

resources they possess and their historical and geographical circumstances, The effectiveness with which they play that role is another matter. It is dependent upon an accurate and realistic assessment of their capabilities and a sensible choice of policies,

The capacity of the super-powers to affect the destiny of other nations is so enormous that middle powers must clearly be vitally concerned about the policies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Middle powers have a right and a duty to seek to influence the actions of the super-powers. This influence is likely to be more effective if middle powers act collectively. Indeed, it might be taken as a general rule for middle and small powers that they can be most effective in almost every field of international activity if they act together.

The scale and form of collective action by middle powers depends on the purpose. It may be a functional purpose, as in an economic organization, or a geographical one, as in a regional organization, or it may be a universal objective pursued through the United Nations. The principle is the same. Collective action is likely to be more effective.

Sometimes a middle power may be able to play a special role in a situation where the super-powers, locked in contest for world-wide influence, dare not make a move. Such cases are rare, however, and their importance should not be exaggerated. Canada's initiative over the Suez affair in 1956 is sometimes cited as an example of this role for a middle power, but let us remind ourselves that there were very special circumstances at that time.

I have arrived by this somewhat circuitous route at the acknowledgment that Canada is probably a "middle power" however we define that term. It is plain that we have become a nation with significant economic weight. We have a population of 21 million and a gross national product of more than \$60 billion, and our economy is growing at a steady rate. We offer a market of considerable proportions for the products of other countries. In a number of products we are one of the leading producers and exporters. We have resources that are attractive to capital from outside our own country. We have a sufficiently high standard of living that we can well afford to contribute substantial resources to international activities without in any way weakening our own economy. In short, we are an economic power.

We also have an appreciable military capacity. It is not great in terms of the super-powers, nor is the approximately 100,000 men in our armed forces a very significant number by comparison with many countries whose population is smaller than ours. But our forces are well-trained professionals; they are volunteers, not conscripts, equipped with modern weapons and capable of very effective employment in selective situations.

Canada also has a considerable capacity for political and diplomatic influence. We are a respected country in most parts of the world and in the United Nations and other international organizations. This is in part because we have no history of domination over other lands and no historic grievances to trouble our relations with other peoples. We maintain a corps of skilled professional diplomats, competitively selected