



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/32/94  
31 May 1977  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

Thirty-second session  
Item 37 of the preliminary list\*

CONCLUSION OF A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Letter dated 27 May 1977 from the Permanent Representative  
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United  
Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the letter dated 27 May 1977 from Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, concerning the question of the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly under item 37 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY  
Permanent Representative of the USSR  
to the United Nations

\* A/32/50/Rev.1.

ANNEX

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR addressed  
to the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the  
question of the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of  
force in international relations

The Soviet proposal concerning the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations has evoked a broad positive response throughout the world. At its thirty-first session the United Nations General Assembly, after discussing and generally endorsing this Soviet initiative, invited States Members of the United Nations to examine further the draft Treaty submitted by the Soviet Union and to offer their views and suggestions on this question, so that it could be considered further at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

The Soviet Union considers that the intervening period has fully confirmed the urgency and importance of concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and that it has become necessary to take specific steps to do so without delay. This would promote the vital interests of all States - both large and small - and would be in the interest of the strengthening of international peace and security.

Over the six decades of its existence, the Soviet State, consistently pursuing a Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, has persistently sought to outlaw the use of force from the practice of international relations, to put an end to armed conflicts and to save mankind from the threat of war. The improvement in the international situation which has occurred in recent years is creating better prospects for the attainment of these goals. At this stage, it is the important and urgent task of all peace-loving forces to make the maximum use of all the existing prerequisites for averting new crisis situations and reinforcing the positive trends on the international scene.

As is generally known, the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations has gained wide recognition as one of the basic norms of international relations and has been reflected in the Charter of the United Nations, the Final Act of the All-European Conference, the decisions of the summit meetings of non-aligned States and other extremely important international instruments. It is also obvious, however, that there are still deviations from this principle in the policy of individual States, with consequences which are dangerous for the cause of peace. A number of hotbeds of tension still exist in the world, and new ones appear from time to time. The growing arms race is fraught with serious danger for the fate of mankind. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, it is necessary in these conditions to adopt without delay additional measures designed to ensure the strict implementation of the principle of the non-use of force and the transformation of that principle into an immutable law of international relations.

/...

Another reason why efforts must be concentrated primarily on strengthening the principle of the non-use of force is that the consistent observance of this principle by all States will make it possible to strengthen such extremely important bases of contemporary international relations as the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in internal affairs, and peaceful settlement of disputes. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force will create favourable conditions for curbing the arms race and advancing on the road to disarmament.

If the principle of the non-use of force were to acquire the form of a treaty obligation, and were to be given concrete expression and developed, this would undoubtedly increase the responsibility of all States parties to such a treaty for the strict observance of this principle. Such a measure would be in accordance with the growing and fully justified international practice of concluding treaties and agreements designed to implement the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the specific obligations derived from those principles.

The draft World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations proposed by the Soviet Union for consideration by all States Members of the United Nations was formulated on the basis of precisely this approach. In accordance with this draft Treaty, all parties thereto undertake not to use in their mutual relations, or in their international relations in general, force or the threat 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. At the same time, nothing in this Treaty affects the rights and obligations of States under the United Nations Charter and treaties and agreements concluded by them earlier. It is obvious that any State which is the victim of aggression may in complete conformity with its right of individual and collective self-defence, established in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, repulse that aggression and struggle to eliminate its consequences.

The Treaty also does not infringe the inalienable right of colonial peoples to struggle for their freedom and independence using all means available to them.

At its thirty-second session, the United Nations General Assembly will be faced with the important task of moving on to practical measures to prepare and conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. This task follows directly from the United Nations Charter, Article 11 of which actually empowers the General Assembly to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security and to make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members of the Organization.

The Soviet Union expects that States Members of the United Nations, after making a detailed and thorough analysis of the Soviet proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, will adopt a constructive position and make their own positive contribution to the practical realization of this proposal.

/...

For its part, the Soviet Union announces its readiness to enter without delay into an agreement with other States on a mutually acceptable text for the treaty.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force will have a deep and fruitful impact on the solution of basic international problems and in particular will help to create favourable conditions for the cessation of the arms race and the implementation of effective disarmament measures. The conclusion of the treaty will serve as a powerful stimulus for the settlement of existing disputes and disagreements between States by peaceful means and will enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. The treaty will be an important factor in developing co-operation between States in all areas of peaceful activity for the benefit of peoples. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force will without fail bring mankind closer to the time when it will be possible to eliminate for ever the threat of war and aggression and to ensure a lasting peace on earth.

A. GROMYKO  
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR

-----