

policy of violence today. We cannot, of course, ignore the past, for it is impossible to deal effectively with this problem unless we have thoroughly studied its origins from every point of view and with respect for the needs of all the people concerned by it. But if we allow our minds to be dominated by the unhappy precedents of violence and reprisal which have made up so much of the recent past of this area, then it is hard to see how we can devise any solution which will in the long run be satisfactory to both sides.

As I see it, the problem is basically one of fear, which breeds distrust and animosity and conflict. There has been fear on the one side of extermination by neighbours whose hostility to the creation and continued existence of the State of Israel has been strong and unremitting. It is difficult for people to act with the moderation and restraint through which wisdom expresses itself if they believe that they themselves live in the shadow of destruction and are uncertain about their very survival as a nation.

The fear from which the people of Israel suffer, the fear which explains the violence of reprisals which they have taken against their neighbours, will be on the way to elimination when the Arab states are willing to recognize Israel as a sovereign state, and its right to national existence within accepted boundaries and under conditions of life tolerable to its people. There were some signs a year ago that we might at least be approaching a time when the Arab states would be willing to grant Israel this recognition. Unfortunately, the events of last autumn have reversed that trend. It must now be one of our major aims to help set again in motion the forces which will lead to the early recognition of Israel in normal terms by its neighbours, and thus to the removal of fear.

On the other side, however, there is also fear, which has led to extreme views, to extreme policies and to violence. Among the Arab states there is a deep and understandable apprehension that the displacement of population and the political tension already associated with a new state, most of whose citizens have come from abroad, a new state established in the midst of the Arab people may be followed by still further dislocations owing to the pressure of immigration into Israel, backed as that state is by strong international pressures and international resources. There is a fear that Israel will yield to expansionist ambitions, which is the counterpart of Israel's own fear of Arab intentions. This has bred in the Arab world animosity and violence toward Israel. When that fear is dissipated we may count on moderation in the attitude of Israel's neighbours toward that state. We cannot but agree that if Israel has a right to live and prosper, freed from the fear of strangulation by its neighbours, the Arab states also have a right to feel confident that Israel will not attempt to expand its territory at their expense; the right to be assured that if Israel, however, should at any time develop such ambitions it will receive