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THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. L.M.H. BARNETT (Jamaica)

1. By a letter dated 19 September 1969 (A/7654), the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR requested the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled: "The strengthening of international security".
2. In this letter the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR stated that in view of the main trends in the development of international relations during the period following the Second World War and especially in recent years, it was urgent that the United Nations should step up its efforts to discharge its fundamental responsibility - the maintenance of peace and security. The Soviet Government stressed that the importance of this task of the Organization, which was set out in its Charter, was made clearly evident by the fact that, despite the "successes of peace-loving forces" in their efforts to prevent a world war, acts of aggression still occurred, the suppression of the national liberation movements of peoples continued, thousands upon thousands of lives were being lost and properties were being destroyed. With States in possession of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the escalation of conflicts was fraught with still graver consequences to mankind. In view of the increasingly evident need for strengthening international security the General Assembly should take a decision which would set out the requirements, the fulfilment of which would effectively promote the strengthening of peace. Such a decision should be

addressed to all States, both Members of the United Nations and those which for one reason or another did not take part in its activities but which were obliged to act in conformity with the requirements of strengthening international peace, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations.

3. Attached to the Soviet letter was a draft "Appeal to all States of the world" on the strengthening of international security, which was subsequently submitted to the First Committee (see paragraph 7 below).

4. On 24 September 1969, at its 1764th plenary meeting, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee, decided to include the item in its agenda and to allocate it to the First Committee for consideration and report.

5. The First Committee considered the item at its 1652nd to 1668th meetings, held between 10 and 28 October, and at its 1720th and 1722nd meetings, held on 11 and 12 December 1969.

6. A draft appeal and three draft resolutions and three amendments were submitted to the First Committee.

7. On 8 October, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft appeal to all States of the world (A/C.1/L.468) which was introduced by the representative of the Soviet Union at the 1652nd meeting, on 10 October 1969.

The text read as follows:

"Assembled in its twenty-fourth session on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory over the fascist aggressors in the Second World War, the General Assembly focused its attention on the question of the general state of international security and the strengthening of that security.

"It was guided in its deliberations by the fact that the United Nations was established a quarter of a century ago by nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security.

"It bore in mind, in its deliberations, that the maintenance of international peace and security and the adoption, to that end, of collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression are a major task of the United Nations, set out in its Charter.

"Mindful of the fact that all States Members of the United Nations have assumed, under the Charter, the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means, to refrain 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, and that it is their duty strictly to fulfil these obligations;

"Bearing in mind also that, under Article 2, paragraph 6, of the Charter, the United Nations ensures that States which are not its Members act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security;

"Having considered the important and urgent question of the strengthening of international security;

"The General Assembly appeals to all States of the world, both Members of the United Nations and those which are not Members of the Organization or which for one reason or another do not take part in its activities.

#### I

"The General Assembly notes with satisfaction that for more than two decades the States and peoples have been able to prevent the outbreak of a new world war. This is a great achievement of the peace-loving forces and a great success of the United Nations in attaining its lofty aims.

"However, this is only a partial success. There is no world war, but there is no stable peace on earth either.

"Armed attacks on independent States are occurring in various parts of the world and attempts are being made to revise the results of the Second World War, which ended in victory over the fascist aggressors.

"The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not yet been fully implemented, and crude military force is being applied to keep the remaining colonies and dependent Territories under control and to suppress the national liberation movements of their peoples.

"Thousands upon thousands of lives are being lost and the property created by many generations is being destroyed.

"The arms race is going on on an unprecedented scale, assuming especially great dimensions in the production of weapons of mass destruction, and it diverts enormous quantities of funds and material resources.

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"The peoples have no firm confidence in their security and they cannot concentrate their efforts exclusively on the achievement of peaceful objectives - economic and cultural development and improved well-being.

"The world is still living in an atmosphere of international tension.

"In the circumstances obtaining today, and particularly now that States possess nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, a widespread military conflict would inevitably have the direst consequences for all mankind.

"The strengthening of international security requires a fresh collective effort, fresh initiatives and fresh action. These must be undertaken by all States Members of the United Nations, by all the States of the world. The fate of the world today and tomorrow and the fate of future generations largely depend on these actions.

## II

### "The General Assembly

"1. Firmly and resolutely declares that in order to strengthen international security it is necessary, above all, to ensure without delay:

"the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of action by the armed forces of some States against other States and peoples defending the independence they have won as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, and their territorial integrity;

"the cessation of all measures for the suppression of the liberation movements of the peoples still under colonial rule and the granting of independence to all such peoples;

"observance by States of the decisions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of occupation troops from foreign territories;

"2. Declares that the actions of States which do not observe the requirements laid down in paragraph 1 above constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

## III

### "The General Assembly

"Declares further that in the interest of strengthening international security it is necessary for all the States of the world:

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"to be guided in their foreign policies by the vital interests of all peoples in preserving peace and strengthening international security;

"strictly to abide in their international relations by the principles of peaceful coexistence of States irrespective of their social system - the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of each State, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the rights of all peoples freely to choose their social system;

"to settle all disputes between them exclusively through peaceful means without the use or threat of force.

IV

"The General Assembly

"1. Expresses the conviction that regional security systems in the various parts of the world, based on the joint efforts of all States of the areas concerned, set up and acting in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, can promote the strengthening of international security;

"2. Calls upon all States to study the question of such effective regional security systems with a view to adopting measures for their establishment.

V

"The General Assembly

"1. Recalls that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security has been conferred by States Members of the United Nations on the Security Council, and that the Members of the United Nations have undertaken to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council;

"2. Submits for consideration by the Security Council the following recommendations:

"to consider the general state of international security at its periodic meetings convened at the level of members of Governments or other specially designated representatives, as provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, with a view to elaborating urgent measures to strengthen it;

"to take, where necessary, effective practical steps against acts of aggression, using, whenever required, the full powers vested in the Security Council by the United Nations Charter.

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VI

"The General Assembly

"1. Reaffirms that in order to strengthen international security it is of great importance to formulate a generally acceptable definition of aggression, agree on the principles of friendly relations and co-operation of States and arrive at an understanding on United Nations peace-keeping operations on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter;

"2. Invites the special committees of the United Nations responsible for consideration of the questions referred to in the preceding paragraph to intensify their efforts with a view to the earliest possible submission of their proposals and recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.

VII

"The General Assembly

"1. Calls upon all States of the world to inform the General Assembly and the Security Council of the steps which they will undertake in connexion with this Appeal for the strengthening of international security;

"2. Resolves to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-fifth session the item entitled 'Progress in the implementation by States of measures for the strengthening of international security';

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to transmit this Appeal to the Governments of all States of the world."

8. On 9 December Finland submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.505), which its representative introduced at the 1720th meeting, on 11 December. Its text read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the question 'The strengthening of international security' included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly on the proposal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/7654),

"Noting that, as has been shown by the constructive and extensive debate on this subject, Member States attach great importance to the question of the strengthening of international security,

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"Noting further the general desire of Member States to continue consideration of this question with a view to formulating appropriate recommendations on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations,

"Bearing in mind that according to the Charter of the United Nations the maintenance of international peace and security is the primary purpose of the Organization,

"Recognizing that while for more than two decades general war has been prevented, a state of insecurity continues to prevail in international relations,

"Considering therefore that the strengthening of the collective security system provided for by the Charter of the United Nations is of vital importance,

"Convinced of the urgent need to improve the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security,

"Recognizing that recommendations regarding the primary purpose of the United Nations must reflect the joint interests of the international community as a whole,

"1. Considers that appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security should be formulated by the General Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations;

"2. Draws the attention of Governments to the proposals and statements made in the course of the consideration of the item entitled 'The strengthening of international security';

"3. Invites Governments to inform the Secretary-General of any observations on this subject they may have as well as of any steps they may undertake in order to strengthen international security;

"4. Draws the attention of Governments to the desirability of intensifying regional co-operation in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations as a means of strengthening international security;

"5. Invites the Security Council to consider the possibility of convening periodic meetings, after adequate preparation, at the level of members of Governments or other specially designated representatives as provided for in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter with a view to elaborating measures to strengthen international security;

"6. Invites the special committees of the United Nations responsible for the consideration of the questions of the definition of aggression, the principles of friendly relations and co-operation between States and peace-keeping operations in all <sup>its</sup> aspects, as well as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, to continue their efforts with a view to an earliest possible submission of their proposals and their recommendations to the General Assembly;

"7. Recommends the inscription in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled 'Review of measures on the strengthening of international security'."

An amendment to this draft resolution (A/C.1/L.505), submitted by Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia, was introduced at the 1720th meeting on 11 December by the representative of Kuwait (A/C.1/L.507). The amendment read as follows:

"Add a new sixth preambular paragraph as follows:

"Recognizing that military occupation and the acquisition of territory by force have aggravated the situation of insecurity and international tension'."

9. On 10 December, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.506), which was introduced by the representative of Barbados at the 1720th meeting, on 11 December. The text read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having in mind its responsibilities in the matter of international peace and security under Articles 11 and 12 of the Charter of the United Nations,

"Recalling that primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred by the Charter on the Security Council,

"Believing that international security is dependent upon the development of a world legal order based on justice and the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations,

"Having considered the question 'The strengthening of international security' included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent matter (A/7654),

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"Noting that the constructive and extended debate on this item has emphasized the great importance which Member States attach to the strengthening of international security,

"Deeply concerned at the continuance of the arms race, which diverts substantial human and material resources from the urgent social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind and in itself constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security,

"Desiring that the twenty-fifth year of the Organization's existence should be marked by new initiatives to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind,

"Convinced of the urgent need to make the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security,

"Recognizing that recommendations regarding the primary purpose of the United Nations must reflect the interests of the international community as a whole,

"1. Invites Governments to study the proposals and statements made during the consideration of the item 'The strengthening of international security';

"2. Requests Governments to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals on this subject not later than 1 May 1970 and also of any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security;

"3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item entitled 'Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security';

"4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received pursuant to operative paragraph 2 of this resolution."

An amendment to this draft resolution (A/C.1/L.506), submitted by Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia, was introduced at the 1720th meeting on 11 December by the representative of Kuwait (A/C.1/L.508). The amendment read as follows:

"Add a new fourth preambular paragraph as follows:

"'Considering that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter'."

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10. On 12 December, a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.511) was submitted by Argentina, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela, and subsequently co-sponsored by Honduras (A/C.1/L.511/Add.1). The representatives of Barbados and Finland introduced this draft resolution at the 1722nd meeting on that date. The text read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having in mind its responsibilities in the matter of international peace and security under Articles 11 and 12 of the United Nations Charter,

"Recalling that primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred by the Charter on the Security Council and that Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter envisages the possibility of convening periodic meetings of the Council in the exercise of that responsibility,

"Believing that international security is dependent upon the development of a world legal order based on justice and the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations,

"Having considered the question 'The strengthening of international security' included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent matter (A/7654),

"Noting that the constructive and extended debate on this item has emphasized the great importance which Member States attach to the strengthening of international security,

"Deeply concerned at the continuance of the arms race, which diverts substantial human and material resources from the urgent social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind and in itself constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security,

"Desiring that the twenty-fifth year of the Organization's existence should be marked by new initiatives to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind,

"Convinced of the urgent need to make the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security,

"Recognizing that recommendations regarding the primary purpose of the United Nations must reflect the interests of the international community as a whole,

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"1. Believes that on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations the General Assembly should consider appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security;

"2. Invites Member States to study the proposals and statements made during the consideration of the item 'The strengthening of international security';

"3. Requests Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals on this subject not later than 1 May 1970 and also of any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security;

"4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item entitled 'Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security';

"5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received pursuant to operative paragraph 3 of this resolution."

At the 1722nd meeting, on 12 December, an amendment to operative paragraph 5 of this draft resolution (A/C.1/L.511) was orally submitted by the representative of Iraq by which the words "with his comments" would be inserted in the first line after the word "report". The representative of Barbados, supported by the representative of Finland, on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.511, stated that its operative paragraph 5 clearly implied that the Secretary-General might make any comments which were within his competence under the Charter. The representative of Iraq subsequently withdrew his oral amendment to operative paragraph 5 on the understanding expressed on behalf of the sponsors.

11. At the 1722nd meeting held on 12 December, the representative of Kuwait, on behalf of the sponsors of amendments A/C.1/L.507 and A/C.1/L.508 to draft resolutions A/C.1/L.505 and A/C.1/L.506, respectively, stated that they would not press them to a vote. At the same meeting, the Chairman announced that the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.468, A/C.1/L.505 and A/C.1/L.506 would not press their resolutions to a vote. The Committee adopted the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.511 by acclamation (see paragraph 13 below).

12. The representative of Cuba stated that, had the draft resolution been put to the vote, his delegation would have abstained.

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RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

13. The First Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

The strengthening of international security

The General Assembly,

Having in mind its responsibilities in the matter of international peace and security under Articles 11 and 12 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling that primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is conferred by the Charter on the Security Council and that Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter envisages the possibility of convening periodic meetings of the Council in the exercise of that responsibility,

Believing that international security is dependent upon the development of a world legal order based on justice and the strict observance by all States without exception of the principles of the United Nations,

Having considered the item entitled "The strengthening of international security" included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent matter,<sup>1/</sup>

Noting that the constructive and extended debate on this item has emphasized the great importance which Member States attach to the strengthening of international security,

Deeply concerned at the continuance of the arms race, which diverts substantial human and material resources from the urgent social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind and in itself constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security,

Desiring that the twenty-fifth year of the Organization's existence should be marked by new initiatives to promote peace, security, disarmament and economic and social progress for all mankind,

Convinced of the urgent need to make the United Nations more effective as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security,

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<sup>1/</sup> A/7654.

Recognizing that recommendations regarding the primary purpose of the United Nations must reflect the interests of the international community as a whole,

1. Believes that on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations the General Assembly should consider appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security;

2. Invites Member States to study the proposals and statements made during the consideration of the item entitled "The strengthening of international security";

3. Requests Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals on this subject not later than 1 May 1970 and also of any measures they take for the purpose of strengthening international security;

4. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its twenty-fifth session an item entitled "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security";

5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received pursuant to paragraph 3 above.

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