

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWELFTH SESSION

Official Records



720th  
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 22 November 1957,  
at 10.30 a. m.

NEW YORK

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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

## AGENDA ITEM 65

### United Nations Emergency Force: Report of the Secretary-General (A/3694 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that all delegations, knowing the importance of this matter, have carefully examined the substance of the Secretary-General's report. The Chair, in studying it, has come to the same conclusion as that reached by many delegations, which feel that we are in fact confronted with two problems. The first is the consideration of the principles which require approval if the Force is to be adequately financed and supported. These principles are set forth briefly in paragraph 111 of the report under the heading, "Summary of decisions requested by the Secretary-General concerning UNEF". Secondly, there is the question of the cost estimates which are elaborated in the annex to the report.

2. Since the questions of principle are properly within the area of responsibility of the General Assembly and the review of the cost estimates is within the normal province of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee, I would feel that I would be making a suggestion to be welcomed by the Members of this body if I were to indicate that we should limit ourselves here to a discussion and approval of the questions of principle, while on the other hand we referred the question of specific cost estimates to the Advisory Committee and the Fifth Committee for their consideration.

3. I might add that there is a draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] sponsored by twenty-one Members, the operative paragraphs of which in fact correspond with the suggestion I have just made to the Assembly. In the interests of simplifying our work and clarifying our debate I would suggest that, if there is no objection, we might follow this line.

It was so decided.

4. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to draw attention to the information contained in the note by the Secretary-General [A/3745] regarding offers of special assistance made towards the financing of the Force, and in this regard I would inform the Assembly that, in addition to those

of the United Kingdom and the United States, specific offers of special assistance have thus far been made by Austria, Burma, Ireland, Japan and Liberia. I am given to understand also that other States have the matter under serious consideration. The amounts referred to in this document are, of course, to be deducted from the estimated costs of UNEF as set forth in the annex to the Secretary-General's report.

5. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (translated from French): There is no need to remind you that the United Nations Emergency Force was established following the three-Power aggression against Egypt. I do not want to go into the circumstances or touch upon explosive matters or provoke controversy or assess responsibility. I should merely like to make two comments.

6. It will be seen from the report of the Secretary-General [A/3694 and Add.1], which we are discussing, that Egypt has carried out the General Assembly resolutions on the item before us, in particular, resolution 1125 (XI) of 2 February 1957, and that it has done so within the framework of the agreements concluded between Egypt and the United Nations. In achieving that, we had the co-operation of the United Nations, whose attitude towards Egypt at the time of the three-Power aggression was emphasized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Mr. Fawzi, in the speech he made during the general debate on 3 October 1957, when he said:

"...I shall not proceed any further with my present submission without renewing the expression of Egypt's gratitude for and admiration of the noble and determined stand taken by virtually the unanimity of the United Nations against the tripartite attack on Egypt and on behalf of the principles of the Charter and the dictates of world peace." [699th meeting, para.62.]

7. I have another comment to make with respect to the position taken by Israel in this matter. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report that Israel has once again defied the United Nations and flatly refused to comply with the provisions of the resolution of 2 February 1957. As stated in the Secretary-General's report:

"Resolution 1125 (XI) calls for placing the Force 'on the Egyptian-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line', but no stationing of UNEF on the Israel side has occurred to date through lack of consent by Israel." [A/3694, para.15.]

The report continues:

"The resolution called for 'the placing of the... Force on the Egyptian-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line'. In partial fulfilment of that resolution, UNEF is deployed, on the Egyptian side, along the Armistice Demarcation Line and the international frontier." [Ibid., para.33.]

8. Thus it is therefore clear that Israel has refused to comply with the provisions of the resolution. Nor is it the first time; I could cite many resolutions which Israel has not implemented, but since we are now considering a report on UNEF, I shall not elaborate.

9. That is all I have to say for the time being; my delegation proposes to speak again if the occasion should arise.

10. Mr. SMITH (Canada): The representatives present here need hardly be reminded that, slightly more than a year ago, the Assembly met in emergency session in the face of a dangerous situation which had arisen in the Middle East. For reasons with which we are all familiar, it was—and I emphasize this—the Assembly, in which all Member States are represented, which bore the brunt of that crisis, that situation which had the gravest implications for the peace of the area and indeed of the whole world. Our meeting at this time, however, is not to dwell upon the events of the past but to consider the consequences of one of the important steps which the Assembly took last year, namely, the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force. That was a decision in which all of us participated.

11. Since the dark days of November 1956, a great deal has been said and written about the role of UNEF in the Middle East. Members of this Assembly may not then have been wholly in agreement on the principles which should govern the presence and functioning of that Force. But what we are now agreed on, I believe, is that UNEF has made a valuable contribution to the maintenance of quiet and order in the area of its deployment. This, in turn, has done much to allay the anxiety, the fear and the frustration which had produced international tension there. In the introduction to his last annual report to the General Assembly [A/3594/Add.1], the Secretary-General has made thoughtful and persuasive comment on the ways in which the Force has continued to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East, and he points out that it has played a pioneering role which has been accompanied by many difficulties.

12. In his admirable report dated 9 October 1957 [A/3694 and Add.1], the Secretary-General discusses in detail the development of UNEF. I could not possibly improve on what the report states about organizational and operational matters and about the role and functioning of the Force. I wish only to add my voice to the other expressions of warm appreciation which we have heard from time to time about the Secretary-General and his staff—those men and women who have worked so tirelessly and effectively for the success of the UNEF experiment. It is, of course, a source of satisfaction to Canada that the commanding officer of the Force has been Major General Burns—a Canadian.

13. At the same time, I pay an equally warm tribute to those Governments which, in one way or another, have made a contribution to this work of practical peace making. I have in mind the participating Governments which, with Canada, have provided contingents to UNEF; the Governments which, without charge, have furnished services, facilities and supplies; the Governments which have made voluntary contributions and special assistance available in order to meet the

problems of financing the Force; and also the Governments which offered contingents in the early days of UNEF, when the broad response did much to encourage those whose responsibility it was to organize the Force. All those Governments warrant congratulations for their support of the United Nations at that time of great trial—a time which perhaps provided a decisive test of the vitality of this Organization. And this rallying round of Member States, representing various shades of opinion in this Assembly, is inspiring evidence that the United Nations ideal can be given practical expression.

14. For, in a sense, the creation of UNEF has been a practical application of the foremost among the purposes and principles enunciated in Article 1 of the Charter. In establishing UNEF, the United Nations took an effective and collective step towards the prevention and removal of a threat to peace. The collectivity of this action is symbolized in the composition of the Force itself and in the offers and contributions made by other Governments to assist in bringing UNEF into being.

15. In this context, it is appropriate to mention the helpful attitude which the Government of Egypt has adopted towards the presence and functioning of UNEF in territory under Egyptian control.

16. The Prime Minister of Canada has already expressed in this Assembly Canada's willingness to continue its contribution to UNEF as long as this is considered necessary by the United Nations. We are fully aware of those reasons why the duration or extent of UNEF's operation cannot be defined at this time. I can see no particular advantage in attempting that definition now. Nevertheless, we of Canada deeply hope that the Members of this Assembly share our view that UNEF should continue to have the widest support of the United Nations as long as it appears to be making a useful contribution to peace in the area.

17. We have the impression that these views are widely shared in this Assembly. If this is so, it follows that the Assembly should give careful consideration to the consequences of continuing the Force in being. There is no doubt that the financial consequences are of concern to all of us here. The Secretary-General has described them in detail in part III of his report. This shows that to maintain a force of 6,000 United Nations soldiers, performing necessary duties in the service of peace in the Middle East, involves a considerable expenditure. I have no desire to underestimate the actual cost, but I ask Members—and I ask this very, very seriously—to relate those financial costs to the political benefits which UNEF has helped to achieve, and to the possible dangers which UNEF has helped to avert. How do we measure the value of decreased tension between nations, the diminishing of fear and anxiety among peoples, and the strengthening of hope for further progress towards peace? It is surely these intangible factors which must be placed in the balance sheet—and which should be given due weight—when we look at the figures for the costs of UNEF.

18. To meet those costs, it seems to me inevitable that the General Assembly should accept and firmly support the principle of common assessment, based on the regular scale of assessments for United Nations

Members. The Secretary-General has placed the issue squarely before us in paragraph 106 of his report. He has stressed the grave risks inherent in an inadequate and insecure basis for financing UNEF. Clearly, to base the operations of the Force on a series of appeals for voluntary contributions would be quite inadequate and wholly unworthy of this Organization and the cause which it is serving. The validity of this conclusion has been demonstrated beyond doubt, and I say this without detracting from my previous expression of gratitude for the voluntary contributions and special assistance which some Members have so generously provided. I have no hesitation in supporting the assertion in the Secretary-General's report that:

"...it is essential that this vital United Nations undertaking be assured of the same degree and certainty of financial support as afforded to other United Nations activities which have as their purpose the maintenance of security and peace." [A/3694, para.106]

19. The Canadian view, which has been consistently expressed during the Assembly debates on this subject, is that the financing of UNEF and similar United Nations endeavours can be assured only if the principle of assessment, of collective sharing in the collective effort for peace, is followed.

20. It is with these views in mind that the Canadian delegation has been consulting with a number of other delegations about the course of action which the Assembly should adopt at this time. We and others have reached certain conclusions which are embodied in the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] now before us. It has been suggested that I should introduce this draft resolution formally to the Assembly. I consider it an honour and a privilege to do so, but I approach the task with a sense of humility because I am conscious of the fact that I am acting on behalf of a great number of delegations whose names appear on the draft resolution and who represent most of the opinions held in the Assembly. Indeed, I earnestly hope that, in introducing this draft resolution, I am reflecting the views of the great majority of Members here. I say this because of my abiding conviction that UNEF is serving all of us in the Middle East and serving us well.

21. The draft resolution is a straightforward document. The preamble begins by recalling the earlier resolutions on UNEF. These resolutions, of course, remain operative and are in no way abrogated by the draft which we are considering today and which we should regard as complementary to the earlier resolutions.

22. The second paragraph of the preamble notes with appreciation the report which the Secretary-General has placed before us. It also recognizes the Assembly's wisdom in appointing an Advisory Committee on UNEF composed of representatives of certain Member Governments.

23. The third paragraph of the preamble acknowledges that UNEF has contributed and is contributing to the maintenance of quiet in the area.

24. In the operative paragraphs, following an expression of appreciation to those who have rendered assistance to the Force, three main decisions are involved. The first is approval of the principles and proposals concerning the allocation of costs as between

the United Nations and the Governments which have provided contingents for UNEF. These are set forth mainly in paragraphs 86, 88 and 91 of the Secretary-General's report. The Secretary-General would be authorized to enter into agreements for the reimbursements of appropriate extra and extraordinary costs to Members contributing troops. This provision is consistent with earlier resolutions concerning the allocation of costs and it is most important by reason of its implications for participating Governments, which have made a considerable effort to give the Assembly's decisions on UNEF effective application. Such voluntary participation in this and similar activities of the United Nations should be encouraged.

25. Secondly, the Secretary-General would be authorized by the Assembly to expend the additional amounts necessary to meet the costs during the period ending 31 December 1957. These costs are set forth in part III of the Secretary-General's report and will be given detailed examination by the Administrative and Budgetary Committee (Fifth Committee) following the normal practice of the United Nations. The same procedure would be adopted regarding the cost estimates for future operations of the Force beyond 31 December 1957. For that period the Secretary-General would be authorized to expend, as necessary—and I emphasize "as necessary"—an amount not exceeding \$25 million. This figure could reasonably be expected to cover the costs of maintaining the Force on its present basis until the next session of the Assembly. In this regard, the words "as necessary" have special significance and I call the attention of the Assembly to them.

26. The third main decision contemplated in the draft resolution deals with the method of financing the Force. As I have emphasized in the earlier part of my statement, the basic principle should be that the expenses would be borne by the Member States in accordance with the annual scale of assessments. This principle is embodied in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution. The phrase "such other resources as may have become available" is not without importance, however, and should be read in conjunction with the note of the Secretary-General dated 20 November 1957 [A/3745]. It will be seen that the liabilities—and here I take into account the announcement made by the President today—for the period ending 31 December 1957 have been substantially reduced owing to the contributions of special assistance—and in this connexion our warm appreciation is extended especially to the Government of the United States. We know that further assistance has been offered and, of course, other voluntary contributions in the future are not excluded.

27. Finally, the draft resolution requests the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, with the assistance of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to examine, in the light of the present draft resolution, the cost estimates for maintaining the Force—that is, those contained in part III of the Secretary-General's report. These budgetary bodies are requested to make such recommendations as they consider appropriate concerning the expenditures authorized by the draft resolution. This request would enable the General Assembly—and here I fall in line with the observation of the President—to avoid discussion of details and to concentrate on the discussion of general principles.

28. The draft resolution embodies, we think, the various measures required to meet the needs of UNEF. In particular, it deals with the administrative decisions listed in paragraph 111 of the Secretary-General's report. But the draft resolution does more than that; it establishes a sound basis for the continuing operation of UNEF and, together with the various reports by the Secretary-General, lays the groundwork for the analysis and study of the experience of UNEF which, the Secretary-General has suggested, should be preserved for the future.

29. The draft resolution is, moreover, a comprehensive document and one which must be viewed in its entirety. Any one paragraph would be virtually meaningless without the others. We believe that this integral character of the proposal should be retained.

30. I look forward to hearing the views of other delegations on this matter, which has important implications for all of us as States Members of the United Nations and for the Organization itself. In introducing this draft resolution, I urge the Assembly to weigh carefully the measures which have been proposed. Our deliberations at this time have a bearing on whether we can demonstrate to the peoples of the world that the United Nations has the determination and the strength to put into practice the high principles and purposes to which we all subscribed in acceding to the Charter.

31. I conclude by expressing my confidence that the Assembly's response now, as its response last year in circumstances of greater stress, anxiety and danger, will serve to give real meaning to those lofty ideals and will, in practical terms, enable UNEF to fulfil the responsibilities placed upon it by the General Assembly.

32. Mr. CHRISTIANSEN (Denmark): A few weeks ago we celebrated the twelfth anniversary of the United Nations. From many quarters stock was taken on that day of the achievements of the United Nations during the past years. It was realized that many high hopes raised at the start of the United Nations in 1945 had unfortunately not been fulfilled. It may also be that at that time there was more optimism than a realistic judgement of the world and of man in general could justify.

33. But even if these hopes have not been fulfilled, it is, however, a fact that the United Nations in serious international situations has contributed substantially to the solution of international conflicts by peaceful means. The crisis which arose last year in connexion with the Suez Canal was such a situation.

34. When discussing today UNEF, it is natural to stress the achievements of the United Nations in this matter for the cause of peace. UNEF was the instrument which helped to make the efforts of the United Nations effective. It was the creation of UNEF which decisively contributed to pacify a situation where the guns already spoke their gloomy language.

35. In this connexion, I find it appropriate to mention the name of the man who so largely took the initiative of creating UNEF, Mr. Pearson, at that time Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada. In receiving the Nobel Award he gained a high international recognition of his work, also in connexion with the establishment of UNEF. The honour bestowed on this champion of peace

by the Nobel Award is also an honour bestowed on the United Nations.

36. There might be every reason to mention many others who made a meritorious contribution to the creation of UNEF, or who while working with UNEF during the past year have done valuable work in furthering the solution of the tasks of UNEF. We are indebted to all of them. But first of all I feel it natural today to let our thoughts go in gratitude to the memory of those young men in the Force who met their death as soldiers in an army of peace.

37. I mentioned that UNEF has made an essential contribution to the establishment of peaceful conditions in this Eastern part of the world. It was not UNEF's military might which by force brought about an end of the fighting. But the very fact that UNEF came to that part of the world was a decisive contribution in relieving tension. The UNEF soldiers with their blue caps did not have their strength in their light weapons but in the moral power with which the United Nations backed them. It was the public opinion all over the world which manifested itself. This opinion was also of importance in those countries whose actions the United Nations opposed. I think there is every reason to express appreciation of the attitude of the countries which in those November days bowed to and accepted the decisions of the United Nations.

38. But allow me to say that, when speaking of public opinion, I think it is clear to everybody that the existence of a public opinion in the countries concerned was an important factor leading to the complying with the resolutions of the General Assembly. It seems to me that the conclusion can be drawn that the situation gave proof that democracy with freedom of speech is a fact of the greatest significance to peace.

39. Together with other countries, Denmark was invited to send troops. It was a great satisfaction for us that we were able immediately to comply with this request. Already on the day after the United Nations decision on UNEF, the Danish Parliament unanimously decided to respond positively to the request of the Secretary-General. The first Danish troops, consisting of volunteers from the regular armed forces, left Denmark on 10 November 1957 and were flown via Naples to Ismailia in the Suez Canal Zone. Later on, the Danish troops were united with the Norwegian contingent into a Danish-Norwegian battalion. Part of the troops were placed between the Egyptian Army on one side and the British-French troops on the other. After some time they were moved to Port Said where they remained under a Danish commander until French and British troops had withdrawn.

40. In March 1957, the Danish-Norwegian battalion entered the Gaza Strip, where one of its most important tasks is to supervise the demarcation-line Gaza-Israel. At the beginning a few incidents took place in Gaza, and it was necessary to fire warning shots by which, to the deepest regret of the troops, some of the inhabitants were killed.

41. The first contingent stayed for six months, and was followed by a second which, in its turn, was replaced a short time ago by a third.

42. As far as can be concluded from statements made by officers and men, it seems that participation

in UNEF in many ways has been a valuable experience to these young men from the north, thus giving them a better understanding of the United Nations.

43. As I have already mentioned, the first Danish contingent was made up of conscripts from the regular armed forces; however, it was up to each soldier whether he wished to volunteer for the contingent. I am glad to be able to say that almost everybody declared himself ready to take upon him the burden of serving in UNEF.

44. As to the last two contingents, we have fully observed the principle of voluntariness, which of course had the consequence of greater expenses to our country. When we come to the question of carrying the burdens of participating in the Force we think that these burdens should be shared by all member countries, and we also feel that more countries should take turns in sending soldiers.

45. Denmark is proud of having been able to do its share in this important task. On the other hand everybody will realize that it is a burden for a small country—for the brave young men who voluntarily have taken this burden upon themselves and also economically for the country as a whole.

46. In his report [A/3694 and Add.1] the Secretary-General estimates the monthly expenses of keeping the troops at approximately \$2 million. It is a heavy burden, even if I feel convinced that the command of UNEF is doing its utmost to economize. My country is of course ready—also in the future—to meet its obligations rising out of the establishment and maintenance of UNEF. However, I should like once more to stress that the burden is especially heavy for the countries whose young people are making up the Force.

47. I have dwelled for some time on the economic aspects of UNEF—but of course we all realize that these expenses are small compared to the huge damage which would have been inflicted upon all countries of the world in case of a major conflict.

48. As I said before, we consider the establishment of an international force as one of the most important events in the history of the United Nations. I believe that almost everybody present here agrees with me in this. I also believe we could agree that even if the problem in the Middle East has not found its final solution, it is indisputable that UNEF has helped to relieve the tension.

49. Therefore, UNEF can rightly be characterized as a step forward on the road along which we hope that the United Nations will succeed in leading mankind to secure peace and international order. It was but a small step, but did give strength to the hope that we might succeed in establishing a real international peace force.

50. When the United Nations was created it was an assumption that the Organization should have at its disposal such an army of peace. The provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter are clear in this respect. It might perhaps be too optimistic to consider the creation of UNEF as the beginning of the fulfilment of the provisions of the Charter concerning an international police force. In doing so we would attach more importance to UNEF than justified. But are we not allowed to say that UNEF is a seed from which something greater might grow? UNEF is an example

that an international force can be created. In the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1], of which Denmark is a co-sponsor, we expressed the hope that UNEF may be permitted to fulfil its tasks.

51. I would, however, further like to express the hope that the work done in connexion with UNEF will be a real contribution towards the establishment of an international force. Let me add that I do not believe that the United Nations will be able to solve the great task of creating an international community of peace and justice if such an international force is not established. It is, of course, drawing the perspective very far if today, while discussing UNEF, we speak of a future permanent army of peace under the United Nations; but I feel it right to do so.

52. Only by looking onwards at every step and directing our thoughts towards the ideals of the United Nations as expressed in the Charter will they become realities.

53. Mr. DE FREITAS-VALLE (Brazil): The United Nations Emergency Force is a miracle in the sense of the peace it brought to a disturbed zone. The United Nations should be proud of the role of the Emergency Force. The question today is the maintenance of this Force; and for maintaining it in being, adequate funds will be needed. I hear that some of the States Members think that the price of approximately \$2 million a month, as expenses for UNEF, is too high. Let me repeat what has just been said by the Minister for External Affairs of Canada:

"It will be seen that the liabilities... for the period ending 31 December 1957 have been substantially reduced owing to the contributions of special assistance—and in this connexion our warm appreciation is extended especially to the Government of the United States. We know that further assistance has been offered and, of course, other voluntary contributions in the future are not excluded."

54. Truly, the proposed assessment seems to be the only reasonable basis for the distribution of the expenses of UNEF among the Member States.

55. The Brazilian delegation hopes that the overwhelming vote of this Assembly will show that UNEF has the support of every peace-loving nation in the world.

56. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy) (translated from French): The report on the United Nations Emergency Force [A/3694 and Add.1] which the Secretary-General has submitted to this Assembly is a most important document, for all its brevity.

57. Although the Secretary-General gives us only a few vital facts, they are enough to underline the magnitude of the organizational effort made in order to carry out in time an experiment without precedent in the history of international co-operation.

58. In order to assess with accuracy the effort made and the results obtained, we must go back to the difficult days a year ago when the Assembly, on a happy inspiration, decided to establish UNEF. From the point of view of organization and policy, it had to improvise in a field which was completely unexplored up to that time, and we placed our confidence in the wisdom and prudence of the Secretary-General and in the spirit of co-operation of all States, beginning with those directly concerned in the conflict.

59. The urgent appeal of the General Assembly was heeded and the co-operation requested to ensure the success of the experiment was generously provided by the Member States.
60. Today, a year later, our first duty is to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report, and more particularly, to convey the gratitude of the Assembly to the young men, soldiers of peace from all parts of the world, who have successfully accomplished the mission entrusted to them and are still carrying it out.
61. These soldiers, coming from such vastly different and remote countries, have had to adapt themselves to an environment completely new to them; they have accepted a daily routine which is strenuous and often boring; in so doing, they are guided by an ideal which is the ideal of the United Nations itself. To them, and to their able commander, General Burns, let us convey the praise and gratitude of this Assembly.
62. The establishment of UNEF was a new experiment in history. Today, a year later, we can note with satisfaction that the experiment has been successful, that it has rewarded the efforts made and fulfilled expectations. It was not accomplished on the basis of any rigid, preconceived pattern; great flexibility was needed during the various phases and stages of its development. The picture we see today was shaped piecemeal, by adaptation to the circumstances of the moment and often as a result of felicitous improvisation.
63. We hope that UNEF will be a precedent for other possible peace moves, if there should be another international emergency, although we should bear in mind that any future situation may be of a different nature and will probably require new arrangements to meet the particular contingency. At any rate, the experience of UNEF may be valuable, in particular owing to the principle on which it was based, that of a force of peace, armed essentially with the ideals of the United Nations, and a symbol of the will of this Assembly.
64. As I have said, the establishment of UNEF was possible thanks to the prompt and spontaneous co-operation of a number of States, in particular those whose military units it was decided to use. The Italian Government was happy to be among those assisting in the establishment of UNEF. One of the main airports, complete with facilities and equipment, was immediately placed at the disposal of UNEF. Arrangements were made for feeding, housing and welfare of several thousand soldiers in transit. Transport and other vital services were also made available to UNEF, not only for moving troops, but for the operation of a United Nations base at Naples.
65. Later, when aircraft had to be provided for the rapid transport of UNEF contingents to Egypt, the Italian Government made planes available to the United Nations, the only stipulation being that certain types of fuel should be replaced. The planes carried out missions transporting men and equipment for a total of 1,163 hours of flying time. The Italian Government did not ask any payment for those services and has no thought of doing so. That was its way of making a spontaneous contribution to the work accomplished in the common interest.
66. However, since part III, section 4 of the Secretary-General's report contains estimates of the amounts contributed by other States, I should like to state that the Italian Government has estimated the costs of services it provided to UNEF at about \$300,000. That is an approximate figure representing the actual cost and not the economic value of the services, for if the United Nations had had to obtain them on a commercial basis, the cost would undoubtedly have been very much higher.
67. I am also glad to have this opportunity of announcing that the Italian Parliament has approved the contribution payable to UNEF under resolution 1089 (XI) of 21 December 1956. The amount—\$208,000—will be paid as soon as possible.
68. In his report, the Secretary-General dwells particularly on the financial problems which the Assembly has to cope with. The cost of UNEF was higher than could be foreseen last year. Fortunately, substantial contributions under the heading of special assistance will make it possible to reduce the deficit considerably so far as the current budget is concerned. A recent communication from the Secretary-General [A/3745] informs us of a very large contribution to be made by the United States and a substantial contribution by the United Kingdom. Other contributions, in lesser amounts, will probably be forthcoming.
69. According to the draft resolution before the Assembly [A/L.235 and Add.1], which the Italian delegation has co-sponsored, the deficit for the current year and the amount required to meet future UNEF operations are to be apportioned among Member States on the basis of the scale of assessments. That will probably mean a heavy burden to be borne by each of us in helping to maintain peace and tranquillity in an important and explosive area. It is important for all countries that the situation should not deteriorate further. Every country should regard itself as no less interested than the rest in the maintenance of world peace, irrespective of the area affected.
70. That is the spirit in which every country has agreed to contribute to the common cause and the Italian delegation has sponsored the resolution before the Assembly.
71. Mr. NINCIC (Yugoslavia): Usually, in order to pass judgement upon events which have taken place in the past, the fuller perspective offered by distance and time is needed. In the case of the United Nations Emergency Force, however, it can, I think, already be safely said that the Force has admirably discharged the responsibilities with which it was entrusted by the General Assembly a little more than a year ago at a particularly critical juncture for world peace.
72. The soldiers of many nations, working in unison under the able leadership of General Burns and the over-all guidance of the Secretary-General, have to a very real extent helped to carry out the decisions of the General Assembly and assisted in ensuring quiet and security in the area of their assignment. This was, of course, greatly facilitated by the co-operative and responsive spirit displayed by the Government of Egypt and also by the friendly relations that were established with the local population. Yugoslavia, for its part, is proud to have been able to take part in this fruitful United Nations endeavour.

73. This successful endeavour has naturally also involved a substantial financial effort. The fact that the functions of UNEF have been prolonged over a somewhat longer period than was perhaps originally anticipated has, of course, increased the magnitude of this financial effort. It was essential, both in order to ensure the necessary financial means and to preserve the United Nations character of the undertaking, that the burden should be shared as equitably and as fairly as possible among the Member States of this Organization.

74. The first question that arose, that of the allocation of the costs of UNEF contingents between the participating States and the United Nations, was thoroughly discussed between the Secretary-General and his representatives and the representatives of the States concerned, and I think a generally satisfactory answer to the problems involved has been set forth in the Secretary-General's report [A/3694 and Add.1] and more particularly in paragraphs 86, 88 and 91 of the report.

75. Careful consideration should also, we think, be given to the question raised in part III, section 6 of the report, that is to say, to the question of compensation in respect of the injury or death of members of the Force.

76. As regards the further question of the apportionment of expenses among the Members of the United Nations, it seems to us that the scale of assessments adopted by the General Assembly for the financial year 1957-1958 provides a reasonable basis for this apportionment.

77. As regards the additional burden that this will entail for Member States, I think this burden should be weighed in terms of the gains for peace and security, of those intangibles of which the Foreign Minister of Canada spoke a moment ago—those intangibles which will redound to the benefit of all the Member States of the United Nations.

78. It is for these reasons that my delegation has joined in sponsoring the joint draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1], which we hope will meet with the overwhelming approval of the Assembly.

79. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): The first question which the Assembly must decide is whether the United Nations Emergency Force is serving an essential purpose and ought to remain in being so that it can continue to do so. My delegation has no doubt on this point. Her Majesty's Government has for long believed that it was desirable to strengthen the United Nations machinery available for the preservation of tranquillity and stability in the area of Palestine. The Secretary-General's report [A/3694 and Add.1] shows that where the United Nations Emergency Force has been in operation there has been a notable and encouraging absence of incidents. I therefore share the Secretary-General's opinion expressed in paragraph 106 of his report that the Force is a vital United Nations undertaking.

80. The Assembly can, I believe, take justifiable pride in the Force which it decided should be created. I should like to associate myself with the tributes which have been paid to those countries which have furnished men and material, to the skill and care of the Secretary-General and his staff in building up the

administration of the Force, and to the leadership of its commander, General Burns, who has been so largely responsible for the success of its operation. They have the satisfaction of knowing that they have well served the cause of peace.

81. My delegation was glad to learn from the Secretary-General's introduction to his annual report [A/3594/Add.1] that he has set in train a study of the experience of the United Nations Emergency Force, in so far as this would affect any stand-by plan which the United Nations may develop for mobilizing a peace force at short notice.

82. I believe that there will be general agreement in the Assembly that the work of the United Nations Emergency Force has been of great value and that the Force should be maintained in being. If that is so, then the Assembly must decide how the Force is to be paid for.

83. The United Kingdom strongly supports the principle indicated by the Secretary-General in his report, and embodied in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1], that it is the collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations to finance the Force which was created by decision of the General Assembly. My delegation also believes that it is proper that the Assembly should satisfy itself that the estimates for the cost of maintaining the Force are reasonable, and we consider that the proposal in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution for an examination of these estimates by the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the Assembly is appropriate.

84. We recognize, however, that there have been certain exceptional costs of a non-recurring nature in 1957 connected with the initial establishment of the Force. We welcome the generous special contributions which the United States and certain other Governments have made towards these initial expenses and we have ourselves decided to make a special contribution towards them of \$1 million. This does not affect either what we have already contributed on the basis of our general United Nations assessment, both towards the initial \$10 million and as a voluntary contribution to the further \$6.5 million later asked for by the Secretary-General, nor our willingness to pay promptly our assessed share of whatever remains to be paid for in 1957, and for further costs on a basis of assessment.

85. My delegation therefore supports the whole of the draft resolution before the Assembly, and I shall vote in favour of it.

86. Mr. ENCKELL (Finland): It is not my purpose to comment in my turn on the significance of the United Nations Emergency Force, the functioning of which is very aptly described in the report before us as "a unique and pioneering peace effort" [A/3694, para.24]. The Force was designed, and I quote again from the report of the Secretary-General, "to meet a particular need in an acute emergency" [Ibid., para.44]. If it has succeeded in performing its duty—and I think there could not be any reasonable doubt about its success—this is due to a very large extent to the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General, of his assistants and of his staff whom I should like emphatically to commend for their valuable achievements in this work of so great an importance for the community of nations we all of us represent here.

87. The Finnish Government decided on 5 November 1956 to agree in principle to the suggestion made by the Secretary-General that a Finnish contingent be put at the disposal of the United Nations for the purposes stated in General Assembly resolution 998 (ES-I). In making this decision my Government wanted to demonstrate its readiness to serve the cause of peace by participating as efficiently as possible in a joint effort of the United Nations to promote peace in a critical situation. This readiness was expressed by the Finnish Foreign Minister in a statement he made during the eleventh session [576th meeting] of the General Assembly, stressing Finland's willingness to contribute its share in the common work of the United Nations and our awareness of the fact that membership in the United Nations does not mean only rights but also duties.

88. In order to put a contingent at the disposal of the United Nations, the Finnish Government had to overcome several practical difficulties. According to Finnish legislation, the armed forces of the country may not be used for any other purpose than for the defence of Finnish territory. This was of course a principle from which we could not and did not want to depart; a modification of this essential rule was not even considered.

89. Thanks to the comprehension shown by the Finnish Parliament a special law was passed, authorizing the creation of a unit for service with UNEF and specifying that this unit, which would not form a part of the Finnish armed forces, would consist of personnel to be specially recruited on a voluntary basis.

90. Giving due recognition to the fact that UNEF was intended to deal with an emergency situation in which action could not be delayed by negotiating the necessary financial arrangements, the Finnish Government established a contingent on the understanding that the question of bearing the costs for the unit would be subject to an agreement to be made at a later date with the United Nations.

91. It was, and is still, quite naturally, the understanding of my Government that the creation of UNEF having been decided by the General Assembly, the special expenses connected with its establishment and functioning would be assumed by the United Nations, and not by the Member States called upon to provide the necessary manpower for it.

92. The report submitted by the Secretary-General [A/3694 and Add.1] refers very rightly to the widely expressed view that countries which have supplied troops should continue to pay such expenses as they would normally have incurred in any event and that reimbursement obligations to be assumed by the United Nations should be limited to the additional expenditure which such countries have incurred as a direct result of their having made contingents available for UNEF service. My delegation considers that the principles for the reimbursement to participating Governments, as set forth in this report, are acceptable to the Finnish Government, taking into consideration, if I may refer to technicalities, that the members of the Finnish unit, having been specially recruited for the sole purpose of serving with the Emergency Force, have no basic salaries and are, consequently, paid exclusively special allowances during their service in the Force.

93. I should like to declare, moreover, that the Finnish Government agrees to bear its share of the expenses of UNEF on an equitable and fair basis together with other Members of this Organization and according to the principles applied to all other expenditure of the United Nations.

94. With these considerations in mind, the Finnish delegation has decided to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] and to recommend its adoption by the General Assembly.

95. Mr. CARNAHAN (United States of America): The creation by the General Assembly of the United Nations Emergency Force is one of the outstanding achievements of the Organization and one of which we can all be proud. It has demonstrated the ability of the United Nations to act concretely in a very difficult and complex situation. It has demonstrated the capability of this Organization to create new instruments to deal with new problems.

96. This achievement has been made possible by the efforts of a great many people. First on the list must be the Secretary-General and his able staff, whose drive and outstanding administrative skill translated a resolution of the General Assembly into a Force in being and on the spot in a matter of eight days. It is hard to imagine how this nearly superhuman job was done. Fortunately, the men who made this phenomenal accomplishment possible are still active in looking after the continuing needs of the Force.

97. Next we owe a special debt to the ten nations, in every region of the world, which have sent members of their own armed forces to the area to make up the Force. All of these nations have assumed burdens and difficulties beyond the normal requirements of United Nations membership. They deserve our commendation and our respect for their great joint contribution to peace.

98. Most of all, our congratulations and hearty thanks should go to General Burns and the officers and soldiers of the United Nations Emergency Force itself. They have travelled a long way from home and have served with admirable intelligence and discipline in a task for which, in many ways, there is no precedent. They are in the truest sense soldiers of peace, and they have earned the admiration of the world.

99. That the Emergency Force has been successful is evidenced by the fact that we are today discussing this question in a period when quiet reigns in the area to which UNEF is assigned. That fact is a great credit to the Force itself and a cause for all of us to be thankful. But it requires us to use imagination. We have to remember, in this moment of calm, the atmosphere of imminent danger in which UNEF was born a year ago. We have to realize that such a danger can possibly recur. If we think in those terms, we can approach the matter in hand with the seriousness which it demands.

100. At the time of its creation the United Nations Emergency Force was applauded throughout the world as a courageous and imaginative step in international co-operation for peace. That initial enthusiastic acceptance, by itself, might not mean much since in moments of crisis we sometimes tend to make unusual judgements. But the impressive fact is that UNEF has lived up to our great expectations. For a year



now it has stood watch for us in a most sensitive area. The Secretary-General in his report called it a "significant pioneering effort in the evolution of methods of peace-making" [A/3694, para.45]. The facts which he reports fully justify that statement.

101. In the Secretary-General's report we read:

"Since the Force was deployed along the Gaza line and to the south of it, there has been a steady reduction in both the number and the severity of incidents along that line." [Ibid., para.41]

Further, in that same paragraph, he says:

"There have been no raids from either side."

102. Those few words are proof enough that where earlier efforts failed the United Nations Emergency Force is a historic success.

103. Obviously, there remain important financing problems to be dealt with to assure the continuation of the Force so long as it is needed. Many Governments, including the Government of the United States, have endeavoured to reduce the magnitude of these financial problems by offering to the United Nations for the use of the Emergency Force certain special assistance. This assistance has taken many forms. It has included the furnishing, without charge, of services and supplies as well as cash contributions.

104. When the Secretary-General's report was issued, it appeared that this session of the General Assembly would have to raise an amount of between \$40 million and \$45 million in order to assure the continuation of the Force. This total included an amount of about \$18 million for the period ending 31 December 1957, and about \$25 million for the period beyond that date. However, within the past few weeks a number of Governments have offered additional special assistance to the United Nations in an effort to reduce the amount required to be raised for the period ending 31 December 1957. The United States Government has offered an amount of \$12 million for this purpose. The United States Government—and I believe others also—have made these offers on the assumption that any amount still required for the period ending 31 December 1957, and the amount required for the period after that date, would be raised by assessing all Members on the basis of the regular scale of assessments.

105. There can be no doubt that the financial support of the Emergency Force is a United Nations responsibility. The Force was brought into being by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of this Organization—in fact without a single dissenting vote. Every significant decision pertaining to the functioning and financing of UNEF has been approved by the majority of the Members. Now, the responsibility of the Members obviously does not stop there. It is not sufficient merely to create UNEF and to give it tasks to perform. The Members must also support it financially, and it is their responsibility to agree to the means of doing this.

106. We are happy to know that there is before us a draft resolution sponsored by twenty-one Governments [A/L.235 and Add.1], which embodies this principle of United Nations responsibility. We believe that this draft resolution deals very adequately with the financial problems which are involved in maintaining

the Emergency Force, and the United States delegation will, of course, vote for it. We believe that the adoption of this draft resolution will demonstrate to all that the Member States of the United Nations are prepared to assume the responsibility for the decisions taken by the General Assembly.

107. We are all aware that, as stated in the Secretary-General's report, certain Members of the Organization have declined to join in the financing of the Emergency Force. Whatever may be the reason for such an attitude, the United States delegation is certain that the vast majority of Members will not accept it as a guide for their own actions.

108. We note that the draft resolution before us provides that, after decisions by the plenary session on matters of principle, there will be referred to the Fifth Committee the matter of reviewing cost estimates for the Emergency Force so that that Committee may make such recommendations as may appear appropriate. We believe that this is a very wise provision since it will assure all of our Governments that proper financial control is being maintained with respect to the cost of the Emergency Force and that the Force is being maintained as economically as is possible under the circumstances.

109. In conclusion, I wish again to congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff, the individual members of the Emergency Force and the Governments which have contributed in various way to its successful operation. I wish also to congratulate the sponsors of the draft resolution now before us, who have provided us with a concrete proposal for dealing with the important financial problems with which we are faced. I am certain that the vast majority of Members, in voting on this draft resolution, will match the spirit of constructive collaboration which has been so evident in the Emergency Force itself, and thus provide positive evidence of United Nations capacity for effective action.

110. Mr. RAMOS (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): The delegation of Argentina wishes briefly to explain its position on the twenty-one-Power draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1].

111. The Argentine Republic gave its support in the establishment of the Emergency Force, whose contribution to the maintenance of peace it considers to have been one of the most concrete and successful achievements of the United Nations. We are convinced of the need for UNEF to be kept as a factor in the maintenance of quiet in the Middle East; and hence we agree in principle that all the States Members of the United Nations have a responsibility in respect of its establishment and should consequently contribute to its financing.

112. The draft resolution under discussion provides that the expenses for maintaining UNEF, as authorized in operative paragraph 3, shall be borne by the Members in accordance with the scale of assessments for 1957 and 1958. We do not feel that this is the fairest solution. In our opinion factors other than those on which the assessment of contributions under the ordinary budget of the United Nations is based should be considered in connexion with expenditure of this kind, for example the various responsibilities assigned under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

113. Despite this difference in attitude, we shall vote for the draft resolution; but we wish to put it on record that we should have preferred a fairer system of financing and that we do not regard it as constituting a precedent.

114. For these same reasons we appreciate the full significance of the generous gesture made by the Government of the United States in offering a large sum under the heading of special assistance to help to cover the deficit in the expenses of the Force for the period 1956-1957.

115. Before leaving this rostrum I should like to say that my Government is also considering making a contribution in accordance with its capacities to help to make up the deficit.

116. Mr. CHHATARI (Pakistan): The Assembly today has before it the twenty-one-Power draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] relating to the United Nations Emergency Force. My delegation is one of the co-sponsors. In connexion with this sponsorship I may say, at the very outset, that we sponsored this draft resolution because we firmly believe that it is the imperative duty of all Members of the United Nations to abide by the Charter, to honour commitments to the United Nations and to strengthen the hand of this Organization in the vital task of preservation of international peace and security.

117. We are convinced that in order to be able to reach a position when the decisions of the United Nations will be respected and carried out by all concerned it is necessary that there should be constituted a permanent United Nations force which should act as a preventive police force and should also be prepared to give effect to measures considered necessary by the United Nations to maintain peace and uphold the principles of the Charter. We consider the present Emergency Force to be the forerunner of a permanent force, the establishment of which should be nearer attainment because of the success achieved by the present Force in the Middle East.

118. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity of congratulating General Burns and all members of the Force, the Secretary-General and those members of the Secretariat who have been concerned with the Force for a great duty ably discharged by them.

119. The United Nations, during the eleven years of its existence, has been handicapped by difficulties and problems of great magnitude, in many respects unprecedented. Some of these difficulties and problems amounted to a challenge to its very existence. That challenge was successfully met in 1956 when it decided to act swiftly and powerfully in preventing a conflagration in the Middle East by creating this Emergency Force. This one instance alone has justified the establishment of the United Nations so that we can today feel with confidence that the mere fact of the existence of the United Nations, irrespective of what it may or may not have achieved in previous years, is of the highest significance to the world at large. And all this, as I have said before, is due mainly to the successful achievements of the United Nations Force.

120. Pakistan, in spite of economic difficulties and in the face of a number of problems which require heavy expenditure both in local and foreign currencies,

has already contributed a sum of \$50,000 for the Force. We shall continue to play our part in the future to the best of our ability, notwithstanding our economic handicaps. We support the principle of assessment of costs adumbrated in the draft resolution. In this connexion, we are glad to note that the United States and the United Kingdom have substantially met most of the over-all proposed expenditure by announcing their contributions of \$12 million and \$1 million respectively. So far as expenditure for 1957 is concerned, a small amount now remains to be covered. So far as expenditure for 1958 is concerned, expenses are to be met in accordance with the scale of assessments adopted by the General Assembly, and by such other assistance as will, we trust, also be forthcoming for the purpose.

121. In his report on the United Nations Emergency Force [A/3694 and Add.1] the Secretary-General has proposed the following: First, the United Nations should be able to reimburse participating Governments for any special allowances, as distinct from basic salaries, paid to the members of their contingents as a direct result of their service with UNEF in its area of operation; second, the United Nations shall agree to assume financial responsibility for all extra and extraordinary costs which a Government is obliged to incur in making forces available for service with UNEF beyond the initial six-months' period; third, the United Nations to assume financial responsibility for the replacement of equipment that is destroyed or worn out and for such depreciation, beyond that provided for under normal depreciation schedules, as can be assessed at the conclusion of the total period of service of a Government's forces.

122. In operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution the General Assembly approves these principles and authorizes the Secretary-General "to expend an additional amount...for the period ending 31 December 1957, up to a maximum of \$13.5 million and, as necessary, an amount for the continuing operation of the Force beyond that date up to a maximum of \$25 million"

123. My delegation believes that these proposals are the minimum, and therefore trusts that the Assembly will find it possible to pass this draft resolution with an overwhelming majority of votes. Such an action on the part of the General Assembly would make it known to the world that the United Nations means business when it comes to the preservation of peace.

124. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly has before it the report of the Secretary-General on the problem of the United Nations Emergency Force [A/3694 and Add.1].

125. The report outlines the basic facts concerning the history of the establishment and organization of the Force and appraises its work. The Secretary-General's specific proposals are mainly concerned with the settlement of the problem of financing the Force.

126. The draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] submitted to the General Assembly in connexion with the Secretary-General's report also relates to the procedure for financing the Force.

127. However, the conclusions drawn by the Secretary-General from his analysis of UNEF's activities,

his approach to the problem of the Force's future and the statements of some delegations introduce other than financial problems into the debate on the Secretary-General's report. The Soviet delegation therefore deems it essential once again to define its position both as regards the substance of the problem of the United Nations Emergency Force and the financing of the Force.

128. We have always held and still hold that the establishment of United Nations armed forces under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is a matter exclusively within the competence of the Security Council. Only the Security Council has powers to take decisions on the use of such forces. The General Assembly's decision to establish an Emergency Force is therefore quite incompatible with the Charter.

129. The procedure laid down in the Charter for the establishment and use of United Nations forces is based on a consideration of political and military realities. Only if we follow the appropriate provisions of the Charter, which confers primary responsibility on the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, can we be assured that no United Nations forces will ever be used against the interests of any State to the prejudice of international peace and security.

130. The United Nations Emergency Force was established following the armed aggression by the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt, and the Force can, of course, stay in Egyptian territory only for as long as the Egyptian Government deems this to be necessary.

131. The Soviet delegation feels compelled to draw the General Assembly's attention to attempts to distort the true role of the United Nations Emergency Force, to represent its further presence as virtually the only way of maintaining peace in the Near East. In our view, such attempts are clearly intended to use the Force to promote Western policies in the countries of the Near East and the Middle East, policies which are totally unrelated to the task of maintaining peace and improving relations between States in that area.

132. The Soviet delegation considers that in the present circumstances the Western Powers would promote the restoration of tranquillity and peace in the Near East and the Middle East if they refrained from using force and from interfering in any way whatever in the domestic affairs of the countries of that area. They would thus contribute to an improvement of the whole situation in the Near East and the Middle East and to the settlement of many unsolved problems in the area, including the maintenance of tranquillity on the demarcation line between Egypt and Israel.

133. In this connexion we cannot accept the assertion in the Secretary-General's report that after the withdrawal of the Anglo-French and Israel forces from Egypt the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force has become "one of the pre-conditions for the preservation of quiet along the line between Egypt and Israel" and, in the last analysis, a condition for establishing peace in the Near East. I repeat: this view is entirely unacceptable.

134. The Secretary-General also loses touch with reality, when "looking back" to events of the recent

past. He affirms in his report that the Emergency Force was established at the request of the United Kingdom, France and Israel as a pre-condition for their agreement to a cease-fire. To assert that the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egyptian territory was a pre-condition for the withdrawals from Egypt of the Anglo-French and Israel forces means, at the very least, to disregard General Assembly resolutions and to encourage those who at the time propagated the idea that the United Nations Force was a kind of substitute for the Anglo-French and Israel occupation armies.

135. Yet it is common knowledge that in all resolutions adopted both at the emergency session and at the eleventh session of the General Assembly a demand was made for an unconditional cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign armies from Egyptian territory.

136. The Soviet delegation has deemed it necessary to make these general remarks, because it wished correctly to appraise the events relating to the establishment and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force and to outline once more its basic position concerning the Force.

137. A considerable part of the Secretary-General's report is devoted to the financial problems arising out of the establishment of the Force. The Secretary-General reports that the Force is experiencing financial difficulties because most of the Member States are making no contributions to finance expenditure for the maintenance of the Force. The reason for this, as we see it, is quite plain. These States are aware that the establishment of a United Nations Emergency Force resulted from the armed attack of the United Kingdom, France and Israel on Egypt and consider that it would therefore be reasonable and fair if the cost of maintaining the Force were borne by the States responsible for the aggression. Such a method of financing the cost would correspond to one of the basic and most important principles of contemporary international law, under which a State that has committed aggression must bear both material and political responsibility for it.

138. It is therefore entirely legitimate that a number of Member States have announced that in principle they refuse to make any contribution towards financing the United Nations Emergency Force and at the same time that some other States, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, have declared that they cannot make any voluntary contributions towards the expenses of the Force.

139. The Soviet Union's position on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force was defined at the eleventh session of the General Assembly [592nd meeting]. The Soviet delegation continues to hold the view that the cost of maintaining the Force should be borne by the States which engaged in armed aggression against Egypt. The Soviet delegation considers that to relieve the United Kingdom, France and Israel of material responsibility for the expenditure arising out of their aggression against Egypt, including the cost of maintaining the United Nations Emergency Force, and to place this responsibility on the shoulders of other States which resisted that aggression and themselves suffered loss from the prolonged obstruction of the Suez Canal, would be incompatible with elementary concepts of fairness and with the principles on which the United Nations is based.

140. In his report the Secretary-General requests the General Assembly to authorize him to incur considerable expenses for the further maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Force for the period ending 31 December 1957, and also for any 1958 period.

141. In view of the Soviet attitude to the United Nations Emergency Force, as I have defined it, the Soviet delegation deems it essential to state that it cannot accede to the Secretary-General's request. It will vote against the proposals charging the cost of the Emergency Force to the United Nations and it will make no contribution toward financing the Force.

142. The Soviet delegation will vote against the twenty-one-Power draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1].

143. Mr. WALKER (Australia): I am sure that, although the Assembly has long been well aware of the general position of the Soviet Union on the present matter, all of us have heard with great regret the declaration of policy just made by the Soviet Union representative.

144. It is true, of course, that it is envisaged in the United Nations Charter that, should it become necessary to mobilize forces of the United Nations to preserve peace, that function should be carried out under the direction of the Security Council. Unfortunately, however, it is also true that the Security Council's capacity for action of that kind and its effectiveness in this regard have been hampered and obstructed by the persistent attitude of the Soviet Union. This great Organization has therefore, within the framework of the Charter, adapted its methods and procedures to meet this position.

145. In the circumstances with which we were confronted a year ago, the General Assembly thus provided for the establishment and functioning of the United Nations Emergency Force. I am sure that the world endorses and applauds the action of the United Nations in that respect.

146. The Australian Government has examined the twenty-one-Power draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] and, in view of all the circumstances surrounding the matter, we find the terms of the draft resolution quite satisfactory and will fully support it.

147. I am sure that it will be a source of considerable regret to most delegations that only thirty-three Member States—including, of course, Australia—have so far paid their contributions towards the initial \$10 million assessment under the terms of resolution 1089 (XI), so that only about \$5.8 million of that \$10 million is in hand. Moreover, voluntary contributions under the terms of resolution 1090 (XI) have amounted to only \$1.3 million, whereas contributions of \$6.5 million were invited.

148. When one bears in mind the successful and significant role which the United Nations Emergency Force has played in achieving and maintaining peaceful conditions in the area of its operations, its financial situation gives grounds for some anxiety. In view of the profound sense of urgency and unity that found expression in the Assembly's decision to establish the United Nations Emergency Force last year, it is disappointing to find an apparent weakening of determination in some countries when it comes to bearing a fair share of the cost.

149. The Secretary-General and his able staff and the commander, General Burns, are to be congratulated on the remarkable job they have done in maintaining the Force in the field at a high level of efficiency, despite the far from satisfactory financial basis on which the Force has had to operate. The countries contributing contingents are also to be commended for their forbearance in connexion with claims for expenses that are the responsibility of the United Nations.

150. Once again, the United Nations find itself with a special debt of gratitude for the wholehearted support which the United States gives to this Organization. Australia recognizes and appreciates the generosity of the United States Government in making its latest substantial contribution towards meeting the deficit in the UNEF account at 31 December 1957. I say "latest substantial contribution" because, as is well known, the United States Government has already made a very substantial contribution towards the effective operation of the Force by providing services and transport, by making a voluntary contribution under the terms of resolution 1090 (XI), and by promptly paying its assessment on the first \$10 million of UNEF expenses.

151. I am authorized by my Government to state that Australia will make a special contribution of \$50,000 towards meeting the uncovered balance of the expenses of UNEF up to the end of 1957. We hope that as many other Governments as possible will be able to make similar special contributions, and that all Member States will promptly meet their assessments for any deficit that may remain at the end of 1957 and for UNEF expenses during the next year.

152. Australia is making the special contribution which I have just announced in response to the immediate need. But it is our firm belief that the expenses of UNEF are a United Nations obligation, which should be met by assessment of all Members according to the regular scale of assessment.

153. I would hope that with the adoption of the draft resolution before the Assembly, the United Nations Emergency Force will be able to continue its invaluable work with the wholehearted support of all Member States—support not only in principle, but also expressed in the prompt payment of assessments. As the Secretary-General says in his report, the United Nations Emergency Force has become:

"...and undoubtedly continues to be today, one of the pre-conditions for the preservation of quiet along the line between Egypt and Israel. Such quiet, in turn, is indispensable to fruitful effort towards the removal of the major obstacles to peace in the Near East." [A/3694, para.47.]

154. The Australian Government most earnestly hopes that before too long the United Nations will find it possible to adopt a more positive approach to the fundamental issues that maintain tension in the Middle East. Some important suggestions in this direction were made on 21 October 1957 [687th meeting] by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies. I hope that these suggestions will receive consideration at an appropriate moment.

155. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece): I am glad to take the opportunity offered by this debate to express once

again, on behalf of the Greek delegation, our appreciation for the work accomplished by UNEF. UNEF has indeed rendered high and precious services to the cause of peace. Our gratitude goes to all those who have contributed to this achievement. We wish to convey our thanks to the Governments of the Member States which placed contingents of their armed forces at the disposal of this international force. We also wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, to the Advisory Committee on UNEF and to all those who co-operated closely with them, for it is through their action and their untiring efforts that the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions has been activated.

156. We have carefully studied and taken note with interest of the Secretary-General's report on UNEF.

157. Last, but not least, we wish to praise the military and administrative personnel of the Emergency Force, and the correct, disciplined and efficient manner in which they have carried out and are carrying out the delicate and very responsible task assigned to them.

158. It is through the efforts exerted by various competent bodies, as well as single individuals, that UNEF has proved to be a success. It has, in the first place, permitted the withdrawal of belligerent elements, thus contributing to the extinction of one of the most dangerous international conflicts. It has helped subsequently in the establishment of conditions of quiet and peace—the quiet and peace so much needed in the Middle East.

159. We have noticed with the greatest satisfaction the reported substantial decrease in incidents in the sectors now covered by UNEF. These are concrete achievements, definite results.

160. From the very outset, Greece hailed the plan for the establishment of UNEF as a means of restoring peace. We voted in favour of the relevant draft resolutions submitted to this Assembly. Furthermore, the Greek authorities gladly and promptly offered whatever facilities were asked of them in operational matters concerned with UNEF. Our airfields and ground facilities for landing and refuelling, both in Athens and in the Island of Crete, have been at the disposal of aircraft carrying UNEF personnel and material and they have been used repeatedly in flights between Naples and El Arish.

161. Coming now to the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] before us, submitted by the twenty-one Powers, I wish to express my delegation's approval of it as a whole. We are in full agreement with the principles and directives contained in operative paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 5. As far as operative paragraph 4 is concerned, however, although we do not object to the principle which is enunciated, my delegation, in the absence of specific instructions on this matter, is not in a position to undertake any definite financial commitment. Financial contributions do not depend only on good will, but mainly on budgetary possibilities in relation to the amount which will be required for payment. However, in our desire to vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, we shall do so with the formal reservation that the casting of such a positive vote does not mean undertaking any definite financial commitment by the Greek Government. In saying this, I have every reason to believe that Greece

will not fail to do, in this respect, the maximum within the limits of its possibilities.

162. At this point I feel it my duty to express our appreciation and thanks to the Governments which have made voluntary contributions to the cost of UNEF, particularly the United States Government. UNEF is one of the most momentous and promising developments in international life and, surely, in the life of the United Nations. By setting it up and by contributing to its operation, the international community has accomplished something constructive, something beneficial not only to the interested parties, but to all.

163. While menacing clouds are obscuring the horizon of the world's security and are hanging heavily on our thoughts, the successful experiment of UNEF stands out as a shining and hopeful point.

164. Mr. CRAW (New Zealand): When he spoke in the general debate [683rd meeting], the New Zealand Minister for External Affairs said that the establishment of UNEF had shown this Organization at a high level of practical achievement. My delegation feels that the Assembly can take pride in the creation of UNEF, and we believe also that the Assembly has good reason to be grateful to UNEF for the quality of service which it has given to our Organization.

165. We are glad to join in paying tribute to the commander and the members of the Force, to the Secretary-General and his staff, and to the Governments which have provided the Force with men, services and supplies.

166. From its study of the Secretary-General's report [A/3694 and Add.1], my delegation has been strengthened in its conviction that UNEF has an essential and continuing task to perform. Since the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt, UNEF's heaviest responsibilities have related to the preservation of quiet along the armistice line between Egypt and Israel. While there are ways of giving UNEF enhanced effectiveness, the Force has already had an impressive measure of success in preventing a return to the régime of harassment and reprisal which has for too long dominated the life of this troubled region of the Middle East. UNEF has played, and continues to play, a most important role in the maintenance of greater stability along the frontier; but the relative calm which it has brought about is a result not of reconciliation and progress towards a settlement, but of United Nations vigilance. Security in the area depends, in the long run, on more than a mere absence of incident. Peace can be soundly based only when the causes of insecurity and hostility are removed. In the present circumstances UNEF remains no more than a restraint, although it is an indispensable restraint. In the New Zealand view, as long as no determined effort is made to reduce the tensions in the Middle East, the United Nations cannot afford to do without the Emergency Force.

167. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation has examined the draft resolution [A/L.235 and Add.1] which we now have before us. As the President has indicated to the Assembly, what is now required of us is a decision on the principles which should govern the financing of the Force for this year and for the future.

168. My delegation supports without reservation the views expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 106 of his report [A/3694]. We believe that Assembly decisions with important financial consequences, and especially those relating to peace and security, lay an obligation on all States Members of this Organization to make available the resources necessary to put them into effect. Accordingly, we strongly endorse the Secretary-General's belief that UNEF should be given the same degree of certainty of financial support as is given to other United Nations activities which seek to accomplish the central objectives of this Organization. It would confer no credit on this Assembly if UNEF came to an end not because its purposes had been fulfilled, but because the Members of this Organization were unwilling to see the enterprise through by giving it the necessary financial support.

169. The New Zealand delegation at the eleventh session of the General Assembly expressed the view that the maintenance of UNEF should be a collective responsibility resting on the full membership of the United Nations. That is still our position.

170. Consistent with our belief that UNEF costs should be met in accordance with the regular budgetary scale, New Zealand has paid its assessment share of the initial \$16.5 million which the Secretary-General was authorized on 27 February 1957 [resolution 1090 (XI)] to commit for UNEF. Our contribution toward \$6.5 million of this sum was on a voluntary

basis. New Zealand will also be ready to give early consideration to making a further contribution in accordance with the regular assessment scale towards the remaining \$13.5 million.

171. My delegation has noted with great appreciation that the United States and the United Kingdom have made offers of \$12 million and \$1 million respectively, as special assistance to be applied towards reducing the expenses of UNEF outstanding for the period up to the end of 1957. We have noted also with similar appreciation that other such offers have been or are likely to be made. These offers, especially those of the United States and the United Kingdom, will, of course, go far towards overcoming the difficulties which this year confront the Secretary-General. It would, however, be a matter for regret if this Assembly, which voted overwhelmingly to create UNEF, should have to depend to any degree on generosity of this sort when it comes to pay the bill.

172. For this reason, my delegation has been glad to see that under operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution it would be decided that all the expenses for 1958, as well as any balance for 1957, should be borne by Member Governments in accordance with the scale of assessments adopted for the regular United Nations budget. We fully endorse this principle, and will accordingly support the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.