

Security Council has recently gone further, and has pointed the way to peace by directing the parties to change the truce into an armistice.

The acceptance of this analysis of the situation and the decision to proceed on this basis will, of course, place heavy obligations and responsibilities on the Arab peoples of the Middle East. Those peoples will have to admit the futility of continuing to threaten what clearly cannot be accomplished, that is the extinction of the Jewish state, or to insist that they will not negotiate, directly or indirectly, with the representatives of, or on the basis of any recognition of, any Jewish state in Palestine. Whether we like it or not, a large part of the territory of the former Mandate of Palestine is now under the control of the Provisional Government of Israel. There seems to be no likelihood in the foreseeable future that this control will be taken from them. The Arab states may hold, and may sincerely and tenaciously hold, that this is an evil consequence of injustices which took place thirty years ago, but, even if this is the case, they cannot expect the United Nations to right ancient alleged wrongs in the face of recent history, especially when the redress of such alleged wrongs would bring bitter reproaches that new and worse injustices were being created.

We must deal with the fact that a Jewish state has come into existence and has established its control over territory from which it will not be dislodged, and we must address ourselves to the problem of regulating the relations of this community with its neighbours. I do not deny for a moment that this is a difficult circumstance for the Arab states to accept, but it is nevertheless the case, and it does not seem to me that the United Nations would be doing those states any service if it encouraged them, or even permitted them, to continue their efforts to destroy by arms the Jewish state.

On the other hand, the Jewish community must also make difficult decisions which will involve certain concessions. At the moment, its armies seem to be in a position where they could, if they so chose, establish themselves in almost the whole of Palestine. If they did so, they would be openly defying the wishes of the international community. Last year's recommendation clearly indicated that, in the judgment of the world, the territory of Palestine should be divided between two peoples, and that these two peoples should then make arrangements as quickly as possible to work together for their common good. We cannot force them to work together, but we can keep insistently reminding them that this is what was intended, and that if they act in a way which will destroy all possibilities for such co-operation, they will do so without the support of, and indeed, against the will of the United Nations. The Jewish community should realize, therefore, that it cannot have it both ways — it cannot have all the territory which was given it by the November 29th resolution, together with all the additional territory which it has been able to take by force of arms. In the adjustments which must now be worked out in Palestine by which the boundaries of Israel will be defined, the Jewish state itself must, in the interests, not only of its relations with its neighbours, but also of the international community of which it will form a part, place self-imposed limits on its demands. In return for this, the Jewish state has the right to ask for peace and recognition. It can hardly be asked to enter into negotiations for a settlement unless it is given some right to expect that such a settlement will mean peace for itself in Palestine.

The occasion is one which calls for statesmanship, and I am sure that, while there are extremists on both sides counselling rash and disastrous courses, which have nothing to do with wisdom or common sense, there are also resources of statesmanship on both sides through which the issue could be settled on an equitable basis. I hope we shall not be told by anyone that he is prepared to be statesmanlike only if somebody else is, because no move towards political understanding can be successful if it is approached in this way. If, and I know that this is a big "if", wisdom and sense are forthcoming, the Palestine problem can be solved.