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**FIRST EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION**

**New York**

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**President: Mr. Rudecindo ORTEGA (Chile).**

**AGENDA ITEM 5**

**Question considered by the Security Council at its 749th and 750th meetings held on 30 October 1956 (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I call upon the Secretary-General who wishes to make a statement.
2. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I do not think that many words are needed in the introduction of my second and final report [A/3302 and Add. 1-7] on the United Nations Force. I have put the main document before the Members. I only wish to express my earnest hope that a decision in line with my proposals will be taken promptly so as to permit us to get going. There should not be left in the minds of people any uncertainty about the determination of the United Nations.
3. I would like to announce that last night I sent instructions to the Chief of the United Nations Command, after agreement with the Egyptian Government, to proceed forthwith to Cairo for the first contacts. I have now received the first reply from the Chief of Command in which he informs me that Egyptian authorities agreed in principle to his flying to Cairo, but that detailed arrangements cannot be made before today.
4. The Chief of Command has established direct radio contact with allied forces in Cyprus, which will be necessary for clearance and aircraft passage and, later, for other purposes. Egyptian authorities agreed this morning also, in principle, to accept ten observers at once in Cairo. These observers will need jeeps and radios. Therefore the Chief of Command will try to send these by road to Egypt. The Israel Government has been requested to allow passage. That is the announcement I feel I should make as the first progress report on the setting up of the Force in the area.
5. Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) (*translated from French*): Since our last meetings, many new developments have occurred. You will remember that in the night of 1 to 2 November 1956 you adopted a resolution [997(ES-I)] urging all parties now involved in hostilities to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to halt the movement of military forces or arms into the area. You also urged the parties to the Armistice Agreement promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring

territory and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the Armistice Agreement.

6. In the night of 3 to 4 November, you adopted a further resolution [999 (ES-I)] reaffirming the resolution of 2 November and again calling upon the parties to comply with the provisions of the said resolution. You authorized the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties concerned for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of the military forces and arms into the area, requesting him to report forthwith on compliance of these provisions.

7. In the same night you adopted a resolution [998 (ES-I)], proposed by the Canadian delegation, which, in order to facilitate compliance with the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 November, requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly a plan for the setting up of an international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. My Government informed the Secretary-General that it agreed to comply with the provisions of these resolutions.

8. In contrast, the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom made a truly extraordinary reply to the Secretary-General's communication [A/3287, annexes 2 and 4]. In two almost identical letters [A/3293, 3294] they state in the first place—and in our view this is the salient point—in paragraph 4: "Certain Anglo-French operations with strictly limited objectives are continuing". The armed attack against Egypt is therefore not halted. In paragraph 5, the Governments of France and the United Kingdom "express their firm conviction that their action is justified". In response to the Canadian resolution [998 (ES-I)], they accept its principle, but subject to so many conditions that even on this point their reply may be regarded as negative. That was the situation on 5 November 1956.

9. These two Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, were therefore continuing their aggression and preferring to act on their own authority, without any mandate from the United Nations and in defiance of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. They were acting in violation of the Charter which requires all Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

10. The aggressors did not even trouble to give a semblance of legality to their acts of war. They wish to impose the law of the jungle. In fact, after the adoption of the Assembly resolutions, the bombing of Egypt was intensified. The towns of Suez, Port Said and Alexandria were subjected to violent bombardment. Egyptian aerodromes, radio stations, railways, factories, hospitals and places of worship did not escape these

barbarous bombardments which have caused considerable damage and claimed a very large number of victims.

11. Since the morning of 5 November, an armed attack deploying considerable forces has been proceeding, on the Mediterranean coast, in the Port Said area, as may be gathered from a communication of the Egyptian Government and equally from other reports which we have received. The communication from the Egyptian Government says:

"In spite of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November and its resolutions of 4 and 5 November, which were accepted by Egypt, and in spite of your request to bring to a halt all military hostile action in the area by 2000 hours GMT 4 November, extended to 0500 GMT 5 November, which was also accepted by Egypt, the acts of aggression perpetrated by British, French and Israel forces against Egypt have not been halted. Instead they have increased. In fact, British and French paratroops have attempted to occupy Port Said, and when they failed, their air forces bombarded brutally and indiscriminately the civilians and their residential quarters, causing extremely heavy casualties among civilians, particularly women and children." [A/3296, para. 1.]

This first wave of paratroops has been annihilated. As I have just said, after the failure of this first landing attempt, the French and United Kingdom forces began a concentrated bombardment of the town of Port Said, while the air attacks on civilians at Cairo and Alexandria continued throughout this period.

12. Subsequently, other armed forces began a fresh invasion at Port Said. The Egyptian forces, supported by the population of Port Said, engaged in desperate fighting against the invading forces. There has been considerable loss of life. I ask leave to quote from two *communiqués* published by the headquarters of the Egyptian forces. *Communiqué* No. 29 of 6 November 1956 states:

"The aggressors continue to drop paratroops on Port Said and to attempt landings at several points on the coast. The town is under constant enemy fire from sea and air. The forces of resistance, which comprise the police and the civilian population, are engaged in fierce fighting in the streets of Port Said. The Egyptian forces are in full control of the town and morale is high. The enemy has cut the water supply at Port Said. Explosive and incendiary bombs have been dropped on civilians, causing considerable damage and extensive fires in certain districts. The number of casualties, particularly among women and children is very high."

*Communiqué* No. 30, also dated 6 November, reads as follows:

"The British and French armed forces continue their aggression against Port Said. The town is under continuous bombardment from sea and air. The aggressors have landed their forces on the coast, at Port Fuad. Our armed forces and the forces of resistance are barricading themselves in the houses. In some districts, there is house-to-house fighting."

13. The Egyptian Medical Council and the Egyptian Red Cross have addressed the following message to humanitarian organizations throughout the world:

"Correspondents have been invited to verify on the spot the devastation and ravages caused by the bom-

bardments among the civilian population in all the important towns, particularly at Port Said. The large number of casualties, especially among women and children, is evidence of the atrocious character of the bombardment, which strikes at a population seized with panic. All eye-witness accounts express indignation at the madness of this indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population. We appeal to all humanitarian organizations, imploring them to lend their moral and material assistance to relieve the unjust sufferings of thousands of innocent victims."

14. The Egyptian Government, for its part, addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General on 6 November, which I would also like to quote:

"At this historic hour of decision when the best values of humanity's heritage are at stake and the human race is pushed back toward chaos and savagery, when France, Israel and the United Kingdom are launching a treacherous attack against Egypt and are defiantly bearing the standard of lawlessness and of shame, Egypt appeals for help by volunteers, arms or otherwise, to all those all over the world who care still for the dignity of man and the rule of law in international relations.

"The people of Egypt are fighting a battle of survival and of honour. They are fighting it not only for themselves and their country but equally for the civilized world.

"As long as aggression continues against Egypt on her own territory and in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations, Egypt shall go on fighting in all determination and with every shred of its being against the forces of evil and in behalf of decency and a life worth living." [A/3304].

15. Such acts, such brutality on the part of the aggressors, fill us with a feeling of stupor, indignation and horror. The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, and even those of the British Labour Party, have again condemned the aggressive attitude of the present United Kingdom and French Governments and their recourse to force. This attitude has been supported by world opinion everywhere. What difference is there between the acts of the war criminals sentenced by the Nürnberg Tribunal, on grounds with which you are familiar, and the acts of the French and United Kingdom leaders and their instrument, Israel? The principles laid down by the Nürnberg Tribunal apply precisely to their case too, as the Spanish newspaper *Arriba* has rightly pointed out.

16. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 6 November [A/3306], the permanent representative of the United Kingdom states that his Government has ordered its forces to cease fire unless they are attacked. The French Government has sent an almost identical communication [A/3307]. According to the latest information I have received, fighting continues inside the town of Port Said, which is surrounded by the troops of the aggressors. From this rostrum I wish to pay a tribute to the military and civilian combatants who have unhesitatingly sacrificed their lives in defence of the honour and independence of their country. Paris radio has reported that the French forces have occupied El Qantara and Ismailia. I wish to state that these reports are totally unfounded.

17. In his letter to the Secretary-General, the representative of the United Kingdom proposes that technicians accompanying the Franco-United Kingdom

force should immediately undertake the work of clearing the Suez Canal and its approaches of obstructions. I wish to point out that these obstructions are primarily the result of the aggression committed by United Kingdom forces against Egypt and that the Egyptian Government and people can on no account agree that the forces of the aggressor should play any part in the work which will be undertaken to make the Canal navigable.

18. United Kingdom and French troops must leave Egypt immediately. In your two resolutions adopted in the night from 1 to 2 November and from 3 to 4 November you decided, I would remind you, that the parties involved in hostilities should agree to a cease-fire and halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area. The French and United Kingdom Governments have not implemented this part of the resolution; they continued to send troops. At the time, no part of Egyptian territory was occupied by the French and United Kingdom forces. That was why you did not demand the withdrawal of these forces from Egyptian territory as you had done in the case of Israel forces. It is a matter of urgency that this withdrawal should be effected as soon as possible, as requested by the draft resolution [A/3309] shortly to be circulated by the members of the African-Asian group. This withdrawal is essential. Mr. Ben-Gurion has just stated on the Israel radio that the Israel Government has no intention of leaving the Sinai Peninsula. I am confident that you will accede to our request and that you will adopt this draft resolution which calls, as I said, for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory. Nothing can be done until this evacuation has taken place.

19. France and the United Kingdom dealt a grievous blow to our Organization in committing brutal aggression against Egypt. The Egyptian Government and the entire people of Egypt have defended themselves, and will continue to defend themselves if necessary. Our cause is the cause of all countries dedicated to freedom and independence. In this time of cruel ordeal for us, I am confident that I can count on you.

20. Mr. ESKELUND (Denmark): I shall be very brief. The time does not call for oratory. Indeed, events themselves have spoken so loudly and so eloquently that speech-making is of little avail and, until we see an important improvement in an extremely dangerous and delicate situation, may do no good and may even do harm.

21. We have before us [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] the second and final report of the Secretary-General on the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force. We have all studied it with all the care that this historic document deserves and that the tremendous importance of its contents makes obligatory. May I add one word of deep appreciation to the man who is the author of this final report, our Secretary-General, who has once more shown his outstanding ability and all the other high qualities which have commanded in the past and will command in the future to a still higher degree, our admiration and our complete confidence. I am sure that in this I can speak on behalf of everyone present.

22. In the name of the following countries, namely, Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden, I have the honour to lay before this General Assembly a draft resolution [A/3308] which follows the resolutions previously adopted, of 2, 4 and 5 November 1956. It fully endorses the content of the

Secretary-General's second and final report, and it lays down that the will of this General Assembly is to follow up and implement the proposals and suggestions made in that report. Also, it gives all the authorization necessary and possible at this moment.

23. I hope, I trust, and I feel very confident that this draft resolution will not merely meet with general approval but will be able to command the unanimous support of the General Assembly. And, if I may make a modest suggestion in conformity with what has just been said by the Secretary-General and also by the representative of Egypt, I would urge that this support and, I hope, unanimous acceptance should be given with the briefest possible delay, and that we should pass very quickly indeed to the vote.

24. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): My delegation, representing the Canadian Government, gives strong support to the draft resolution which has just been put before us in document A/3308. We also wish to endorse the report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] of the Secretary-General, which is related to this draft resolution. In doing so, I should like to echo the words of gratitude and appreciation which have just been spoken by the representative of Denmark for the tireless and effective work done by the Secretary-General, without which we would not have this report before us today. I should also like to state that my Government is proud to have been able to offer a contribution to this United Nations Force and has taken steps as a matter of urgency to organize that contribution.

25. The purpose of this draft resolution—and it is vital—is to complete the process of setting up an emergency United Nations Force for the purposes set out both in this and in the earlier resolution which we have approved and which deals with this subject. With the acceptance of this resolution—and surely it can be unanimously supported—the ending of hostilities can be confirmed and safeguarded and the work of peace-making begun on a solid United Nations foundation.

26. In a sense, that work has begun. But a great deal remains to be done, of course, before it is finished. I think that this is a moment for sober satisfaction, but certainly not one for any premature rejoicing. And yet, while appreciating the necessity for being realistic about these things, it is hard not to rejoice at the thought that we may have been saved from the very edge of catastrophe—and saved, let us not forget, not by threats or bluster but by the action of the United Nations. If we can draw the necessary conclusions from the manner of our escape—if we have escaped—and if we can act on them, perhaps we will not in the future have to come so perilously close to disaster again. I repeat, however, that much remains to be done even in the first stage, which is now under way. The organization of a United Nations Force from other than the permanent members of the Security Council is bound to be a task of great complexity and difficulty. We are breaking new ground, but I feel sure that we can reap a rich harvest from that ground in terms of peace and security in the area concerned and indeed, I hope, in wider terms as well.

27. We must now pass on to the greater and perhaps even more difficult task of reaching a political settle-

<sup>1</sup>Official Records of the General Assembly, First Emergency Special Session, Supplement No. 1, resolutions 997 (ES-I), 998 (ES-I), 999 (ES-I), 1000 (ES-I).

ment which will be honourable and just and will provide some hope of security and progress for millions in that part of the world who have not known them in these troublous and distracting years. This subsequent action on our part is implicit in the resolution before us and the resolution of 4 November [998 (ES-I)] which we have already approved and which establishes the conditions under which the United Nations Force must operate. That should be clear. Until we have succeeded in this task of bringing about a political settlement, our work today, if we pass this resolution, and the cease-fire of yesterday—although they may give us some reason for hope and encouragement—remain uncompleted.

28. Nevertheless, the fighting has ceased, the process of restoration is to follow, and the work of peaceful settlement is to be pursued in one part of this distracted and dangerous world. We cannot fail, I submit, to be relieved and pleased about this and to rejoice in the fact that it is the United Nations which has made the essential contribution to such a good result. I think it is accurate to say that if we had not acted swiftly and, I think, effectively here, we might today have been facing a conflict that perhaps would have ultimately engulfed us all. I therefore suggest that we deal with this resolution as quickly as possible, as has already been stated by the representative of Denmark, so that the United Nations Force can be organized effectively and moved to the spot without delay. That, surely, is the most urgent and immediate duty for us to discharge in this Assembly at this moment.

29. Mr. TRUJILLO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): I will say only a few words about the draft resolution [A/3308] of which my delegation is one of the sponsors, and about the Secretary-General's report [A/3302] referred to in the resolution. The Secretary-General has given one more proof of his devotion to duty and his efficiency by producing this report, which is a complete study of the circumstances in which the United Nations Force will be able to function in the form in which it is now required, that is, in a form suited to the stage now reached by the international situation.

30. I merely wish to say that this report by the Secretary-General should be used as a basis to be supplemented by later and fuller studies which will lay the foundations for a permanent United Nations Force. We have all been conscious of the need for such a force, the lack of which has weakened the United Nations, although we should be encouraged by the results that we have achieved merely through the moral force of the United Nations. Up to now that has been the only force exercised, and it has brought about the cease-fire, which is the first step towards creating the atmosphere needed for peace negotiations. If, however, this cease-fire is to be made effective and the troops are to be withdrawn, there must be supervision. There has thus been created this new form of army, which is going not to fight but simply to supervise and guarantee the effectiveness of the resolutions of the General Assembly.

31. The draft resolution proposed jointly by my delegation and six others contains another very important proposal for the establishment of a committee of seven countries, so that instead of the General Assembly's having to be convened frequently to deal with administrative questions and immediate action to be taken

by this emergency army, this committee, presided over by the Secretary-General, would be able to take the necessary steps and would call for a meeting of the General Assembly only if there were questions of sufficient importance to warrant doing so.

32. The draft resolution proposed by my delegation, jointly with six others, is especially important because it proposes the establishment of a committee of six countries, presided over by the Secretary-General, responsible for the administration and for the immediate activities of this emergency army, so that the Assembly would only have to be convened when the questions to be discussed were of great importance. I believe the anguished appeals of the representative of Egypt were justified, but from Egypt as from the other countries involved in this dispute, we must ask prudence and calm, begging them not to add the fire of passions to the fire of arms, thus aggravating this problem, which must be solved, not only in the field of military action, with the ending of the aggression, but also by a final solution of the problem itself, with the elimination of its cause. We must seek a solution of the problem of the Suez Canal, which has been of concern to various European and American countries; and a final solution must be found for the problem of the existence of Israel and its relations with its neighbours, the Arab countries, in a framework of justice which will ensure peace.

33. My delegation, firmly convinced that the moral forces of the world have obtained their first great victory, urges that we should continue to place greater confidence in those forces than in the emergency international supervision which we have created. I believe that the General Assembly should vote unanimously for the draft resolutions we have submitted, so that the committee can be set up as soon as possible.

34. Mr. GUNWARDENE (Ceylon): The latest events in the Middle East have given us a sense of relief. It is gratifying to learn that the fighting has stopped and that the senseless killing and destruction has been brought to an end. France, Israel, and the United Kingdom have now observed the first condition embodied in the resolution [997 (ES-I)] passed by this Assembly by an overwhelming majority on 2 November. I should like to express, on behalf of my delegation, appreciation of the fact that these three Powers have displayed a sense of realism and practical common sense in their decision to cease all hostilities, and have partially responded to the call of the United Nations.

35. The United Nations resolution, however, called for not only a cease-fire but for complete withdrawal of troops to their own territories. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that France, Israel and the United Kingdom, have not complied fully with that part of the United Nations resolution asking for the withdrawal of troops. Their continued presence on Egyptian soil must necessarily be a source of irritation to Egypt, whose territorial integrity has been violated. It is the opinion of my Government that since neither France, Israel nor the United Kingdom had the slightest vestige of legal or moral ground to lay down any conditions whatsoever, inasmuch as they made an unlawful entry into the territory of a sovereign State, their obvious duty is not only to stop forthwith all military operations but also to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory immediately. Only thus can the resolution

adopted so overwhelmingly by this Assembly on 2 November be honoured both in the spirit and in the letter.

36. The United Kingdom has a long record of maintaining law and order, and it is its proud boast that it has always upheld both the form and the content of the United Nations Charter. It is earnestly hoped that it will display in this matter the same sense of realism and accede wholeheartedly to the resolution adopted by this Assembly.

37. We have before us a draft resolution [A/3308] which will in great measure help us to rectify the state of affairs that exists today. My delegation is co-sponsoring this draft resolution which is before the Assembly because it feels that unless this action is taken immediately the situation is likely to deteriorate further. My delegation also believes that its implementation will restore faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for the preservation of peace. It is my understanding that in this draft resolution the same principle of non-participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council in the United Nations emergency command is enunciated as in the interim report [A/3289, para. 4] of the Secretary-General and that this will apply in determining the composition of the body of the international police force. My Government also appreciates the application of this same principle in the establishment of the Advisory Committee, as set forth in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution [A/3308] before the Assembly. May I further note my Government's deep appreciation of the choice of the Secretary-General as chairman of this committee, for we all know the extremely heavy burden he is already carrying. His impartiality, sincerity and selfless devotion to duty is a shining example to all.

38. I would like also to state that, in order that the effects of the resolution which we adopted so overwhelmingly on 2 November may be fully implemented, it is necessary to adopt also, along with the present draft resolution another draft resolution [A/3309] which the Government of Ceylon has the honour to co-sponsor, together with a number of African-Asian nations. Since both draft resolutions would greatly help the cause of peace, I should like to place that other draft resolution also before the Assembly. It reads:

*"The General Assembly,*

*"Recalling its resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities on 2, 4 and 5 November 1956,*

*"Noting in particular that the General Assembly, by its resolution dated 5 November 1956, established a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of its resolution of 2 November 1956,*

*"1. Reaffirms the above-mentioned resolutions;*

*"2. Calls upon Israel once again to withdraw immediately all its forces behind the armistice lines established by the Armistice Agreement of 24 February 1949;*

*"3. Calls upon the United Kingdom and France once again immediately to withdraw all their forces from Egyptian territory, consistently with the above-mentioned resolutions;*

*"4. Urges the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the parties concerned and requests him promptly to report to the General Assembly on the compliance with this resolution."*

39. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): The second report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] of the Secretary-General marks a definite turning point in our efforts to restore peace to the Middle East. Much, however, remains to be done before we can even begin to relax our efforts. But it appears to us that we have now achieved our first objective, which was to bring about a cease-fire. We must turn immediately to our second objective, which is to arrange for the withdrawal of the armed forces of France, Israel and the United Kingdom from Egyptian territory. May I say that we think that there is no time to lose.

40. The United States welcomes the prompt action of the Governments which have responded to the request to supply personnel for an emergency international Force. This Force must be brought to Egypt just as soon as possible. As we have already made clear, the United States stands ready to co-operate in furnishing such assistance as airlifts, shipping, transports and supplies—and we are ready to give that assistance at this very moment.

41. The United States realizes that several points remain to be elaborated, both in the Secretary-General's second report and in the plan embodied in the draft resolution [A/3308] now before us. This is particularly true with regard to the nature and scope of the functions of the international Force and of the responsibilities imposed upon the Secretary-General and the Advisory Committee. The necessity for such elaboration, however, should not, and must not, be a pretext for delay. The United States has confidence in the Secretary-General and in the States which will comprise the Advisory Committee. We are certain that they will elaborate the above-mentioned points in the right way and as quickly as circumstances permit. We know that they can be trusted to perform their tasks with scrupulous regard for the principles laid down by this Assembly and for the interests of the States directly concerned.

42. If we are to accomplish our purpose, we must move quickly to carry out the plan embodied in the draft resolution. We must not hesitate, we must not falter at the last moment, and thus make possible new and even more serious complications. Speed is vital. I therefore hope that the Assembly will vote on this draft resolution just as soon as possible. At the same time, we should vote on the draft resolution [A/3309] just read out by the representative of Ceylon. It is consistent with the resolutions already adopted by the General Assembly, and the United States will vote in favour of it. We consider it important that there should be no delay in putting either of these draft resolutions to the vote.

43. Perhaps I may conclude by speaking of an essentially human matter. I refer to the victims of the military actions which have been undertaken in Egypt. Our hearts go out to those who have suffered as a result of the events of the last few days. Nor can I leave this rostrum without once again expressing our deep admiration for the competence, the speed, the intelligence and the determination with which the Secretary-General is discharging the heavy responsibilities that we have laid upon him. Seldom in human history has a man had such responsibilities imposed upon him, and I believe that we in this Assembly should, for our part, act with the same speed and determination as we expect and know we shall receive from the Secretary-General.



44. Mr. ENGEN (Norway): The outstanding feature of the way in which the Assembly has been dealing with the crisis in the Middle East has been, in our view, its determination to adopt a policy and adhere to it. This, of course, is the prerequisite for success if the policy is sound. My Government firmly believes that the policy which the Assembly has adopted is sound, and we have consistently given that policy our full support. We are also happy to have been able to contribute to the implementation of the policy by placing a military contingent at the disposal of the Chief of the United Nations Command.

45. The foundation of the above-mentioned policy was laid by the adoption, on 2 November, of the resolution [997 (ES-I)] submitted by the United States. As Members know, this resolution called upon all parties to agree to a cease-fire and to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines. At the same time, the Assembly called upon all Members to refrain from introducing military goods into the area and to refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the resolution. That was the basis upon which we proceeded to implement, or rather to facilitate the implementation of, the wishes so overwhelmingly expressed by this Assembly—namely, that the shooting should be stopped and the forces withdrawn whence they came.

46. In order to accelerate the attainment of those objectives, the Assembly in the early hours of 4 November [563rd meeting] adopted another resolution [998 (ES-I)] submitted by the delegation of Canada. Under that resolution, the Assembly was asked to take action in order to facilitate compliance with the previous resolution. The Assembly requested the Secretary-General to submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the first resolution.

47. At the same meeting, on 4 November, the Assembly adopted another resolution, submitted by nineteen countries [999 (ES-I)]. That resolution reaffirmed the call for a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces, and authorized the Secretary-General to arrange for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces into the area; it requested the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly within twelve hours.

48. The next step came on the night of 4 to 5 November when the Assembly received the Secretary-General's first report [A/3289], in which he proposed the establishment of a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces. I had the honour, along with the delegations of Canada and Colombia, to introduce a draft resolution [A/3290] embodying these proposals of the Secretary-General. As Members are aware, the General Assembly adopted this draft resolution [resolution 1000 (ES-I)] embodying the above-mentioned next step by the same overwhelming majority as it had given to the previous resolutions.

49. Today, we are asked by the Secretary-General in his second and final report [A/3302 and Add.1 to 7] to take another step to implement the Assembly's policy. The seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308] is warmly welcomed by my delegation, and we shall give it our full support. The measures proposed in it

seem to us to be fully justified, useful and logical in the context of our policy, and we think that these measures are well suited to the situation with which the Assembly is now faced.

50. We have just heard the text of another draft resolution [A/3309] read out by the representative of Ceylon. It would appear that this draft resolution is aimed at reaffirming our constant policy with respect to the withdrawal of forces from the area in question. My delegation will take its position on the draft resolution at a later stage, when it has seen the text.

51. At this meeting today we can look back upon a turbulent week. The stakes have been immense and the issues almost overwhelming. Today's actions and events and the events in the immediate future may prove that this General Assembly and the Organization has risen to the occasion. We may today lay the foundations for peace in that troubled area. If we succeed in that, we shall have reason to rejoice.

52. But let us not forget that the restoration of peace would mean that but half the mission had been accomplished. The second half of the mission is for this Assembly to see that justice is done. If we can come out of this crisis which so suddenly, although not quite unexpectedly, descended on the world with the ground-work done for a just peace in that area, then the Members of the United Nations will have done a good job. The task will be arduous indeed in this area where the problems are as abundant as the sands of its deserts. It is difficult to single out one problem, but I feel justified in saying today that the plight of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees in the area and the new thousands who have suffered in one way or another from this last conflict is a humanitarian problem of the first order which we should keep ever close at heart during these days, because we all know that justice is immediately dependent upon the fate of the innocent men and women whose only connexion with war is that they are the victims of it.

53. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): Nineteen Members sponsored the draft resolution which has been read out by the representative of Ceylon. I do not propose to dwell long on the preamble of this draft resolution, which is merely intended to remind us of the resolutions adopted by the special session of the General Assembly on 2 and 4 November. In the opinion of my delegation, those resolutions have not yet been promptly and effectively implemented; hence the need for the present draft resolution [A/3309].

54. Operative paragraphs 2 and 3 demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israel forces to behind the armistice demarcation line, and of the French and United Kingdom troops from Egyptian territory. My delegation wishes to emphasize the need for the immediate withdrawal of these forces, for without it no one could hope to re-establish real peace in the area. Failure to withdraw foreign forces from Egyptian territory would mean a continuation of unfavourable conditions in the Palestine area and in the Canal zone. The task of the United Nations is not only to order a cease-fire, but to protect the territorial and sovereign integrity of the individual Member States and to maintain peace.

55. It is with deep regret that I come to this rostrum this morning after so much destruction was caused in Egypt by the heavy military attacks launched against it. I am tempted to ask at this juncture why, if the

declared intention of the United Kingdom and France was to act as a shield between Egyptian and Israel fighting forces, they dealt death and destruction to Egypt and showered Israel with roses and perfume, and why, since the two big Powers yesterday signified their acceptance of a cease-fire, they did not accept this when it was first resolved in this Assembly, they would thus have avoided so much loss of life and damage to property.

56. Those Egyptian soldiers and civilians who died in the battle for survival and freedom in resisting the large forces used against them by two big Powers and by a third aggressive, expansionist Israel force, have won the honour of having defended their homeland to the utmost of their ability and have died as martyrs. Inasmuch as Egypt won the moral support of the overwhelming majority of nations in this Assembly, it now deserves our heartfelt sympathy for having so steadfastly sustained the severe attacks.

57. My delegation greatly appreciates the action taken by the Secretary-General pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of 4 November [999 (ES-I)], and this tempts us to urge the Secretary-General to communicate, when adopted, the draft resolution sponsored by the nineteen Powers to the parties concerned and to request him promptly to report to the General Assembly. This urgency emanates from the grave situation obtaining in Egypt and Palestine. Any delay would be to the detriment of peace. My delegation, therefore, appeals to the Members of this Assembly to adopt this resolution unanimously.

58. Turning now to the second and final report of the Secretary-General [A/3302 and Add.1 to 7] and to the draft resolution sponsored by seven Members of this Assembly relevant to that report, I wish to make the following remarks. There has been no indication so far as to whether Israel would be willing to accept the plan of a United Nations Force, but there has been a clear indication of its unwillingness to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines. On 4 November we heard the representative of Israel unilaterally denounce the Armistice Agreement concluded between Egypt and Israel under the auspices of the United Nations. On 4 November, the representative of Israel expressed his Government's refusal to withdraw its forces from Egyptian territory in the form of a questionnaire in a letter [A/3291] addressed to the Secretary-General. Bearing this in mind, and knowing that the United Nations Force, although para-military in nature, will not be a force with military objectives, my delegation finds that it is essential to secure an immediate and unconditional assurance from the Government of Israel that it will withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines before the United Nations Force enters upon its functions. This requirement is embodied in the draft resolution sponsored by the nineteen nations.

59. Furthermore, if we accept the assumption of the Secretary-General that the functions of this Force would cover an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the demarcation line established in the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel, this would presuppose the fulfilment of two conditions: first, the acceptance of Israel to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines, and secondly, when the withdrawal of these forces is completed, the position taken up by the United Nations Force must be astride the armistice demarcation line so as to act as a shield between Egypt and Israel.

60. There is one other point which my delegation wishes to make clear. Paragraph 8 of the report of the Secretary-General mentioned that the assignment of the United Nations Force should be determined by the needs arising out of the present conflict. I wish to state that the scope of these needs, according to my delegation's view, does not extend beyond the present area of hostilities between Egypt and Israel, and that it also does not touch on other basic issues of the Palestine question. This is our understanding of the task of the United Nations emergency Force and the field of its functions. It is in the light of this understanding that my delegation views the draft resolution of the seven members [A/3308].

61. Mr. PALAMAS (Greece). (*translated from French*): The cease-fire in Egypt, albeit belated, has caused a general feeling of relief. Blood has ceased to flow, and that is an essential first step to a gradual improvement in the situation. While the situation is still serious, there was a moment when world peace hovered on the brink of a precipice; it may be said that for the moment the immediate danger is not increasing.

62. This respite must be employed in the service of peace. We consider that our efforts are now entering a second phase, that of liquidating the aggression and its consequences. Its primary purpose is to restore the position as it existed prior to the start of military operations, that is to say to restore the *status quo ante*. All of us are vitally interested in restoring faith in international order, a faith shaken by recent tragic events. On the other hand, we must impress upon all the fact that aggression does not pay. Our Organization must do so, for in discouraging aggression as a military and political operation which might ultimately benefit the aggressors, we are effectively preventing the recurrence of similar tragic ventures in the future. Needless to say, the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops—all foreign troops—at present on Egyptian soil is a prerequisite to the restoration of the *status quo ante*. The enormous material damage and considerable loss of human lives sustained constitute a major debit item which will unfortunately remain in the balance sheet of this operation. My delegation expresses its sympathy to the Egyptian people for the sufferings which our Egyptian colleague so poignantly described from this rostrum a few moments ago. I am certain that, in response to his appeal, Greece will make every effort to help Egypt relieve the sufferings of the civilian population.

63. If the effort expected of us in the present phase should succeed we can then seek a solution to the broader problems which were to some extent responsible for the present conflict. However, we feel that that is more properly a matter for the General Assembly to take up at its eleventh regular session.

64. The Greek delegation thanks the Secretary-General and expresses its admiration for his effective action in the cause of peace and for the valuable services which he and his staff have rendered to the General Assembly. We are equally grateful to the delegations which have either initiated or supported the action to establish a United Nations Force to serve the cause of peace in the Middle East. We shall vote in favour of the seven-Power draft resolution on that subject [A/3308]. We shall also support the draft resolution which the representative of Ceylon read to us earlier [A/3309].

65. Mr. JARRING (Sweden): My Government finds it highly important, as has been stressed on numerous

occasions—recently by our Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Swedish Riksdag a week ago—that States have recourse to the United Nations for the solution of serious international conflicts. It is therefore to us a matter of grave concern when States disregard the United Nations and use methods which are hardly compatible with the principles of the Charter.

66. In the situation with which we were thus faced, it was only natural for us to support the decision by the Security Council<sup>2</sup> to bring the matter before the General Assembly, and we welcomed the action taken by the Assembly. We feel that the decision to set up an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities was a wise one, and the Swedish Government has declared itself prepared to contribute a military unit to that force. As will be seen from Annex 7 to the Secretary-General's report in document A/3302, my Government presumes that the task of this force will be limited to the objectives set forth in the resolutions passed by the General Assembly at the present session. It is our understanding that the tasks do not imply that the Force should remain stationed in the area for an unlimited period or pending the solution of political problems affecting that area. This understanding would seem to be borne out by the Secretary-General's report, which reads as follows:

"A closer analysis of the concept of the United Nations Force, based on what the General Assembly has stated in its resolution on the matter, indicates that the Assembly intends that the Force should be of a temporary nature, the length of its assignment being determined by the needs arising out of the present conflict." [A/3302, para. 8.]

67. The Swedish Government concurs in the views of the Secretary-General expressed in paragraph 12 of the report about the functions of the Force. Obviously this Force should not be despatched to the area in order to take over the tasks for which the United Kingdom and French forces were sent. Instead, the functions of the United Nations Force, when the parties have approved of the resolutions, should be to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government in order to secure the cessation of hostilities. I now have dealt with certain aspects of this report on which the Swedish Government have had special comments to make.

68. As to the report as a whole, I should like to state that we are in complete agreement with the conclusions reached by the Secretary-General on this matter. For this reason, we have gladly included Sweden among the States co-sponsoring this draft resolution [A/3308] to which my delegation hereby gives its full support.

69. Mr. RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT (Uruguay) (*translated from Spanish*): As has been stated a number of times this morning, with expressions of hope, there is every indication that, in consequence of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session, matters have taken a turn for the better in connexion with the situation which led to the convening of this first emergency special session. From the Secretary-General's report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] which is now before us it may also be gathered that the action of the United Nations, based on and outlined in the resolutions adopt-

ed by the General Assembly, is being carried out. We feel that we must express our entire satisfaction with the Secretary-General's report, which was placed before the Assembly this morning.

70. On other occasions during the debate I have expressed the views of my delegation and my Government concerning the problem before us, which consists, firstly, of the situation created by the ultimatum presented by the United Kingdom and French Governments to Egypt and the armed attack carried out against that country immediately upon expiration of the time-limit mentioned in the ultimatum; and, secondly, of the situation between Israel and Egypt, which has been aggravated as a result of the conflict of which we are aware. In our opinion this situation, as we have frequently said, is part of the broader problem of peace. I do not mean a truce or an armistice but the settled peace which we must eventually establish between Israel, Egypt and the other Arab countries. There is no need once again to expatiate on the grievousness of the problem, nor upon the necessity of finding a means for the peoples of the Arab and Jewish communities to enter upon a period of calm which would allow them to devote themselves to the works of peace and progress, for the sake of future generations, rather than of war and conflict.

71. The whole situation is further aggravated in Europe by the aggression committed against Hungary, an act the horror of which the whole world acknowledges. The General Assembly has already adopted a resolution [1004 (ES-II)] on that question. My country rejects aggression as a method, as a procedure, as a solution and as a possibility. The Secretary-General's report following upon the General Assembly resolutions concerning these matters demonstrates the existence of a force, hitherto only moral, but now also effective, of the United Nations, which is, in the words of the Preamble of the Charter: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

72. My Government, in accordance with the terms and injunctions of our Constitution which reflect our democratic system, will co-operate to the utmost in this United Nations action for the maintenance of peace in the face of any possibility of violence or any use of force which is not consistent with the limitations, principles and processes laid down in the United Nations Charter—that Charter which, after the great war for the liberation of the world from Nazism, created for future generations a new law, a new freedom, a new security and solidarity between nations and peoples.

73. As the Canadian representative said this morning, we are undoubtedly saving the world from a veritable catastrophe; we are saving it from catastrophe by the action of the United Nations; and we are saving it from a return to the methods of past centuries, that is to say, from the rule of force and from the arbitrary rule of the mighty over small nations struggling for their rights, their sovereignty and their integrity in order that the work of their peoples might be dedicated to real progress and in order that the mothers of the world, of whatever race, religion, belief or faith, should be able to devote themselves to their children without fearing every night that the forces of aggression and tyranny might once again threaten those they love.

74. All this shows that times have changed. The action undertaken by the United Nations means that it is no longer possible to return to the rule of arbitrary power

<sup>2</sup> See: *Official Records of the Security Council, eleventh year, 751st meeting.*



which has so often darkened man's path towards progress and stained the records of humanity with blood. I believe that the United Nations Force should be so organized that it can take immediate action to deal with any situation that may arise in the future.

75. We have had very little time to study the Secretary-General's admirable report and the draft resolutions before the General Assembly, especially that of the Seven Powers [A/3308], but our impression is that this draft resolution, like that previously presented at a recent meeting by the United States delegation [A/3256] concerning the method of achieving peace between Egypt and Israel outlines the course that the United Nations should follow.

76. We have not had time to give a thorough study to these draft resolutions or to communicate them to our Government. We shall vote for the draft resolution now before the General Assembly—we shall not only vote for it, we place our hopes in it, the hopes of all mankind faced with the possibility of aggression. We have, however, a few reservations to make—I do not mean that we oppose the draft resolution—but we have reservations with regard to paragraph 6 of the operative part. I wish to make it clear that I am not opposing or criticizing the draft resolution but merely examining the text which has been placed before the General Assembly. With regard to the membership of the Advisory Committee it seems to me that perhaps the representation of the European countries might have been differently conceived.

77. Some similar observations are applicable to the scope of the Advisory Committee's functions. I mention this only in passing since at the present time we must act quickly, to obtain a resolution which will set in motion the machinery of the United Nations and express the feelings of this General Assembly, which represents the conscience of the world, the guardian of the principles of justice, freedom and solidarity among the peoples in the face of any form of violence or aggression.

78. Mr. SERRANO (Philippines): We have before us the second and final report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7] of the Secretary-General, in compliance with the General Assembly resolution on the establishment of an emergency international police force [998(ES-I)]. We also have before us the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308], which appears to be an embodiment of most of the basic points set out in the Secretary-General's report.

79. Before proceeding to express briefly the views of my Government on the report of the Secretary-General and on the draft resolution before us, I must express first the profound appreciation of my delegation for the excellent work done by the Secretary-General. In an incredibly brief period of forty-eight hours, he was able to submit a thoroughly rounded report, a plan of organization including the principles which underlie it, a system of financing it, a plan for the recruitment of officers as well as an appraisal of the probable scope of the functions of the police force.

80. I associate myself with the views expressed by a number of delegations that the basic criteria of the functions of the emergency police force should be the resolutions that have been approved by the General Assembly. It is the view of my Government, therefore, that the main aims of the emergency international police force would be to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in the area, to secure an immediate agree-

ment of the parties to the cease-fire, to halt the movement of military forces into the area, to secure the prompt withdrawal of the armed forces of the combatants behind the armistice lines and the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreements. Incidentally, in the course of the performance of its task, the emergency international police force should preserve quiet in the area.

81. With this basic orientation, we may now examine the seven-Power draft resolution. In general, my Government does not find any difficulty in agreeing to it. However, I should like to call the attention of this Assembly to operative paragraph 1, which reads:

*"Expresses its approval of the guiding principles for the organization and functioning of the Force as expounded in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report."*

We are in complete agreement with the views expressed in paragraph 8 to the effect that the international police force should perform its task in the area without in any way exerting any influence whatsoever on the military balance and without permitting itself to be used as an instrument, either directly or indirectly, for the accomplishment of political objectives of the parties to the controversy in the area. We are, I repeat, in perfect agreement with these basic principles.

82. We are in agreement too with the greater part of paragraph 9 to the effect that the consent of the parties to the police force should be required. Paragraph 9 of the Secretary-General's report states that no part of the international police force should be stationed "on the territory of a given country without the consent of the Government of that country". Your attention, however, is called to the following sentence, which reads: "This does not exclude the possibility that the Security Council could use such force within the wider margins provided under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter." The possibility envisaged in that sentence, if I am not mistaken, is that of collective action under Chapter VII, which this body employed in Korea.

83. While fundamentally I am not in disagreement with this statement, I must state, with due respect to the Secretary-General, that it might perhaps have been better if the sentence were not included in the report. Reference to the possible use of force for collective action, even by authority of the Security Council, might create serious misgivings on the part of countries that intend to offer forces to the international police force. There can be no doubt that under the resolution which authorizes the Assembly to establish the international police force, the fundamental aim is merely to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. The possibility of the employment of the Force for collective action under Chapter VII of the Charter was far from the mind of the Assembly when it approved the establishment of such a force.

84. It is correct that the possibility set out in that sentence of the report of the Secretary-General will materialize only in the event of affirmative action by the Security Council. Nevertheless, mention of it here might create serious apprehensions in the minds of countries that might wish to contribute forces to the international police force, apprehensions that once such forces have been contributed by them and are actually in the area in the performance of their tasks, they may eventually be used by another organ of the United

Nations, without their prior knowledge and consent, for collective action.

85. Operative paragraph 1 of the seven-Power draft resolution, which approves the guiding principles contained in paragraphs 6 to 9 of the Secretary-General's report, might meet with the approval of my Government if this sentence were deleted, so as to forestall any apprehension on the part of my Government that any force it may be called upon, or decide, to contribute, for one purpose may thereafter be converted to another purpose.

86. May I also call the Assembly's attention to operative paragraph 3 of the resolution in so far as it refers to the "balanced composition" of the Force. We are in perfect agreement as regards the need for maintaining a balanced composition. But the term "balanced composition" is rather too obscure and its delimitation, in terms of size of contribution, by individual countries and in the relative preponderance of the forces by groups within the international police force itself, is a matter which requires careful attention on the part of the Secretary-General; and I dare say that this should be a problem which requires inclusion in the advisory function of the Committee contemplated by this resolution.

87. In considering the balanced composition of this international police force, I must say, with all candour, that we have to face realities. The combatants in the area now count on the moral or even physical support, of a number of countries. That we cannot deny. We are more or less conscious of the alignment of sympathies as far as the hostilities in progress in Egypt are concerned. Except, therefore for those who are actually in the controversy, countries who are not may contribute or may insist on contributing a part of their forces to this international police force.

88. I would therefore call the attention of the Advisory Committee as well as that of the Secretary-General to the fact that in determining this international police force, the need should be emphasized for avoiding any preponderance of any group—not only of any particular country—which may make the international police force suspect before the eyes of the world. It is therefore important that the balanced composition should not relate only to the size of the forces contributed by a country, but to the relative balance of the groups, taking into account the overt alignment of sympathies. This is essential if, as I said, this international police force should not be suspect before the eyes of the world in the performance of its task.

89. Therefore, in connexion with operative paragraph 6 of the resolution, my delegation would be happy, if the sponsors of the resolution will agree to consider the following suggestion of my Government. I do not offer it as a formal proposal, but am throwing it out as an idea for consideration by the sponsors. I suggest operative paragraph 6 be improved by including within the advisory task of the Committee the following (new text in italics):

"... whose Chairman shall be the Secretary-General, to undertake the development of those aspects of the planning for the Force, its operation and *functions, and adjustment of size and composition*".

90. As I have stated, it should not be merely the aspect of the planning of the Force and its operation within the strictly military character of the task that should be considered by the Advisory Committee and the Secretary-General. More important, I would say,

are the functions that it would perform. I do not know whether I should express this now or whether I am merely thinking aloud, but I hope this will in some way elucidate some of the misgivings that I have in mind on the functions of the international police force.

91. It is to be noted that this international police force will perform its task of supervising the cessation of hostilities—and I quote the resolution [1000 (ES-I)]: "In accordance with all the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November 1956". One of the terms of this last mentioned resolution [997 (ES-I)] is to see to it that the forces involved in the controversy shall withdraw to their respective armistice lines. May I remind the Assembly that in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General by General Burns, Israel has already made a categorical statement that it will not respect the Armistice Agreements? We are therefore face to face with a situation where the resolution calls upon the parties to withdraw to the armistice demarcation lines, and the international police force has been created with a view to performing this function. The function therefore contemplated for this international police force will bring it into grips with political and military objectives, as far as it is possible to imagine it at this time. It is thus necessary that the question of the functions, not to speak of the possibility of constant adjustment of its composition, should be one that will fall within the advisory task of the Committee and the Secretary-General, and not merely the matter of planning and operation of the Force.

92. With these reservations, my Government will consider this draft resolution as another concrete step taken by this body in the implementation of its decision of 2 November. May I express the hope that the Secretary-General, in the performance of the administrative aspects related to the creation of the international police force, together with the Advisory Committee envisaged in the resolution, will be in a position to steer their way clear in the pursuit of those objectives calculated to bring peace again to the area, to the end that the United Nations may be able to assert its influence in any country and may have its prestige preserved for the peace of the world.

93. Mr. ASHA (Syria): This august body adopted its first resolution [997 (ES-I)] as early as 2 November, [562nd meeting] calling on all parties involved in hostilities in the area to agree to an immediate cease-fire. The General Assembly also called on Israel to withdraw its armed forces behind the demarcation line. It called on the United Kingdom and France not to land their aggressive forces in Egypt. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority of sixty-four votes. Only the aggressors and their accomplices voted against it. What was the result? The aggressors intensified their attacks and began large-scale slaughter of innocent civilians—men, women and children—in the cities and the suburbs.

94. In the face of this blatant defiance of the terms of its first resolution, the Assembly met again to consider the communications addressed to the Secretary-General by Egypt and the three aggressors. Only Egypt accepted the United Nations appeal. France and the United Kingdom landed their troops on Egyptian soil and, together with Israel, went on intensifying their murderous attacks. The General Assembly met on 3 November [563rd meeting] and adopted the nineteen-Power resolution [999 (ES-I)] calling again on the aggressors to cease fire and to halt the movement of

military forces and arms into that area. We anxiously awaited the replies until the expiration of the time specified in the resolution. The Secretary-General extended the time limit, still in the hope of receiving favourable replies from those who were waging war. Then he issued his report. Only Egypt, the victim, accepted the terms of the resolution and the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom said that they continued to "maintain their view that police action must be carried through urgently to stop the hostilities which are now threatening the Suez Canal, to prevent a resumption of those hostilities and to pave the way for a definitive settlement of the Arab-Israel war, which threatens the legitimate interests of so many countries". [A/3267, para. 3.]

95. The Assembly is aware of the conditions laid down by France and the United Kingdom. These conditions, which have no relation to the injunctions of the General Assembly embodied in its four resolutions, have been introduced as a diversionary measure to confuse world public opinion while the aggression continued unchecked.

96. In the course of the same meeting, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [998 (ES-I)] submitted by the Canadian delegation, which requested the Secretary-General to "submit to it within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities" in accordance with the terms of the previous resolution. Again, the aggressors rejected the General Assembly's resolution. The Assembly demanded an unconditional cease-fire. The aggressors, on the other hand, paid no heed to our demand; instead, they have flung at us new conditions in an attempt to stultify our efforts towards peace.

97. Today they come before us to parade as loyal Members of this Organization, having accepted a cease-fire injunction from this Assembly. But they have done so after having realized, to a certain degree, their objective. As the Assembly is aware, their overwhelming forces succeeded in landing troops in the Suez Canal area, and it was after they had accomplished this, at a very heavy price in human blood, that they accepted the cease-fire call of this Assembly. Let us now ask them, what happened to the Assembly's call upon them to "halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area"? The answer, naturally, will be, that is our policy—the answer which we have invariably received to each call we have made upon them to desist from their aggressive venture.

98. Now, what is the situation? True, there is a cease-fire, but also there are occupation troops in Egypt and in the Gaza Strip. The Gaza Strip was occupied by Israel armed forces. According to the second report of the Secretary-General [A/3284] of 4 November, Israel has prohibited the entering of United Nations military observers into the Gaza area. According to a cablegram dated 4 November 1956 from the Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) addressed to the Secretary-General, 218,169 Arab refugees are living in that area. This cablegram called the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the area will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of its task of assisting Governments to care for the Palestine refugees. It stressed urgently that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence

other than provided for them by the United Nations. According to other United Nations official sources, the Gaza Strip area has nearly one-fourth of the total of more than 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. It has 100,000 more Arabs who have been living on Egyptian Government relief and who cannot be cared for by UNRWA. According to its officials, UNRWA has neither the funds nor the obligation to assume responsibility for an additional 100,000 destitute Arabs. 99. The Sinai Peninsula also was occupied by the armed forces of this aggressor. Two more islands are said to have been occupied by Israel in the Red Sea. Israel, which has made its easy conquest through French and United Kingdom assistance, is castigating any projected intervention of the United Nations as "meddling" in its affairs. The official spokesmen for Israel emphasize that Israel has no intention of withdrawing from Sinai. They declare that the Israel-Egyptian armistice agreement is finished and dead. Today Mr. Ben-Gurion declared before his Parliament that Israel would accept no foreign troops in any area under its occupation. The Assembly can draw its own conclusions from this declaration.

100. France and the United Kingdom are now imposing terms on Egypt for settlement of the Suez Canal question, whereas only two days ago they maintained that their intervention was aimed at separating the hostile parties. Israel also, with matchless insolence, is setting terms for a separate peace with Egypt. Never has an international organization, never has the rule of international law been so bluntly defied. It has become crystal clear that France and the United Kingdom are determined to continue flouting the decisions of the General Assembly, as reflected in the four resolutions adopted so far. Their imperialist aims, which they have attempted to screen with cynical lip service to peace in that area, have been laid bare by the course of their military actions, by their overt defiance of this august Assembly and of peace-loving peoples all over the globe. It was their conviction that a swift and heavy blow at the Egyptian armed forces would realize their objectives. They were optimistically anticipating that, once these had been achieved, they would be able to whitewash the stain of dishonour which now discolours their countries' reputation.

101. I wish to turn now to the most immediate business before us, namely, the Secretary-General's report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7]. Before I deal with this report, it is my duty to express to the Secretary-General, on behalf of my delegation, our deep appreciation of his indefatigable efforts in the cause of peace in the Middle East. After a preliminary study of the Secretary-General's report, my delegation wishes to advance the following remarks. It is clear that, when this Assembly adopted the resolution to establish a United Nations emergency international Force, it did so with two precise objectives in view. The first was to effect a cessation of hostilities; the second, to ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, and of Israel's forces behind the armistice line. This was what the first resolution of the General Assembly called for, and what the subsequent resolutions on the emergency international Force were supposed to implement.

102. This is the central point from whence we can proceed. Thus, in discussing the functions of this United Nations Force, a primary question arises in our mind. Has it authority to ensure that both objectives provided for in the first resolution adopted by the

Assembly will be realized? In respect to this, the Secretary-General states the following in his report:

"There is an obvious difference between establishing the Force in order to secure the cessation of hostilities, with a withdrawal of forces, and establishing such a Force with a view to enforcing a withdrawal of forces." [A/3302, para. 10.]

This statement leaves no doubt in one's mind that, if the aggressive Powers refuse to heed the order of the General Assembly to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory and, in the case of Israel, behind the armistice line, the United Nations emergency international Force will stand helpless before such a situation. Egypt then will have been presented with a *fait accompli* and will have been deprived of its right under the Charter to defend its independence and its sovereignty.

103. We cannot but express the deepest misgivings concerning this question. We feel that it should be clarified before we give the Secretary-General's report our full endorsement. We wish to make it clear that we are not criticizing the Secretary-General's views, which may be sound in law, but we cannot accept any plan for a United Nations emergency international Force which is not predicated on the prior fulfilment of the two basic objectives of the first resolution of this Assembly. If it is truly the desire of France, Israel and the United Kingdom to respect the decisions of this august body, then let them solemnly declare today that they are ready to withdraw their forces immediately, in order to facilitate the task of the United Nations Force. France and the United Kingdom have stated several times, in official *communiqués* and through their representatives, that once an international Force is ready to take over they will immediately withdraw. Let us see now whether they will honour their word.

104. As for Israel, it is declaring unabashedly that it will not withdraw from an inch of territory conquered by it—or, to put it more accurately, conquered for it by France and the United Kingdom since without the assistance of these Powers it would not have ventured on its ambitious and arrogant course. But we are confident this time that the Assembly, which has by an overwhelming majority called upon the ungrateful State to withdraw behind the armistice line, will see to it that this is done, and done without delay. As the Members of this Assembly can observe, our fears on the question of withdrawal are legitimate fears. Everything indicates, at least with regard to Israel, that it does not intend to comply with the Assembly's decision on this point. For this reason, we will not be able to support any plan for an international Force unless our fears regarding the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt and the withdrawal of Israel behind the armistice line are convincingly dispelled.

105. According to the Canadian resolution adopted on 4 November 1956 [998 (ES-I)], the emergency international United Nations Force is to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with the terms of the General Assembly's resolution [997 (ES-I)] of 2 November 1956. By virtue of this second resolution of the General Assembly, priority is given to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area. Again, the resolution [999 (ES-I)] of the General Assembly of 4 November 1956 notes the special priority given to an immediate cease-fire and

to the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area. Now that a cease-fire, many times ordered by this august Assembly, is prevailing in Egypt, priority must be given, according to its two resolutions just mentioned, to the halting of the movement of military forces and, more specifically in the present situation, to the withdrawal of French and United Kingdom troops which have already landed in violation of the two resolutions, from Egyptian territory, on the one hand, and on the other to the withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice lines. Such a priority given to the halting of the movement of military forces, or the withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces, has to be taken duly into account in the Secretary-General's report. This is one of the fundamental aspects of the problem with which we are dealing. A cease-fire which ignores this fundamental aspect is destined to failure.

106. Furthermore, the emergency international United Nations Force, as its name indicates, should be of a temporary nature. The emergency international Force should be limited to the objectives set out in the resolutions of 4 and 5 November, and these do not imply that the Force should remain in the area for an unspecified period of time or pending the solution of the political questions affecting the area. We are in agreement with the conditions stipulated by the Swedish Government in its letter dated 5 November 1956, from its permanent representative [A/3302, annex 7]. This was equally our understanding when we voted in favour of the establishment of an emergency international Force, as well as the understanding, we believe, of the Secretary-General. We also understand that the emergency international Force will be confined to the Armistice demarcation line, once the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice line are completed.

107. A nineteen-Power draft resolution [A/3309] in conformity with the essential principle on which, in the opinion of my delegation, the action of the General Assembly must be based in dealing with this question, has already been circulated. This principle is the complete and immediate withdrawal of French and United Kingdom forces from Egyptian territory, on the one hand, and the immediate withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice line, on the other. The implementation of this fundamental requirement must precede the establishment and functioning of the United Nations emergency international Force. In our considered opinion, therefore, the nineteen-Power draft resolution should be given priority over any other draft resolution and voted upon first. We fear that if such a course is not followed the United Nations emergency international Force will be faced with difficulties of the utmost importance, which it will be unable to solve.

108. Mr. SUDJARWO (Indonesia): When we met in this emergency special session a little more than two nights ago and discussed the setting up of an United Nations emergency international Force to enforce and supervise the cessation of hostilities in terms of our resolution of 2 November [997 (ES-I)], grave as the situation still was, one then entertained a slight hope that these constructive measures would persuade France, Israel and the United Kingdom not to repudiate that resolution any longer. I indicated at that time that it would be really senseless for the United Kingdom and France further to endanger and aggravate the situation by continuing their bombardment and by car-

rying through the landing of forces in the Suez Canal zone. Strong appeals were addressed to these States to stop their military operations, to agree to an immediate and unconditional cease-fire, to heed the General Assembly's call and to honour their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations,

109. Instead, in the past two or three days, France and the United Kingdom intensified their attacks upon several Egyptian cities and objectives, and dropped paratroops and landed forces at several points along the Canal zone. The fighting became more widespread. The loss of life and destruction of property took place on an even greater scale. The war launched against Egypt and within Egyptian territory was, in short, relentlessly extended and intensified. News reaching us from the battlefield gave evidence of this further aggravation of the situation, causing large-scale devastation, including heavy loss of life among the civilian population. Here is what one correspondent, Mr. Charles Arnot, wrote in the *New York Journal American* of 5 November 1956:

"If this isn't war, then somebody better tell the foreign correspondents in Cairo. Those bombs that boomed around us on the Egyptian countryside today had the same terrifying whistle and crunch and smell of death that accompanied those the Japanese dumped on us at Guadalcanal and the ones the Germans flung down on London".

This correspondent, en route back to Cairo, described how "eight fighter-bombers swooped and dived to see along the road we took the devastation left by Friday's big bomber attack on the Abu Zabaal prison, seventeen miles east of Cairo, where at least ninety persons were killed and more than a hundred injured", trapped helplessly when British bombers swooped down upon them.

110. We also have the authoritative report from General Burns to the Secretary-General, dated 5 November, which may be found as an annex to the third report of the Secretary-General, document A/3296. General Burns reports that, according to messages received from Colonel Ely and Mr. Gordon, "a bomb fell on the main railway line 500 metres north-east of Cairo Central Station and within 200 yards of the United Nations Information Centre", and "intense fighter-bomber action was observed in the area of Abusetha barracks, which is located in a densely populated area". It was heartening to know that the Egyptian Government and people were gallantly fighting the invaders, defending every inch of their territory and the life of their country in a most determined manner. To that spirit of freedom I should like to pay tribute.

111. We should not retreat in any way from the enforcement of a resolution which we have adopted almost unanimously as providing an immediate means, and a just means, for meeting so grave a situation, so flagrant a breach of the peace. The moral forces of the world should be increasingly rallied to give immediate and complete effect to our resolutions.

112. Yesterday, news reached us which may change the situation and be the beginning of a peaceful settlement. We were told that France, Israel and the United Kingdom are now prepared to cease fire and stop military operations against Egypt. But they are, of course, already in Egyptian territory. While appreciating their decision to cease fire and end the military operations,

we have been given no indication yet that these States are ready to comply fully with all the provisions of the resolution of 2 November. Moreover, a cease-fire alone is not sufficient to meet the situation. As has often been pointed out, and rightly so, in connexion with this question, a cease-fire and a withdrawal of forces are interrelated. The cessation of fighting should be accompanied by a withdrawal of the invading forces, as called for by the letter and the spirit of the resolution of 2 November. They are the twin measures imperative for restoring peace in the area. A cease-fire without at the same time a withdrawal of the invading forces can in fact have no real meaning for the victim of aggression. Under such circumstances, the mere cessation of fighting would mean nothing less than occupation of Egyptian territory by foreign forces. We cannot allow the continuation of such a hazardous situation. It therefore remains the duty of this Assembly to secure from the attacking parties full compliance with the terms of its resolutions and their meaning, so as to achieve those conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and security in the area. By moving and landing troops in Egypt, the United Kingdom and France have already violated the resolutions of this Assembly, and the presence of their forces now on Egyptian territory is therefore contrary to the will of this Assembly. They should therefore be immediately withdrawn with the cessation of hostilities.

113. That is why my delegation has co-sponsored with eighteen other nations the joint draft resolution [A/3309] introduced by the representative of Ceylon and now before this Assembly. I sincerely hope that this draft resolution will soon be adopted.

114. I also cannot fail to call the attention of this Assembly, as has already been done by the representative of Norway, to the fate of the Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip in particular—additional innocent victims of the tremendous damage caused by the invading forces. The Director-General of UNRWA has cabled the Secretary-General in document A/3283 that the continuation of unrest and hostilities in the Gaza Strip will inevitably affect adversely the carrying out of the Agency's mandate as given by the General Assembly, and he urgently stressed that the majority of the refugees have no means of subsistence other than those provided for them by the United Nations—and this, indeed, is not much. Certainly, this tragic humanitarian problem should be a matter for our constant attention, too. I should therefore like to make a formal request to the Secretary-General to keep an eye constantly on this situation, to find ways and means to meet the situation in co-operation with UNRWA and other relevant agencies, and to report to us thereon as appropriate.

115. At the same time, in view of the great devastation and the widespread loss of life suffered by the population of Egypt, to which our sympathies should go, I should like to draw the attention of this Organization to the relief work needed to alleviate the suffering of the Egyptian people who are the victims of this war of aggression. The Secretary-General of the United Nations may indeed be in a position to co-ordinate such relief works with those of appropriate specialized agencies. My delegation may, if necessary, table a formal draft resolution to that effect at a later stage of our proceedings in this special session.

116. With respect to the plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, I wish to express,



first of all, the great appreciation of my delegation for the admirable and expeditious manner in which the Secretary-General has discharged the request made of him in the Assembly resolution of 4 November 1956. In his report [A/3302 and Add. 1 to 7], the Secretary-General has touched upon many important and intricate questions which deserve our closest attention and study. From the very outset, it should be pointed out, as I have already indicated in my previous statement on this matter, [565th meeting] that, under the terms of reference of the resolution of 2 November, the functions of this international United Nations Force include the withdrawal of all non-Egyptian forces. Indeed, the report of the Secretary-General notes that securing the cessation of hostilities includes also the withdrawal of the invading forces, although the report does not state that the United Nations Force would enforce such a withdrawal of foreign troops. Yet, it should be clear to all that, in the light of the fact that the international United Nations Force was to be set up to secure and supervise compliance with all the terms of the resolution of 2 November, it would serve no real purpose to set up such a Force without any clear indication that the three parties concerned are ready and willing to withdraw their forces from Egyptian soil.

117. Secondly, it is obvious that this international United Nations Force should be so composed that it can carry out its functions without prejudice to the political issues which may lie behind this conflict, and certainly in the spirit of the Assembly's resolution. In this respect, I should like to stress the importance of paragraph 8 of the Secretary-General's report wherein it is stated that the international United Nations Force would be, in the first place, of a temporary nature. It is an emergency measure indeed. Moreover, it is stressed in that paragraph of the report that "there is no intent in the establishment of the force to influence the military balance in the present conflict and, thereby, the political balance affecting efforts to settle the conflict". I fully support the Secretary-General's conclusion that:

"By the establishment of the Force, therefore, the General Assembly has not taken a stand in relation to aims other than those clearly and fully indicated in its resolution of 2 November 1956."

Another and related point which should be stressed is

that, as the Secretary-General rightly notes, the emergency international United Nations Force would in no way be a military force temporarily controlling the territory in which it is stationed, but would enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government in order to secure and supervise the enforcement of a cease-fire, the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops, and compliance with the other provisions of the resolution of 2 November—all these functions being carried out in co-operation with local authorities. And surely this international Force has been set up without prejudice to the question of the Suez Canal. Its task ends as soon as the objectives of this Assembly's resolution are fully achieved. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Egypt can in no way be compromised by the existence of this—even temporary—international Force and by its carrying out of its functions.

118. The report of the Secretary-General brings to the forefront many other vital questions which deserve further study and consideration. In that respect, I feel that there is practical merit in the suggestion of the Secretary-General to establish a small committee of the General Assembly to explore further several open matters and, at the same time, serve also as an advisory committee to the Secretary-General for questions relating to the operations. However, such a small committee would, of course, have to be composed in a manner fully compatible with, and observant of, the spirit lying behind the resolution adopted on 2 November, as well as the establishment of an international United Nations Force. In this spirit my delegation will view the seven-Power draft resolution [A/3308] and in general my delegation supports the ideas contained therein. However, it should be adopted together with the adoption of the nineteen nations' draft resolution [A/3309] on the withdrawal of forces, and I would support the suggestion of the representative of Syria that that nineteen-nation draft resolution be accorded priority in the voting.

119. In conclusion, I should also like to endorse strongly the Secretary-General's that this Assembly should proceed to action forthwith on all points where a urgent significance to the further development of the plan and the fulfilment of peace is possible now.

*The meeting rose at 1:25 p.m.*