



*Monday, 3 December 1951, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Palais de Chaillot, Paris*

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*Chairman : Mr. Finn MOE (Norway).*

**Methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter : report of the Collective Measures Committee (A/1891)**

[Item 18]\*

**GENERAL DEBATE**

1. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee would continue consideration of items 1 and 2 of its agenda (items 66 and 16 of the General Assembly agenda) when it had received the report of the sub-committee set up at the 461st meeting.

2. He opened discussion on item 3 of the agenda (item 18 of the General Assembly agenda) and invited the Brazilian representative to present the report of the Collective Measures Committee (A/1891).

3. Mr. MUNIZ (Brazil), Chairman of the Collective Measures Committee, said that in their work the fourteen members of the Committee had been guided rather by the terms of reference given them by the General Assembly than by instructions from their respective Governments. Some differences of opinion had been smoothed out during the discussions and the Committee had adopted its report unanimously, thus expressing its members' profound belief that the United Nations system of collective security must be extended and strengthened.

4. In its conclusions, the Committee recognized that a more thorough study by the United Nations in consultation with governments and international bodies was needed in regard to the problems relating to the application of economic, financial and military measures. The Committee had not attempted to distinguish between measures which would be appropriate to prevent or remove threats to the peace and those designed to punish acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. It would be for the Security Council or the General Assembly to choose from among the measures which the Committee had studied or from among any other forms of action they deemed appropriate.

5. The report contained, above all, a study of the measures, methods and procedures which might help the United Nations to co-ordinate the resources of Member States in the event of a breach of the peace or of acts of aggression. The replies from Member States to the recommendations in General Assembly resolution 377 A (V) had been a source of encouragement to the Committee in its work and had served as a basis for the study of the problems arising from co-ordination of contributions from Member States to collective action.

6. The Committee had carefully studied the experience gained during the United Nations action in Korea and had submitted the results of that study in annex IV to the report. The annex drew attention to a number of problems which could have been solved more successfully and endeavoured to find new ways of achieving the desired results.

7. Above all, the Committee had striven to lay the bases of a system which could be used in the most varied situations and conditions. United Nations collective action should be shared in by as many Member States as possible. Its immediate purpose should be to assist a State which had become the victim of aggression to defend its territorial integrity and political independence.

8. The Collective Measures Committee was of the opinion that if the United Nations wished to conduct military operations successfully, it would have to be able to designate an executive military authority at the same time as, or immediately after it had decided to resort to the use of armed forces. That authority should be in a position to act rapidly and take immediate steps as soon as a breach of the peace or an act of aggression occurred. The question as to which State or group of States should be designated in a particular case would, of course, depend on the political and military circumstances.

9. When the United Nations undertook collective military measures, it should recognize its humanitarian responsibility and give relief and assistance to the civilian population. Accordingly, the Organization should decide as soon as possible which authorities should be responsible for providing the means of, and for giving such relief and civilian assistance as the military operations made necessary.

\* Indicates the item number on the General Assembly agenda.

11. The Committee had given great attention to the practical consequences of Article 103 of the Charter, and had emphasized that it was of importance that States should not be subjected to legal liabilities under treaties or other international agreements as a consequence of carrying out United Nations collective measures. It had made no attempt to envisage a definite situation in which the Security Council or the General Assembly might decide to recommend the application of collective measures, and it had not done so for the simple reason that there were never two absolutely identical situations. Because of the diversity of economic conditions, that was particularly true so far as economic and financial measures were concerned. In that connection, the Committee had made a conscientious analysis of the experience of the League of Nations and of the problems of co-ordination which the allied countries had had to face during the Second World War. It had also found interesting lessons in the concrete examples of economic co-operation provided by the resolutions of the Inter-American Conference on Systems of Economic and Financial Control, held at Washington in June and July 1942. It had paid particular attention to the problems of equitable distribution of the economic burdens resulting from joint action among the Members of the United Nations would create.

12. In interpreting its terms of reference, the Committee had realized that it was not called upon to replace by a new system the one contemplated under the Charter. It had proposed only to place means of maintaining international peace and security at the disposal of the United Nations pending the conclusion of agreements under the terms of Article 43. The Committee's report emphasized that in simultaneously adopting resolution 377 A (V) and resolution 377 B (V), the General Assembly had aimed at proceeding in a manner whereby the development of the Organization's security system contemplated in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution should not be incompatible with the Security Council's functions, and should not affect either the Council's responsibilities or the earliest possible implementation of the provisions of Article 43 and related Articles of the Charter.

12. The report of the Collective Measures Committee obviously did not represent the last word on the subject of collective security and collective action by the United Nations. Members of the Committee were very anxious to learn the views of the delegations not represented on it.

13. In the final analysis, the idea of collective security proceeded from the will to organize peace and to prevent war by the concerted efforts of the international community. It was not an instrument designed to maintain the *status quo*. Furthermore, it should not be confused with a system of alliances against any Power or group of Powers.

14. The collective security system which the United Nations was endeavouring to establish presupposed the existence of a method of peaceful settlement of disputes, making peaceful political, social and economic development possible. The system of collective security outlined in the report was therefore not static, but dynamic and was only a part of the wider system contemplated under the Charter. If the system of collective security were to represent anything more than an alliance, it should be open to all peaceful States and not be directed against any particular Power. It should represent a combination of all the forces of the international community desiring peace and endeavouring to create a system of international order on the basis of persuasion and freely concluded agreements. Such a system did not aim at solving all the complicated problems of the transitional period through which humanity was passing; such problems transcended any system of organization of forces. It could, however, ensure the conditions of peace under which humanity would be in a position to establish an international order in conformity with the desires and aspirations of the present generation.

15. Mr. Muniz appealed to all members of the First Committee to continue to study the question in an exalted spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.