

accompany permanent membership on the Security Council. France and Britain enjoy the further advantage of having former colonies in the organization. Britain is generally considered to have fielded better representatives at the UN. France's slightly higher rating in perceived influence may therefore be related to its reputation for independence. When we asked "which members of the UN are most closely associated with the United States?" three-fourths of the respondents said "Britain"; well down the list came West Germany and Israel, with several mentions of Canada. No one suggested France! Under Mitterrand, moreover, France has appeared more sympathetic to the United Nations and the Third World.

In the ranking of perceived influence, the first five were followed by Yugoslavia, Algeria, Cuba, China, Mexico, Nigeria, Brazil and Pakistan. Algerian diplomats, tough in championing Third World interests, were widely respected. Cuba had gained influence through its presidency of the nonaligned movement. China? The world's most populous nation is difficult to ignore, especially when it has inherited an ancient civilization. Nevertheless, most of the comment about China's UN performance was patronizing. After a decade, it was suggested, China was beginning to learn the rules of the UN game.

Some respondents mentioned more countries than did others. If *all* mentions are counted, Sweden and Canada tied for fourteenth place. (If one combines the influence ranking for the different issue areas, Canada emerged in seventh place, behind only the superpowers, India, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Nigeria and Brazil. As our selection of issues was necessarily limited, however, little weight can be attached to this ranking.)

### Are issues interconnected?

We asked whether the stand taken by a country in one issue area, such as the Middle East, was likely to affect its influence in another, say arms control. Most of the respondents, even including half the Arabs, indicated that it would not. We also asked about the issue areas in which Canada was seen to be particularly strong. A substantial majority indicated that our greatest influence lay in economic development, itself the most substantial of current UN activities. Several mentioned Trudeau's role in the North-South dialogue, notably at the Cancun conference. Only a fifth as many respondents cited Canada's role in arms control, an issue taken very seriously by the Canadian mission. Its influence in the human rights field was cited by about the same modest portion. However, the few respondents familiar with this field tended to be high in praise; Canada, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands were considered to be the strongest contributors. A similar minority cited the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea as the setting of Canada's greatest input. An even smaller number, about 10 percent, cited Canada's influence in UN peacekeeping, and about 5 percent international law. Issue areas given single mentions included Namibia, refugees, chemical weapons, food, environment, outer space and the budget.

### Is there a "Canadian role?"

A related question asked for Canada's "role" in the UN. A disappointing third declined to give any answer. A tenth of those answering said "peacekeeper." Another

tenth suggested "consensus-builder," "conciliator," "honest-broker" or "conduit." Almost as many said "UN supporter." Another significant minority saw Canada principally in its relations with the United States, and suggested as its role "US moderator," "Western moderate" or "enlightened independent." Others cited its leadership in the economic field and the North-South dialogue. Scattered references were made to Canada as a promoter of arms control, women's rights, all human rights, UNICEF, science and technology, and sovereignty over natural resources. One East European called Canada "the UN's lawyer." Canada's role was given as "supporter of the West," but also "to be seen as non-American." Other single descriptions were "promoter of realism," and "like any other, to push national aims." The last word: "Canada has a role but doesn't play it."

Invited to name the UN member that behaves most like Canada, by far the largest number, over a third, suggested Australia. It seemed quite possible that the respondents had area, history and culture in mind rather than UN behavior. However, some did stress similarity in voting and in attitudes towards the Third World and the Middle East. Both countries were described as "rational" and as "enlightened allies of the United States with some autonomy." One interviewee praised their commitment to the UN, but added that they were "equally insignificant in the real struggle." A further tenth likened Canada's behavior to that of other members of the old Commonwealth — to New Zealand because both were "trustworthy," "realist," and "independent of the US"; or to the United Kingdom, another "moderator."

A fifth of the responses compared Canada in the UN to Sweden, the "Nordics" or the Netherlands, all among the most admired members of the club. Not surprisingly, the explanations for these choices were flattering — "idealism," "internationally-minded," "consensus builders," "pro-United Nations," "independent judgment," "peacekeepers" and "similar support for rights and development." About half as many suggested the West Europeans as the most similar to Canada in UN behavior. The comparable number that cited the United States as Canada's UN analogue stressed the similarity in the stands and votes of the two.

France was mentioned five times. Like Canada, it is "friendly to everyone," "concerned about consensus," and "supportive of self-determination." The minority that cited Ireland or Austria said it was because their ideas were similar to Canada's; devotion to the UN; and "relative independence within the West." Poland received a single mention ("It too has a sovereignty problem"), as did West Germany, Japan, Italy, Norway and Mexico.

### Who supports the UN?

We asked which country had been from the outset the most consistent supporter of the United Nations. A quarter answered the "Nordics," and Sweden received several additional mentions. The country mentioned most often was Canada — by one sixth of the respondents. Well behind were the United States, India, the USSR, the Netherlands, Britain, Austria, Yugoslavia, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and Saudi Arabia. Japan did well to receive