitical goals. It has, since the Mexican-American War, simply been trying to maintain internal cohesion. Mexico lost its balance after its defeat by the United States and never regained it. In part this was due to American policies that helped destabilize it, but mostly Mexico was weakened by living next to a dynamic giant. The force field created by the United States always shaped Mexican realities more than Mexico City did.

In the twenty-first century, the destabilizing proximity of the United States will instead become a stabilizing force. Mexico will still be affected by the United States, but the relationship will be managed to increase Mexican power. By the middle of the twenty-first century, as Mexican economic power