

all we can do to banish apartheid as an instrument of South African policy. At the same time we must recognize that the real interests of the United Nations are best preserved by measuring our ends against our means.

### Vietnam

It would be encouraging and indeed deeply gratifying to all of us at this Assembly if we were able to note that the thunderclouds of war had lifted from Vietnam since, one year ago, we gathered in this same forum to review the problems of the world. That is not the case. The suffering and destruction continue unabated. Despite all the efforts, including those of my own country, to seek a basis for negotiation the issues behind the conflict seem to remain as intractable as ever.

Once again we face the question, therefore, of whether this organization can help to bring the Vietnam conflict closer to a peaceful and mutually acceptable conclusion and to foster political stability and economic progress in an area of the world where both are so badly needed.

There are, of course, reasons which militate against immediate and formal action being taken by the United Nations at this time. We cannot escape the obvious fact--and it is a fact that I regret--that some of those most directly concerned with this conflict are not represented in this Organization. I do not wish to suggest that if it were otherwise, we would automatically find ourselves closer to a concrete solution to the Vietnam problem. Whether this situation will change in the foreseeable future I cannot tell, but I do not believe that efforts for peace need be held in abeyance until it does.

A second important reason for the inability of this Organization to contribute constructively to a solution is that the great powers are divided on the causes of the conflict and on the measures required to terminate it. As we all know, the Security Council can only function effectively if its members will unite their strength to maintain international peace and security, as the Charter calls upon them to do. I can see no immediate prospect of this unity being found.

To be realistic in assessing our present ability to act collectively and as an organization must not be regarded as a justification for apathy and inertia by each of us individually. This I think has been the conviction of the Secretary-General, who has made repeated efforts to find a