

# PEOPLES' PERMANENT TRIBUNAL

## INTERVIEWS

### Alejandro Solalinde

**Marcial Godoy (MG):** Good morning, Father Solalinde, it's a pleasure and thank you very much for this interview. To begin, I would like to ask you if you could introduce yourself and we'll take the conversation from there.

**Alejandro Solalinde (AS):** With pleasure. I am Alejandro Solalinde Guerra, Catholic priest and director of a shelter in the south of Mexico called Brothers on the Road Hostel in Ixtepec, Oaxaca, some five hours from Guatemala.

**MG:** How long has the shelter existed?

**AS:** The shelter will be eight years old next February. We needed to open it to protect migrants, give them assistance. And later it also became a place where we do policy advocacy to generate new laws and change the government's behavior and policies on migration, against the flow of migrants from Central America.

**MG:** Could you speak a little about what you see on the migration route, of the work of the shelter and the situation of the migrants that cross Mexico?

**AS:** The situation of migration in general is very complex. And it can only be seen partially, if you don't have the central points of reference. And one of them, you have to be very clear on this, migration is occurring—the migration crisis—in the framework of the crisis of the capitalist neoliberal system that is causing this disaster of impoverishment, but also of emigration coupled with other things. The system is also generating violence, given the high inequality it produces. Another referent within this same structural systemic framework, we could understand as ambition, money grabbing, of resources and power on the part of elites, regional oligarchies that are subordinate to the U.S. **The things we see with migrants are not only impoverishment, but also violence at their place of origin, during their journey, and at their place of destination.** The problems that could have been solved at the beginning were never solved, and so they have gotten worse and have been increasingly causing problems. Among these is neglect, contempt for the person, for the poor, for Central Americans, this violence is now, like a boomerang, reverting to the states of Mexico, but also to the U.S.

**MG:** Where do the Central American migrants at your workplace mainly come from?

**AS:** Mainly from Honduras. Honduras has the most forced migrants, forced to leave. After Honduras, Guatemala; third is El Salvador, in fourth place, Nicaragua and then ones from other places in South America.

**MG:** To what do you attribute the preponderance of Honduran migrants in the shelters, at least at this moment?

**AS:** It's that Honduras really doesn't exist, besides being a failed State, it is like a huge property—all of that is property of the U.S.—that the **local oligarchy** is managing. **There are six families that are "owners" of everything there, some four or five of Egyptian origin and others of Italian origin and all that power is concentrated in them. They have found a great business in remittances. Hondurans no longer count after they leave there, they don't count, when they go through Mexico they disappear and they only appear again when they send remittances because remittances yield profits for the local oligarchy, without them having to produce.** Fruit, produce, especially bananas—that are of excellent quality in Honduras—have also been grabbed by U.S. multinationals; and that makes them go from property owners and producers, to being only assemblers and employees. The northern part, which is beautiful, the Caribbean part, the entire area of tourism, has also been totally privatized to the degree that they require Hondurans to show a passport to go there, it's incredible. The *maras* [criminal gangs], those *maras* that the U.S. deported in the 1970s to El Salvador have now grown and gotten stronger, and now with the truce of the 11 from here with the 13, joined the 18 and 13 and have formed a single organization, and are extremely strong and present in Honduras. The Mexican cartels have taken advantage of that disaster in Honduras and now the Zetas, Gulf cartel, and Sinaloa cartel are present. The U.S. established various military bases in the last decades, which have spread AIDS and caused a serious health problem for the Honduran government. So if we join all these causes, plus the political lawsuits between the oligarchy and plutocracy, and also all the political violence, it has generated an unbearable life for migrants. Who can live there? Who can live in that Honduras? The Catholic Church has been absent during all these years. There is a cardinal, Oscar Rodriguez Madariaga, who is perfect as decoration. He is a cardinal who I would rate a ten as a prince, but as a priest I would fail him. He has not been at all concerned about poverty in Honduras, or about inequality, injustice, not even about why women and children have left, as we have heard, women are crossing the Rio Bravo with their children, it's incredible. No one has cared about them. And the small churches even less, because they identify more closely with the country of the north, most of all the U.S.

**MG:** And leaving Honduras, let's go on to Mexico, following the path of migrants. How do you see that the situation has changed or not changed in this new presidential period of Peña Nieto in contrast to the *Calderonato*.

**AS:** Yes, it has changed, we are worse, only there is now more simulation. They aim to present a perfect Mexico that has ended crime, which is doing very well, which is on the rise, it's a lie, a simulation, makeup, false. The truth is that in the interior the countryside is dying, it's not producing. The peasants and indigenous are totally marginalized. Mexico has the highest rate of kidnappings, extortion, disappearances, femicide, what is happening there is incredible. Corruption is very widespread; impunity is at 98%. This government is totally committed to the capitalist neoliberal system, and so it has no concern for the people; the people go around like sheep abandoned by their shepherd. In that sense, the Mexican Catholic Church has been lukewarm. At the end of the day it was made for that, formed to have a privileged status, so it has settled for holding masses, administering their offices, a bureaucratic relationship, which suits the government very well. They have elite meetings where they share agendas and also common interests, but do not concern themselves with the people, or with the fact that every day there are more poor people in Mexico; we already have more than 54 million poor. Young people are also forgotten, without opportunities; we have 7 million young people or more that do not work or study, not because they are stupid or lazy, but because of lack of opportunities.

We also have starvation wages, where you can't even talk about subsistence, well, those who have the privilege of being exploited, because those who don't have a job have no way to live. And we no longer talk about quality of life—that is only for the wealthiest. In Mexico, with the population we have—some 110, 115 million—we could say that 10% has the most of the wealth. And we shamefully have, like the icing on the cake, the world's richest man.

**MG:** The other issue that seems to me unavoidable in Mexico is the issue of violence, the issue of the disappeared; the bloodshed that has occurred in Mexico in the last years, since before Calderon, during the *Calderonato*, and those features continue today. And the question comes to mind—a bit from having the privilege of speaking with you, a leader of faith and public figure—that one of the most burning issues in Mexico is, how to organize pain? There is pain, suffering and bloodshed in the country that is on the scale that I think has been unmatched, at least for a long time, in Mexico. What can you do in the face of that? How does a country, a political system, a people, confront a scenario such as that?

**AS:** What is happening in Mexico now has already happened in Central America, Central America has suffered wars, coups, fratricidal wars, that have opened wounds that have so far not been healed. They have committed very serious injustices, massacres, which have not yet been satisfactorily settled in the pursuit of justice. Mexico is in a difficult position, increasingly difficult position where we are seeing parents of disappeared children, especially women, going into the streets. It is moving how more come out everyday. The Central American mothers who come to look for their disappeared children in Mexico, and there have already been twelve caravans of mothers this year; and there are new lists of disappeared that they are just beginning to come to light. **In Mexico there are more, without counting the places, than 10 thousand disappeared migrants. And we've had this count since 2006; adding one by one the cases we have had and it's painful to see all that.** The number of women murdered, inexplicably, everywhere. In the face of this we find that great pain and terrible impunity. I mean there is no justice, not even instruments of justice. There aren't enough truth commissions to investigate, to seek a bit of relief, satisfaction, to listen to victims and close those wounds a little and reach reconciliation, to have a bit of peace—that does not exist. So this government has a terrible attitude because it is taking the path of repression—and now it is repressing—but it's also going down the path of dictatorship, and no longer perfects, as we thought, a cynical and shameless dictatorship where it's obvious that money and power are its interests. We increasingly see how the three powers of the union are fused under one will, which is apparently the president, but behind him is the godfather, who is really the one that rules, and that is Carlos Salinas de Gortari. He is the one who really rules Mexico, he is the one that exercises power over everything that happens in Mexico; but on top of him is there are other powers, such as financial capital, which rules the whole system. This is the situation Mexico is experiencing. The government we have is a front, a government that is totally simulated and also does not listen; it is an autistic government, totally, that doesn't care about the people, they do not listen to them because they don't care to hear them. He can do everything from his desk, from above. And the latest that is happening in the southern border, after the U.S. complained that Mexico has neglected the border, now they are implementing the Southern Border Program. This is a shameless program of repression of migration flows, but it's also a ruse for the U.S. government. Why is it a ruse? Because they are saying that no one is really going through the border, and they are going through. We have constant reports of migrants that were captured at immigration checkpoints with everything, and their coyote. The coyote goes into the immigration station at the checkpoint, the group also enters and are seen giving

immigration agents a wad of cash, especially at the Echegaray checkpoint. So the coyotes, human traffickers, immediately leave and take their group with them and “nothing’s happened here.” Those are the keys that open that virtual border that Mexico has placed before the U.S. They will tell them that no one is getting through, but **there is porosity, corruption; from the southern border to the northern border, because it is a network of organized crime.** But in addition, they are tricking them in another way, because they are saying, “look at how many we are detaining.” They are making an arch, practically a border, from Campeche, Tabasco and part of Veracruz, which is Acayucan where the immigration station is, and another point is Tapanatepec, Oaxaca, up to the Pacific, by the coast of Chiapas and the coast of Oaxaca. And they tell them, “We are detaining all of them, we have so many detained migrants.” What happens? They can repatriate those persons, and they know perfectly, they say so themselves that they will return. So they are doing a circular migration. Everyone wins with that circular migration, well everyone except migrants. Immigration wins, organized crime wins, because each time they pass, the migrants are paying money. Secondly, Immigration and the Mexican State wins against the U.S. because they are telling them, “What you are giving us for Plan Merida is serving, because Central Americans are not getting through and here is the proof.” But it’s not like that, because they are returning them and they are going back, and the ones that can pay are getting through. But there is also something that worries me and that is, imagine, in Mexico, given the high corruption that exists, migrants that get through generate expenses. Because be it the first time or if they are returning, but they are people who generate expenses of food, water, mattresses, personal hygiene kits, medicine, many things. So the Mexican government does not pay for that, it comes from the Merida Initiative, it is money in dollars that goes from the Department of Interior, and the Department of Interior distributes it to the National Institute of Migration. One would have to find out who has that concession. The rumors are that possibly the relatives of a high-level official in the National Institute of Migration has that concession and there was no bidding, because there, there is no bidding, they simply divide the benefits of business coming from migrants. **Finally, migrants are merchandise that money can be extracted from in any way possible.**

**MG:** And as part of that Southern Border plan they are prohibiting migrants from taking The Beast, the train, that has already gotten so much attention; the images are already everywhere, internationally. To what do you attribute that repressive strategy and what are the options left for migrants if the option of taking The Beast for travelling through Mexico is closed to them?

**AS:** It is in fact closed. Why do they do it? Well, it is a drastic measure, and a beneficial measure for the Mexican government because first it shows the U.S. that it is no longer allowing the massive entry, so it is calm and eases the paranoia in the U.S. Secondly, it is important because what happens with them will no longer be so visible. It’s not the same to see a train full of migrants, with women and children, than to see an empty train. Who knows where they are passing. For the government doesn’t care about the fate of migrants, they don’t care if they live or die, if they are kidnapped, they don’t care, as long as they are not seen. That is what the government wants, for that to not be visible. But I’m going to tell you something, there are many routes, no one is going to stop the migration flows—we have that clear. We are seeing that here, they are arriving, with shackles or no shackles, they are arriving. But listen, they are arriving from everywhere, but there is an alternative that the Mexican government could have done. A little over a year ago, the Mexican government began an interesting process, different from what it is used to, but faced with so much pressure, it had to start it. We are talking about PEM, the special migration program; it is very good, has very advanced criteria. It is a program,

not a law, which is ideal for the southern border. See, it was developed inductively by 90 organizations in favor of migrants. The Catholic Church, through a collective called CODEMIRE, to which I belong, is leading all these processes. So it has collected the voice, work, observations, experience, and richness of over 69 migrant houses and of those over 90 organizations; and the Special Program for Migration was formed. It is a worthwhile program. It is based on pro-person principles for the greater good of the child, on shared responsibility; it is based on citizen participation processes, which is quite important, because in fact this program was produced like that. My question is, how is it possible that after Enrique Peña Nieto signed it, together with 21 secretaries of State, they left it aside to impose an improvised, uncertain program, that they additionally crafted from their desks, as the majority of things this government does. Something occurs to them, and they announce that it is going to do something and puts someone in charge, even though it has no budget or infrastructure, no personnel, that is what they are doing. So it is unforgivable that having the PEM, it was not chosen as the response. This means they prefer not to take our own path, which we are doing with PEM, but following the direct immediate mandate of U.S. orders: "You contain those people by any means; I don't want them to pass," and period. No program or anything; what interest does the U.S. have in this pro-person program? What interest could they have in the good of the child, such as the integration of the family if the first thing they do is disintegrate them? What interest could the U.S. have in conserving the integrity of families if it is disintegrating them everywhere? So Mexico opted for the drastic path of trampling on human rights, violating human rights, the path of the U.S. government regarding migrants rather than following its own path through PEM. That is the saddest situation.

**MG:** Well, that brings us to the issue of the U.S., following the route to the north. We are here, in New York, you came to participate in the Peoples' Permanent Tribunal, a pre-hearing on migration. Here obviously there are complicities from Central America—as you said—even New York, Washington, of very great interests. How do you see the situation of the northern border and the way, one of increasing militarization of the border? And second, what about this irruption of a "crisis" of migrant children here in the U.S. and in the U.S. media?

**AS:** Well, in the first place, we are here for the Peoples' Permanent Tribunal, here in the U.S., because the problem not local, it is regional. But that's why it has to be done in Central America, Mexico, and also in the U.S. **On the other hand, the fact of doing it here reminds us also that we are in a region in which you cannot put a line in the water, you can't. You can have your mental border, physical, whatever; but it's impossible in any way to avoid waters from unifying, impossible. What is happening on the southern border is the same, but it's more serious, in the northern border.** Last year I was at the Department of State, on May 21, invited by the U.S. State Department in Washington, and I told them, **"You cannot stop migration but you can't avoid them from passing through your border either. Why? Because you—the U.S. government—are not the ones that control the border but the Mexican government does not either. It's controlled by the Zetas, the Gulf and other cartels controls it."** Sinaloa is now getting involved in the north as well. So this border is like that and you can't avoid them passing. But I'm going to tell you something that is the clearest thing in the world. Now it isn't so much about whether they pass or not, they are already here, they have to understand that and our dear U.S. brothers have to get that in their heads, and above all the government. It's impossible to avoid it, they are here, but in addition I never told them how they are getting through, because I know, yes, they are telling me. Because as they were saying yesterday, how they are getting through, they are also telling me. And it's incredible, so many

ways, it's incredible, Latinos have so much creativity, as you can imagine. I obviously don't tell that to the media, but I know they are passing; they are passing under their beards, under their noses, they are passing and they don't realize. So I have that clear, and it's a true conclusion that I honestly tell you, that they are inside. And for all they expel... I'm going to give you just one example, in the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, rather end of the 1990s and the following years, the U.S. deported more than 30,000 Salvadoran gang members. Now there is triple the number of gang members that used to be here. No, more than those the U.S. repatriated in the recent years, there are 84,000. Imagine that, 84,000 gang members. And those 30 that left have returned, improved and in greater numbers; now without tattoos, without things that are very visible, but they get in wherever they want, why? Because they control everything, they control the border, they're in collusion with the Zetas, they're associated with the Gulf Cartel, the Sinaloa Cartel, I don't know, but at least with these two, I know and because they come and go. **So I really analyze it and I think it's very important, they are already inside. The U.S. has no choice whether or not receive them, because they expel them and they return.** Ah, but they already have a record. They don't care, whether they have a record of coming in once, for two or three deportations, if they get caught they know they go to jail, but there in jail they are also generating expenses.

**MG:** But that means that if the cartels control the northern border, they have to be in collusion with the U.S. State on the other side? I imagine...

**AS:** Of course, there is also corruption on this side. And of course from the other side they are associated; it's not as if there is complicity, they are associates. Look, one day a member of the Gulf Cartel—because they have contacted me twice, once here in Tennessee, in Chattanooga—they contacted me and explained many things to me; The other was in Reynosa, about 8 months later, they contacted me there. And they clearly told me who was on the payroll, who were paid; but not only politicians were paid, or police or army members, but also how they were under the cartels. And they told me, "Look, for example, we called on this guy and asked him what happened, why aren't you taking care of things, and those complaints scare them, they tremble." That's exactly what he said, "Their pants fall down, because they know that at any given moment, we could complain, and kill them right there, they don't play with us." But that's what they said, verbatim, from the governor on down, imagine, the corruption is tremendous.

**MG:** And everywhere...

**AS:** All of them, the Federal, Municipal, and State Police.

**MG:** At every level.

**AS:** Sure.

**MG:** How do you interpret the U.S. position on these migratory waves? They are not new, but there tend to be cycles in which the U.S. becomes very xenophobic and closes the borders and there is lots of racism and discrimination against migrants. How do you interpret the current moment here? With Obama's presidency, and how do you see the current political situation in the U.S.

**AS:** Gosh, you are asking me for an interpretation and it is as I see it, with my eyes, from my conscience; I am a historian too. Look, I'm going to put it this way: The U.S., for me, is a huge roof under which all the migrant groups fit. But it also has an owner, and the owners are, above all, the Jews of Wall Street, who manage finances; not just any Jew, I'm referring to Zionists. The Jews identify the U.S. with the Promised Land, but their God, the Messiah, is money. In that context, I can tell you that Obama has very reduced capacity. Theoretically, he is the most powerful man in the world, but only because he heads the principal power. Inside, in the U.S., when I went to the Department of State on May 21 of last year, I got a surprise, why? Because I felt as if I was seeing an enormous giant, with a terrible mask, very strong and powerful, and a frame; and then I went inside and saw normal persons, persons behind that mask, friendly, different than what they seem. That's what I saw there, with those persons of the bi-national team that works on the U.S. and Mexico. And we could speak with total honesty, and they were humble, people that gave me the impression that they're human, and also people of conscience, but who maybe don't know many things. I also think that in the U.S. many internal dynamics are being generated. The U.S. is not monolithic, it is a very complex diversity; even contradictory within itself, but it maintains cohesion through physical coercion, laws. But if this were not the case, who knows what there would be, because there is a deep spiritual cohesion; the U.S. is very complex. Because of what I have told you, the very State Department lacks information. They receive partial information, but they lack human information, more thorough information, that are persons, not the number of migrants but real persons, what is happening in their countries of origin. They also lack a vision, and it makes incredible blunders, blunders that then turn against it. For example, when it deports, at the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s it was deporting gang members.

**MG:** After the riots in Los Angeles with Rodney King, when they cleared the jails of Central Americans...

**AS:** Yes, the 13, the 18 and all that. So they come as maras, they left as gang members, and they come back as maras. Bloodier, better organized, more intelligent, and they can't get them out. They return some that they can see, but not others. There's an organization of maras in Los Angeles that is so strong, from the 13 to the 18, incredibly strong, who have united and are even stronger than those in El Salvador. But I have to say that in El Salvador they might have the leader, a very intelligent strategist, almost genius, who is Old Man Lin. Old Man Lin is forty something years old and is in prison, and from there he leads El Salvador, governs El Salvador. And he just said that he wants to move on, and that the maras are ready to go on to the political scene; that they are going to leave organized crime behind and move on to the political scene. But I was telling you that the U.S. does not understand lessons, because it sends away persons who are disposable for them, because they are disposable, and suddenly they return in a powerful way. These children they are now returning, and these children are being co-opted by the maras, by the Zetas, and will return rich. Before coming here I talked with a young man of 16; he joined the Zetas when he was 13, and you should hear what that child said. Do you know what he said? He had already handled long guns, handled everything; obviously he got drunk, drugged. And he tells you, "I took a very pretty girl to the hotel. And there, at the hotel I took too many drugs and killed her." And he leaves the hotel, simply got his things and leaves, and tells his boss, a Zeta. The boss said "Hey, man, don't worry, there's more where that one came from, don't worry." There are no limits. These people who are being coopted by organized crime, if they survive—because I have calculated two years of life for them—but if they survive, they will be an appetizing dish to eat when they come here to the U.S. Because he

will arrive in the U.S.; do you know what they say, “I’m going up, I’m going down;” going up means they are coming here, to the U.S. border, and they will get through. But then they return and go to Central America, and then go up again and get through again. To them it’s like nothing, with incredible ease. They don’t need a passport, they don’t need a visa; they can go through wherever they want. I repeat I know many ways that they cross. But what I never thought was that the U.S. is so corrupt.

**MG:** And returning to the issue of Mexico, and the more political issue. What would be the immediate demands to make on the Mexican government regarding the migration issue? I mean there are groups that demand the free passage of migrants through Mexico. If there were two or three immediate demands to make on the government, what would they be?

**AS:** Look, what I’m going say is very harsh but I don’t believe in the government of Mexico. I don’t believe in it. They are not trustworthy, or moral, its party is not about being trustworthy, it’s rotten. Obviously not all are like that, there are persons of conscience, good people, but unfortunately they are not brave enough to self-criticize, because they know it’s useless. Everything is ordered from above. How can you tell an Enrique Peña Nieto to act ethically, with responsibility, with love for the country, with love for their peasant brothers, if who is telling him what to do is Carlos Salinas de Gortari? He is a man that doesn’t want money because he stole so much, he is already very rich, but power is insatiable, he is addicted to power. But that is his little puppet, which he perfectly moves, and pulls all the strings he wants. Look, I will give you just one example. He bought a very expensive plane for the presidency, supposedly it was for Peña Nieto but he didn’t test it, Carlos Salinas de Gortari tested it. Why? Because he has the last word. If, for example, the man who was the most powerful during the 12 years of the PAN government, Genaro Garcia Luna, when he goes to see Salinas de Gortari, he goes to ask him for safe-conduct, so that no one does anything to him during Peña Nieto’s term, he went directly to who controls him.

**MG:** So then to whom do you make demands? To what entity can social movements make their demands?

**AS:** Look, what I can tell you is that social movements, the people of conscience, we are strengthening ourselves as a network; we are becoming more aware and we are pressuring whoever, whoever is competent. We are pressuring to achieve what we want. And I’m going to give you an example, if I go to Immigration, Immigration is corrupt, and the commissioner, their whole system is like the police. What ethics? What human rights? What conscience could these people have? However, there is the law, which we could demand. So I go and I say, why don’t you let me keep them in the shelter so you don’t have to have them in your jail, because they are in jails for migrants; better let me have them. And they will say, no I will not give them to you. Why? Because while they are in there, they do business with their freedom, with many things. But I have the right to their custody, I have the right to have custody because Brothers on the Road is an A.C., legally constituted under the Treasury, and I am a person with moral authority. These two characteristics are required for custody. So I go, first I ask for custody, we opened the door, we took the steps. First I went for seven, then for 31, and I can keep going. The problem is that I have been abroad, but I can keep taking all those I want to the shelter, and they are with me. That’s why I tell you we have to take advantage of the gaps, the spaces, so as to not ask for permission. I already understood that one doesn’t have to ask for permission



because they are not people of good will, it's not what they want to do; they have to do it under pressure, that's the only way they do it.

**MG:** And then both at the micro level of custody to a higher level, where can we perceive or make some kind of change visible?

**AS:** For that, they would have to be born again, they would need to reeducate themselves, and I'm going to give you just one example. Look, before coming here, five Cubans from Pachuca, Hidalgo had been talking with me. I went to see them once and they let me see all of them. But afterwards, they didn't let them out, as the commissioner had promised me—see how his word is worthless—he had promised me that he was going to give them their release papers and let them continue their journey to the U.S. How hard would that be for him? He retained them, they were there for some weeks they kept calling me, worried because one of them was sick. And until I went there and talked to him by phone, the last conversations I had with him, before I called him liar and traitor. And I said to him, “Commissioner, I am going to Pachuca for those five young men, are you going to give them to me?” And he said, “Yes father, I will hand over all five.” And when I get there they kept me busy all afternoon, and part of the night, they end up giving me only one; they didn't let me see the other four. And I ask why did they not give them to me when they had given me their word? I took Leonardo, one of them, who of course told me horrible things. What happened to the other four? I told them I was going to come for the other four tomorrow or the next day, I will return. The following morning they deported two of them to Cuba. The others were sent to Ajujas in Iztapalapa, the migration station, kept them there a few days, and then deported them. The family of one of them told me “Are you the priest? Listen, they already deported my family, weren't you going to help them? We paid you for that!” And I said, “Wait, wait, who did you pay?” “Yes, 3,000 dollars for each of them.” And I told them, “I'm sorry but I haven't received any money.” “A lawyer who was entering the station told us that he was your associate and you were helping them, and that we should give you \$3,000. And we already paid and sent it, we left all that.” And I said, “Not only do I not charge any money, I would never receive a cent from you, or anyone I help, I would never ask for a cent. I'm sorry but I only ask for thanks.” So I was worried and asked them to help me get the facts about who is behind this. After I researched this, the person in charge of migration, Eric Zapata, had gotten this lawyer involved and let him get in contact with the migrant population, and he left, to wash his hands and left him to take care of it. He did business with them, and started to ask for phone numbers of their families and all that. This is what the commissioner lied about, this is what Eric Zapata hid and because of this they gave me custody. And that's why I sent them a message and said: “You lied to me, you betrayed me.”

**MG:** To conclude, it seems to me that this situation is very dangerous, that is, if this has no way to come to light. And also one is aware that there are broad territories where there are armed actors of different types: self-defense groups in Michoacan, or the cartels, the Zapatistas, such as...

**AS:** The citizenry itself...

**MG:** The scenario that comes to mind is that of a powder keg. There is something very worrying in Mexico, that if it does not become known, yes, it is a cynical dictatorship... if the population, for one reason or other, in large parts of the territory, is armed. This is going to get worse before it gets better, that's my impression. What do you think about that?

**AS:** Yes, we are entering a dead end alley. I think that there is too much gluttony, too many harmed persons without jobs, hunger, much violence everywhere—there are many injured people. I begin to think about all the dozens of disappeared, dozens of thousands of disappeared, murdered people. And I say, all that violence and such miserable life we lead, it cannot be that we give in or stand for it. And then, wherever you look, Marcial, analyze Mexico well and you will see that they are coopting our freedom everywhere. For example, the Treasury is a real danger, because it is exercising fiscal terrorism. Now the policing establishments, they are telling the bureaucrats they have to vote for the PRI as before, if they want to keep their jobs, as the PRI used to do. So laws are useless, useless. So, yes, we are entering a dead end alley and I think that this government is mistaken. I think that Carlos Salinas de Gortari is misjudging. Today's Mexico is no longer the Mexico that the PRI controlled, as in previous years. There is more awareness, they can coopt the television but not the social networks. Now people are more aware, we are better organized. And some of the population is already armed, and this could explode.

**MG:** We'll end with that, thank you very much, Alejandro, and we continue.