the majority of the workers, stood in favor of the NAFTA. The asymmetry was also related to different motives behind the positioning, even when the opposition to the Agreement was common: the motives behind the opposition to NAFTA definitely included protectionist positions by some of the northern TUs involved in the mobilizations against the agreement. While it would be stretching things to say that NAFTA could have been rejected if the TUs were able to speak with one voice, there is no doubt that this experience offered important lessons to all actors for the future.

2. Positioning on FTAs: some cases

2.1 The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)

The CLC was one of the first labor organizations in the Americas to openly oppose FTAs. From the initial negotiations between the USA and Canada that led to the first FTA between the two countries in 1988, the CLC stood in opposition. One of the key reasons for this opposition was the CLC’s positive evaluation of the industrial policies which started in the post-war period in many western countries. As in many countries, the industrial policies in Canada aimed at building and developing a large manufacturing sector. These policies mixed measures to design forms of economic integration, that included trade agreements, with forms of protection for the national economy. One of the most important agreements of that period was the Auto Pact with the USA, signed in 1965. It allowed the three big US auto makers—Chrysler, Ford and General Motors—to obtain trade benefits in the Canadian market, including the elimination of tariffs on cars, trucks, buses, tires and automotive parts. In exchange the Auto Pact contained safeguards for Canada to ensure that major North American car manufacturers continued their investment and production in this country. The agreement stated that for every car sold in Canada, one had to be built in Canada. Each vehicle built in Canada also had to have at least 60 percent Canadian content in both parts and labor. Tariffs were applied if these conditions were not met.

3. [http://canadianlabour.ca/en/about_us: “The Canadian Labour Congress is the largest democratic and popular organization in Canada with over three million members. The Canadian Labour Congress brings together Canada’s national and international unions, the provincial and territorial federations of labour and 136 district labour councils”](http://canadianlabour.ca/en/about_us)

4. [http://canadianeconomy.gc.ca/english/economy/1965canada_us_auto_pact.html: The Auto Pact eliminated trade tariffs between the two countries and created a single North American manufacturing market. Tariffs between the two countries were eliminated on cars, trucks, buses, tires and automotive parts. The single market allowed Chrysler, Ford and General Motors to rationalize production in Canada and](http://canadianeconomy.gc.ca/english/economy/1965canada_us_auto_pact.html)