

choose between increased security and increased facilitation. You can have both.”²⁶

So, in effect, secure trade is here to stay. The ironic twist is that secure trade may mean free-er trade. For all the worry of the continent “closing in”, it looks as if the border is “opening up.”

But is that the full story?

The Long View

To assess whether secure trade is replacing free trade from a historical point of view, some perspective is needed.

Many people make much of the fact that the Smart Border idea is not new. This is a point often repeated by those who argue that we are *not* entering a new era; but instead that we are seeing jazzed-up and recycled rhetoric. They are correct in saying that the idea of a smart border is not new. Many of the ideas noted above for improving trade and security at the Canada-U.S. border have been considered before. These ideas were circulating, as we will see, in the bureaus of customs, immigration and transportation officials long before September 11th. However, there *is* something unique about developments on the Canada-U.S. stage that signals that we may be embarking into a new era.

How do we know when something “big” is about to happen in trade policy? Political scientists have developed variables that attempt to explain major public policy change;²⁷ these can apply in the realm of trade. They are as follows: a functional need for change; a crisis or shock; a change in political leadership; the mobilization of public support; and, at the international

²⁶ “Speech by the Honourable John Manley, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, to the Canadian-American Business Council;” September 27th, 2002, Available at <http://www.fin.gc.ca/news02/02-076e.html>; Accessed March 24th, 2003.

²⁷ See for example, John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* (New York: Longman, 1997).