
monopoly of government. No longer. Nowadays some of the best foreign policy research is done by NGO's; some of the best service delivery in the aid and assistance fields is done by private organizations; Canadian companies are foreign policy actors with huge effects on the country's reputation and influence, for better or worse. So a review has to map all the institutions, private and public, that shape the Canadian presence in the external world. Having mapped these institutions, a review has to re-think government's coordinating role: no longer the commanding sovereign, but the networker, facilitator and legitimating authority in a highly decentralized network of connections to the external world.

So to recap, the four key questions in any foreign review have to be:

- ◆ What values and interests should policy serve?
- ◆ What challenges must policy address?
- ◆ How can policy meet these challenges?
- ◆ How does government coordinate implementation across federal and provincial institutions, civil society and the private sector?

II

Let me begin with values and interests. Human rights, tolerance, multiculturalism, human security have all served as guiding values for Canadian foreign policy. There is nothing wrong with these values, except that they don't mean very much unless we specify the institutional or economic pre-requisites that make them sustainable in societies overseas. The key institutional pre-requisite for these values is good government. Human rights cannot be defended from the outside alone. They need to be anchored in decent institutions at home. When we fail to specify what human rights requires by way of real institutional support, we articulate human rights policies that are little more than rhetoric. The other trouble with these values is that they are guides to policy everywhere these days, especially in Scandinavia. Canadians want a foreign policy for Canadians, not for Scandinavians. A third problem is that, besides not being specifically Canadian, values aren't much help with priorities. I have heard senior defence figures in Canada lament the emphasis on values in Canadian foreign policy.