

Iran and Venezuela preferred to obtain the considered written opinions of Member Governments, and to take the question up again at the next session. It was felt that a report by the Secretary-General, in which the question would be discussed in the light of the Sixth Committee's debates and the drafts submitted would be useful when the Assembly reconsidered the question.

b. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS BEFORE THE SIXTH COMMITTEE

The Committee had before it the following draft resolutions and amendments, representing the various points of view expressed.

(1) Greek Draft Resolution

This draft resolution (A/C.6/L.206) would state that it was apparently impossible to define aggression in a formula covering all possible cases, that the formulation of an incomplete definition might encourage a possible aggressor to evade it and that the existence of such a definition might create doubt and confusion and delay the taking of a decision by the General Assembly or the Security Council if called upon in the future to determine an aggressor. It would also state that a definition of aggression drafted by the Assembly would not be binding on the Security Council and could not therefore restrict the Council's freedom to decide at its discretion what constituted aggression. For these reasons, the draft resolution would state that it appeared inappropriate to attempt to define aggression. It would therefore have the Assembly decide to take no action on the USSR proposal concerning the definition of aggression and leave it to the competent United Nations organs to determine at their discretion what constituted aggression.

(2) USSR Draft Resolution

This draft resolution (A/C.6/L.208) would have the Assembly declare:

"1. That in an international conflict that State shall be declared the attacker which first commits one of the following acts:

"(a) Declaration of war against another State;

"(b) Invasion by its armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;

"(c) Bombardment by its land, sea or air forces of the territory of another State or the carrying out of a deliberate attack on the ships or aircraft of the latter;

"(d) The landing or leading of its land, sea or air forces inside the boundaries of another State without the permission of the Government of the latter, or the violation of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the length of their stay or the extent of the area in which they may stay;

"(e) Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;

"(f) Support of armed bands organized in its own territory which invade the territory of another State, or refusal, on being requested by the invaded State, to take in its own territory any action within its power to deny such bands any aid or protection;

"2. Attacks such as those referred to in paragraph 1 may not be justified by any arguments of a political, strategic or economic nature, or by the desire to exploit natural riches in the territory of the State attacked or to derive any other kind of advantages or privileges, or by reference to the amount of capital invested in the State attacked or to any other particular interests in its territory, or by the affirmation that the State attacked lacks the distinguishing marks of statehood;

In particular, the following may not be used as justifications for attack:

"A. The internal position of any State; as, for example:

"(a) The backwardness of any nation politically, economically or culturally;

"(b) Alleged shortcomings of its administration;

"(c) Any danger which may threaten the life or property of aliens;

"(d) Any revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes;

"(e) The establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic or social system;

"B. Any acts, legislation or orders of any State, as for example:

"(a) The violation of international treaties;

"(b) The violation of rights and interests in the sphere of trade, concessions or any other kind of economic activity acquired by another State or its citizens;

"(c) The rupture of diplomatic or economic relations;

"(d) Measures in connexion with an economic or financial boycott;

"(e) Repudiation of debts;

"(f) Prohibition or restriction of immigration or modification of the status of foreigners;

"(g) The violation of privileges granted to the official representatives of another State;

"(h) Refusal to allow the passage of armed forces proceeding to the territory of a third State;

"(i) Measures of a religious or anti-religious nature;

"(j) Frontier incidents;

"3. In the event of the mobilization or concentration by another State of considerable armed forces near its frontier, the State which is threatened by such action shall have the right of recourse to diplomatic or other means of securing a peaceful settlement of international disputes. It may also in the meantime adopt requisite measures of a military nature similar to those described above, without, however, crossing the frontier."

Two amendments were proposed to the USSR draft:

(a) An amendment by Colombia (A/C.6/L.210), would:

(1) insert a declaration that aggression was an offence against the peace and security of mankind, which consisted in any resort to force contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the purpose of modifying the state of positive international law in force or resulting in the disturbance of public order;

(2) state that, "apart from action which may be defined as aggression by the competent organs of the United