

Transportation Research Board pointed out, "the nation's vast air, land and maritime transportation systems are marvels of innovation and productivity, but they are designed to be accessible and their very function is to concentrate passenger and freight flows that can create many vulnerabilities for terrorists to exploit."¹⁴

Policy-makers were forced to find a way to reconcile the needs of security and trade at a time when doing so was most fraught with difficulty. And they did. This official "balance" is one of the most carefully constructed "tightrope-walks" in bi-national cooperation. We examine below whether the new norms, rules and decision-making procedures portend a new era for trade.

Canadian-American border cooperation in the immediate aftermath of September 11th embodied a certain optimism. It was believed that peace of mind concerning security and the economic health of both nations was, within limits, achievable.

In this spirit, Deputy Prime Minister (then Foreign Minister) John Manley and Tom Ridge, now Secretary of the newly created Department of Homeland Security (then White House Homeland Security Advisor) met in Ottawa on December 12th, 2001 and signed the *Canada-U.S. Smart Border Declaration* with an accompanying 30-point action plan (*Action Plan for Creating a Secure and Smart Border*).¹⁵ The Declaration and Action Plan are blueprints for reinforcing public security and economic security between the two countries. The thought was that "by working together to develop a zone of confidence against terrorist activity"¹⁶ the two countries could tackle new

¹⁴ Transportation Research Board of the National Academies, *Deterrence, Protection, and Preparation: The New Transportation Security Imperative*, Special Report 270 (Washington DC: Transportation Research Board, 2002), 1.

¹⁵ A similar plan is being developed between the U.S. and Mexico but at a much slower pace. While Mexico shares the same free trade space with Canada and the U.S., the US-Mexico border issues are markedly different from the Canada-U.S. context. Thus, they will not be addressed here.