

private diplomacy. It can on occasion create the circumstances in which private diplomacy can work. In fact the two processes of open debate and private negotiation are rarely completely separated in the United Nations. It is a truism that the exchanges which take place in the corridors are equally as important as those which take place publicly in the Council Chamber and Assembly Hall.

In assessing the value of the United Nations as an instrument for the peaceful resolution of potential conflicts, we should not neglect the important moral suasion which it can exert by providing a means for the expression of world opinion. The procedures of the United Nations are available to any member state which feels its security threatened by the action of another member. There is available to all, therefore, a convenient means of bringing the harsh light of public opinion to bear on the circumstances of any complaint and there are few governments, if any, whose actions and reactions are entirely impervious to public opinion at home and abroad. The consideration of a complaint in these circumstances tends to ensure that negotiations once begun will continue until a generally acceptable solution has been reached. This is the diplomacy of reconciliation about which the Secretary General has so often spoken and which more often than not requires no formal action on the part of the Security Council or the General Assembly.

Preserving the Peace

Where the Security Council has been called upon to intervene in a number of dangerous situations, it has a creditable record of success in its early days. Iran, Indonesia, Kashmir and Palestine are examples from the period 1945-1949. Some of these problems are not yet resolved, it is true, but the assistance provided through United Nations observation machinery in the early stages has in nearly every case brought appreciably closer the prospect of achieving a permanent solution, while in the meantime warding off a possibility of further deterioration. Consideration by the United Nations in the last three examples I have mentioned, where open hostilities had taken place, was instrumental in bringing about the cessation of hostilities, an essential preliminary to the opening of negotiations. The observer groups which were set up by the United Nations to supervise the cease-fire arranged in Kashmir and Palestine are still on the spot, and by their presence they are helping to prevent a renewal of hostilities.

The promising record of Security Council interventions in the early stages of its existence was, of course, brought to an abrupt halt by the deepening crisis of the cold war after 1948. The unusual circumstances surrounding the Security Council's firm response to the Korean crisis of 1950 led directly to the adoption of a new approach designed to avoid the paralyzing consequences of the vote in the Security Council. Recognizing that substantial Charter revision was out of the