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CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(FIFTEENTH SESSION)

RELEASE ON DELIVERY

PRESS RELEASE NO. 27
December 5, 1960.Press Office,
750 Third Avenue,
YU 6-5740

Statement on United Nations Activities in the Congo (ONUC)
Supplementary Estimates for the Financial Year 1960,
by Mr. E. L. M. Burns,
Alternate Delegate, in the Fifth Committee on December 15, 1960

Mr. Chairman,

My Delegation considers that the question of providing adequate financial support for the operations of the United Nations in the Congo is one of the most important facing member nations during the present Session. Indeed, the issue may be as vital as any other which the organization has been called upon to face. This is not merely a financial and budgetary matter. It is a political question which transcends differences of national interest and is inescapably related to the reason for the existence of the United Nations. If a satisfactory solution can be found, the organization will be greatly strengthened; if not, consequences of a most serious nature could follow.

No delegation here can be unaware of the occasions when the United Nations has failed to live up to the hopes of its founders in the field of political action for collective security. The underlying premise of the Charter, particularly Chapter Seven, that the Great Powers would act unanimously to ensure the preservation of peace, has not proven true for well known reasons. The original peace-keeping machinery envisaged fifteen years ago in the Charter has therefore been of limited usefulness. The nations of the world have paid a price for this in the continuing risk of war and in the growing anxiety which this has engendered.

Nevertheless, nations have sought, within limits imposed by the United Nations Charter and by the hard facts of international life, to provide effective substitute means for keeping the peace in troubled areas. It is very encouraging that in most recent situations the machinery for containing local threats to the peace has developed within the framework of the United Nations. In this way the nations of the world have been enabled to call upon the services of countries which obviously had no narrow national purposes to serve but wished only to strengthen and extend the authority and influence of the United Nations. Frequently, the acquiescence and even the

support of the great Powers was given although not in the spirit of unanimity presupposed by the Charter.

Each crisis which the United Nations has faced has called for a particular response based on the prevailing political circumstances. Nonetheless, a pattern for peace-keeping has gradually emerged, of immediate significance and value but also of far-reaching importance to the international community and to all nations prepared to abide by the developing rules for international co-operation. Typical of this pattern are the present activities of the United Nations in the Congo. In this instance, following a broad directive from the Security Council, the Secretary General appealed to middle and small powers to provide the required troops. The governments of these countries, many of whom are struggling to develop economically, were able to respond immediately to this request only on the assumption first that they would be reimbursed by the United Nations for additional costs incurred and second that the United Nations and not themselves would meet the day to day costs of the operation.

Following this pattern, many of the responsibilities for peace and security which the Charter sought to place on the Great Powers have been transferred to a growing number of Middle and Small Powers. By agreement, actual armed forces of the Great Powers have been excluded from these United Nations peace-keeping operations although certain Great Powers have provided many of the essential facilities and services. The burden of providing personnel and much of the equipment, has fallen on Middle and Small Powers; nevertheless, the political and financial responsibility for the operations has rested on the United Nations as a whole. Every member state has an interest in the efforts of the United Nations to maintain peace and security and none can evade the United Nations responsibility for pursuing those aims.

What I have been describing is a pattern of international order which the United Nations has been developing during the past decade. I ask members of the Committee to recall how often in that decade we have owed the preservation of peace to the success of that development.

There are those member states who have witnessed this unfolding pattern with hostility. They have seen it as a growing obstacle to the promotion of selfish national interest. They have attempted, and are attempting, to distort the pattern and disrupt the process while it is still developing.

...em vringend nooit te zijn ten ogen gekomen dat een dergelijk voorval zou kunnen

...vallen. Deze gedachte was niet alleen van mij, maar ook van de anderen die er bij waren.

Wat hebben we daar nu aan? Zeg maar dat het niet meer kan!

Wij waren dan ook verplicht om de zaak te behandelen en dat deden wij.

Naar ons oordeel was dit een goed besluit, want wij wisten dat wij

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They are using various means to hinder or destroy what the majority of members have been trying to create. They are withholding their own financial support. They are advocating that the United Nations as a whole, acting through the General Assembly, should neither assume financial responsibility for this nor, apparently, for future peace-keeping operations. The Canadian Delegation believes that there should be no mistake about this. The question which all of us engaged in this debate must face and which we must decide is whether the member states who are assembled here are in truth willing "to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security" in order to save "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". For if we are firm in our resolve to take effective collective measures to maintain international peace, then it follows that the important machinery for keeping peace, which the United Nations has been developing to meet urgent needs, must be allowed to function. If this machinery is to function we must all accept, support and develop procedures which will make available the financial and military resources which are required to enable our organization to implement its own decisions. Otherwise all attempts to contain local threats to the peace will have to take place outside the framework of the United Nations. Middle and Small Powers will be only too aware of the implications of this possible development.

If our organization is not able to provide the financial and military resources which are required to implement its own decisions, the United Nations will not only be unable to exercise any influence for peace but the very future of this organization may be in jeopardy. The interest that peoples, parliaments and governments show in this organization will inevitably weaken if the United Nations no longer lives up to its peace-keeping responsibilities.

We have heard advanced in this Committee the argument that the Assembly should not approve the supplementary estimates which are now before it. It is argued that it is the Security Council which is responsible for arranging to meet the financial consequences of the activities of the UN in the Congo. Apparently it is envisaged that the Security Council should negotiate bilateral agreement with individual member states concerning the armed forces, facilities and financial assistance to be provided by each member state. Those who advocate this approach seem to base their case on Article 43 of the Charter.

It is true that Article 43 did indeed place responsibility on the

Security Council to reach agreements with member states which would enable the Security Council to take rapid action as provided in Chapter VII of the Charter. Other articles of the same Chapter provide for the earmarking of contingents (Article 45) and for military plans to be drawn up by the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members (Articles 46 and 47). It was provided in Article 47 that the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members would provide strategic direction for the armed forces which were placed at the disposal of the Security Council according to agreements with it. In a report submitted to the Security Council in 1947 by the Chiefs of Staff it was envisaged that the force at the disposal of the Security Council would include troops from all permanent members.

It is clear from Article 43 paragraph 3 that Chapter VII envisaged that this machinery, including the necessary agreements with member states concerning the provision of troops, would be negotiated and established as soon as possible after the Charter was signed. As we all know the Security Council has so far been unable to negotiate these agreements and establish this machinery because of the absence of agreement between the five permanent members. Therefore and precisely for this reason the Security Council decision to come to the assistance of the Government of the Congo could not possibly have been taken under Article 43. It is quite irrelevant to quote this article in connection with the supplementary estimates before us. The relevant articles are Article 24 according to which member states agree that the Security Council acts on their behalf and Article 25 according to which member states agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council.

For many years Middle and Small Powers have been looking forward to the day when the five permanent members will be able to settle many of their differences. At such a time the machinery envisaged in Article 43 may be established. Only in such circumstances can we meaningfully and usefully discuss the precise interpretation of Article 43. Thus the contention that Article 43 is meant to apply to the provision of financial as well as military assistance is not only quite wrong; it is irrelevant to the present debate.

My Delegation believes Mr. Chairman, that the injection into this debate of considerations relating to Chapter VII of the Charter only serves to indicate that some member states are attempting to distort and disturb the UN peace-keeping machinery which a majority of member states have had to

develop outside the framework of Chapter VII.

If we are to maintain the peace-keeping machinery we have been developing it is clear, as many previous speakers have pointed out, that we must carefully avoid the financial precedent of UNEF. The method we adopted in 1956 has failed to provide financial resources in the amount required by the organization's political decision to maintain UNEF at its present level.

As we know, many states have not contributed to the UNEF special account because, rightly or wrongly, their parliaments and governments do not believe that they are obliged to contribute to such an account in the same way that they are obliged to contribute to the other expenses of the organization. My Delegation believes experience has made it evident that a procedure which follows the UNEF precedent--whether or not the special account is assessed--simply will not produce the required resources. Moreover, a large portion of the announced voluntary contributions towards expenses of the organization in the Congo have been made on the assumption that the financial precedent of UNEF would not be followed. I would strongly support, therefore, the view expressed by the distinguished delegates of Tunisia, Argentina and others that the General Assembly should carefully avoid the financial precedent of UNEF.

In the complete absence of any other workable procedure, the United Nations as a whole--acting through the General Assembly--must continue to assume full financial responsibility for supplementary estimates such as are now before us. This means that such cost estimates must continue to be recognized as an expense of the organization under Article 17. To this end, my Delegation believes that the best, most obvious and most simple step would be to have such costs contained in a section of the organization's/budget.

Many member states for understandable financial reasons may be most concerned about the possible magnitude of future bills arising out of Security Council decisions. I believe one delegate has mentioned the possibility of a future action of the size of Korea. I think it would serve to ease our apprehensions if we were to recognize that in the last analysis decisions of the Security Council can never place a financial burden on member states larger than the Advisory Committee and the General Assembly are able to approve and able to apportion. In the unlikely event that such a situation

were to occur the Security Council decision would have to be adjusted to meet the financial resources which the General Assembly was able to make available. In the instance now before us there have been no indications since the Assembly gave its overwhelming approval of the operation at the beginning of this session that this Assembly would not be able to fully accept and apportion the expenses of the Congo force. If there had been doubts on this score, this Committee would have had this item as the first on its agenda.

My Delegation is confident that, this Assembly will approve and apportion the expenses which are necessary to maintain this operation of the UN in the Congo. If we cannot approve and apportion a bill of this size, we will never be able to maintain the peace-keeping machinery we have been developing so painstakingly during the past decade.

The supplementary estimates which are now before us amount to \$60 million (if the recommendations of the Advisory Committee are accepted). Of course, in comparison with what actual warfare would cost, the amount is trifling. In comparison with what the world at large may already have been saved through the prevention of war, the amount is insignificant. Is \$20 million a year, for example, an exorbitant sum to pay for the calm and stability which UNEF has brought to the Middle East? I have had the honour and responsibility of acting for three years as Commander of UNEF, appointed by the General Assembly, and I think I can say that the benefits to the nations of the Middle East most immediately concerned, as well as the safeguard which UNEF provides against incidents flaring up into open warfare endangering peace far beyond the Middle East borders, are well worth the sums which UNEF has cost, and which may be needed for 1961 and later. Would \$100 million a year, in the Congo be a vast sum to pay to bring about stability in that important part of Africa, I think not. These sums probably represent a minimum price which should be paid for preserving peace in those troubled parts of the world.

Considered in this light the amounts are small. Considered by themselves, of course, they are large. Many representatives here, perhaps the great majority, will accept my analysis of the issues at stake in this debate. Yet when it comes to apportioning these expenses of the organization, no matter how firmly they support the principle of collective responsibility for the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, as established through procedures

1. The first step in the process of socialization is the family.

2. The second step is the school, which is a formal institution.

3. The third step is the peer group, which is a informal institution.

4. The fourth step is the mass media, which is a formal institution.

5. The fifth step is the religious institution, which is a formal institution.

6. The sixth step is the political system, which is a formal institution.

7. The seventh step is the economic system, which is a formal institution.

8. The eighth step is the legal system, which is a formal institution.

9. The ninth step is the medical system, which is a formal institution.

10. The tenth step is the military system, which is a formal institution.

11. The eleventh step is the scientific system, which is a formal institution.

12. The twelfth step is the technological system, which is a formal institution.

13. The thirteenth step is the cultural system, which is a formal institution.

14. The fourteenth step is the sports system, which is a formal institution.

15. The fifteenth step is the leisure system, which is a formal institution.

16. The sixteenth step is the political system, which is a formal institution.

17. The seventeenth step is the economic system, which is a formal institution.

18. The eighteenth step is the legal system, which is a formal institution.

19. The nineteenth step is the medical system, which is a formal institution.

20. The twentieth step is the military system, which is a formal institution.

21. The twenty-first step is the scientific system, which is a formal institution.

22. The twenty-second step is the technological system, which is a formal institution.

23. The twenty-third step is the cultural system, which is a formal institution.

24. The twenty-fourth step is the sports system, which is a formal institution.

25. The twenty-fifth step is the leisure system, which is a formal institution.

which the Charter provides, the size of the supplementary estimates before us may represent too large a burden for those member states who are struggling to develop economically and who can ill afford to divert resources from urgent economic and social activities.

We believe that it may relieve many understandable apprehensions if we were to all recognize clearly that although we accept these supplementary estimates of \$60 million as an expense of the organization under Article 17, it by no means follows that we must all bear a share of this \$60 million equal to our share under the scale of assessments. Article 17 says that the General Assembly shall apportion the expenses of the organization among member states. It is quite in order for the Assembly to devise a separate method of apportioning that part of the expenses of the organization relating to the UN activities in the Congo. The other expenses of the organization would continue to be financed strictly in accordance with the scale of assessments.

On the question of apportioning such costs as are now before us, my Delegation adopts a pragmatic approach. The important thing is not to adhere over the years to any given method of apportioning such costs but to ensure that each member of the organization always bears a fair share, bearing in mind the particular circumstances.

Let us now turn to the specific instance now before us, i.e. the cost estimates for the UN operations in the Congo in 1960. Since my delegation believes that the magnitude of these costs is burdensome to member states, it is very encouraging indeed that the costs to be borne by the organization have, on certain assumptions, been reduced from \$60 million to about \$49 million. This reduction has been made possible by the willingness of three great powers not to request reimbursement for certain services supplied. As a result the burden on the shoulders of the general membership has been reduced by almost 20 per cent.

Delegates may wish to know at this point whether the Canadian Government intends to follow the example set by those three great powers which have foregone reimbursement for certain air transport services provided to the United Nations. I would like briefly, Mr. Chairman, to explain the views of my Government on this question.

Mr. Chairman, Canada has provided troops, equipment and air transport

to the United Nations operations both in the Congo and in the Middle East. As we know, member states provide troops to the UN on the understanding that they will be reimbursed by the UN for any extra pay and allowances paid to troops for serving abroad. Since, unlike the troops of some other nationalities, Canadian troops receive only a small overseas allowance,--\$20 per man per month I believe--the Canadian Government would stand to receive little remibursement from the UN in respect of extra pay and allowances. Canada did, however, provide equipment to UNEF on the clear understanding that the UN would provide some reimbursement. Unfortunately, the UN has never been in a position to honour this commitment because of the precarious state of the UNEF special account to which so many member states have failed to contribute. The Canadian Government has nevertheless continued to pay its full cash assessment to UNEF and it has not availed itself of rebates made possible by voluntary contributions. Moreover, Canada agreed to provide air transport services for the Congo when requested by the Secretary General, on the understanding that the UN would provide suitable remimbursement.

The Canadian Delegation believes that the record of Canadian contributions to UN peace-keeping operations has been respectable. We have provided concrete evidence of our strongly-held and long-standing belief in the need for Middle and Small Powers to uphold the ability of the UN to maintain international peace and security. Now the Canadian Delegation has received strong appeals from many quarters to do more.

I am happy to announce that my government, after careful consideration, has decided to respond to these appeals in the expectation that this response will encourage other Middle and Small Powers to demonstrate, by their decisions during this debate, that they also have faith in the future of this organization. The Canadian Government is prepared to offer to forego its claims on the organization for the costs of certain air transport facilities provided to move troops into the Congo. These costs amount to about \$650,000 which is a significant sum for a country of our size. This offer is made on the assumption that the General Assembly will continue to regard such cost estimates as are now before it as expenses of the organization under Article 17.

(I would like to say at this point Mr. Chairman, that in view of this organization's present acute shortage of cash, my Government would be prepared to give immediate consideration to any request by the Secretary-General

that my Government make an advance payment of about one and one-half million dollars towards Canada's assessed share of the expenses of the organization in respect of 1961.)

The question that remains is how the General Assembly shall apportion the reduced costs of about \$48-49 million which remain to be borne by the general membership in respect of the supplementary estimates now before us. On this question the Canadian Delegation believes strongly that the scale of assessments strikes an equitable balance between important principles. We believe particularly that it reflects to a very great extent the ability to pay of member states. For example, according to our calculations the more than 70 less-economically-developed countries pay less than 20 per cent of the United Nations budget. If the scale of assessments were applied to the reduced sum of about \$48 or 49 million, representing the net costs of the Congo operation, these more than 70 member states would be assessed only about \$8 million dollars altogether. The more than 30 member states assessed at the floor of .04 per cent would pay less than \$20,000 each. The Canadian Delegation would therefore urge all member states who are able, to contribute a share of the net Congo expenses equal to their share under the scale of assessments. In this way Middle and Small Powers would be able to maintain their influence in the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

Having said this, my Delegation nevertheless has great sympathy for those members who find themselves unable to subscribe fully to that scale when extraordinarily large financial burdens are imposed on the organization.

In order to meet the views of these delegates, my Delegation believes that it would not be difficult to devise a method of apportioning these expenses which would ease considerably the burden of those member states who would be unable to pay a share equal to their share under the scale of assessments. The Canadian Delegation has noted with appreciation the generous offer of the United States Government to contribute voluntarily up to \$4 million on the understanding that this sum will be used to make possible in respect of every member having a limited capacity to pay; a reduction of 50 per cent in the amount otherwise payable under the scale of assessments. My Delegation is confident that there are no technical difficulties lying in the way of such an approach, according to which one particular portion of the expenses of the organization would be apportioned by the General Assembly in a

to fill the gap between the two groups of students.

It is also important to note that the two groups of students have different backgrounds.

Both groups of students have different backgrounds, but they are not necessarily the same.

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different way from the remaining expenses of the organization.

In the view of my Delegation, therefore, the solution to this problem both this year and in future years must be sought along two lines. First, there must be a solution consistent with the Charter: member states must continue to regard such estimates as are now before us as expenses of the organization under Article 17. At the same time this particular portion of the expenses of the organization--in this case those representing the costs of the Congo operation--must be apportioned by the General Assembly in a way which takes into account the practical difficulties which a number of members will face if the total costs are allocated according to the scale of assessments.

Only in this way can this Assembly vigorously reaffirm its political support for collective decisions to keep the peace. Only in this way can we protect the principle that all of us have a stake in every attempt by the United Nations to save ourselves and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Only in this way can we maintain the peace-keeping machinery which a large majority of member states have so painstakingly developed.

My Delegation is confident that this Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly will rise to the level of its responsibilities.

