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Q2(c)

## **What were the limitations of NAFTA? How did its replacement by the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement counter them? Explain.**

UPSC Civil Services Mains 2024 · PSIR GS 2 · 15 marks · Comparative Politics

Comparative Politics: Nature and major approaches; political economy and political sociology perspectives; limitations of the comparative method.

### **Core demand of the question**

- State NAFTA's aims and its main limitations (labour, environment, asymmetry, ISDS, politics)
- Explain USMCA changes that were meant to counter those limits
- Keep the replacement as partial repair, not a new philosophy of trade

### **Revision summary**

NAFTA deepened North American production but was blamed for wage pressure, weak labour and environment side deals, ISDS and U.S. political backlash.

Mexico-U.S. asymmetry and the absence of EU-style adjustment funds were structural limits.

USMCA tightened auto rules of origin and wage-related content, added a rapid-response labour mechanism, and moved environment into the core.

ISDS was narrowed; digital trade and a sunset/review clause addressed legitimacy and a 1990s text.

The replacement is managed regionalism, not a social union.

### **Introduction**

The **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**, in force from 1994, locked **Canada, Mexico and the United States** into a regional free-trade area. It deepened auto and manufacturing chains. It also accumulated political enemies. The **United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)** replaced it in 2020. The question is what NAFTA could not solve, and how the successor tried to **counter** those limits.

### **Body**

#### **Limitations of NAFTA**

First, **labour and wages**. Critics in the United States argued that firms moved production to Mexico, hollowing industrial towns, while Mexican wages and union freedom did not rise in line with productivity. Second, **environment**. The side accords were weaker than the commercial core; pollution and weak enforcement at the border remained a campaign fact. Third, **asymmetry**. Mexico was the developing partner in a deal written around U.S. law and investor comfort. **Wallerstein's** core-periphery language is too crude for Mexico's industrial upgrade, but the power imbalance was real. Fourth, **investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS)** allowed firms to sue governments in ways that looked, to publics, like a veto on

regulation. Fifth, **agriculture and dairy** fights, especially with Canada, never disappeared. Sixth, **no development or adjustment politics equal to the shock: there was no EU-style cohesion fund. Seventh, legitimacy.** By the 2016 U.S. election NAFTA was a symbol of globalisation's domestic cost, which is the politics behind question 2(a).

NAFTA did raise intra-North American trade and locked in Mexican liberalisation. The limitations were **distribution, democracy of regulation, and political consent.**

### How USMCA tried to counter them

USMCA kept the regional production club and rewrote the bargain. **Rules of origin** for automobiles were tightened so that more content had to come from North America and from higher-wage labour, a direct reply to offshoring politics. A **rapid-response labour mechanism**, especially aimed at Mexican factories, gave the United States a tool that NAFTA's side agreement lacked. **Environmental** provisions were moved into the core text with stronger dispute potential. **ISDS** was narrowed sharply between the United States and Canada and limited with Mexico, a reply to the regulatory-chill charge. **Digital trade** chapters updated a 1990s text for data and platforms. A **sixteen-year sunset** with periodic review was meant to stop the deal from looking eternal and unaccountable. Canadian **dairy** access was adjusted in the U.S. interest. Intellectual property terms were tightened in ways critics still call Northern.

### How far the counter goes

USMCA is **managed trade**, not a labour international. Mexican labour reform is incomplete; U.S. industrial decline has many causes besides NAFTA; climate is still not a full North American industrial plan. The replacement **countered the most explosive political limits** - labour optics, ISDS, auto origin - so that regional integration could survive deglobalisation talk. It did not turn North America into a social union.

### Flow diagram

NAFTA limits -> Labour environment ISDS  
NAFTA limits -> Lost political consent  
USMCA -> Auto origin labour mechanism  
USMCA -> Narrower ISDS sunset digital  
Auto origin labour mechanism -> Partial counter

### Conclusion

NAFTA's limits were labour dislocation, weak environment and labour teeth, investor privilege, and lost consent in the United States. USMCA countered them with tighter auto rules, a labour rapid-response tool, a stronger environmental text, trimmed ISDS and a review sunset. The repair is political and partial, not a new theory of equality.

### Facts & figures

#### NAFTA 1994

Trilateral free-trade agreement that integrated auto and manufacturing chains across the three states.

**USMCA 2020**

Successor agreement with tighter auto origin rules, labour rapid response, and reduced ISDS.

**Sunset and review**

A built-in term and review process meant to answer the charge that NAFTA was politically unaccountable.

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