

further progress toward peace. In particular, the time seemed closer when the long frustration of disarmament negotiations might be replaced by some positive measures of agreement.

It would be intolerable if our hopes for a rational response to the challenge and the fear of universal destruction were once more to be dashed.

I cannot believe that this will happen. I cannot believe that there are not sensible solutions to the problems of the relations of seven hundred millions of Chinese with their neighbours; or to those of a divided Germany, a divided Korea, a divided Vietnam. I do not accept the permanence of the Berlin Wall as a symbol of a divided world. I reject the theory that Arabs and Jews must forever be hostile. I do not believe it is the destiny of Cuba to be permanently alienated from former friends and neighbours on this Western Hemisphere; or for whites and non-whites to be permanently embittered in Africa because of racial policies which are bad and bound to fail.

I do not claim that there are quick and easy solutions to these problems. There are none. But there is a better atmosphere in which to begin the earnest and persistent search for them.

In this search, the United Nations can play an effective role, but only if it puts its own house in order.

It is not the sole instrument for international co-operation. It has no supra-national authority. It is no substitute for national foreign policy, nor bilateral diplomacy. The Charter rightly recognizes that there are other peaceful means of solution, regional and limited collective arrangements, outside the United Nations but consistent with its principles which member states can employ.

Nevertheless, the United Nations alone serves us all. It provides the only world assembly to protect and advance human rights and freedoms and welfare; reduce and remove the causes of conflict.

Whether it can discharge its great role, fulfil its great responsibilities, depends on us.