



## General Assembly

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/39/761  
12 December 1984  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session  
Agenda item 143

### INADMISSIBILITY OF THE POLICY OF STATE TERRORISM AND ANY ACTIONS BY STATES AIMED AT UNDERMINING THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM IN OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES

#### Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Ngaré KESSELY (Chad)

#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. In a letter dated 27 September 1984 addressed to the Secretary-General (A/39/244), the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requested the inclusion of a supplementary item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" in the agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.
2. At its 27th plenary meeting, on 9 October 1984, 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.
3. The Committee considered the item at its 57th to 62nd meetings, from 4 to 7 December (A/C.1/39/PV.57-62).
4. In connection with item 143, the First Committee had before it a letter dated 5 December 1984 from the Permanent Representative of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of the Communiqué on the Meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, held in Berlin on 3 and 4 December 1984 (A/39/763-S/16849).

## II. CONSIDERATION OF PROPOSALS

5. On 16 October, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" (A/C.1/39/L.2). The draft resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Expressing its profound alarm that the policy of State terrorism has lately been practised ever more frequently in relations between States and that military and other actions have been taken with a view to undermining the socio-political system of sovereign States,

"Noting that all this poses a serious threat to the independent existence of States and negates the very possibility of ensuring a peaceful nature for relations and mutual trust between them and leads to a sharp exacerbation of tensions and a growing threat of war,

"Reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples to decide their own destiny and to determine the course of their development independently,

"Convinced that the interests of maintaining peace require that no ideological differences should be introduced into relations between States, which should be built on the basis of strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations as well as generally recognized principles and norms of international relations, as reaffirmed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the decisions of the Conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung and forums of the Non-Aligned Movement, in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in other relevant international instruments,

"Categorically rejecting the concepts of a 'policy from a position of strength', 'crusades', 'psychological warfare' or any other concept intended to justify actions of States aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other States,

"On behalf of the United Nations,

"1. Resolutely condemns the policy and practice of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other States and peoples;

"2. Demands that all States take no actions whatsoever aimed at a forcible change in or the undermining of the socio-political system of sovereign States, the destabilization and overthrow of their legitimate Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever, and cease forthwith any such action already in progress;

"3. Urges all States to respect and strictly observe the right of peoples to choose their socio-political system freely and without outside interference and to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development independently."

6. At the 57th meeting, on 4 December, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics introduced a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1), which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Expressing its profound concern that State terrorism has lately been practised ever more frequently in relations between States and that military and other actions are being taken against the sovereignty and political independence of States and the self-determination of peoples, particularly with a view to undermining the socio-political system of States,

"Noting that all this seriously endangers the independent existence of States and the possibility of ensuring peaceful relations and mutual trust between them and leads to a sharp exacerbation of tensions and a growing threat of war,

"Reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples freely to determine their own destiny and the course of their development,

"Convinced that the interests of maintaining peace require that relations between States, regardless of ideological differences, should be based on strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations as well as generally recognized principles and norms of international relations, inter alia, renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, the self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial domination, foreign occupation or racist régimes,

"Categorically rejecting all concepts or doctrines intended to justify actions of States aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other States, in contradiction to the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States,

"1. Resolutely condemns State terrorism as a method of dealing with other States and peoples;

"2. Demands that all States take no actions aimed at a forcible change in or the undermining of the socio-political system of States, the destabilization and overthrow of their Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever, and cease forthwith any such action already in progress;

"3. Urges all States to respect and strictly observe, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty and political independence of States, the right of peoples to self-determination as well as freely to choose their socio-political system and to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development without outside interference."

7. On 4 December, Germany, Federal Republic of, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland submitted amendments (A/C.1/39/L.91) to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1, which were later sponsored also by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy and Japan. The amendments read as follows:

(a) "Insert a new preambular paragraph before preambular paragraph 1 of the present draft:

'Reaffirming the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any States as well as the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion and constraint of any kind whatsoever,';

(b) "Delete the end of preambular paragraph 1 after the words 'self-determination of peoples';

(c) "Delete in preambular paragraph 4, line 2, the words 'ideological differences'. Replace them by the word: 'ideologies'. Delete the rest of the paragraph from 'particularly renunciation ...';

(d) "Delete in preambular paragraph 5, line 2, the words 'aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other States';

(e) "In operative paragraph 1, replace the words 'States terrorism' by the words 'policies and practices of terrorism in relations between States, in particular the threat or use of force and armed intervention';

(f) "In operative paragraph 2, delete the words 'a forcible change in or the undermining of' and replace it by the words 'intervening in';

(g) "In operative paragraph 3, line 4, delete the word 'interference' and replace it by 'intervention'."

8. On 4 December, the Bahamas, Cameroon, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Singapore and Trinidad and Tobago submitted amendments (A/C.1/39/L.92) to draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1, which were introduced by the representative of Singapore at the 59th meeting, on 5 December. The amendments read as follows:

(a) "Delete existing fifth preambular paragraph and replace it with the following formulation:

'Categorically rejecting all concepts, doctrines or ideologies intended to justify actions of States aimed at undermining the socio-political systems of other States,';

(b) "Delete operative paragraph 2 and replace it with the following:

'Demands that all States take no actions aimed at military intervention and occupation, forcible change in or the undermining of the socio-political system of sovereign States, the destabilization and overthrow of their Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever, and cease forthwith any such action already in progress;'. "

9. At the 60th meeting, on 6 December, Germany, Federal Republic of, introduced on behalf of the sponsors revised amendments (A/C.1/39/L.91/Rev.1), to the draft resolution (A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.1). The revised amendments read as follows:

(a) "Insert a new preambular paragraph preceding the existing first preambular paragraph reading:

'Reaffirming the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any States as well as the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion and constraint of any kind whatsoever,';

(b) "In the existing first preambular paragraph, after 'self-determination of peoples,' delete the balance of the text;

(c) "In the fourth preambular paragraph, line 2, for 'ideological differences' read 'ideologies'. In line 4, after 'international relations,' delete the rest of the text;

(d) "In the fifth preambular paragraph, line 2, delete 'aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other States';

(e) "In operative paragraph 1, line 1, for 'State terrorism' read 'policies and practices of terrorism in relations between States';

(f) "In operative paragraph 2, lines 1 and 2, for 'a forcible change in or the undermining of' read 'intervening in';

(g) "In operative paragraph 3, line 4, for 'interference' read 'intervention'."

10. At the 61st meeting, on 6 December, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics introduced a second revised draft resolution (A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.2).

11. At the 62nd meeting, on 7 December, the amendments contained in documents A/C.1/39/L.91/Rev.1 and A/C.1/39/L.92 were withdrawn by the sponsors and, at the same meeting, the Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.2/Rev.2 by a recorded vote of 101 to none, with 29 abstentions (see para. 12). The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritius, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

### III. RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

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

Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States

The General Assembly,

Reaffirming the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State as

well as the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion and constraint of any kind whatsoever,

Expressing its profound concern that State terrorism has lately been practised ever more frequently in relations between States and that military and other actions are being taken against the sovereignty and political independence of States and the self-determination of peoples,

Noting that all this seriously endangers the independent existence of States and the possibility of ensuring peaceful relations and mutual trust between them and leads to a sharp exacerbation of tensions and a growing threat of war,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples freely to determine their own destiny and the course of their development,

Convinced that the interests of maintaining peace require that relations between States regardless of ideologies should be based on strict observance of the Charter of the United Nations as well as generally recognized principles and norms of international relations, inter alia, renunciation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, the permanent sovereignty of States and peoples over their natural resources, the self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial domination, foreign occupation or racist régimes,

Categorically rejecting all concepts, doctrines or ideologies intended to justify actions of States aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other States,

1. Resolutely condemns policies and practices of terrorism in relations between States as a method of dealing with other States and peoples;
  2. Demands that all States take no actions aimed at military intervention and occupation, forcible change in or undermining of the socio-political system of States, the destabilization and overthrow of their Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever and cease forthwith any such action already in progress;
  3. Urges all States to respect and strictly observe, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty and political independence of States, the right of peoples to self-determination as well as their right freely without outside interference and intervention to choose their socio-political system, and to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development.
-