North American Neighbours: CANADA AND MEXICO
Cooperation in Uncertain Times

Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade

June 2017
For more information please contact us:

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Extract from the *Journals of the Senate*, Tuesday, March 22, 2016:

The Honourable Senator Andreychuk moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Runciman:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade be authorized to examine and report on opportunities for strengthening cooperation with Mexico since the tabling, in June 2015, of the committee report entitled: North American Neighbours: Maximizing Opportunities and Strengthening Cooperation for a more Prosperous Future; and

That the committee submit its final report no later than March 31, 2017.

After debate,

The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

_Clerk of the Senate_
Charles Robert

Extract from the *Journals of the Senate*, Tuesday, March 28, 2017:

The Honourable Senator Andreychuk moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Patterson:

That, notwithstanding the order of the Senate adopted on Tuesday, March 22, 2016, the date for the final report of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in relation to its study on opportunities for strengthening cooperation with Mexico be extended from March 31, 2017 to October 31, 2017.

After debate,

The question being put on the motion, it was adopted.

_Clerk of the Senate_
Charles Robert
The Committee

The Honourable Raynell Andreychuk
Chair*

The Honourable Percy E. Downe
Deputy Chair*

The Honourable Senators:

Salma Ataullahjan
Patricia Bovey
Anne Cools
Jane Cordy
Dennis Dawson
Nicole Eaton

Marc Gold
Leo Housakos
Sarabjit Marwah
Thanh Hai Ngo
Victor Oh
Raymonde Saint-Germain
Yuen Pau Woo

Ex-officio members of the committee:

The Honourable Senator Peter Harder, P.C., (or Diane Bellemare)
The Honourable Senator Claude Carignan, P.C., (or Yonah Martin)
The committee would like to recognize the following Honourable Senators who are no longer members of the committee whose contribution to the study was invaluable:

Janis Johnson  
Michel Rivard  
David P. Smith, P.C. (Cobourg)

Other Senators who have participated in the study:

The Honourable Senators Beyak, Dean, Lankin, P.C., Marshall, Martin and Poirier

Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Library of Parliament:

Natalie Mychajlyszyn and Pascal Tremblay, Analysts

Senate Committees Directorate:

Marie-Eve Belzile, Clerk of the Committee  
Debbie Larocque, Administrative Assistant

Senate Communications Directorate:

Marcy Galipeau, Chief, Committees and Outreach  
Mila Pavlovic, Communications Officer, Committees
Introduction

In June 2015, the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (the Committee) released a report entitled *North American Neighbours: Maximizing Opportunities and Strengthening Cooperation for a More Prosperous Future* (hereafter “the Committee’s 2015 report”). The report underscored that the North American relationship continues to be of primary importance to Canadian interests, but that it has yet to reach its full economic, political and trade potential.

In particular, the Committee’s 2015 report focused on Mexico’s fundamental significance to Canada as a bilateral and hemispheric partner beyond their shared commitments together with the United States in the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA). The Committee emphasized that, in order to improve cooperation among the three countries and, ultimately, to foster competitiveness and greater prosperity on the continent, Canada needs to engage more strategically with Mexico.

After the November 2016 U.S. presidential election, the Committee heard from a number of witnesses to assess the continued relevance of the Committee’s 2015 report and recommendations in light of possible policy changes evoked by the new U.S. administration that could have implications for the North American relationship. In addition, a delegation comprising the four members of the Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure of the Committee undertook a two-day fact-finding mission to Mexico City in March 2017 in order to hear the most up-to-date analysis of the possible political, economic and social implications for Mexico and the North American relationship that could result from such policy changes. This mission took place at the request of the President of the Mexican Senate, who formally invited Canadian senators to Mexico to discuss issues of common interest, including the Canada-Mexico bilateral relationship.

This current report offers an assessment of the continued relevance of the Committee’s 2015 report based on the testimonies heard in Ottawa and Mexico City. This report suggests that despite the current context of uncertainty related to the North American trilateral relationship, opportunities for a more strategic, meaningful engagement between Canada and Mexico continue to exist, and that such occasions hold tremendous potential benefit not only mutually, but also for North America.

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2. The fact-finding mission to Mexico City took place 8–9 March 2017. The Canadian delegation was composed of Senator Raynell Andreychuk, Chair of the committee, Senator Percy E. Downe, Deputy Chair of the committee, Senator Thanh Hai Ngo and Senator Raymonde Saint-Germain. Importantly, the mission allowed the Committee’s delegation to engage in a productive dialogue with members of two committees of the Mexican Senate: the Senate North American Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. The delegation also gathered valuable insight in meetings with more than a dozen other Mexican interlocutors, government officials, academics and business people, as well as with Canada’s diplomatic corps in Mexico. Meetings were conducted on a not-for-attribution basis.
A New Era for North American Cooperation

During the study, witnesses stressed that possible policy changes evoked by the new U.S. administration have contributed to an uncertain environment that could test the existing parameters of North American cooperation and the future of Canada’s relationship with its two continental partners.3

Specifically, President Trump and his administration’s intention to initiate negotiations with Canada and Mexico on changes to NAFTA could unsettle the trade and economic integration process that have been at the core of the North American relationship since 1994. The U.S. Congress is also expected to debate a number of fiscal and regulatory issues that could have implications for Canada and Mexico respectively and, ultimately, for the integrated value chains dispersed among the three countries.

In addition, the new U.S. administration is expected to bring forward policy changes that may significantly affect its bilateral relations with Mexico. These include the potential implications from proposed changes to U.S. immigration policy, which might for instance, result in the accelerated deportation of thousands of undocumented migrants to the country, whether they are Mexicans or Central Americans. The building of a “wall” along the U.S.–Mexico border to prevent illegal crossings, and for which the United States might seek compensation from Mexico according to the U.S. president, also figures among the priorities that are influencing the bilateral relations between the two countries.

The discussions held during the fact-finding mission revealed strong and widespread concerns about the implications of such policies for Mexico’s continued prosperity. In particular, the Committee heard about the deep level of integration and high dependence of the Mexican economy on the United States, as well as the importance of investments and remittances originating from that country. Interlocutors in Mexico City explained that Mexico built its economy on NAFTA over the last two decades, and that the free trade agreement influenced reforms in many sectors of that economy. It should be noted that the trilateral negotiations that led to the NAFTA were born out of bilateral negotiations between the United States and Mexico, where the United States considered that fostering prosperity in Mexico was in the U.S. economic and security interest. It was only at a later stage that Canada entered those negotiations.

Free trade within North America allowed Mexico to grow sectors and industries that participate in, and benefit from, North American value chains, including those in the high value-added automotive sector. In light of the uncertainty around the possible changes to NAFTA, the Committee was told that Mexicans feel that the foundations on which Mexico has laid its economic development are being shaken.

A number of Mexican interlocutors stressed the comprehensive nature of the issues facing North America. For instance, some expressed serious concerns about the political and social consequences that could result from these possible changes, notably rising poverty, insecurity and instability in Mexico. They emphasized that such consequences would not be in the political, economic, social or security interests of the North American neighborhood. Neither would the thickening of the United States–Mexico border effectively address issues affecting the United States, such as drug trafficking and the persistent flows of migrants and refugees originating from Central America.

Carlo Dade from the Canada West Foundation testified that possible political changes in Mexico arising from the 2018 presidential and parliamentary elections may also impact on the North American relationship. Witnesses in Mexico City echoed that point of view and emphasized that the discussions about immigration reform in the United States, the building of a border wall and the renegotiation of NAFTA, are contributing to rising nationalism and populism in Mexico. Such trends are expected to grow as the election campaigns unavoidably centre on the issues of United States–Mexico bilateral relations and the future of NAFTA. Accordingly, they could complicate any negotiations with the United States.

Finally, a number of global challenges are amplifying these regional trends and the uncertainty of future cooperation among the three North American neighbours. These challenges include, but are not limited to: the slow pace of global economic growth, the refugee and migrant crises, climate change, and rising populist and protectionist sentiments in a number of countries.

The Continued Relevance of Canada–Mexico Cooperation

Since the release of the Committee’s 2015 report, Canada and Mexico have addressed two priority irritants in their bilateral relationship. First, Mexico expanded access for Canadian beef and beef products to its domestic market in October 2016. Second, and in line with a recommendation from the Committee’s 2015 report, Canada announced that it was lifting the visa requirement for Mexican citizens effective 1 December 2016. These two developments are examples of the two countries’ shared commitment to improving cooperation on a variety of bilateral issues.

In the view of the Committee, this mutual effort to improving cooperation is important in the current context of uncertainty, as regional and global challenges reinforce, rather than undermine, the primary message of the Committee’s 2015 report. Accordingly, the Committee remains convinced that strategically engaging with Mexico, while also continuing to nurture ties with the United States, will

“[…] abandoning Mexico offers no economic or foreign policy benefits. More importantly, supporting each other as neighbours through uncertain times, it’s the right thing to do.”

– Laura Dawson

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4 AEFA, Carlo Dade, 1 December 2016.
open up opportunities to face common challenges. As Laura Dawson, Director of the Canada Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center, testified, Canada should “stay the course” on the road to engagement with Mexico: “The alternative of abandoning Mexico offers no economic or foreign policy benefits. More importantly, supporting each other as neighbours through uncertain times, it’s the right thing to do.”

A. Trade and Energy Cooperation

During the Committee’s hearings and the fact-finding mission, witnesses reiterated the mutual importance of Canada-Mexico trade and energy cooperation. Colin Robertson, from the Canadian Global Affairs Institute, noted: “We have become each other’s third-largest trading partner. Canada has major investments in banking and in the resource industries, especially mining and now energy in Mexico. Together we manufacture trains, planes and automobiles.” Officials from Global Affairs Canada also underlined that bilateral trade between Canada and Mexico increased rapidly since the entry into force of NAFTA. They testified that “Canada and Mexico trade is about $38 billion a year, and almost all of it passes irritant-free.”

Witnesses insisted on the growing significance of North America’s integrated value chains to Canada’s economic interests. As Ms. Dawson remarked: “There is not a lot of direct, two-way trade between [Canada and Mexico], but there is a lot of integrated trilateral trade where a product has some inputs made in Canada, some assembly in the United States and some assembly in Mexico. That is how we have a trilateral configuration.” Mr. Robertson also stressed the significance of North America’s integration, noting that Mexico’s exports to the United States include about 40% of U.S. content, and that Canada’s exports to the United States include about 20 or 25% of U.S. content.

The Committee was repeatedly told that the integration of these value chains means that all three neighbours benefit from the on-going facilitated cross-border flows of goods and services. In particular, the Committee’s witnesses as well as interlocutors in Mexico City emphasised that Mexico’s role in North America’s value chains indirectly helps the competitiveness of Canada’s manufacturing sector. In other words, North American integration leads to productivity gains that help the
three neighbours who are all facing increasing global competition.

In this respect, to ensure North American competitiveness going forward, witnesses and Mexican interlocutors underscored the need to facilitate a greater movement of goods and services throughout North America, including by enhancing regulatory cooperation and harmonization. As well, the Committee’s delegation and its Mexican interlocutors discussed opportunities to deepen Canada-Mexico dialogue on trade issues. These opportunities include a possible follow up to the Trans-Pacific Partnership\(^{12}\) or developments relating to the Pacific Alliance.\(^{13}\)

In addition, interlocutors in Mexico indicated that the reform of the Mexican energy sector would present significant prospects for both Canada and Mexico. In this respect, foreign investment is required in the sector to increase Mexican oil and gas production. Officials from Global Affairs Canada told the Committee that there is an “historic opportunity” for Canadian companies in the oil and gas sector, as the reform of the Mexican energy sector is expected to attract more than 50 billion U.S. dollars in private investment by 2018.

Interlocutors in Mexico also showed interest in further enhancing cooperation to improve capacity and know-how in the energy sector, and said that there is an opportunity to promote Canada’s recognized expertise in the oil and gas and the renewable energy sector. According to officials from Global Affairs Canada, Canada’s expertise in the field of resource development governance has led to Canada-Mexico cooperation in policy development, education and technical training in that sector. Those officials also discussed specific initiatives between governmental and educational institutions in Alberta with their Mexican counterparts that aim to develop skills for the industry. The Committee heard about different initiatives aiming to promote Canadian firms’ participation in Mexico’s oil and gas sector as well as electricity auction processes, and to expand bilateral cooperation on energy and climate change.\(^{14}\) These developments are consistent with the Committee’s 2015 report recommendations, which requested that the Government of Canada place a high priority on energy sector opportunities in Mexico.

### B. Cooperation on Governance, Security and the Rule of Law

During the recent hearings and the fact-finding mission to Mexico City, cooperation between Canada and Mexico in areas beyond trade was emphasized repeatedly. Officials from Global Affairs Canada stated that “a secure, stable and prosperous Mexico is indispensable to Canada’s own prosperity and security. We consider that it is important for close neighbours to meet regularly

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\(^{12}\) Following the publication on 23 January 2017 of the [U.S. Presidential Memorandum](https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-13755/) regarding the withdrawal of the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) negotiations and agreement, it appears that the TPP – at least in its current form – will not be implemented.

\(^{13}\) The Pacific Alliance is a regional grouping comprising Mexico, Colombia, Chile and Peru and of which Canada is an observer. Canada already has bilateral free trade agreements with Colombia, Chile and Peru, and is a partner with Mexico in NAFTA. In June 2016, Canada signed a [Joint Declaration on a Partnership between Canada and the Members of the Pacific Alliance](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/department-news/news/2016/06/joint-declaration-partnership-canada-members-pacific-alliance.html) to explore mutually beneficial areas of collaboration and deepen economic and commercial relations on issues of common interest.

Department officials also remarked in their testimony:

> Sometimes, as with all our partners, our interests will diverge, and at other times they will align. The reality is that it is in our individual as well as collective interests to continue collaborating on a wide range of issues. This is why we will continue to foster a strong bilateral relationship with Mexico and a strong commitment to the North American partnership.  

Accordingly, these officials pointed out that in recent months the two countries have advanced bilateral frameworks and dialogue on topics of mutual concern, such as regional security, human and drug trafficking, human rights, good governance, health pandemics and energy systems integration, among others.

The discussions held during the fact-finding mission highlighted that despite significant domestic efforts and reforms, insecurity and the lack of rule of law remain central issues of concern in Mexico. The delegation heard that the Mexican government has implemented a series of judicial sector reforms aiming to improve access to justice and law enforcement, but that efforts were still required to ensure effective implementation throughout the country. An interlocutor told the delegation that the Mexican people remain deeply shocked by the cruel killing of 43 students in 2014 in the state of Guerrero, and that the event has become the symbol of the fight against corruption and the lack of the rule of law in the country.

In light of these testimonies, the Committee believes that its recommendation from the 2015 report asking the Government of Canada to explore opportunities for Canada-Mexico cooperation on governance, security and rule of law issues, such as law enforcement and judicial capacity building, remains a priority. Accordingly, the Committee was pleased to hear officials from Global Affairs Canada testifying that:

> The government considers that strengthening democratic institutions in Mexico and helping Mexico to address its domestic and regional security challenges is in our national interest. Mexico is undergoing a substantive reform of its justice system to allow for better access to justice, more predictability and more transparency. Confidence in the justice system is indispensable for human rights protection and an important component of the rule of law.

In 2016, Canada announced additional support to strengthen the rule of law in Mexico. According to officials from Global Affairs Canada, projects supported or that are being planned with Mexico involve a wide range of stakeholders within the justice system, including the police, lawyers, prosecutors and judges. They noted that the enthusiasm and support from Canada's own judicial

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15 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
16 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
17 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
18 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
sector to undertake these projects has been notable. The Committee is convinced that Canada is well positioned to support the strengthening of capacity in Mexico’s justice sector, as it is also in Canada’s best interest to contribute to a secure and stable North American neighborhood.

In Mexico City, the Committee’s delegation heard that the serious refugee and migrant crises originating from insecurity, instability and poverty in Central America, including in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, have significantly affected Mexico. The Mexican interlocutors also suggested that this situation requires more attention from the United States and Canada. According to reports, Central American refugees and migrants – of which many are children – are often vulnerable to serious human rights violations during their journey to North America, including kidnapping, human trafficking, rape and murder. In the view of the Committee, Canada should also consider whether and how it should strengthen its response to this protracted humanitarian crisis, and help Mexico respond to this challenge in a manner that is consistent with international law.

In line with another recommendation from the Committee’s 2015 report, witnesses and interlocutors discussed opportunities to enhance people-to-people ties, including those that are poised to result from intensified cooperation in the field of international education and academic exchanges. Officials from Global Affairs Canada also commented about the growing interest in cultural diplomacy initiatives between Canada and Mexico, particularly in the context of Canada’s 150th anniversary of Confederation, and the potential opportunities arising from “the magic that [cultural diplomacy] makes in terms of opening doors and building relationships.” Such initiatives should help Canadians and Mexicans learn more about each other. In light of testimonies heard during the fact-finding mission, the role of provinces in building relationships between stakeholders of the two countries, notably with their counterparts at the state level, should also not be underestimated.

“[…] a secure, stable and prosperous Mexico is indispensable to Canada’s own prosperity and security.”

“[…] strengthening democratic institutions in Mexico and helping Mexico to address its domestic and regional security challenges is in [Canada’s] national interest.”

– Global Affairs Canada

19 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
21 AEFA, GAC, 16 February 2017.
Enhancing Cooperation within the North American Framework

The North American relationship is currently facing a period of flux as the U.S administration implements its mandate. Despite this, the Committee reiterates its findings from the 2015 report that an enhanced Canada–Mexico relationship can result in significant benefits, particularly for strengthened cooperation within North America and the realization of the continent’s full potential. As the previous report highlighted, different avenues, whether bilateral or trilateral, should continue to be pursued as appropriate and as necessary when responding to specific circumstances and priorities. Indeed, although the Committee’s focus for its recent hearings was on Canada–Mexico engagement, discussion of the respective ties of both countries with the United States as well as questions about the future of trilateral collaboration was unavoidable. In this respect, witnesses underscored the fundamental relationship with the United States for both Canada and Mexico.22

As Mr. Robertson stated, “[w]hile we have our own interests and agenda, there is much on which Canada and Mexico can and should cooperate and collaborate in managing our shared neighbour and neighbourhood.”23

It bears noting that parliamentarians can play a vital role in encouraging the three countries to engage more meaningfully on issues of mutual interest in such a period of uncertainty. Accordingly, inter-parliamentary activities, discussions and exchanges can play an instrumental role in helping to develop a shared understanding of issues of common interest, and ultimately, identify responses that may be mutually beneficial. In this regard, interlocutors in Mexico City as well as witnesses who appeared before the Committee repeatedly emphasized that meetings of North American parliamentarians, both on a bilateral and trilateral basis and at multiple levels, can foster mutual understanding and deliver messages to various stakeholders about the importance of North American cooperation.24 Indeed, it should be noted that the visit of the Committee’s delegation was exceptionally well received by the Mexican senators, who expressed that the bilateral relationship would benefit from a more sustained and frequent parliamentary dialogue.

In conclusion, while the relationship between Canada and Mexico is positive and continues to deepen, the Committee maintains that there is room for Canada and Mexico to engage further bilaterally. The two countries should therefore continue to build on recent bilateral developments to enhance cooperation within the North American framework. In doing so, the current challenges related to regional and global uncertainty may not be insurmountable.

22 AEFA, Laura Dawson, 24 November 2016; AEFA, Colin Robertson, 24 November 2016.
23 AEFA, Colin Robertson, 24 November 2016.
24 AEFA, Colin Robertson, 24 November 2016; AEFA, Carlo Dade, 1 December 2016.
APPENDIX A – List of Witnesses

Thursday, November 24, 2016

Canadian Global Affairs Institute:
Colin Robertson, Vice-President and Fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and Executive Fellow, School of Public Policy, University of Calgary.

As an individual:
Laura Dawson, Director, Canada Institute, Woodrow Wilson Centre.

Thursday, December 1, 2016

Canada West Foundation:
Carlo Dade, Director, Centre for Trade and Investment, Canada West Foundation.

Thursday, February 16, 2017

Global Affairs Canada:
David Morrison, Assistant Deputy Minister (Americas);
Martin Moen, Director General, North America and Investment.
# APPENDIX B – List of Individuals and Organizations Met During the Fact-Finding Mission

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Role</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 8-9, 2017 – Mexico City</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blanca Alcalá Ruiz, Senator, Vice-President</td>
<td>of the Board of the Senate of the Republic</td>
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<td>Alejandro Schtulmann, President, Head of Research</td>
<td>EMPRA</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Bailey, Counsellor, Public Affairs</td>
<td>Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td>Enrique Berruga, Vice-President</td>
<td>MATT Foundation</td>
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<td>Guy Boileau, Counsellor, Trade Commissioner</td>
<td>Market Access, Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heather Brason, Trade Commissioner, Market Access</td>
<td>Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td>Mariana Campero, Executive Director</td>
<td>COMEXI</td>
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<td>Susana Chacón, Vice-President International</td>
<td>Club de Roma</td>
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<td>Chantal Chastenay, Minister Counsellor and Chargé d’Affaires</td>
<td>Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td>Gabriela Cuevas Barron, Senator, Chair of the Senate Commission</td>
<td>on International Affairs</td>
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<td>Luz María de la Mora, Executive Director</td>
<td>WEConnect International in Mexico</td>
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<td>María del Pilar Ortega Martínez, Senator, Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, North America</td>
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<td>Agustín Barrios Gómez, President</td>
<td>Fundación Imagen de México</td>
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<td>Marcela Guerra Castillo, Senator, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Relations, North America</td>
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<td>Mauricio Ibarra Ponce de León, Director General for North America, Ministry of Foreign Relations</td>
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<td>Virginie Levesque, Counsellor, Economic Affairs</td>
<td>Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td>Patricio Martínez García</td>
<td>Senator, Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, North America</td>
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<td>Graciela Ortiz González</td>
<td>Senator, Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, North America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorena Patterson</td>
<td>Director of Corporate Affairs in Mexico, TransCanada Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christina Préfontaine</td>
<td>Counsellor, Political Affairs, Embassy of Canada in Mexico</td>
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<td>Jean-François Prud’homme</td>
<td>General Academic Coordinator, El Colegio de México</td>
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<td>Andrés Rozental</td>
<td>President, Rozental &amp; Asociados</td>
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<td>Luis Rubio</td>
<td>President of COMEXI</td>
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<td>Carlos Manuel Sada Solana</td>
<td>Undersecretary for North America, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leticia Maki Teramoto Sakamoto</td>
<td>Director, North America Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<td>Víctor Hermosillo y Celada</td>
<td>Senator, Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, North America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernando Uriarte Zazueta</td>
<td>Member of Parliament, Chair of the Mexico-Canada Friendship Group of the Chamber of Deputies</td>
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