

How, they complain, can you base procurement and force structure decisions on the basis of values? This is true. We have lots of values in Canadian foreign policy and not enough interests. We need interests because we have to do triage, and triage is the essence of policy: making hard choices between what is desirable and what is fundamental.

So what are our interests as a country? It has been said Canadian foreign policy has only one true set of interests—the relationship with the United States. Our livelihood as a people and our security as a nation depend vitally on getting this relationship right. Getting it right is more than making nice noises. Certainly, we should change the tone, but a foreign policy review is not about tone, it is about substance. So what should the substance be? Maintaining our national independence is our guiding national interest, and the central paradox of Canadian foreign policy—and of Canadian life—is that our independence is most at stake in our relations with our closest neighbour and best friend. It should be possible to say this without being suspected of anti-Americanism. We have done too many great things together as a country for us to base our national pride on a negative. Anti-Americanism is negative, proud defence of our national independence is positive and Canadians—and our American friends—have always understood and respected the difference.

Defence of our independence should dictate the terms of our cooperation with the Americans on immigration, border security and continental defence. Our independence cannot be defended by anyone else: so we have to pay for it, with a national defence capability that can secure our borders and protect our people, in alliance with others, but in fundamental independence of their capabilities and capacities. We should not sell our cooperation cheaply, but we can only strike the right bargain if we have adequate capabilities. I line up squarely with those—like Jack Granatstein—who have been saying for years that we do not spend enough on intelligence, border security and national defence, and we do not know what to spend it on. We need to spend with a vital interest in mind: maintaining, securing and defending the territorial integrity of Canada and the safety of Canadians at home and overseas. Peacekeeping in Haiti and Afghanistan is worthwhile, but peacekeeping alone cannot provide the sole content of our defence