

Dr. Robert A. Pastor, Professor, School of International Service
Dr. James McHugh, Associate Director, Center for North American Studies
Email: rpastor@american.edu, Phone: 202-885-1525
Office Hours: Monday, 8 PM following class; Tuesday, 2-3 pm; or by appointment
Office: 3201 New Mexico Avenue, NW., Suite 265

HNRS-302.011H or SIS 618.001

**North America:
A Union, a Community, or Just Three Nations?**

**Fall 2006 - Monday, 5:30-8:00 pm
Ward 106**

I. Purpose of the Course: This course will explore the emergence of North America as the world's largest free trade area in gross product and territory. Economic and social integration has accelerated since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect in 1994, but institutions of governance have not kept pace with the expanding market, leading to negative externalities like currency crises or environmental deterioration, or missed opportunities like a continental transportation plan or enhanced labor rights. NAFTA has expanded trade and investment, but trade is not enough as the income gap between Mexico and its northern neighbors has widened. In other words, the policy agenda for North America has widened as integration has advanced, but the capacity to manage this broader agenda has diminished because of the absence of government initiative or cooperation. This course will examine the differences that separate the three countries and the ties that bind them. It will compare the North American experiment with Europe's, and it will imagine a continental future and new approaches to transnational issues.

II. Readings: Since the course covers contemporary issues, everyone is expected to stay current, reading The New York Times daily, and other sources, including El Financiero (www.elfinanciero.com.mx/), and the Ottawa Citizen (www.ottawacitizen.com). Check the NAFTA page on the web: www.nafta-sec-alena.org/. Updates of the schedule and some of the additional readings are available on the course Blackboard site, accessible at <http://www.american.edu/blackboard>.

The following texts are in the textbook section at the Campus Store:

Edward J. Chambers and Peter H. Smith, editors, *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, (University of California, San Diego Center for U.S. – Mexican Studies and University of Alberta Press, 2002).

Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New* (Washington, D.C. Institute for International Economics, 2001).

III. Course Procedures and Requirements: Students are expected to complete the week's readings before the seminar, which will be divided in half, with the first part being primarily a lecture, and the second, mostly a discussion led by one or two students, who will circulate a 1-2 page outline and a brief summary of the readings or the key issues before the class. Graduate students are required to read all of the recommended readings and are encouraged to read beyond the syllabus

and refer to those additional readings in the class discussion. Grades will be judged on class participation and presentations (20%); mid-term exam (25%); a 10-15 page term paper (25%); and final exam (30%). Graduate students need to submit a paper of 25-30 pages. Suggestions for the term papers will be given to the class by September 18th. Students should choose a topic, do a one-page description before October 16, and see one of us afterwards to discuss it. The paper is due on December 1. Students will make brief oral presentations of the paper.

Students are required to abide by
American University's Academic Integrity Code.
(see <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.htm>)

IV. Course Schedule

Part I: Defining “North America” and Placing it in a Global Context

August 28

Introduction - Definitions

Required:

Anthony DePalma, *Here: A Biography of the New American Continent*. (2001)
Chapter 1 (pp. 1-15) and Epilogue (pp. 343-354). [Blackboard]

Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community: Lessons from the Old World for the New* (2001), Chapters 1-2.

Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (Avon, 1981), pp. 1-13.
(Please examine the maps from this book on Blackboard)

Michael Howlett, Alex Neherton, and M. Ramesh, *The Political Economy of Canada: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 3-10.
[Blackboard]

September 4

Labor Day (no class)

September 11

NAFTA — The Agreement and the Criteria for Evaluation

Required:

Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community*. Chapter 4.

John J. Audley, “Introduction,” in *NAFTA's Promise and Reality: Lessons from Mexico for the Hemisphere*, in Audley, Polaski, and Papademetriou, (Washington, D.C. Carnegie Endowment, 2003), www.ceip.org/NAFTA and “Introduction”), pp. 5-9.

http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/NAFTA_Report_Intro.pdf

Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott, *NAFTA Revisited: Achievements and Challenges* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2005), pp. 17-63, esp. 61-63.

http://www.iie.com/publications/chapters_preview/332/01iie3349.pdf

Edward J. Chambers and Peter H. Smith, "NAFTA in the New Millennium: Questions and Contexts," in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 1-24.

Christopher Sands, "Different Paths Leading from Cancun," Center for Strategic and International Studies, *North American Integration Monitor*, Vol. 3, Issue 2 (May 2006)
http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,3219/

Robert E. Scott, *The High Price of "Free" Trade: NAFTA's Failure Has Cost the United States Jobs Across the Nation*. (Washington, D.C., Economic Policy Institute, Briefing Paper 147, November 2003), pp.1-13.
http://www.epinet.org/content.cfm/briefingpapers_bp147

Sidney Weintraub, "Preface" and "Trade, Investment, and Economic Growth," *NAFTA's Impact on North America: The First Decade*, edited by Weintraub (Washington, D.C. Center for Strategic and International Studies Press, 2004), pp. xi-xxiv, 3-20. [Blackboard]

Recommended:

Daniel Lederman, William F. Maloney, and Luis Servén, "NAFTA and Convergence in North America: High Expectations, Big Events, Little Time," in *Lessons from NAFTA for Latin America and the Caribbean Countries: A Summary of Research Findings* (Washington, D.C, World Bank and Stanford University Press, 2005), Chapter 1, pp. 1-39.
<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/LAC/LAC.nsf/ECADocbyUnid/32E02C48D1A7695685256CBB0060CA65?Opendocument>

Part II: Three Federal Countries

September 18

History, Politics, and Economics: Canada

Required:

Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 1-18 and 42-56.
 [Blackboard]

Eugene A. Forsey, *How Canadians Govern Themselves* (Library of Parliament, sixth edition, 2005).
http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/idb/forsey/PDFs/How_Canadians_Govern_Themselves-6ed.pdf

John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*. (University of Georgia Press, Athens, third edition, 2002) pp. 1-8 and 297-325. [Blackboard]

“Peace, order and rocky government,” *The Economist*, December 3, 2005.
http://www.economist.com/surveys/displaystory.cfm?story_id=5243159

“Canada's wintry election,” “Alienating the West,” “A dream that does not fade,” “Living with number one,” “A funny sort of government,” “The perils of cool,” *The Economist*, December 3, 2005. [Blackboard]

September 25

History, Politics, and Economics: Mexico

Required: Wayne A. Cornelius and Jeffrey A. Weldon, “Politics in Mexico,” *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, edited by Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., et. al. (New York, Longman, 2004, 8th edition), pages 467-519. [Library reserves]

Robert A. Pastor, “Exiting the Labyrinth,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 4, Oct. 2000, pp. 20-24. [Blackboard]

Robert Pastor, “What the U.S. Can Learn from Mexico,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 2006. <http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-pastor8jul08,0,51027.story?coll=la-news-comment-opinions>

Pamela K. Starr, *Challenges for a Post-Election Mexico* (N.Y.: Council on Foreign Relations, 2006)
<http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/MexicoCSR.pdf>

October 2

History, Politics, and Economics: The U.S.

Required: Austin Ranney, “Politics in the United States,” *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, edited by Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strom, Russell J. Dalton (New York, Longman, 2004, 8th edition), pages 467-519. [Library reserves]

Robert A. Pastor, “The United States: Divided by a Revolutionary Vision,” in *A Century's Journey: How the Great Powers Shape the World* (Basic Books, 1999), pp. 191-238. [Blackboard]

Recommended: Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*, pp. 19-41. [Blackboard]

“Degrees of Separation,” *The Economist*, July 14th, 2005.
http://www.economist.com/surveys/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=4148812

October 9

Fissures Within and Transnationalism Among the Three Countries

Required: Charles C. Doran, *Why Canadian Unity Matters and Why Americans Care: Democratic Pluralism at Risk* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. IX-XV, 72-77, 124-134, and 249-252. [Blackboard]

Earl H. Fry, *The Role of Sub-National Governments in North American Integration* (Montreal, Canada: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2004), pp. 3-28, 33-39. http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS2/folio_3.pdf

Edward J. Chambers, Carlos Alba Vega, and James B. Gerber, "NAFTA and Subregional Economies" (Section 2, Alberta, British Columbia, Jalisco, California, and Texas), in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 103-164.

Christopher Sands, "Getting to Know the North American Century," Center for Strategic and International Studies, *North American Integration Monitor*, Vol. 3, Issue 1 (October 2005)
http://www.csis.org/index.php?option=com_csis_pubs&task=view&id=2163

Recommended: Raúl Hinojosa-Ojeada and Robert K. McCleery, José Luis Valdés, Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owrarn, "The Political Economy of North American Economic Integration" (Section 1), in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 25-102.

Rafael Tamayo-Flores, "Mexico in the Context of the North American Integration: Major Regional Trends and Performance of Backward Regions," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, volume 33, 2001, pp. 377-407. [Blackboard]

October 13 **Fall Break**

October 16 **Mid-term exam and outline of term paper due by email**

Part III: The Second Decade Agenda

October 23 **The Integration Dilemma: Homeland Security and Mobility**

Required: Council on Foreign Relations, *Building a North American Community*, Independent Task Force Report No. 53 (2005), pp. 1-18.
http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/NorthAmerica_TF_final.pdf

Peter Andreas, "A Tale of Two Borders: The U.S.-Canada and U.S.-Mexico Lines After 9-11," in *The Rebordering of North America: Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context*, edited by Peter Andreas and Thomas J. Biersteker (New York: Routledge, 2003), pages 1-23. [Blackboard]

Andre Belelieu, *Canada Alert: The Smart Border Process at Two: Losing Momentum?* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, December 2003). Vol. XI, Issue 31.
http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/hf_v11_31.pdf

George W. Grayson, *Mexico Alert: Mexico's Southern Flank: A Crime-Ridden "Third U.S. Border."* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Dec. 2003). Vol. XI, Issue 32.

http://www.csis.org/media/isis/pubs/hf_v11_32.pdf

Recommended: Deborah Meyers, *Does "Smarter" Lead to Safer? An Assessment of the Border Accords with Canada and Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, June 2003) pp. 1-23. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/6-13-0~1.PDF>

October 30 **Environment and Culture**

Required: Stephen Azzi and Tamara Feick, "Coping with the Cultural Colossus: Canada and the International Instrument on Cultural Diversity" in *Coping with the American Colossus: Canada Among Nations 2003*, edited by Carment, Hampson, and Hillmer (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2003). pp. 100-120. [Blackboard]

Anthony DePalma, *Here: A Biography of the New American Continent*. (2001) Chapter 12 (pp. 259-279). [Blackboard]

Debra J. Davidson and Ross E. Mitchell, "Environmental Challenges to International Trade," in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 265-286.

"Water Policy: There's Plenty Up North," *The Economist*, January 21, 1999. [Blackboard, link to Proquest]

Scott Vaughan, *Thinking North American Environmental Management* (Montreal, Canada: Institute For Research on Public Policy, 2004), pp. 3-25.

http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/AOTS2/folio_5.pdf

Recommended: *U.S.-Mexico Transboundary Water Management: The Case of the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo. Recommendations for Policymakers for the Medium and Long Term*. A Report of the U.S.- Mexico Binational Council (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, University of Texas at Austin, 2003) pp. 1-22.

http://www.csis.org/media/isis/pubs/binational_council.pdf

John H. Knox and David L. Markell, Sanford E. Gaines, A. Dan Tarlock and John E. Thorson, and John H. Knox and David L. Markell, in *Greening NAFTA: the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation*, edited by David L. Markell and John H. Knox (Montréal, Québec: Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 2003), Chapters 1, 10, 12, and 16. [Library reserves]

November 6 **Ties that Bind – Trade, Migration, Transportation, Democracy**

Required: “NAFTA in the Next Ten Years: Issues and Challenges” (Section 4, Labor, Environment, Migration, Agriculture, Transportation), in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 239-353.

Samuel P. Huntington, “The Hispanic Challenge,” *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2004) and “Commentary on “The Hispanic Challenge”” *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2004) [link to both articles available at Blackboard]; also Pastor, *Toward a North American Community* pp. 164-166.

Roger Lowenstein, “The Immigration Equation,” *New York Times Magazine*, July 9, 2006, pp. 36-43, 69-71.
www.nytimes.com/2006/07/09/magazine/09IMM.html?ex=1310097600&en=8b2c5c0a2ceea8e0&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss

Robert A. Pastor, “What the U.S. Can Learn from Mexico,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 2006.
<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-pastor8jul08,0,51027.story?coll=la-news-comment-opinions>

Recommended: Stephen Blank, Stephanie R. Golob, and Guy Stanley, *Mapping the New North American Reality*, IRPP Working Paper Series no. 2004-09, 2004,
<http://www.irpp.org/index.htm>

Norman Bonsor, *Fixing the Potholes in North American Transportation Systems*, (Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, August 2004) Choice 10, no. 8. <http://www.irpp.org/choices/index.htm>

Robert A. Pastor, “Democracy and Elections in North America: What Can We Learn from Our Neighbors?” Introduction and Conclusion, *Election Law Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2004, table of contents and pp. 396-398, 584-593. [Blackboard]

Part IV: A Community, a Union, or Just Three Nations?

November 13 **Identity and Public Opinion – Converging or Diverging Value?**

Required: Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community*, Chap. 7.

Ekos, “Wave 1—General Public Survey: Canada, the US and Mexico” *Rethinking North America Study* (Ekos, 2005).
<http://www.consejodemexicano.org/download.php?id=850202,668,2>

Alejandro Moreno, Neil Nevitte, Leigh Anderson, and Robert Brym, and Phillip S. Warf and Steven Kull “Economic Integration and Public Opinion”

(Section 3, Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. Attitudes) in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 165-238.

Michael Adams, *Fire and Ice: The United States, Canada, and the Myth of Converging Values* (Canada: Penguin, 2003), pp. 139-144. [Blackboard]

Recommended:

Karlyn Bowman and Frank Graves, "Threat Perceptions in the United States and Canada: Assessing the Public's Attitudes toward Risk and Security in North America", *One Issue, Two Voices*, Iss. 4 (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, October 2005).

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/threats.pdf>

Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Consejo Mexicano De Asuntos Internacionales, and the Chicago Council On Foreign Relations, *Global Views 2004: Comparing Mexican and American Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* (CIDE, COMEXI, and The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 2004).

http://www.cfr.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/Global_Views_2004_US_Mexico.pdf

November 20

Options for the Future

Required:

Robert A. Pastor, "North America's Second Decade," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2004, pp. 128-135.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83112-p0/robert-a-pastor/north-america-s-second-decade.html>

Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community*, Chapters 5-6.

Stephen Clarkson, "NAFTA and the WTO in the Transformation of Mexico's Economic System," in *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*, edited by Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew D. Selee, (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), pages 215-253. [Blackboard]

Earl H. Fry, *North American Economic Integration: Policy Options* (Policy Papers on the Americas, volume XIV, study 8, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2003)

http://www.usembassycanada.gov/content/can_usa/economicintegration_csis_0703.pdf

Robert Jackson, et. al., *North American Politics: Canada, USA, and Mexico in a Comparative Perspective*, Chapter 10 (pp. 218-220). [Blackboard]

Council on Foreign Relations, *Building a North American Community*, Independent Task Force Report No. 53 (2005), pp. 18-39.

http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/NorthAmerica_TF_final.pdf

Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America. *Report to Leaders*. (June 2005).

http://www.spp.gov/report_to_leaders/Trilingual_Report_to_Leaders.pdf?dName=report_to_leaders

Recommended: Danielle Goldfarb, *Beyond Labels: Comparing Proposals for Closer Canada-U.S. Economic Relations* (C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder, 76, October 2003) pp.1-17. http://www.cdhowe.org/pdf/backgrounder_76.pdf

Maureen Appel Molot and Norman Hillmer, "The Diplomacy of Decline," in *A Fading Power: Canada Among Nations 2002*, edited by Hillmer and Molot (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002) pp. 1-33. [Blackboard]

North American Energy Working Group. *North America: The Energy Picture II*. <http://www.pi.energy.gov/pdf/library/NorthAmericaEnergyPictureII.pdf>

November 27 **A North American Community – Deeper, Wider, or None of the Above?**

Required: Charles F. Doran, "When Building North America, Deepen Before Widening," in *A New North America: Cooperation and Enhanced Interdependence* edited by Charles F. Doran and Alvin Paul Drischler, (Westport, Conn: Prager, 1996), pp. 65-87. [Blackboard]

Robert A. Pastor, *Toward a North American Community*, Chapters 3, 8.

"NAFTA in the Longer Term: Prospects for Institutional Development" (Section 5, Customs Union, Dollarization, Development Policy, Dispute Settlement, Enlargement) in *NAFTA in the New Millennium*, pp. 354-470.

Recommended: Daniel Schwanen, *Deeper, Broader: A Roadmap for a Treaty of North America*, (Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, 2004) Thinking North America, Volume II, no. 4. http://www.irpp.org/books/archive/schwanen_roadmap.pdf

December 4 **Summary of Course/Presentation of Term Papers**

December 11 **Monday** **5:30 – 8 PM** **Final Exam**

[NA/SyllabusNAmer-Fall 2006]

WEBSITES

For a good background fact sheet, see Rebecca Jannol, Deborah Meyers, and Maria Jachimowicz, *U.S.-Canada-Mexico Fact Sheet on Trade and Migration*. (Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, Nov.2003) pp. 1-5,

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/US-Canada-Mexicofact%20sheet.pdf>

North American (Bi- and Tri-national) Institutions and Agencies

- Border Environment Cooperation Commission (US & Mexico)
- <http://www.cocef.org>
- Mexico-U.S. Binational Commission
<http://www.sre.gob.mx/eua/Espanol/Prensa/Comunicados/2003/Noviembre/SREBinational272.pdf>
- NAFTA Secretariat
<http://www.nafta-sec-alena.org/DefaultSite/index.html>
- North American Free Trade Agreement (US, Canada & Mexico)
<http://www-tech.mit.edu/Bulletins/nafta.html>
- North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (US, Canada & Mexico)
<http://www.naalc.org/>
- North American Development Bank (US & Mexico)
<http://www.nadbank.org/>
- North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (US, Canada & Mexico)
<http://www.cec.org/home/index.cfm?varlan=english>
- North American Forum on Integration
<http://www.fina-nafi.org/sections/sections.asp?langue=fr&menu=focus&sb=1>
- International Boundary and Water Commission (US & Mexico)
<http://www.ibwc.state.gov/>
- Inter-American Development Bank about Regional Integration
<http://www.iadb.org>
- International Joint Commission (US & Canada)
<http://www.ijc.org/>

Canadian Government Agencies/Institutions

- Canadian Government
<http://www.gc.ca/>
- Canada Customs and Revenue Agency
<http://www.ccra-adrc.gc.ca/menu-e.html>
- Anti-Dumping and Countervailing Directorate
<http://www.ccra-adrc.gc.ca/sima/>
- Canadian International Trade Tribunal
<http://www.citt.gc.ca/>
- Foreign Affairs and International Trade
<http://www.dfait-macci.gc.ca/>

- Embassy of Canada in Washington, D.C.
<http://www.canadianembassy.org>
- Trade and the Economy
<http://www.canadianembassy.org/trade/index-en.asp>

Mexican Government Agencies/Institutions

- Mexican Embassy, Washington, D.C.
<http://www.sre.gob.mx/eua/>
- Mexican Government
<http://www.gob.mx/wb2/>
- Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores
<http://www.sre.gob.mx>
- Secretaria de Economia
<http://www.economia.gob.mx/>

US Government Agencies/Institutions and Programs

- The Congressional Budget Office
<http://www.cbo.gov>
- Good Neighbor Environmental Board
<http://www.epa.gov/ocempage/gneb-page.htm>
- US Department of Commerce
International Trade Administration <http://www.ita.doc.gov/>
Market Access and Compliance <http://www.mac.doc.gov/>
United States Trade Representative <http://www.ustr.gov/>
- United States International Trade Commission
<http://www.usitc.gov>

Other International Organizations

- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Trade Directorate
http://www.oecd.org/department/0,2688,en_2649_33705_1_1_1_1_1,00.html
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Statistics
http://www.oecd.org/statisticsdata/0,2643,en_2649_33705_1_119656_1_1_1,00.html
- World Bank, Latin American Trade
<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/LAC/LAC.nsf/ECADocByUnid/E8FBA5A860C10DD385256DD600744496?Opendocument>
- World Trade Organization
<http://www.wto.org/>

Research Centers

- EKOS, Canadian Marketing Research Organization
<http://www.ekos.com/about/default.asp>
- Center for Strategic and International Studies
<http://csis.org/americas>