

level, power politics (the will of the most powerful country—which, in our day and age is the United States).

At the same time, we can use a comparative lens—contrasting what we see happening now with the dawn of other major eras such as that of free trade between Canada and the United States.

Need for Change

First, what is often witnessed preceding a major change in public policy is simply a compelling *need* for it—a functional explanation. For example, the creation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement was preceded by a growing belief in the need for a more predictable trade and investment climate that would contribute to growth, create more and better employment opportunities, as well as to encourage new opportunities for investment. Similarly, in the 1990s, many were already beginning to identify improved border management and trade facilitation as being required to deal with the strains that increases in cross-border trade flows were placing on the border.²⁸ The expansion in trade far surpassed expectations at the time the Canada-U.S. FTA was signed: Canadian exports to the U.S. expanded by an average of 10.1 per cent *per annum* from 1988 to 2001, with motor vehicles, mineral fuels and machinery topping the list in terms of export commodities.²⁹

Prior to the events of September 11th, the focus on border security, particularly from a U.S. perspective, was beginning to

²⁸ In the words of Jon Allen, Director of the North American Bureau at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade: “Well before September 11th, 2001, it was clear to most of the people in this room and to many officials on both side of the border that a doubling of our trade since the signing of NAFTA was putting incredible strain on the border: there were infrastructure problems; huge volumes of commercial vehicles and people and inadequate resources.” Jon Allen, Speech to the Sarnia Lambton Chamber of Commerce (October 25th, 2002).

²⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, “Trade with US Regions,” in *Canadian Trade Review: A Quarterly Review of Canada's Trade Performance*, Supplement CanadExport, Third Quarter 2002, 4.