

At the same time, the United Nations has a responsibility to offer its services and, if necessary, to point the way towards such a settlement. In any event, this is the context in which my Government will judge the specific issues before us.

CANADIAN POSITION CONSISTENT

The position of Canada remains the same on these issues as it was in 1957. On January 18 of that year, we stated in the Assembly that "there must be no return, if we can avoid it, to the conditions which helped provoke the initial military action". On that occasion, Mr. Pearson recalled an earlier intervention in which he was even more specific. This is what he said:

"What then - six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? Are we to return merely to the *status quo ante*? Such a return would not be to a position of security - but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges and counter-charges and ultimately another explosion..."

It follows that Canada cannot support the resolution which was introduced by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on June 19. That resolution would take us back to the same situation which led to the outbreak of the war. It was only a few short weeks ago that Canada and other members of the Security Council attempted to convince the Council that it should appeal to the parties to exercise restraint and to prevent the outbreak of war. Failure to take action then contributed to the tragic events which have since engulfed the Middle East. We must do all we can to prevent them happening again.

To this end, I would make an urgent appeal to all concerned to put the common interest of all the peoples of the Middle East in peace and a better life above all else. It is not by condemnation and vituperation that the United Nations can find a way out of the maze of hostility, suspicion and fear; it is by insisting that each party has the right to live in peace and security without fear of attack and by finding appropriate ways to guarantee this assurance. Military solutions to political problems are unacceptable. But one-sided political solutions are no solutions at all.

UN GUIDANCE TO DISPUTANTS

We all seek, I assume, a peaceful and just solution. The chief responsibility for finding that solution must rest with the parties to the dispute. This organization however, must help them to find it. I envisage two stages during which the United Nations might lend its assistance. Two United Nations bodies, the UN Relief and Works Agency and UNTSO, are still actively at work amongst the refugees and observing the cease-fire. They will continue to have an indispensable contribution to make. UN military observers, to whom I wish to pay special tribute, have already played a valuable role in observing the cease-fire and in reporting to the Secretary-General. I should expect them to exercise a continuous responsibility as the withdrawal of Israeli forces takes place, particularly if arrangements can be made for this withdrawal which will result in demilitarized zones on both sides of the borders.

Since the inception of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, the Canadian Government has consistently been among the highest contributors to that Agency. We have provided transportation facilities, food relief and funds for use by the Red Cross. The Canadian Government will be glad to consider provision of further assistance to the Agency for purposes of rehabilitation and reconstruction when a 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 mandates 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 UN agency or representative will be required, I believe, to maintain full contact with all governments concerned and to prepare the way for subsequent negotiations looking towards a permanent peace.

PRINCIPLES FOR 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 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 the 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 special spiritual and religious interests in Jerusalem (Christian, Jewish and Moslem) must be recognized perhaps by giving the United Nations an international supervisory responsibility for protection of these interests; nor should there be any precipitate action which might prejudice them.

CO-OPERATION OF GREAT POWERS

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 U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. supported the Assembly resolution for the partition of Palestine. Events then took a different course. But there have been more recent examples of co-operation between the great powers on this issue, most notably the five resolutions adopted by the Security Council earlier this month. Two of these great powers are