I am also convinced that a country's interest is not well served if it pursues a traditional foreign policy in international organizations such as the United Nations. Rather, a diplomatic line has to be developed that is structured and fashioned to function specifically in multilateral organizations. The requirements are quite different from those of bilateral diplomacy, both with regard to practice and to environment. The diplomats have hardly been recruited to meet the demands of multilateralism. A new recruitment and further education are needed. International solutions, of course, will also mean that external representatives will take on an increased importance in their own countries - not because they will force a greater consideration for foreign countries or their governments, or because they might wish to have a greater role in determining policy, but because the policy-makers will be using their services abroad to extend their countries' internal measures. For that to happen, policy-makers will have to rely to a large extent on their external representative.

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Within the United Nations, the two superpowers are experiencing increasing difficulty when they try to dominate the members of the different groups of countries. This is partly due to the fact that ideologies in the UN have a waning

importance in relation to blatant national interests. But, just as it seems natural to-day for countries to show greater independence in foreign policy, so also it is evident that neither of the super-powers will accept the neglect of their vital interests in the world organization. It is my experience in the United Nations, and especially from my time as President of the Security Council in June 1967 during the six-day war in the Middle East, that, in general, only the two super-powers can achieve what is possible within political realities. Only when the two super-powers are in agreement can the UN play a decisive role.

But I also learnt that a smaller country is not prevented from having potential influence. Thus, because the super-powers agree on certain fundamental principles, a smaller country can, in addition to being a mediator, act independently within certain limits and, with tact and patience, influence the development of events. Apart from its geographical position, I believe, a smaller country with a good name is able to do this to some degree because the superpowers have their own reputation to take care of. This is the more relevant in an international organization like the United Nations, where individual ability often plays a greater role than in many bilateral relations. This implies, of course, that the smaller country has well-based arguments and the necessary moral strength.

## Outlook for French politics after the defeat of the Left

## By André P. Donneur

All eyes were turned toward France on the evening of last March 12. The most interested observers were France's partners in the European Community, beginning with West Germany. The results of the French legislative elections, the first round of which were held that evening, would have a crucial effect on the equilibrium of the pan-European system and even the entire international system.

Although the most conservative polls predicted that the French Left would obtain 53 per cent of the votes in the first round of the elections and a majority of seats in the second if the Communist and Socialist Parties ordered a reciprocal withdrawal of their candidates in favour of the candidates who won the most votes for the Left, neither of these predictions came true. In the first round, the Left – including the Far Left – obtained only slightly more than 50 per cent of the votes and, in the second, despite the agreement for reciprocal withdrawal, the Left ended up with 90 seats fewer than the Right.

What happened was an error in forecasting, due, on the one hand, to a survey technique that failed to take into account