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NORTH AMERICAN FUTURE 2025 PROJECT

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SUMMARY

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) proposes to conduct a research project that will examine the future strategic issues facing North America projecting out to the year 2025. The results of the study will enable policymakers to make sound, strategic, long-range policy decisions about North America, with an emphasis on regional integration. Specifically, the project will focus on a detailed examination of future scenarios, which are based on current trends, and involve six areas of critical importance to the trilateral relationship: labor mobility, energy, the environment, security, competitiveness, and border infrastructure and logistics.

CSIS has selected 2025 as an end date on the basis of the data presently available on overall global projections. Going beyond 2025 would require making straight-line projections on existing data, which could skew the methodological integrity of these data. Moreover, looking too far into the future could also diminish the forecasting accuracy of such projections.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

In order to strengthen the capacity of Canadian, U.S., and Mexican administration officials and that of their respective legislatures to analyze, comprehend, and anticipate North American integration, the CSIS North America Project proposes to carry out a series of seven closed-door roundtable sessions.

To capture the very best thinking on the six issues that will be covered, each of the roundtable sessions will convene a combination of practitioners (from each respective administration and legislature); stakeholders (from the private sector and conceivably even labor unions); and highly specialized academics and analysts from Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Limiting the number of participants to between 21 and 45 individuals—with an equal number from each nation—should allow for free-flowing and balanced discussion.

Independent of these trilateral brainstorming sessions, the CSIS North America Project will conduct additional research and review the very latest published and unpublished works produced in all three countries. In the spirit of a North American partnership, the CSIS North America Project is receptive to collaborating with Canadian and Mexican research institutions. In Mexico, CSIS will be collaborating with the CIDE.

To adhere to the desired time line for this project, as well as to budgetary parameters, the North American Future 2025 project will derive its assumptions from existing projection scenarios, such as *Mapping the Global Future: Report of the National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project*; "Dreaming with the BRICS: The Path to 2050," a Goldman Sachs study issued in October 2003; relevant projection scenarios from Statistics Canada and Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática; and the CSIS/Global Strategy Institute's own long-range forecasts conducted through the Seven Revolutions and Seven Futures Projects. The North American Future 2025 project will also examine relevant future-looking work dealing with each of the six topics upon which the three governments have agreed—

namely, labor mobility, energy, the environment, security, competitiveness, and border infrastructure and logistics.

The final deliverable will be a report on options and policy recommendations on the future of North American integration that will be presented in September 2007 to the executive and legislative branches of the three governments of North America. The report will be produced in the three official languages—English, Spanish, and French—as part of an effective dissemination strategy aimed at maximizing the policy impact of the report.

ROUNDTABLE I: METHODOLOGY OF GLOBAL AND NORTH AMERICAN PROJECTIONS

The CSIS North America Project will convene pertinent government officials from Canada, the United States, and Mexico, along with selected nongovernment experts knowledgeable of current global and North American trends and experienced in projecting scenarios. This first roundtable would be akin to a methodology session, in which a select group of project participants will review existing data and make an assessment of current standpoints in key sectors and establish baseline scenarios for each of the six roundtables to follow. The first half of this roundtable will be dedicated to determining where North America and other global regions currently stand in key sectors, such as trade, demographics, infrastructure, natural resources (that is, energy and water), and science and technology. Examining current regional and global data will provide a context for the projection scenarios. The second half of this roundtable will assess existing projection studies and establish a baseline scenario from which to initiate the discussion and make appropriate adjustments prior to delving into the policy recommendations that will constitute part of the discussion at each of the six subsequent roundtables.

ROUNDTABLE II: THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICAN LABOR MOBILITY

Much of the contemporary literature on globalization principally focuses on the liberalization of trade and investment and, to a lesser extent, on labor mobility and its direct or indirect implications on a nation's economy. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of international migration of labor is embedded in the current trend of economic openness. Economic linkages serve as bridges for the international movement not only of goods and capital, but also of people. Such changes in the global economy have led to the creation of a new international division of labor—the shifting labor markets that arise from changing the geographic specialization of global production patterns. Production now transcends national borders and is facilitated by advances in technology and communications as well as increased financial deregulation. The changing global production system and the increasing demand for a mobile labor supply will inherently affect domestic and international labor markets and wages into the year 2025.

The North American Future 2025 project will examine the trends in North American labor mobility—that is, the flows of labor migration—factoring in projections of demographics, growth in each country's gross domestic product, job creation in formal and informal sectors, and differences in wage levels. By examining the demand-pull and supply-push factors that affect labor mobility in North America between the present and 2025,

policymakers from Canada, the United States, and Mexico will be able to formulate sounder national policy as well as identify possible areas in which trilateral and transnational policies can be coordinated.

In 2000, the United Nations estimated that, of a global population of 6 billion people, about 175 million—or 3 percent of the world's population—were international migrants. The level of Mexican migration into the United States was greater, with 9 percent of Mexican-born individuals living in the United States. The free flow of people across national borders will undoubtedly continue throughout the world as well as in North America, as will the social, political, and economic challenges that accompany this trend. In order to remain competitive in the global economy, it is imperative for the twenty-first-century North American labor market to possess the flexibility necessary to meet industrial labor demands on a transitional basis and in a way that responds to market forces. This demand will prompt policymakers to think creatively about prospective policy options.

CSIS will draw from a core multidisciplinary group of in-house experts, such as economist Sidney Weintraub, as well as various outside experts, such as Richard Harris from Simon Fraser University and Jeffrey Passel from the Pew Hispanic Center.

ROUNDTABLE III: THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICAN ENERGY

According to current estimates, growing populations and economic development are likely to cause the world's demand for energy to increase by more than 50 percent by the year 2030. Thus, it is vital for North America to develop policies that will secure the region's energy needs and allow it to remain competitive in the global arena.

CSIS will examine the future of energy supply and demand in North America looking out to the year 2025. To assess the energy outlook, the study will rely on various models developed in each of the three countries, such as the Global Energy Futures Model and the Electricity Generation Cost Simulation Model developed at Sandia National Laboratories; "The Outlook for Energy: A View to 2030" prepared by ExxonMobil; and data compiled by the U.S. Department of Energy's Energy Information Agency. These models will also be used to encourage the development of forward-looking and proactive continental and/or hemispheric energy policy, which will be beneficial to Canada, the United States, and Mexico, both individually and collectively.

The global demand for energy—not only oil, gas, and coal but also nuclear, hydropower, wind, and other renewable energy resources—will continue to increase in the twenty-first century because of the growing global population and a predicted doubling of the global economy. By the year 2030, it is estimated that energy consumption in China and India will be more than quadruple their 1990 level. Worldwide energy use is currently 205 million barrels per day of oil equivalent (MBDOE) and is projected to increase by 60 percent—to 335 MBDOE—in the year 2030. In 2005, the supply of conventional oil resources was estimated at 3.2 trillion barrels; when nonconventional resources are included, the total is just above 4 trillion barrels. In terms of North American demand, even though Mexico, Canada, and the United States produce almost one-fourth of the world's energy, the region's

population consumes a larger portion than it produces. Furthermore, North America is the only oil-producing region in the world that has exceeded its 50-percent production point.

In order for North America to secure the energy resources and strategic networks needed to remain competitive in the global economy, policymakers must devise forward-looking, collaborative policies that integrate governments, the private sector, and stakeholders. To foster the development of such policies, CSIS will examine a wide array of energy issues, including, but not limited to, access to energy resources, development of energy-efficient and sustainable technologies, energy diversification, physical and cybernetic security of critical energy infrastructure, trade and investment laws and regulations, risk management, and environmental impacts. Trilateral coordination of energy policy is crucial to assuring North America's future competitiveness and regional security.

To assess the future of North America's energy supply and to address potential policy implications, the North American Future 2025 project will rely on in-house experts, such as Joseph Dukert, CSIS adjunct fellow; Robert Ebel, chairman of CSIS's Energy Program; Frank Verrastro, senior fellow and director of the Energy Program; and Luis Giusti, CSIS senior adviser. All these individuals have expertise in North American energy issues.

ROUNDTABLE IV: THE FUTURE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

The North American Future 2025 project will examine the current state of North America's environment breaking down the critical and emerging environmental trends confronting Canada, the United States, and Mexico over the next 19 years. Although the term "environment" encompasses a wide range of issues, the North American Future 2025 project will address atmosphere and climate change, fresh water and biodiversity and bioinvasion—issues that, in many ways, are environmentally interconnected.

Despite the significant progress that has been made in most of these areas in the past 30 years as a result of instituting environmental governance and passing and implementing environmental laws and policies, a great deal can still be done on a national level as well as trilaterally to protect shared North American resources and ecosystems.

> **Atmosphere and Climate Change**: Even though climate changes are attributable, in part, to natural phenomena, such as El Niño or La Niña, a range of human activities that emit carbons or other gases also contributes to the problem. In North America, the high level of industrial activity, the volume of transportation, and energy consumption all affect air quality. The effect on the atmosphere by ground-level ozone (smog), particulate matter, and carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxide emissions all have an impact on climate change.
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> It is widely recognized that changes in climate pose a threat to domestic economies, natural resources, and ecosystem functions. Even though agricultural sectors can be expected to adapt well to the climate changes, other potential effects could arise and have an impact on North America. Canada, the United States, and Mexico could experience the loss of coastal wetlands, coastal erosion, water shortages, heat waves,

droughts, tornadoes, flooding in coastal regions, an increased threat of pests and diseases, forest fires, and damage to water sources.

As we look at North America in 2025, it is only prudent to examine various climate change scenarios, assess their impact on North America, and propose policy recommendations aimed not only at mitigating the transboundary movement of these emissions but also at positioning North America in a way that will allow policymakers to anticipate projected impacts between 2006 and 2025 and respond to them effectively.

Fresh Water: Fresh water is running out in many regions of the world—be it the water in rivers, lakes, basins, aquifers, or watersheds. Therefore, communities throughout the world will be seeking alternative water sources, and North America will by no means be exempt from this looming problem. North America, and particularly the United States and Mexico, will experience water scarcity as a result of arid climates coupled with growing populations and increased water consumption.

Juxtaposed to the relative scarcity of water in the United States and Mexico, Canada possesses about 20 percent of the earth's fresh water. Cognizant that water will become a strategic resource, Canada's federal and provincial governments have undertaken measures to protect the nation's water supply. This task is particularly challenging, given that Canada and the United State share many basins along their border, such as the Great Lakes as well as multiple rivers. Because water availability, quality, and allocation are likely to undergo profound changes between 2006 and 2025, policymakers will benefit from a more proactive approach to exploring different creative solutions beyond the current transboundary water management agreements that the United States has reached with both Mexico and Canada. One such option could be regional agreements between Canada, the United States, and Mexico on issues such as water consumption, water transfers, artificial diversions of fresh water, water conservation technologies for agricultural irrigation, and urban consumption.

Even though several agreements pertaining to surface water and water quality are in place between the three countries, little or no policy has been formulated regarding groundwater. The United States and Mexico share at least 18 aquifers, and a significant portion of these countries' population is already experiencing problems with the availability and contamination of water.

Water control presents even greater challenges, because international water policy is primarily rooted in decentralized state laws in the United States and in provincial statutes in Canada. Consequently, the federal governments of these two countries have limited jurisdiction over water control issues. Conversely, in Mexico, issues involving water are within the purview of the federal government, even though the strengthening of Mexico's federalism during the past five years has resulted in the steady escalation of the role of state governments in these issues. The three nations will have to overcome the bureaucratic challenges posed by their different political systems and legal regimes, particularly if the overriding future goal of North America is to achieve joint optimum utilization of the available water and to implement

procedures that will help avoid or resolve differences over water in the face of ever-increasing pressures over this priceless resource.

As part of the North American Future 2025 project, CSIS will examine surface water and groundwater trends in North America up to the year 2025 as well as their overall implications for the stability and security of the hemisphere. A better understanding of projected trends in the global and North American hydrologic cycles will enable policymakers in Canada, the United States, and Mexico to be better positioned to think more strategically about this resource.

Biodiversity and Bioinvasion: Biodiversity refers to the variety of ecosystems, species, and genes that subsist throughout the world. Canada, the United States, and Mexico contain a considerable number of ecosystems and a wealth of biodiversity. Even so, it is estimated that the degradation of the North American ecosystem and the destruction of natural habitats are the most pervasive threats to biodiversity—a danger that is also prevalent in other parts of the world. Therefore, if the degradation of the ecosystem is not addressed effectively from a policy standpoint, the problem can lead to the continued decline in plant and animal diversity.

Bioinvasion refers to the intentional or unintentional introduction of alien invasive species—or species outside their natural habitat—through the direct or indirect actions of humans. Global climate change is also likely to increase the risks associated with the presence of invasive species, as warmer climate conditions open up ecosystems that were once inhospitable to certain species. The introduction of non-native species (be they bacteria, viruses, fungi, insects, mollusks, plants, fish, mammals, or birds) can pose a threat to domestic and native species through predation, competition, parasitism, or hybridization. Consequently, introducing these species can alter the equilibrium of the ecosystem. As a result, bioinvasions could cause damage to forests and agricultural and horticultural crops and can pose health risks to humans. Moreover, all these problems are accompanied by a high economic cost. Because the scientific community considers bioinvasion the second gravest threat to global biodiversity, the North American Future 2025 project plans to examine this particular facet of biodiversity as well.

Because North American wetlands are of vital importance for conserving the region's biodiversity by means of the high biological productivity and ecological services of marshes, swamps, and bogs, the scope of the project will probably also include issues pertaining to the protection of North America's wetlands.

Given the transboundary nature of ecosystems—together with the driving forces of globalization and the level of integration between Canada, the United States, and Mexico—it is imperative that the North American Future 2025 project examine the future of the North American environment. CSIS recognizes that North American—and even global—cooperation is required in order to conserve shared biological resources.

The CSIS North America Project will rely on the expertise of CSIS scholars and outside experts who have spearheaded research on atmosphere and climate change, transboundary water management, and biodiversity. CSIS contributors will include William Nitze, CSIS

adjunct fellow; Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, director of the CSIS Mexico Project; and Erik Peterson, CSIS senior vice president and director of the center's Seven Revolutions Initiative.

ROUNDTABLE V: THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICAN SECURITY

The ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, the United States, and Mexico in 1994 marked the beginning of an extensive trade and investment relationship between the three countries. Nonetheless, this highly successful trilateral agreement that would proceed to intensely integrate the three economies of the nations that make up North America over the next 11 years was not accompanied by a strategy to ensure the security of the region.

It was not until the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, that the security vulnerabilities of the United States were exposed. The impact of the attacks on the U.S. economy and the ensuing contagion effect on the Canadian and Mexican economies—not to mention the adverse financial impact on these countries' citizens—underscored the need for policymakers to conceptualize a North American security strategy. This resulted in the creation of two bilateral Smart Border Agreements—one between the United States and Canada and one between the United States and Mexico—followed by the Security and Prosperity Partnership for North America, which attempted to trilaterally harmonize the respective bilateral initiatives as well as outline prosperity as a key component of overall regional security.

As integration between the three North American countries strengthens, globalization continues, the balance of power potentially shifts, and risks to global security evolve, it is only prudent for Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. policymakers to contemplate a North American security architecture that could effectively deal with security threats that can be foreseen in 2025.

A number of forward-looking projections anticipate the continued threat posed by failed states and nonstate actors (terrorists, drug traffickers, and organized crime groups); the potential for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons); the dispersion of advanced explosives and advanced delivery systems, such as missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles; and cyberattacks aimed at causing physical damage to the infrastructure needed to gather and disseminate information, including the Internet, telecommunications networks, and computer systems that control industrial processes, such as electricity grids, refineries, and water dam mechanisms.

In addition to these more conventional threats to national security, North America and the world will have to prepare to contend with threats emanating from weather-related disasters, which are likely to become more frequent and perhaps more intensive as a result of projected increases in greenhouse gas emissions and global climate change. Natural disaster mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery planning will become a priority for governments around the world.

The countries in North America will also need to bolster their respective public health delivery services and emergency preparedness and response systems in order to contend with the prospective outbreak of an influenza pandemic. This threat is of particular importance in the North American context, given the high migratory flows in the region, along with the long incubation periods of some biological pathogens, which make it impossible to isolate communicable diseases within any of the three countries. Taking into account Mexico's declining fertility rates and the foreseeable increase immigration from Central America and beyond, a North American public health strategy will eventually need to extend southward.

Whatever North American security architecture is ultimately conceptualized and agreed upon, it is clear that the protection of critical infrastructure will continue to be of foremost importance from the standpoint of protecting human life and ensuring national and North American economic stability. The critical infrastructure referred to here involves the following areas: agriculture, water, health and emergency services, energy (electrical, nuclear, hydro, and gas and oil), transportation systems (air, roads, rail, ports, and waterways), information and telecommunications networks, and banking and financial systems.

The North American Future 2025 project will have to be balanced in factoring in the perceived threats to each respective sovereign nation, and not solely threats that are collective in nature. CSIS will draw from its cadre of in-house expertise, such as Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, Brian Latell, David Heyman, and Kurt Campbell, and will also turn to outside experts from Canada and Mexico.

ROUNDTABLE VI: THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS

The increasing speed and magnitude of globalization will significantly shape the world out to 2025. Globalizing forces include the growing global economy, technological advances, demographic shifts, and the rise of new political powers and new national alignments. The expected rise of India, China, and Indonesia as global economic and political powers will change the shape of the global demand for capital, technology, and goods and services.

The North American Future 2025 project will examine how North America can foster future regional competitiveness through a series of policy initiatives related to the various aspects of competitiveness. By focusing on trade and market integration, technological innovation, development of human capital, protection of intellectual property rights, regional regulatory harmonization, and future infrastructure needs, North America can continue to adapt and maximize the direction of globalizing forces in its favor and remain competitive with countries like India and China.

Initially, it is important to evaluate current and future North American competitiveness vis-à-vis other regions. Key questions will be addressed, such as the following: What internal and external factors contribute to the current overall level competitiveness of North America? What policies can be enacted now to improve future competitiveness in the region's relationship to other regions of the world?

> **Trade and Market Integration:** As an overall component of competitiveness, North America needs to continue to strive toward increased trade and market

integration. Increased trade liberalization and market integration will help promote economic competitiveness by decreasing the costs of transactions and increasing the opportunities for trade. The North American Future 2025 project will examine increased trade and market integration from the perspective of the economy as a whole and on a sectoral basis, including key sectors such as the steel, automotive, manufacturing, and health industries.

Technological Innovation: The North American Future 2025 project will examine how North America can foster innovation in order to remain competitive and capitalize on increased global demand for high technology. The North American Future 2025 project will help determine how the three North American countries can work together to promote innovation through increased investments in science and technology, as well as in research and development. In addition to looking at investment in these two areas, the project will examine policies related to gaining access to capital, increasing investment from the private sector, and building supporting knowledge infrastructure.

Human Capital Development: In order for a country to be innovative it needs a foundation of skilled laborers. The North American Future 2025 project will examine how North America can foster the development of human capital by pursuing policies that are designed to educate new generations of future laborers and to improve the skill-set of the current workforce. The project will look at policies that can help North America retain and develop a competitive labor force, including increased investment in education, expanded trilateral cooperation in higher education programs, and worker retraining programs.

Intellectual Property Rights and Regulatory Regimes: Because intellectual capital and technological innovation are increasingly important forces driving future economic growth, the protection of intellectual property rights and effective regulatory governance are crucial to the region's future global economic competitiveness. Cooperating on enforcement and protection of intellectual property rights, harmonizing legislation and coordinating law enforcement in this area, and raising the political will to fight intellectual property piracy will all contribute to North America's future competitiveness.

The North American Future 2025 project will also examine the North American regulatory regime and will look to see how it can be further harmonized in order to drive down transaction costs, increase efficiency, and promote trade between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. By promoting unified North American regulatory standards in key sectors—such as customs, transportation, health (medicines and medical devices), and food and agriculture (food safety and biotechnology, for example)—North America will improve the efficient flow of resources while ensuring high standards for the safety and security of the population. The ability of North American governments to cooperate on regulatory issues is an integral part to ensuring the future global competitiveness of North America.

To examine future policy options related to competitiveness in North America, the CSIS North America Project will rely on James Lewis, senior fellow and director of the CSIS

Technology Policy Program, along with key forward-thinkers in the government and private sector from each of the North American countries.

ROUNDTABLE VII: THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICAN BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE AND LOGISTICS

It has been suggested by all three governments that there would be a tremendous benefit to the current decision-makers in all three countries if the proposed North American Future 2025 project included a seventh area of study which focused on identifying future border infrastructure and logistic needs. This seventh area of study would use the study's projected trends and proposed policy recommendations as the underpinnings to develop a blueprint for future border infrastructure and logistics systems as it relates to labor mobility, energy, the environment, security, and competitiveness.

Labor Mobility Infrastructure & Logistics

Based on the projected future trends in labor mobility, CSIS will outline future border infrastructure and logistical needs to allow for a secure and efficient flow of labor across North American borders. In essence, this subsection would focus on enabling North America to tap into intra-and-inter labor migration to pool the human capital necessary to source a competitive North American workforce.

Energy Infrastructure & Logistics

CSIS will examine how future North American energy projections will impact the region's energy infrastructure and logistic needs. A crucial measure in guaranteeing North America's energy security will be developing and maintaining physical and virtual infrastructure that ensures for interconnected electric, oil, and natural gas networks across Canada, the United States, and Mexico.

Environment Infrastructure & Logistics

CSIS will work to identify necessary border infrastructure and logistic improvements to address future environmental challenges which accompany the projected increased levels of economic and other human activities in border areas. This subsection will address future infrastructure and logistic needs as it pertains to atmosphere and climate change; fresh water; biodiversity and bioinvasion.

Security Infrastructure & Logistics

Projected North American integration presents the region with opportunities to continue to be a global power; however, it also poses potential challenges to the

security of the region. This underscores the need for trilateral cooperation in developing the security infrastructure and logistics to maximizing the efficient and secure flow of people and goods across the North American borders, as well as ensuring the security of critical infrastructure in the areas such as energy, telecommunications, and financial systems, among others.

Competitiveness Infrastructure & Logistics

This section will explore how trilateral transportation opportunities (including railways, air, ports, and highways) can be expanded and made safer and more efficient through trilateral cooperation. Improving the physical infrastructure and harmonizing transportation regulations will decrease the cost of doing business, improve safety, and enhance efficiency of trade flows in North America. The project will also look strategically at how customs can be improved through the development and implementation of new technologies in screening and processing cargo shipments and will examine what role the private sector can play in keeping the borders running efficiently and securely.

LOGISTICS AND BUDGET

- Key Personnel:

To achieve the objectives of the North American Future 2025 project, the Center for Strategic and International Studies will draw from relevant in-house expertise as well as outside expertise from each of the three North American countries.

Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, director of the Mexico Project at CSIS, will direct the North American Future 2025 project. Peschard-Sverdrup has been at the Center for Strategic and International Studies for the past 12 years and has extensive experience successfully managing these types of high-level, policy-oriented research projects. In addition, he has earned a reputation in Washington and Mexico's policymaking communities for his scholarly integrity and objective analysis. His background also makes him uniquely qualified to direct this project: having lived in all three North American capitals for extended periods of time, he is intimately familiar with the strategic priorities and sensitivities of each nation. Born in Mexico City, Peschard-Sverdrup obtained most of his formal education as well as his initial professional experience in Ottawa, Canada.

Peter DeShazo was named director of the CSIS Americas Program in September 2004. Previously, he was deputy assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs. During his career in the U.S. Foreign Service, Ambassador DeShazo served as deputy U.S. permanent representative to the Organization of American States (OAS), where he was elected chair of the OAS Committee on Administration and Budget. He also directed the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs of the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the State Department and served at U.S. embassies and consulates in La Paz, Medellin, Santiago, Panama City, Caracas, and Tel Aviv. Dr. DeShazo received his B.A. from Dartmouth College and a Ph.D. in Latin American history from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and pursued postgraduate studies at the Universidad Catolica de Chile. He was a Fulbright scholar, Reynolds scholar, and Ford fellow and is the author of *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1983) and articles on the industrial relations and social history of Latin America.

Sidney Weintraub holds the William E. Simon Chair in Political Economy at CSIS and is also professor emeritus at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin. A member of the U.S. Foreign Service from 1949 to 1975, Weintraub served as deputy assistant secretary of state for international finance and development from 1969 to 1974 and assistant administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development in 1975.

Erik Peterson is senior vice president at CSIS and director of the Seven Revolutions Initiative, a broad-based effort to forecast key trends out to the year 2025. He also holds the William A. Schreyer Chair in Global Analysis, an endowed position named in honor of the Merrill Lynch chairman emeritus, and is a member of CSIS's

Executive Committee. Peterson came to CSIS from Kissinger Associates, where he was director of research.

Joseph M. Dukert is an adjunct fellow in political economy at CSIS and writes and lectures frequently (especially in Mexico, Canada, and the United States) about the progress of the North American Energy Working Group and the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America. He is a longtime independent energy policy analyst with unusually broad expertise in the interdependent North American energy market. He is familiar with both the technology of all major energy sources (from nuclear power to renewable sources of energy) and programs in energy efficiency that have achieved success.

William A. Nitze is an adjunct fellow with the Americas Program at CSIS and cofounder and current chairman of GridPoint, Inc., a corporation that designs, produces, and markets intelligent energy from different sources to homes and businesses. He was the cofounder and president of the Gemstar Group, a nonprofit corporation headquartered in Washington, D.C., which is dedicated to developing and implementing market-based solutions to environmental problems. His work in this area focuses primarily on the border region between the United States and Mexico. Prior to cofounding GridPoint and Gemstar, from 1994 to 2001, Nitze served as assistant administrator for international activities at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, where he was the U.S. environmental border coordinator for the U.S.–Mexican border region and represented the agency's administrator on the boards of the Border Environmental Cooperation Commission and the North American Development Bank. Nitze is president of the Committee for the Republic and is chairman of the Board of Directors at the European Institute, the HiEnergy Defense Group, the Galapagos Conservancy, and the Climate Institute. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of several institutions, including the Aspen Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Krasnow Institute at George Mason University, among others. He holds degrees from Harvard College, Wadham College, Oxford University, and Harvard University Law School.

Kristin Wedding serves as a research associate for the Mexico Project at CSIS, where she provides support for analyses of Mexico's domestic politics as well as bilateral relations, trade, and investment between the United States and Mexico. She is also responsible for planning all events sponsored by the Mexico Project. Prior to joining CSIS, she worked for the Eisenhower Institute, in Washington, D.C., providing research support. In 2005, Wedding earned a master's degree in international affairs, specializing in political economy, from the American University's School of International Service; she received a B.A., magna cum laude, in international relations and Spanish from Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida.

Tanya Primiani is a research associate in the CSIS Americas Program where she works on the Canada Project, focusing on issues such as Canada-US relations, border and security and economic partnership. Prior to joining CSIS, she worked for the United Nations in Turin, Italy as well as for Siemens Management Consulting in

New York. A native of Montreal, Canada, Tanya holds a law degree from the University of Montreal and an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. She is fluent in French, Italian and Spanish.

- **Objective and Methodology:**

The overall goal of this project is to examine the strategic issues North America will face in the year 2025 in order to enable politicians to create sounder policy related to labor mobility, energy, the environment, security, competitiveness, and border infrastructure and logistics. To achieve this objective, CSIS will carry out the North American Future 2025 project in three phases.

Phase 1. In the first phase CSIS will convene pertinent government officials from Canada, the United States, and Mexico, along with selected nongovernment experts experienced in projecting scenarios. Participants will review existing projections of global and relevant North American scenarios and establish baseline scenarios for each of the six roundtables to follow.

Phase 2. The second phase will consist of a series of six one-day roundtable discussions conducted by the CSIS North America Project and bringing together a multidisciplinary group of experts from the Canadian, U.S., and Mexican governments, the private sector, and academia to examine each of the six issues that North America will face in 2025: labor mobility, energy, the environment, security, competitiveness, and border infrastructure and logisitics.

The objective of this series of sessions will be to examine scenarios projected for 2025 within each of the six issue areas and, on that basis, to lay out the steps that can be taken toward forming effective policy aimed at further integrating North America.

Phase 3. In the third phase the CSIS North America Project will produce a final report that will present the proceedings of the six roundtable sessions and describe additional research and analysis on the issues discussed. The final report will be presented to Canadian, U.S., and Mexican governments in September 2007.

- **Project Timeline**

July 1, 2006 – September 30, 2007

July 1, 2006: Project start date

Planning Phase (July, 2006–January, 2007)

- Meet with U.S., Mexican, and Canadian government officials to identify government participants for each of the roundtable meetings
- Meet with Mexican and Canadian institutional counterparts on project plan and statement of work
- Finalize locations and dates of meetings for each module of the North American Future 2025 project
- Identify participants for roundtable sessions
- Commission authors for each module of the North American Future 2025 project

Meeting Phase (February–April, 2007)

- **Wednesday, February 14** – Roundtable 1: Methodology of Global and North American Projections (in Washington, D.C.)
- **Thursday, March 22** – Roundtable 2: Future of North American Security (in Washington, D.C.)
- **Friday, March 23** – Roundtable 3: Future of North American Labor Mobility (in Washington, D.C.)
- **Thursday, April 12** – Roundtable 4: Future of North American Border Infrastructure & Logistics (in Mexico City)
- **Friday, April 13** – Roundtable 5: Future of North American Competitiveness (in Mexico City)
- **Thursday, April 26** – Roundtable 6: Future of North American Energy (in Calgary)
- **Friday, April 27** – Roundtable 7: Future of the North American Environment (in Calgary)

Report Writing Phase (May 1, 2007–June 30, 2007)

- **April 13:** Deadline for submission of the preliminary report on the Methodology of Global and North American Projections
- **May 4:** Deadline for submission of the preliminary reports on the Future of North American Energy and the Future of North American Environment
- **May 18:** Deadline for submission of the preliminary reports on the Future of North American Security and the Future of North American Labor Mobility
- **June 8:** Deadline for submission of the preliminary reports on the Future of North American Border Infrastructure & Logistics and the Future of North American Competitiveness
- **June 11:** Deadline for compilation of the final report: North American Future 2025

Report Editing/Review Phase (June 12, 2007–July 17, 2007)

- **June 12 – July 1:** First edit of the six-part report
- **July 2 – July 8:** Review of edited report by the U.S., Mexican, and Canadian governments
- **July 9 – July 16:** Incorporation of revisions and comments from the governments into the final report
- **July 17:** Final draft of English report complete

Report Translation (July 18, 2007 – September 9, 2007)

- **July 18 – August 22:** Translation of the final report into Spanish and French
- **August 23 – August 31:** Review of translated reports by the U.S., Mexican, and Canadian governments
- **September 1 – September 9:** Final edit of translated reports

Report Publication Phase (September 10 – September 29, 2007)

- Publication of final report

Report Release (September 30, 2007)

- Published report distributed to the governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico

September 30, 2007: Project End Date

- **Products:**
  - Seven roundtable sessions
  - A final report produced in all three official languages (English, Spanish, and French)

POLICY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CSIS is extremely well positioned to carry out this project successfully, given its long-standing programs on Mexico and Canada as well as those related to North American integration. Since 1985, the CSIS Mexico Project has been a leader among Washington think tanks in its commitment to sustaining a full-time focus on the study of Mexico. Project Director Armand Peschard-Sverdrup and Research Associate Kristin Wedding provide the leadership for the CSIS Mexico Project. The CSIS Canada Project has been active since the 1980s. Americas Program Director Peter DeShazo and Research Associate Tanya Primiani provide the leadership for the Canada Project.

The particular strengths of both the CSIS Mexico Project and the Canada Project are the substantive weight and dedication of their in-house analysts, the projects' reputation for intelligently addressing issues in an objective and responsible manner, and the project directors' extraordinary ability to reach out to the political community in Mexico, Canada, and the United States. The CSIS Mexico Project played a very active role in the passage of

the North American Free Trade Agreement through the NAFTA and Beyond Commission, which was a high-level commission cosponsored in conjunction with the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. More recently, CSIS's Mexico and Canada Projects have focused on analyzing the process of deepening North American integration—a development that is transforming all three nations and establishing the dynamics of a new continental economy.

As a complement to its full-time staff, CSIS also benefits from the expertise of CSIS adjunct fellows—highly regarded senior specialists in the field who come from the United States, Mexico, and Canada. CSIS actively engages these fellows by featuring them at CSIS conferences and commissioning them to author CSIS publications. These experts lend further credibility, extend the outreach, and raise the stature of CSIS's activities and publications in Mexico and Canada.

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