

distribution of territory which in other circumstances would have been quite unworkable, could be made between the two communities. Whether or not it was wise to make these particular assumptions is now a matter for history, but it is clear that some assumptions had to be accepted or no recommendation could have been made and this would simply have meant that nature would have been allowed to take its course. In any event, it is clear that expectations held last November were too optimistic because the conditions which would have made their realization possible did not exist. In certain respects it is perhaps more accurate to say these conditions were not encouraged or indeed permitted. It followed, therefore, that adjustments in the November plan would be necessary. This process of adjustment has been confused and, all too frequently, violent.

Violence has not, however, been the only force at work in Palestine and that, I suggest, is due in large part to the fact that there was a decision of the United Nations which involved not only the Assembly but the Security Council. Through the truce and mediation procedures initiated by the United Nations it has been possible to bring some external judgment to bear on developments in Palestine.

The situation which we now face is, therefore, a result of both the clash of arms which has taken place on the soil of Palestine, and of the efforts which the United Nations has made to limit and control this conflict.

What should we do now? The Mediator, whose death we all deplore and to whose memory I would like to pay a sincere tribute of gratitude and respect, answered that question in his last report, when he said:

"What is indispensable is that the General Assembly take a firm position on the political aspects of the problem in the light of all the circumstances since its last session, and that its resolution be so reasonable as to discourage any attempt to thwart it and to defy the Security Council order by the employment of armed force".

There are certain basic elements in the situation as we see it which must be recognized if the Mediator's advice is to be taken. There are certain facts which must be accepted, if peace is to be restored and maintained.

(1) The emergence of an independent Jewish state in Palestine as recommended by the Assembly a year ago is one such fact which must be taken into account in the consideration of any further developments.

(2) No indigenous Arab authority has emerged in Palestine which has yet demonstrated its ability to take over authority in areas which are not under the control of the Jewish state.

(3) The additional territorial and political adjustments which must now take place in Palestine must be made, as far as possible, by the people of that territory themselves. The United Nations can and should make available its good offices in a number of forms, but the people who live in that area must bear the main responsibility for working out the terms of their own association. They can do this either directly or through mediation, but they must take responsibility for the decisions which are finally reached. If those who are directly concerned, refuse to participate in such negotiations and decisions, they will take on themselves a very heavy responsibility.

(4) This further process of settlement must be a peaceful one. The whole effort of the United Nations over the past year has been to keep, so far as possible, the peace in Palestine. Unfortunately we have not been able to prevent fighting from taking place. By and large, however, the truce has prevented large scale and continuous war and, in its most recent action, the Security Council has reaffirmed its determination that neither party in Palestine shall renew its efforts to settle this issue by force. The