

tive view.¹⁰ To arrive at a suitably comprehensive answer to this complex issue, an examination of these five perspectives is undertaken. In the conclusion, we attempt to synthesize an answer.

Before beginning, general terms must be defined. "Secure trade" is the ensemble of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures¹¹ that are geared towards preventing terrorism and that require trade to be, in some form or fashion, screened or securitized. Limiting ourselves to examining Canada and the United States, only bilateral secure trade is addressed in this paper (security-related rules governing the exchange of goods and services between Canada and the U.S.). And, because we are exploring only the beginnings of a possible new order, the full "regime" need not be in place—just signs of it. Secure trade has been associated with slower, or less liberal trade; however, this effect need not be inevitable, as we will see, it is not (necessarily) the case.

"Free trade", does not mean trade entirely without restrictions. In general, even when free trade agreements are implemented, imports and exports remain subject to a variety of controls, such as border measures to limit the spread of pests, controls on trade in sensitive military technology, and restrictions on trade in products associated with endangered species (e.g., ivory from elephant tusks). By free trade we mean trade conducted under the conditions established, for example, in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

¹⁰ Robert E. Baldwin, "The Political Economy of Trade Policy: Integrating the Perspectives of Economists and Political Scientists," in *The Political Economy of Trade Policy: Papers in Honour of Jagdish Bhagwati* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 150.

¹¹ This definition borrows from the general definition of a regime developed by international relations scholars, which is "a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." Stephen D. Krasner, quoted in Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 57.