

judged it to be neither an imprudent nor an unfriendly act toward any of the neighbouring peoples to encourage the establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine.

An analysis of the fears which beset human beings in various stages of their development is often a useful means of reducing the scope of the fears themselves. I do not propose to go into this question in any detail this evening, although it is germane to a discussion of the response of civilized man to oppression, the subject we are now considering. I do want to say just a few words, however, about one special fear that has caused a great deal of harm already, leaving it to you to reflect on the nature of other fears of which I shall not have time to speak. I am thinking of the very deep-seated fear of Israel's Arab neighbours that a high rate of Jewish immigration, if continued for any length of time, may impel Israel to adopt a policy of both territorial and economic expansion.

I do not myself think that this territory, preferred above all others by the Jewish people for the purpose of national regeneration, will necessarily prove to be inadequate for their national development. Even in the past, without the aid of modern scientific progress, the same land has supported a dense population in comfort, and we are assured by scientists and agronomists that it can do so again without threat to the territorial integrity or the economic and cultural self-determination of neighbouring peoples.

This should remove the fears of Israel's neighbours, whose fears and whose rights of course, we should recognize. Moreover, the same principles of self-help and self-liberation which are valid for Jews who have endured persecution in Europe for centuries, but who come back to the Eastern Mediterranean bringing with them the skills and the outlook of the West--these same principles of self-help and self-liberation are valid also for the Arabs who have long endured other forms of oppression since their great civilization fell into decline at the time of the Mongol invasions, and who today suffer many consequent disabilities from which it is now their desire, indeed their determination, to escape. In the secure international society that we are struggling to create there must be recognition of the intensity of the desire of all peoples to develop along lines of their own choosing. There must also be a corresponding recognition of the need for mutual understanding and accommodation. So one welcomes the characteristic good sense behind the words of Mr. Sharett, the Foreign Minister of Israel, when he said to newspapermen in London last March; "It remains a cardinal principle of our foreign policy to seek integration in the region to which we belong, on the basis of mutual recognition and good neighbourliness, for the protection of the national interests of each state and for the advancement of the region's common interests".

I think I am right in saying that most of the delegates who voted in the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947 in favour of the resolution recommending the partition of Palestine, within the framework of economic union, did so because of an underlying feeling that it had been made necessary by the slaughter of Jews in Europe during the Second World War. This was a warning that it would be unwise to continue any longer an experiment tending toward bi-nationalism or a forced federalism in the whole of Palestine, since that experiment had already led to complete deadlock in Palestinian