

rehabilitation and reconstruction when precise determination of needs becomes available.

Another United Nations body which is still extant is the Palestine Conciliation Commission. The function of conciliation is bound to be a vital one during the first stage on the road to a permanent settlement. Whether or not the Commission is the right organ to perform this function without changes being made both in its mandate and in its membership, or whether a different procedure might be envisaged, perhaps in the form of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General, I do not wish to say with certainty. Yet some United Nations agency or representative will be required, I believe, to maintain full contact with all the governments concerned and to prepare the way for subsequent negotiations looking towards a permanent peace.

I have been speaking of what are essentially means to an end. If peace and security in the area are to be assured, the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, vital as it is, must be related to the other basic issues involved. There are a number of requirements, essential to any enduring settlement, which have already been mentioned by a number of distinguished statesmen. I would emphasize the following general principles:

First, respect for the territorial integrity of the nations of the area, including provision for the security and international supervision of frontiers.

Secondly, the rights of all nations to innocent passage through international waterways must be assured.

Thirdly, there must be an early and just solution of the refugee problem.

Fourthly, international concern for the preservation of the special spiritual and religious interests in Jerusalem--Christian, Jewish and Muslim--must be recognized, perhaps by giving the United Nations an international supervisory responsibility for the protection of these interests; nor should there be any precipitate action which might prejudice them.

It may be asked whether the approach I have outlined is realistic and whether the objective of permanent peace in Palestine is still not as difficult or impossible of accomplishment as it was in 1947. There is no doubt in my mind that the permanent members of the Security Council must work together if any settlement is to be durable. I recall that 20 years ago both the United States and the Soviet Union