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CONTENTS

The Crisis of the United Nations	1
Waterfowl – A Resource in Danger	3
Sealing Under Scrutiny	4
Activities of ARDA	4

Stratford Box-Office Opening	5
Chinese Foreign Minister	5
Michener Named to Nepal	5

THE CRISIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The following is a speech to the Vancouver Institute by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, on February 20:

It would be easy, for anyone contemplating the course of events from day to day, to look upon the world in which we live as one in which crisis succeeds crisis. I have myself tried to resist this tendency for two reasons. First, because it is important to distinguish crisis from change. It is inevitable, I think, that a period in which a very large number of new nations have been emerging, in which traditional societies are being compelled to make the transition to modern status and modern structure, in which science and technology are being mobilized on a vast scale in support of man's efforts to control his environment and make it more amenable – that such a period should be one of change. I believe it would be wrong for us to be daunted by the prospect of change or to be drawn to conclude that all change is necessarily critical.

EVOLUTION IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

My second reason for hesitating to apply the term "crisis" indiscriminately to the trends and developments to which Canadian foreign policy must be responsive is because I am confident, in my own mind, that the direction in which matters have been evolving over the past two decades has, on the whole, been right and beneficial. I say this because, over that period, we have come, over an increasingly wide area, to organize our affairs in common. We have come to recognize and accept the implications of our interdependence. And we have created the

institutions that enable us to give substance and meaning to the notion of a world community. Among these the United Nations occupies, of course, a vital place.

I put these reflections before you today because they provide the setting for what I should like to say about the really critical situation which I think we have now reached in the affairs of the United Nations. In using the term "critical" in this context, I do so advisedly and in the sense of Mr. Adlai Stevenson's memorable speech to the General Assembly last month in which he said:

We have reached a fork in the road ahead of this organization – and thus in our search for world order and our journey toward a wider community.

Much has been said and written about the crisis which confronts the United Nations at this moment – so much, in fact, that there has been difficulty in retaining the elements of that crisis in proper perspective. Perhaps, therefore, it would be useful if I were to try to disentangle the situation as I see it.

CRISIS OF SOLVENCY

In the immediate foreground, there is what I might call the crisis of solvency of the United Nations. This can be summarized briefly as follows: An amount of some \$140 million is now owing to the United Nations in accumulated arrears. The net cash resources of the organization have dwindled to less than \$15 million, its Working Capital Fund is all but depleted, and it has debts amounting to \$45 million in addition to outstanding bonds in the value of some \$150 million which were issued to finance

(Over)

peace-keeping operations in 1962-63, and which must, in due course, be redeemed.

I think these figures tell their own story. They indicate that the United Nations is facing an acute financial crisis which requires attention quite apart from any of the issues underlying it. For it would surely be tragic if, in addition to being inhibited from conducting its normal business, the United Nations were unable, as the Secretary-General recently put it, in the weeks and months ahead "to keep faith with those who have kept faith with it".

Some two-thirds of the arrears owing to the United Nations is attributed to the unwillingness of certain member states to pay their assessed share of duly authorized expenditures for keeping the peace. The major defaulter on that account is the Soviet Union, which accounts for just under half of the total arrears outstanding.

This brings me to the second element in the present crisis which I might call the crisis of confrontation. This has tended, in recent discussion, to overshadow the underlying financial problem.

CRISIS OF CONFRONTATION

The crisis of confrontation has hovered, like a Damoclean sword, over the ill-starred nineteenth session of the General Assembly, which has now adjourned until September. It could have been precipitated at any time - as it almost was on Thursday of this week - by a delegation refusing to go along with the consensus procedure by which the General Assembly has conducted its business since it first met on December 1. For a recorded vote could - and in ordinary circumstances would - have raised the issue of invoking Article 19 of the Charter against those member states whose arrears exceeded the contributions due from them for the preceding two full years. Article 19 stipulates that, in those circumstances, the defaulting member state shall have no vote in the General Assembly.

According to the latest count, 13 member states find themselves in that position, including two of the permanent members of the Security Council - the Soviet Union and France. These countries have argued that Article 19 does not apply to arrears arising out of assessments for peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, in that such assessments are not binding obligations within the terms of the relevant articles of the Charter. When that view was formally put to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion, the Court indicated that it did regard the costs of peace keeping as "expenses of the organization" to be borne by the member states in the normal way. The General Assembly subsequently endorsed that opinion by a very substantial majority. In doing so, it endorsed the legal character of assessments for peace keeping and, by implication at least, the relevance of Article 19 to arrears incurred on peace-keeping account.

But if the legal position was clear, the plain fact is that the generality of the membership were determined to avoid a confrontation in circumstances where they were not convinced that all other means of resolving the crisis had been exhausted. That position was, I think, underlined beyond any doubt by the events of the past week.

LOSS OF VOTE MANDATORY

As far as Canada is concerned, we should have felt bound to support the application of Article 19 to the defaulting countries if there had been a confrontation on that issue. We accept the advisory opinion of the International Court. We regard Article 19 as relevant to the arrears accumulated on peace-keeping account. We consider the loss of vote in the General Assembly in this situation as mandatory. And we think that, on balance, there would have been great harm to the continued financial stability of the United Nations if there had been failure to apply the one effective sanction the United Nations Charter has for persistent financial default.

On the other hand, there are those who argue that a confrontation, whatever its outcome, would at best have yielded a Pyrrhic victory. For even if there had been a majority in favour of depriving the defaulting member states of their vote in the General Assembly, it is doubtful if those states would, in such circumstances, have been willing to settle their arrears. If, on the other hand, the move to invoke Article 19 had failed to command a sufficient majority, some of the most loyal supporters of the United Nations might have had difficulty in continuing to accept the principle of collective financial responsibility and the support in those countries for the United Nations cause would inevitably have received a serious setback. In either case, the financial problem of the United Nations would have remained unsettled. There would have been division and recrimination among the membership. The capacity of the United Nations for future collective action would have been weakened. And much of the patient work that has gone into providing at least a minimum basis of accommodation between the United States and the Soviet Union might have been undone. These are some of the considerations that seemed to many member states to argue against a confrontation if that could be avoided.

I have spoken of the crisis of solvency, which continues. I have also spoken of the crisis of confrontation, which, for the time being at any rate, has receded into the background. Beyond these, however, lies what I consider to be the real crisis facing the United Nations and on the outcome of which will depend whether or not the United Nations will continue to have an effective and assured capacity of maintaining peace and security. And that is the constitutional crisis.

CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

To explain the origins of that crisis it is necessary to go some way back. When the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up, it was assumed that the great powers would carry the major responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. It was part of that assumption that any really effective security system would have to rest on the continued collaboration of the great powers. That is the assumption that lies behind the veto, as it does behind Chapter VII of the Charter, which provided for United Nations forces to deal with threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. It was implicit in that assumption, of course, that lack of unanimity amongst the great powers would prevent

(Continued on P. 6)

WATERFOWL - A RESOURCE IN DANGER

The following is a partial text of an address to the thirty-seventh annual convention of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters in Ottawa on February 19 by Mr. Arthur Laing, the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources:

...There are almost 900,000 hunters in Canada and in 1961 they spent about \$90 million on their sport. To about 345,000 of these hunters, according to the Canadian Wildlife Service 1961 economic survey of fishing and hunting in Canada, wildlife means waterfowl and waterfowl hunting.

One of the difficult things about managing wild animals is that they have little regard for such man-made things as provincial or international boundaries. Migratory birds, our most mobile wildlife resource, range the continent and must be managed in that context. Many species nest and raise their young in Canada and fly south to winter in the United States and Mexico. Surprisingly few Canadians are aware that 70 per cent of the continent's most sought-after ducks nest and raise their young in the southern Prairie Provinces. Perhaps even fewer people are aware that this area, in addition to being a grain factory, is known as North America's "duck factory".

The capacity of the potholes, marshes, and sloughs of the southern Prairies to produce ducks varies from area to area. It depends on the amount of food and cover available, and these in turn depend on water. Some areas hold water only in years of high precipitation. Others maintain life-giving habitat even in dry years, and it is this kind of wetland that carries basic breeding populations through the years of drought.

THREAT OF MAN'S WORKS

Natural droughts are troublesome enough, but more and more of these high-value wetlands are being threatened by the works of man. Competing demands on wetlands for agricultural, industrial, and residential land constitute a problem that is reaching crisis proportions. We have only to look to the northern prairie states to see what will happen unless we move quickly to prevent the loss of the habitat that is vital to migratory waterfowl, one of our most beautiful and valuable renewable national resources.

During the past two years, the Canadian Wildlife Service of my Department has concluded several dozen leasing agreements with farmers in the three Prairie Provinces to maintain their wetlands in a natural condition. Payments to farmers have been based on the area of the wetlands and the value of the surrounding land discounted at five per cent for a 20-year period. During this pilot-programme period, we have tried to find solutions to the administrative problems posed by the different land-tenure systems that we must deal with in the Prairie Provinces. We have also worked out techniques for measuring the extent of the wetlands on an individual's property, and we have learned what numbers of men we must put in the field to do the job. These studies have progressed to the point where I have been able

to recommend to the Cabinet that a large-scale programme to maintain our irreplaceable wetlands be begun in 1967.

CROP PROTECTION

Ducks in agricultural lands have been and can be a problem. At some times and in some places, they feed on and thresh out grain from the swath, practically wiping out the farmers' margin of profit. Methods are now available by which damage to cereal crops can be much reduced. Throughout the Prairie pothole country, where our wetlands-management programme will be centred, we shall continue our efforts to inform landowners about crop-protection methods. The success of our programme depends on creating a real partnership with farmers and landowners.

Although maintenance of the Prairie pothole "duck factory" is of primary importance, the programme which I hope to get under way will also include the purchase or long-term lease of large wetlands not only in the Prairies but also in the rest of Canada as well. Such areas are important not only for production but also because they can provide important resting areas for migrating waterfowl and, in some cases, accommodate wintering populations. Some of these larger wetlands, or the areas around them, will provide much hunting opportunity. I might say that both aspects of this wetlands-preservation programme will be worked out in co-operation with the agencies of the provincial governments which share our interest in this resource.

PRESERVING WETLANDS

The need for a positive approach across the country was brought home forcibly to one of our Canadian Wildlife Service biologists in Nova Scotia last summer. He was just hauling his canoe out of the water after checking the birds on a large marsh when a local farmer stopped to tell him that he had bought the marsh and planned to drain it to grow hay for his dairy herd. The marsh served not only as breeding habitat for black ducks but also an important staging and resting area for geese during their spring and autumn migrations. Although action will vary in degree and kind across Canada, the problem of preserving our wetlands is definitely national in character.

Other areas of Canada besides the southern Prairies are important to waterfowl production. The Northwest Territories and the Yukon, for example, produce most of the continent's geese - snow's, brant, Canada's, white-fronts, Ross' - and many ducks as well.

I know that Canadian sportsmen are concerned about the proposed dam at Rampart Canyon on the Yukon River in Alaska. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service has issued a report condemning the development because the resulting 10,500 square-mile reservoir would remove much valuable waterfowl nesting habitat. I should point out that detailed planning has not yet been started in the United

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States for the Rampart project, and this phase alone would take three to five years. Construction would probably take a further ten years. The dam as proposed would be 530 feet high and have a crest length of 4,700 feet.

Engineers estimate that it would take 20 years for the Yukon River to fill the reservoir. This would interfere with yet another proposal conceived in the United States: NAWAPA, North American Water and Power Alliance, which depends on some diversion from the Yukon River. It would seem that the respective backers of NAWAPA and the Rampart Dam projects will have to resolve some conflicts of interest....

SURVEY OF HUNTERS

A national license could give us for the first time a record of the number of persons who are sufficiently interested in waterfowl hunting to purchase a license. From that basis, by questioning a selected sample of hunters, we could determine the numbers who actually hunt, and secure information about hunting locations, times, dates, number of birds taken, and related facts. With that information in hand, we can see where adjustments in hunting regulations can be made to benefit both the resource and the hunters, present and future. We can also measure the effectiveness of changes in hunting regulations in accomplishing the management aims to which they are directed.

One proposal under useful consideration is the adoption of a federal migratory-bird hunting license, in the form of a stamp for attachment to provincial licences....

We are aware that hunters are not the major users of our waterfowl resource. There are more bird watchers, photographers, and other nature lovers than hunters. Those groups also will benefit from programmes of training on field waterfowl-identification. The training programme will involve the use of special films, and it looks as though it will evolve into some form of packaged presentation for use by fish and game clubs and naturalists' groups throughout the country.

VAGUE DIVISION OF AUTHORITY

For many years the management of migratory birds has suffered from an ill-defined division of responsibility between governments. In habitat management, which is of prime importance for the future of migratory birds, each level of government has tended to assume that responsibility lies with the other level, and as a consequence much needed work has not been accomplished....

We need all the co-operation we can secure from other levels of government if the full needs of migratory-bird management are to be met. You, through your organizations, can support both federal and provincial programmes directed toward better use of this resource....

SEALING UNDER SCRUTINY

Invitations are being extended by Fisheries Minister H.J. Robichaud to representatives of three humane and conservation societies to view the

sealing operations and observe the effectiveness of the new seal-protection regulations in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence during the week of March 15. The societies that will have representatives on the scene of the Gulf sealing operations will be the Ontario Humane Society, the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Canadian Audubon Society.

Last autumn, after consideration of the whole subject of sealing on the Atlantic Coast, Mr. Robichaud issued more restrictive regulations, which will come into effect with this year's operations. The Department of Fisheries will have officers on the sealing grounds to enforce the new rules.

KILLING METHODS

In the opinion of experts, the present method of killing seals, when properly carried out, does not cause the animals undue pain. However, in some instances it was discovered that a few seal-hunters were either unskilled or somewhat careless in carrying out the operation.

In recent years, helicopters have been used in sealing operations. This year, at last, it is unlawful to use a helicopter or other aircraft for sealing except under a licence issued by the Minister.

MAIN SEALING AREAS

The main commercial sealing operations take place on the Front area, which includes all the waters of the Strait of Belle Isle and the Atlantic Ocean east of a straight line between Amour Point on the coast of Labrador and Flowers Cove, Newfoundland.

The Gulf area itself is further divided, for regulation purposes, into three districts. In District 2, an annual quota has been set of 50,000 seals. This district includes all the waters and territories south of 50° north latitude and west of a line from Cape Ray to Cape North. In District 2, helicopters and other aircraft can be used in sealing under a licence issued by the Minister. In the other two districts, however, and on the Front, helicopters and other aircraft may be used from land bases for spotting only.

ACTIVITIES OF ARDA

Almost 600 projects were approved under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act from the commencement of the programme in 1962 to the end of 1964, according to a recent statement by the federal Minister of Forestry, Mr. Maurice Sauvé.

Reviewing ARDA's first two years of activity, Mr. Sauvé cited a total of 598 projects, involving a total cost of \$42,367,000, of which the federal share is \$23,191,000. "Most of these projects are now under way," he said, "and many have been completed." He added that the purpose of the ARDA programme was "to improve or alter existing land use, carry out soil and water conservation, and improve income and employment opportunities in rural areas".

ARDA projects to the end of 1964 included 174 for alternate land use, 177 for soil and water conservation, 25 rural development projects, 93 joint federal-provincial research projects and 129 federal research and study projects.

(Over)

PROJECTS BY PROVINCES

In the Atlantic Provinces, 148 projects are in progress or completed: 43 in Newfoundland, costing \$1,288,000; 23 in Prince Edward Island, costing \$417,000; 50 in Nova Scotia, costing \$1,223,000; 32 in New Brunswick, costing \$920,000. ARDA projects in Quebec totalled 144, at a cost of \$10,615,000. Those in Ontario numbered 37, costing \$4,568,000. A total of 203 projects were approved for the Prairie Provinces: 60 in Manitoba at a cost of \$5,269,000; 108 in Saskatchewan, costing \$11,208,000; 35 in Alberta, costing \$4,676,000. There were 25 projects approved for British Columbia, for a total cost of \$1,078,000.

In addition to these cost-shared projects, a further 41 were undertaken directly by the Federal Government, at a total cost of \$1,105,000.

VARIETY OF PROJECTS

Under ARDA, each province initiates and carries out its own projects, with federal financial, and sometimes technical assistance. Emphasis on the type of project varies among the provinces, according to their needs. For example, Saskatchewan has concentrated on community pastures, with a total of 59 in process of development. The Newfoundland programme has consisted chiefly of research work; 38 such projects are now under way or complete. While Quebec has had a diversified programme, the emphasis is on improvement of watercourses to improve and increase the arable land on hundreds of farms.

A Quebec project of special interest at this early stage of ARDA's development is one of detailed research into economic and social conditions in the Gaspé region, which is being carried out by the Bureau d'aménagement de l'est du Québec. To date, \$2,470,000 in federal-provincial funds has been allotted to this project. Another major Quebec project valued at \$1,260,000, is designed to provide heavy motorized machinery for improvement of various farm lands in the province. In Saskatchewan, a \$200,000 project has been organized to study social and economic conditions in Census Division 16, north and west of Saskatoon. This project is being carried out under contract by the Centre for Community Studies at the University of Saskatchewan.

All ARDA projects to date are being carried out under the federal-provincial ARDA general agreement, signed between the Federal Government and each province in the autumn of 1962. A new agreement, covering the period from 1965 to 1970, is now under discussion. Under this new agreement, the Federal Government has agreed to provide \$25 million a year, plus a \$50-million special-projects fund over the whole term of the agreement.

STRATFORD BOX-OFFICE OPENING

One of the harbingers of spring in Southern Ontario is the opening of the Stratford Festival's box office - this year the event takes place on March 1. Almost 400,000 tickets, representing a record box-office potential of \$1,494,700, will go on sale

over the counter and by mail order for the Festival's 16-week season.

The 1965 season will open on June 14 with "Henry IV" (*Henry IV*, Part I), "Falstaff" (*Henry IV*, Part 2), "Julius Caesar", and "The Cherry Orchard" are the other plays in the repertory at the Festival Theatre.

OPERA PRODUCTIONS

At the Avon Theatre, the North American première of the Weill-Brecht opera "Mahagonny" will take place on July 2, and last year's success, "The Marriage of Figaro", will open on July 6. The operas will run Monday (except July 5) through Saturday, with matinees on Wednesdays and Saturdays, until August 28.

The Festival will also present eight Sunday afternoon and six Saturday morning concerts in the Festival Theatre.

There are 286,766 tickets for the 127 performances of the four plays - 73,194 for 66 performances of the operas and 31,548 for the 14 concerts. There will also be 1,000 tickets for the Choral Workshop programme to be heard in Knox Church on July 23, and 2,258 tickets for the August 27 performance of Handel's "Solomon" in the Festival Theatre.

CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER

The Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, His Excellency Shen Chang-huan, arrived in Ottawa on February 24 for an informal two-day visit, during which he had consultations with the Secretary of State for External Affairs and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Shen's stay in Ottawa was part of a trip to Canada during which he met members of the Chinese communities in Montreal and Toronto.

Mr. Shen arrived at Uplands Airport, where he was met by Mr. Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, who gave a luncheon in his honour next day. The Foreign Minister was also received by the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers during his stay. He left Ottawa with his Party for New York on February 26.

MICHENER NAMED TO NEPAL

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, has announced the concurrent accreditation as first Canadian Ambassador to Nepal of Mr. D. Roland Michener, Canadian High Commissioner to India. Establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and Nepal was announced on January 18.

Mr. Michener was born in Lacombe, Alberta, in April 1900. He was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1924 and was appointed King's Counsel in 1943.

He was first elected to the House of Commons in 1953, and was re-elected in 1957 and 1958. He was Speaker of the House of Commons during Canada's Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Parliaments, 1957-62. His appointment as Canadian High Commissioner to India was announced on July 6, 1964.

THE CRISIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

(Continued from P. 2)

the proper functioning of the enforcement system laid down in Chapter VII.

As matters turned out, the great powers were unable to agree on procedures for raising the security forces contemplated by the Charter and member states were compelled to turn to regional means of organizing their security, as in the case of the North Atlantic Alliance. But the United Nations was still capable, with the consent and at the invitation of its member states, to interpose its presence in situations of conflict or potential conflict – to hold the ring, as it were, until longer-term solutions could be worked out at the political level. And that, in a sense, has been the essence of United Nations peace keeping, from the appointment of a United Nations Military Observer Group to supervise the truce in Kashmir in 1947 to the latest United Nations operation on the island of Cyprus.

What is at issue in the present constitutional crisis are the respective authorities of the Security Council and the General Assembly in relation to peace keeping. The Soviet Union, and the countries of the Soviet bloc, hold that the Security Council is the only organ competent to deal with the maintenance of international peace and security, that it alone has the authority to initiate, direct and make provision for the financing of peace-keeping operations, and that any other procedures are illegal and invalid.

RESIDUAL RIGHT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

I think it is fair to say that the primacy of the Security Council in the matter of maintaining international peace and security is acknowledged by the generality of the membership of the United Nations. With the adoption, however, of the important "Uniting for Peace" resolution in 1950, the General Assembly asserted certain residual rights and responsibilities in these matters for which provision is made in the Charter. These rights and responsibilities were invoked by the General Assembly for the first time when it authorized the despatch of the United Nations Emergency Force in response to the Suez crisis. They have been invoked on two subsequent occasions and there is a general feeling that they must be preserved to deal with situations where the Security Council is unable to act.

It is also generally acknowledged, I think, that there may have to be special scales and procedures for the financing of peace-keeping operations. What is at issue is the extent to which any special arrangements can be reconciled with the need to give the United Nations an assured capacity of keeping the peace.

MOST SERIOUS CRISIS

I have endeavoured to describe the elements of the crisis which is at present facing the United Nations. It is not, of course, the first such crisis to have preoccupied us but it may well be the most serious. For its outcome may determine the shape of the future destiny of the United Nations. Is the United Nations to endure – as the Secretary-General put it – "as a dynamic and effective instrument of inter-

national action" or is it to survive – in the words of *The Economist* – "merely as a spectacular talkathon, pickled and powerless"? That is the real issue we are facing today.

I would not wish to conclude these observations without saying something about the Canadian position. Canada has a vital stake in peace keeping. We have participated in every major peace-keeping operation undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations since 1948. We have set aside standby forces within our military establishment to be at the disposal of the United Nations in situations of emergency. We look upon the evolution of the idea of peace keeping as reflecting the will and determination of the world community to work towards a peaceful and securely-ordered world. Much as we might wish it were otherwise, we do not think that the need for a United Nations capacity to keep the peace is likely to diminish in the foreseeable future.

The present crisis did not break upon us suddenly. It has been building up for some time and we have played an active part, over the past year or two, in the working group that was set up by the General Assembly to look into possible solutions. It was our hope that, if reasonable arrangements could be devised for future peace-keeping operations, there would be no difficulty in liquidating the past. But that assumption has turned out to be unrealistic, and it is now clear that all aspects of the peace-keeping problems – present, past and future – will need to be brought within the compass of negotiation. In the process of negotiation it is accepted, I think, that the permanent members of the Security Council will have a special responsibility for staking out the area within which an accommodation may be possible. This does not diminish, however, the stake which each and every member of the United Nations has in the outcome of the present crisis.

CANADIAN AIMS

As far as Canada is concerned, our objectives in the impending negotiations are simple and clear-cut. They are:

first, to restore the United Nations to solvency and to prevent the possibility of a recurrence of the present crisis;

second, to preserve the capacity of the United Nations to play its rightful part in the maintenance of international peace and security;

third, to accomplish these objectives on the basis of the broadest possible consensus, which alone will ensure that the solutions devised with regard to peace keeping are effective and durable and that the United Nations is once more enabled to press forward with other urgent business.

The French writer François de Callières once wrote that "the secret of negotiation is to harmonize the real interests of the parties concerned." For my own part, I believe that a strong and viable United Nations is and will continue to be in the real interest of all the parties to the negotiations which are about to commence. If I am right in that belief, then surely the Secretary-General is justified in expressing the conviction that, given the will to reach them, it should not prove "beyond the capacity of reasonable men to reach reasonable accommodations".