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SPEAKING NOTES FOR BORDERLINES CONFERENCE

Details on these points have been sorted into a series of overhead slides with headings, subheadings, and points. I will speak to the points on the slides. The additional material is my take on the Borderline themes, challenges, and suggested responses.

SLIDES

1. **BORDERLINES & NORTH AMERICAN REGIONS (subheadings follow); CROSS BORDER REGIONS (subheadings follow); CONTINENTAL & GLOBAL CONTEXTS**
2. **MAP of NORTH AMERICAN BORDERLAND REGIONS**
3. **“NEW ENGLAND” ATLANTIC MAP adapted from Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (1984)**
4. **THE ATLANTIC NORTHEAST – AKA ATLANTICA: LAYERS & DISPERSAL (subheadings follow)**
5. **LAYERS & LINKAGES DEFINED (subheadings follow)**
6. **ATLANTICA: IMPORTANT DATES SOCIAL/CULTURAL**
7. **ATLANTICA: IMPORTANT DATES ECONOMIC**
8. **ATLANTICA: IMPORTANT DATES POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC**

NOTES and COMMENTARY ATLANTICA : HISTORY and the BORDER

GEOGRAPHY – configuration of land forms and waterways, mountains, soils, presence or absence of minerals, climate – endures; unity facing the sea; small hinterlands before mountains become barriers

- To 1783 no border in the Atlantic Northeast – territorial claims by imperial powers; cultural, social, economic mingling, political mingling by war
- BNA all eastern NA 1763 – 1775. Two jurisdictions but no visible border until after 1815 and survey (agreed to in Jay's Treaty of 1794) completed in region by 1820s (minor adjustment in 1842); borderlands straddle border line; scholars from many disciplines study borders as zones, regions, rather than as political divider.
- Border's historical impact uncertain, uneven, unequal.
- View historical strands of Atlantic Northeast borderland in layers.

CULTURAL:

- 18th to mid-19th century, and into our time, border had a minimal impact; values and beliefs, habits of life similar; New England character to provincial towns – Yarmouth; Wolfville; Shelburne; architecture; artifacts; *Evangeline*; Sam Slick
- Habits of work shared; cultural artifacts such as houses, churches, town plans, headstones in graveyards; maritime orientation.
- Impact of borderline on culture over time negligible; 20th Century mass culture North American; popular culture regional; elite culture cosmopolitan, although over time each society develops high-cultural practitioners that divine and reflect national themes. Atlantic Northeast remained a cultural unit in this regard, part of larger cross-border integration evident in media – newspapers, magazines, radio, movies, television.

SOCIAL:

- Mingling in Atlantic Northeast; St. Croix Valley unified social history to our time; families, neighbors, schools and churches straddle border; during War of 1812 St. Croix settlements declared local neutrality.
- Mingling for work, visit, relocate – 1/4 of Atlantic Canadians left 1870 – 1900; Memorial in Gloucester, MA to men lost at sea 1,700/5,368 Atlantic Canadian names; summering from NY, MA extension of summering places on coastal Maine 1920s-30s.
- Village and small town life historically characterized settlements in region.

- Acadians straddle borderline in Madawaska area of northern NB and Maine much as some native peoples do; season migrations for work in Maine and New Hampshire woods; help kinfolk on farms.
- Impact of borderline on society when early 20th Century US Immigration attempted to close Canada conduit for European migrants – Canadians moved at will even after 1921 and 1924 US Immigration Acts – freedom ends 1931 when quota system applied to Canadians; US immigrants freer to come north; old family, tourism patterns persist.

ECONOMIC:

- Sea and rivers offer resources and transportation routes for local resources – fish; coal; gypsum; agricultural products; logs; lumber; agreements 1842, 1846 on fish in Atlantica – landing to dry cod; shipping industries; Samuel Cunard – Halifax/Boston/England shipping company and others.
- 1854 - 1866 Reciprocity Treaty acknowledged, managed trade over borderline; first major provincial railway Montreal to Portland for ice free port.
- Confederation and NYC triumph reduced Atlantica to minor economic role; 19th to 20th Centuries economy reoriented E-W direction; Maritimers evacuated; greatest significance in National Policy; centrism put Atlantic Northeast on peripheries by 1900.
- Middle to late 20th Century centrist policies of redistribution through grants and aid systems help to keep Atlantic Northeast in subordinate economic state in Canada; in US upper New England bypassed, shared economic development problems; region semi-isolated – cult of the quaint: moose; tourism; fishing; Evangeline; Acadians; Loyalists.
- Tariff adjustments; Free Trade 1911 fails; protection in both jurisdictions; Smoot-Hawley Tariff 1930 and Cdns answer raised tariffs; WLMK and FDR reduced tariffs 1935; WLMK balks at complete free trade 1948; CUSFTA, NAFTA.

POLITICAL:

- Borderline ignored; jurisdiction regulations negligible after 1783 except for tariffs.
- Confederation brought considerable impact; central governments in US and C asserted authority 19th – 20th centuries; BNA, Civil War in US; WW I, Great Depression and WW II affirm dominant role of central governments with emphasis on border; affects Atlantica – subordinate to binational relations.

CHALLENGES:

- Impact of borderline on Atlantic Northeast negligible in cultural layer; no challenge; mass culture North American; values and ideas broadly similar.
- Impact of borderline on Atlantic Northeast partial in social layer because free movement of peoples to change residences, look for jobs restricted since 1931.
- Impact of borderline in Atlantic Northeast substantial in economic layer; jurisdictions and tariffs; currencies; trade and service regulations; federal bureaucracy enforced centrist policies; FTA and NAFTA recognized/managed emergent North American economic architecture; main benefit to Heartland; provinces and states of Atlantica less economically developed from historical national developments 19th/20th centuries.
- Borderline assumes psychological, emotional, patriotic qualities in Canadian and American minds – part of identities; “good fences” make neighbors; cultural outlooks.

PROBLEMS for ATLANTICA

- Federal jurisdiction – by assertion if not by Constitution, which is vague on how foreign policy powers divided; provinces historically significant actors when they assert interests. Ottawa government focus on security; transportation; foreign ownership levels; regulatory agencies; communications. How would local, state-provincial (bi-lateral or multi-lateral) fit into the framework of expectation and precedent.
- Cool Ottawa – Washington relations; Liberal government mired in succession issue and subsequent election for next 18-20 months; much anecdotal evidence and opinion that Jean Chretien and George Bush not sympatico on personal level. Human relations often central to diplomatic and other bi-national relations.
- Central Canadian anti-Americanism flares periodically, gets wide coverage; members of Parliament; CBC coverage of 9/11, especially “Town Hall” quickie in Toronto. This irks US officials and those with power – anecdotal evidence.
- Population base; settlement; economic drivers – business, resources, transport; only last has national impact because Halifax distribution center for containers; low electoral impact on federal scene; federal attention usually elsewhere, ritual visits to Halifax and other Atlantica centers notwithstanding.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS:

- THIRTY POINT PLAN? This restored, codified, projects problems 9/11 highlighted in flow of commerce and security; much based on recommendations in the Canada US Partnership; Committee on our Shared Border; Cross – Border Crime Forum; other bi-national groups. Foundation for incremental changes and confidence problems will be tackled and problems

solved.

- NBT? Depends on nature of it. Focus would be economic/administrative. Unclear US government – still largely focused on security and foreign wars – has any interest; Paul Cellucci only promises to talk about new proposals; economists put balls into the air – Customs Union; One Currency. Changes made satisfied US interests – Customs inspectors exchange; new refugee, immigration (visa for Saudi Arabians to Canada) policies; more IBETs (Integrated Border Enforcement Teams). Sum not an NBT
- LOOK TO NEXT PM? No evidence so far that would make much difference for policies; Manley/Ridge relationship good, best thing going at moment, Paul Martin a cipher on relations with the US; irritants remain – Softwood lumber; Wheat in Great Plains; potential control of energy exports; lack of Cdn support for US global policies; decline of Canadian defence establishment; security.
- NAFTA revision; fine tuning Dodge, Manley, Pettigrew, Chretien referred to variously late October; all seemed to fix on slightly different aspects of problems in cross-border trade, with addition of Canadian proposal for freer access by workers to job markets in other country.
- FOR ATLANTICA? Work on regional bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreements on:
 - transportation infrastructure – roads, rail lines; open skies with US and pre-clearance for travelers; Atlantica E-W transport goals.
 - John Manley's inclination to lower threshold for foreign ownership to attract new US investment (fiscal systems – banks; financial services of various kinds; these pretty much North American now)
 - have Atlantic Premiers and New England governors take next step, develop cross-border secretariat, produce action plans doable within their jurisdictions.
- SECESSION
 - Thomas Naylor of New Hampshire suggested this a few years ago; New England States and Atlantic provinces secede and form own country – Atlantica.
 - Drawbacks gargantuan; benefits uncertain; success unlikely; fools' errand.