

interested parties might have prevented the destruction of that equilibrium or halted the train of events which led to war. As we all know, the removal of the United Nations Emergency Force which, for ten years helped to create conditions of calm along the Israel/U.A.R. line, was followed - with frightening swiftness - by a new outbreak of hostilities. The breakdown of those arrangements should not, however, be allowed to obscure what they did achieve.

There have, in short, been gains and losses, and it would be futile and certainly unprofitable to try to strike a balance.

The past lies too heavily on the Middle East. It provides grounds for endless recrimination. The countries directly involved owe it to themselves to look to the present and to the future. They owe it to themselves to seek a better basis for peace than has been found in the past.

INGREDIENTS FOR SUCCESS

The search for a settlement has been difficult and long. The delay has been frustrating. It reflects the fears and hesitations on both sides - on Israel's part, fear of continued Arab hostility which threatens its security, and on the Arab side fear of territorial expansion at their expense. For those directly involved, there may be risks in pursuing a settlement - as there are in the prevailing circumstances of raid and reprisal, action and counter-action, death and destruction. It is right that the parties themselves and the international community should seek a settlement that is more definitive, clearer and less ambiguous than the previous arrangements so that all may have greater assurance that peace will endure. It is right that they should insist on a *just settlement*, involving:

- (1) the establishment of secure boundaries which are mutually recognized;
- (2) a withdrawal of forces from occupied territories;
- (3) genuine mutual acceptance - by acknowledgement of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all states - which has not been seen before in the Middle East;
- (4) freedom of navigation for the ships of all states through international waterways - the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal;
- (5) and, not least, a fair and just settlement of the refugee problem.

What is crucial, however, is that neither Israel nor the Arab states - nor all those interested in the Middle East - should lose hope in a settlement or lessen their efforts to achieve one. There will be no settlement, there will be no peace, unless it is earnestly sought; unless all the governments concerned muster all their magnanimity, understanding and tolerance - and venture on a new course.

I do not expect that the roots of mutual fear and antagonism will be removed at one stroke. But it is only through a settlement, and the new conditions it creates, that these obstacles to genuine peace will wither and die away. That is the realistic as well as

the courageous approach. If Israel and its neighbours do not move forward to peace, they will be in constant danger of slipping back to war.

FORCED SETTLEMENT UNACCEPTABLE

The Canadian Government continues to lend its full support to the United Nations effort, in particular the mission of Ambassador Jarring, to promote agreement on a peaceful and accepted settlement. We also endorse the efforts of the four powers, in the light of their responsibilities as Permanent Members of the Security Council, to assist Ambassador Jarring in his task. That is indeed how the four powers have defined their role - to assist Ambassador Jarring in his task - not to replace his efforts nor to substitute for them. The four powers, in their own words, are considering "how they can contribute to a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East". A peaceful political settlement requires agreement and consent on the part of Israel and the Arab states; it cannot be imposed by force. And the four powers have made it quite clear that they are not interested in what one of them has called "a mechanism to impose peace", if such a thing were conceivable. What they are interested in is a peaceful and *accepted* settlement, as described in the Security Council resolution. We all recognize that the day is past when great powers might impose their arrangements on the Middle East heedless of the vital interests of those directly concerned.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the four powers, with their extensive interests and responsibilities, have nothing to contribute to the achievement of peace in the Middle East. We hope they may help to meet the doubts and apprehensions in Israel and in the Arab states which pose obstacles to the attainment of a settlement. They may be able to use their influence in a constructive way to bridge the gap of silence between the parties. They would be remiss in their duty if they did not try to help Israel and its neighbours to reconcile their differences.

The four powers' effort may well progress slowly in support of the Jarring Mission. Pursuing this joint effort may require a further exercise in tenacity. But the stakes are too great, the price of failure too high, for either Israel and the Arab states or the international community to falter in their efforts. They cannot afford to stop short of a just and lasting peace, and the benefits it will confer on all.

The Middle East is wracked by blind fears and destructive myths. But I for one believe in the capacity of man's unconquerable mind to overcome those fears and myths. This can only be done by the long, difficult but sure process of education. Surely it is not beyond man's ingenuity in the shorter term to find enough common ground on which to build a secure and lasting peace in the Middle East, a peace that will guarantee to Israeli and Arab alike the quiet enjoyment of their lives and lands.