SECURITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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I.

The Nature of the Problem.

The security of a particular state may be threatened by the aggressive policies and acts of its neighbours or by its own negligence or misfortunes. All parts of the world community are, however, today delated to one another and the security of every state may be affected by aggression in any part of the world. Changes in the military, political, economic, legal and social relations of the great powers effects the security of all states. The same is true of changes in the opinion, organization, technology and science of the world community. Such changes which formerly influenced the security of states rather slowly, may now modify the equilibrium of power and produce anxieties which may rapidly lead to aggressions.

The United Nations is concerned with all these aspects of security. It however, recognizes a distinction between the more remote factors within the jurisdiction of the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice, and the more immediate factors primarily within the jurisdiction of the Security Council and secondarily, within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. Both of these organs are concerned with the problems of pacific settlement, of sanctions, and of armament regulation.

Pacific Settlement and Sanctions are dealt with in some detail in Chapters VI and VII of the Charter. Armament regulation is dealt with briefly in Articles 26 and 47. The General Assembly’s concern in this field is recognized in Articles 10, 11, 14, 15, and 35.

In its resolution of December 14, 1946, the General Assembly outlined a program of armament regulation relating it to other aspects of security. This Resolution suggested that the problem of security involves appropriate dealing with the problems of weapons of mass destruction, of conventional armaments, of armed forces, of forces available to the United Nations, and of a system of inspection and control. During its second session in the autumn
of 1947, the General Assembly established an interim commission
to consider problems of Security which the Security Council gave
up and it dealt with several political issues such as Palestine,
Greece, and Korea. The maintenance of international peace and
security undoubtedly requires procedures for dealing with contro-
versies, for regulating armaments, and for dealing with actual or
threatened aggression. But these are symptoms of the underlying
tensions consequent upon changes of relative power. The mainten-
ance of international peace and security therefore requires an ap-
propriate regulation of changes of power, both of the nations and
the United Nations. In proportion as the distribution of power
among the nations and of the United Nations is such that aggression
will almost certainly fail, security in fact will increase.

The present concentration of power in two nations tends to
reduce security to a minimum. Aggression would be made more
difficult if the power of other nations relative to the two super
powers were increased, and particularly if the independent power
of the United Nations were increased. It is not likely that the
United Nations in any near future will in itself have sufficient
power to stop an aggression by one of the super powers or even by
a middle class power. But every increase of the power of the United
Nations, which it can be assumed will always be opposed to aggres-
sion, added to the power of those states ready to oppose aggression
in any particular instance, will reduce the prospects of successful
aggression, thereby increasing general security.

The problem of security, however, involves consideration not
only of the state facts but also of the state of mind. Changes in the
distribution of power, if too rapid, are likely to cause alarm and a
sense of insecurity in some states even if the changes might actually
have the effect of making successful aggression less likely. States
are also likely to be alarmed at important changes in the political
situation effected without their consent. For these reasons the
speed and procedure by which changes in relative power take place
are important.

This way of looking at the problem may seem to be a reversion
to balance of power concepts, which the United Nations was, in
the opinion of many, designed to supersede. It will be noted,
however, that reference was made to the power not only of nations
but also of the United Nations. With that change, the concept of
balance of power becomes entirely different.

Within each national state there is a balance of power. The power
of the central government is balanced against the power of political