



Agenda item 107: The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty*

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* For the discussion of this item, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, First Committee*, 1395th to 1406th, 1420th, 1422nd and 1423rd meetings; and *ibid.*, *Plenary Meetings*, 1408th meeting.

DOCUMENT A/5977

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: request for the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the twentieth session

[Original text: Russian]
[24 September 1965]

LETTER DATED 24 SEPTEMBER 1965 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On the instructions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honour to request, in accordance with rule 15 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the inclusion of an item entitled "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty" in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

I enclose herewith the explanatory memorandum required by rule 20 of the rules of procedure, and a draft declaration on this question.

(Signed) A. GROMYKO
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

1. There has, of late, been a considerable increase in international tension. Certain Powers are seeking to impede the advance of history by aggressive acts and open intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign States and peoples fighting against colonial domination,

for their national liberation and for their independent sovereign existence.

2. Experience offers convincing evidence that not only aggression and intervention but any form of pressure on peoples engenders tension and distrust between States and creates a threat to peace throughout the world.

3. A broad group of peace-loving African, Asian and Latin American States are rightfully seeking the adoption at the international level of effective measures for the protection of countries and peoples from foreign intervention in their domestic affairs.

4. The inadmissibility of any form of intervention by States in the domestic affairs of other States makes it imperative that the United Nations should make fresh efforts to secure the strict application of this important principle, which is affirmed in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter.

5. The Soviet Government has therefore decided to submit for consideration by the General Assembly a draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and on the protection of their independence and sovereignty.

6. The Soviet Government is deeply convinced that adoption of the declaration would be an important step on the part of the United Nations to support the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which have cast off the chains of colonialism, have created national States and now regard it as their main task to strengthen their political independence and secure their economic independence. Approval of the declaration would, in particular, be in the vital interest of the small countries, which are often unable by themselves to

protect their rights and defend their independence and sovereignty from imperialist intervention.

7. The Soviet Government considers that adoption of the declaration would represent a further concrete definition and development of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and in particular of the principle that all Members of the United Nations should refrain in their international relations 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.

8. The Soviet Government, for its part, is prepared to make every effort to further the drafting and adoption of such a declaration by the General Assembly.

9. The Soviet Government is convinced that the United Nations can and must help to ensure that all outside intervention in the affairs of sovereign States and peoples is brought to an end.

10. The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the States Members of the United Nations will co-operate in this important matter, which will contribute to the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF STATES AND ON THE PROTECTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

[For the text of the draft declaration, which was subsequently submitted as document A/C.L.343/Rev.1, see below.]

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.343/REV.1

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: draft resolution

*[Original text: Russian]
[25 November 1965]*

DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF STATES AND THE PROTECTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

The General Assembly

Draws the attention of all Governments and peoples to the seriousness of the international situation and the increased threat to world peace resulting from the armed intervention by some States in the domestic affairs of other States and the carrying out of acts of outright aggression directed against the freedom and independence of sovereign States;

Expresses alarm at the fact that the armed intervention by some States in the domestic affairs of other States in various areas is creating breeding grounds of war, increasing international tension, and making more difficult the solution of urgent international problems and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States;

Notes with concern that the violations of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of independent States are creating a particular threat to the independence of those States which have won their independence in the struggle against colonialism and are concerned with ensuring conditions in which they

can build their national economy and develop their national culture;

Recalls that the Charter of the United Nations imposes upon all Members of the United Nations an obligation to refrain in their international relations 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;

Recalls further that the Charter of the United Nations proclaims the principle of the sovereign equality of all Members of the United Nations and declares inadmissible any intervention in the domestic affairs of States and that this universally recognized principle of international law has also been emphasized repeatedly in the decisions and declarations of the Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo conferences, in which many States Members of the United Nations participated;

In the light of the above, the General Assembly regards it as its duty:

1. *To reaffirm* that every sovereign State and every people has an inalienable right to freedom and independence and to defend its sovereignty and that this right must be fully protected;

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2. *To urge* all States Members of the United Nations to fulfil strictly the obligations which they have assumed under the Charter of the United Nations;

3. *To demand emphatically* that acts constituting armed or any other type of intervention in the domestic affairs of States, as well as any acts directed against the just struggle of peoples for national independence and freedom, should be halted forthwith and should not be permitted in the future;

4. *To call upon all States* to be guided in their international relations by the principle of mutual respect and of non-intervention in domestic affairs for any reason, whether economic, political or ideological.

The General Assembly warns those States which, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations, are engaged in intervention in the domestic affairs of other States that, in so doing, they are assuming a heavy burden of international responsibility before all peoples.

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.349/REV.1 AND ADD.1¹

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela: revised draft resolution

[Original text: Spanish]
[6 December 1965]

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that full observance of the principle of the non-intervention of States in the internal and external affairs of other States is essential to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind that this principle ensures the sovereignty and equal rights of all nations as well as their peaceful coexistence,

Recalling that both direct intervention and the forms of indirect intervention are contrary to this principle and, consequently, a violation of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling that the principle of non-intervention is linked with the movement for the liberation of Latin America and that since that time it has been given concrete expression in various inter-American instruments, especially those adopted at the Conferences of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Chapultepec and Bogotá, as well as in documents drawn up at the conferences of Afro-Asian and of non-aligned countries held at Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo,

Noting that the Charter of the Organization of American States provides in article 15 that "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State" and that "The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements",

Noting with concern the continued use of direct forms of intervention and the increasing resort to indirect forms,

Considering that violation of the principle of non-intervention poses a threat to the independence and the normal and free political, economic and cultural development of countries, particularly those which have freed themselves from colonialism, and can pose a serious threat to the maintenance of peace,

¹ The only difference between the English texts of documents A/C.1/L.349 and A/C.1/L.349/Rev.1 was in the third paragraph of the preamble of the draft resolution, which in document A/C.1/L.349 began as follows: "Recalling that both direct intervention and the new forms of indirect intervention..."

Convinced that direct or indirect intervention violates the principles of the sovereign equality of States and of the self-determination of peoples, which are the essence of the Charter of the United Nations, and can hinder the Organization's programmes for promoting economic and social progress,

1. *Reaffirms* that it is an obligation of every State or group of States to refrain from any act of intervention, whether direct or indirect, in the internal or external affairs of other States and that the fulfilment of that obligation is an essential requirement for the effective maintenance of international peace and security;

2. *Emphasizes* that respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, in order that they may choose and apply their political, social, economic and cultural system without any outside intervention, is an essential element of that obligation;

3. *Condemns* all forms of intervention, whether direct or indirect, intended to impair the sovereignty, the autonomy, the security or the political, economic and cultural integrity of States;

4. *Draws attention*, in particular, among indirect forms of intervention, to the organizing and training of armed bands or subversive agents to engage, in the territory of any other States or States, in missions of sedition, terrorism and sabotage, to the financing of those operations and the supply of arms or other means for those ends, and to incitement to rebellion;

5. *Considers* that measures which competent international organs take for the maintenance of peace or the protection of human rights in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations do not constitute intervention;

6. *Appeals* urgently to Member States to refrain from any intervention, whether direct or indirect, and, instead, to direct their energies and resources towards effective co-operation for the advancement of the developing countries.

The General Assembly declares that the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security.

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.349/REV.2

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela: revised draft resolution

[Original text: Spanish]
[9 December 1965]

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that full observance of the principle of the non-intervention of States in the internal and external affairs of other States is essential to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind that this principle ensures the sovereignty and equal rights of all nations as well as their peaceful coexistence,

Recalling that both direct intervention and the forms of indirect intervention are contrary to this principle and, consequently, a violation of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling that the principle of non-intervention is linked with the movement for the liberation of Latin America and that since that time it has been given concrete expression in various inter-American instruments, especially those adopted at the Conferences of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Chapultepec and Bogotá,

Recalling further that the independent nations of Asia and Africa, as also the non-aligned nations, have, in the Declarations of Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo, affirmed their vital concern with the strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in all its ramifications,

Noting that the Charter of the Organization of American States, signed in 1948, provides in article 15 that "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State" and that "The foregoing principle prohibits not only armed force but also any other form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements",

Noting that the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in 1964, states that "every State must abstain from interfering in the affairs of other States, whether openly, or insidiously, or by means of subversion and the various forms of political, economic and military pressure",

Noting further that the Charter of the Organization of African Unity affirms in article III the adherence of the members of that Organization to the principles of "non-interference in the internal affairs of States" and "unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State",

Noting with concern the continued use of direct forms of intervention and the increasing resort to indirect forms,

Considering that violation of the principle of non-intervention poses a threat to the independence and the free and normal political, economic, social and cultural development of countries, particularly those which have freed themselves from colonialism, and can pose a serious threat to the maintenance of peace,

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) concerning the immediate attainment of freedom by colonial countries and peoples,

Convinced that direct or indirect intervention violates the principles of the sovereign equality of States and of the self-determination of peoples, which are enjoined by the Charter of the United Nations, and can hinder the Organization's programmes for promoting economic and social progress,

Fully convinced that peace and freedom are interdependent,

Mindful that in their policies all States should fully respect the independence, complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of States,

1. *Reaffirms* that it is an obligation of every State or group of States to refrain from any act of intervention, whether direct or indirect, in the internal or external affairs of other States and that the fulfilment of that obligation is an essential requirement for the effective maintenance of international peace and security;

2. *Emphasizes* that respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, in order that they may choose and apply their political, social, economic and cultural system without any outside intervention, is an essential element of that obligation;

3. *Emphasizes further* the urgent need to respect that right, as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", and resolution 1541 (XV);

4. *Condemns* all forms of intervention, whether direct or indirect, intended to impair the sovereignty, the autonomy, the security or the political, economic and cultural integrity of States;

5. *Points out especially* that no State may use or encourage the use of measures of an economic or political character to coerce another State and to obtain from it advantages of any kind and that, in particular, States shall not organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities against another State or interfere in civil strife in another State;

6. *Considers* that measures which competent international organs take for the maintenance of peace or the protection of human rights in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations do not constitute intervention;

7. *Appeals* urgently to Member States to refrain from any intervention, whether direct or indirect, and instead to direct their energies and resources towards effective co-operation for the advancement of the developing countries;

8. *Declares* that the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security.

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DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.350*

United States of America: amendments to document A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1

[Original text: English]
[3 December 1965]

SUBSTANTIVE AMENDMENTS

1. The first preambular paragraph: insert "subversion and" following "acts of".
2. In the second preambular paragraph:
 - (a) Insert "direct or indirect" after "intervention";
 - (b) Substitute "any area of the world creates" for "various areas is creating".

3. Add the following new preambular paragraphs after the second preambular paragraph:

"*Convinced* that respect for the principle of self-determination and for the fulfilment of obligations under international law are essential for an enduring peace and for man's survival, happiness and well-being in a world characterized by the existence of differing social, political and economic systems,

"*Recognizing* that an integral part of the principle of self-determination is the right of every independent country freely to choose, develop, and defend against external threat its own path of economic, social, cultural and political development without any external interference but with such external assistance as it may, in the exercise of its sovereignty, decide to seek and accept,"

4. In the present fourth preambular paragraph:

(a) Insert "and the essential principles of international law" after "Charter of the United Nations";

(b) Substitute "all States" for "all Members of the United Nations" before "an obligation";

(c) Add the following at the end of the paragraph: "and noting accordingly that any violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States is inadmissible and contrary to the sovereign equality guaranteed to all Members of the United Nations by Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter,"

5. In the present fifth preambular paragraph:

(a) Delete "the Charter of the United Nations proclaims the principle of the sovereign equality of all Members of the United Nations and declares inadmissible any intervention in the domestic affairs of States and that";

(b) Add "established in the Charter" after "law";

(c) After "declarations of", add "many conferences, such as those in Bogotá, Punta del Este,"

6. Add a new preambular paragraph after the fifth paragraph, as follows:

"*Recalling further* its call to every nation in resolution 290 (IV) to refrain from any acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity of any State or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people in any State,"

7. In paragraph 1:

(a) Delete "sovereign State" and every" before "people";

(b) Insert "self-determination and thus to establish its" after "every people has an inalienable right to";

* Incorporating document A/C.1/L.350/Corr.1.

(c) After "independence" delete "and", and insert "separately or in association with other peoples, and that every sovereign State has the right";

(d) Change "this right" to "these rights".

8. Add a new paragraph 2 as follows:

"*Condemns* any intervention, direct or indirect, by one State in the internal affairs of another State, whether such intervention involves armed attacks and invasion, or the initiation, promotion or support of movements which seek the forcible overthrow of the Government of an independent State, including the training and infiltration of personnel, the promotion of subversion or terrorism, and the clandestine supply of arms and other materiel,"

9. The present paragraph 2 should become the final paragraph.

10. In the present paragraph 3:

(a) Insert "any" before "acts";

(b) Insert "attack, subversion or terrorism," after "armed";

(c) Insert "direct or indirect" after "intervention";

(d) Insert "in violation of the Charter" after "States";

(e) Substitute "and in particular any such acts" for "as well as any acts";

(f) Insert "designed to frustrate the just aspirations" in place of "directed against the just struggle" before the words "of peoples" and insert after "peoples" the words: "to decide their own political destinies through the free and unfettered exercise of their right of self-determination or to impair their just right to defend and preserve their" deleting the word "for" before "national independence and freedom".

11. In the present paragraph 4, insert "whether through armed attacks or subversion and" after "affairs".

12. Delete the final (unnumbered) paragraph, and substitute the present paragraph 2 in its place as paragraph 5.

TECHNICAL OR STYLISTIC AMENDMENTS

1. In the first preambular paragraph:

(a) Change "Draws" to "Drawing";

(b) Delete "the" before "armed";

(c) Change "some States" to "any State".

2. In the second preambular paragraph:

(a) Change "Expresses alarm" to "Concerned";

(b) Delete "the" before "armed" and substitute "any";

(c) Delete "some" before "States".

3. In the present third preambular paragraph:

(a) Change "Notes with concern" to "Noting";

(b) Delete "the" before "violations";

(c) Substitute "create" for "are creating".

4. In the present fourth preambular paragraph:

(a) Change "Recalls" to "Recalling";

(b) Substitute "impose" for "imposes".

5. In the present fifth preambular paragraph:
 - (a) Change "Recalls" to "Recalling";
 - (b) Delete "also" before "been emphasized";
 - (c) Delete "the" before "decisions" and before "Bandung";
 - (d) Delete "conferences" after "Cairo".
6. Delete the sentence prior to paragraph 1 which begins: "In the light of..."

7. In paragraph 1, change "To reaffirm" to "Affirms".
8. In the present paragraph 2, change "To urge" to "Urges".
9. In the present paragraph 3, change "To demand" to "Demands".
10. In the present paragraph 4, change "To call" to "Calls".

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.351

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: amendments to document A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1

[Original text: English]
[6 December 1965]

First preambular paragraph:

After "resulting" amend to read "from covert or armed intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the carrying out of acts of subversion and aggression..."

Second preambular paragraph:

- (a) For "Expresses alarm" read "Concerned";
- (b) After "armed intervention" omit "by some States";
- (c) After "in various areas" insert "and attempts to subvert the Governments of other sovereign independent States";
- (d) Omit "is creating breeding grounds of war";
- (e) For "increasing" read "increase" and for "making" read "make".

Third preambular paragraph:

- (a) After "independent States" insert "and in particular attempts to foment new revolutions in these States";
- (b) For "are creating" read "create".

Fourth preambular paragraph:

Replace by "Convinced that respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law is essential for an enduring peace,".

Fifth preambular paragraph:

Replace by "Recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the sovereign equality of all Members of the United Nations,".

Insert new preambular paragraph after the fifth paragraph:

"Recalling further its call to every nation in resolution 290 (IV) to refrain from any threats or acts, direct

or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity of any State or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of people in any State,".

Paragraph 1:

Replace by "To reaffirm that every sovereign State has an inalienable right to freedom and to defend its sovereignty and that these rights and the principle of self-determination must be fully respected;".

Paragraph 3:

Replace by "To reaffirm the obligation on all Member States under Article 2 (4) of the Charter to refrain in their international relations 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;".

Insert new paragraph 4 as follows:

"Solemnly to declare that every State has the duty to refrain from instigating, assisting or organizing civil strife or committing terrorist acts in another State or from conniving at or acquiescing in organized activities directed towards such ends;".

Renumber paragraph 4 as paragraph 5.

Insert a new paragraph 6:

"To call upon all States, in conformity with the foregoing, to oppose firmly all forms of subversion conceived, organized or financed by foreign Powers directed to the overthrow of lawfully constituted Governments of sovereign independent States;".

Replace the final paragraph by new paragraph:

"The General Assembly declares that nothing in this resolution affects the right and duty of Member States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter and to seek opportunities for encouraging closer relations in the political, social, economic and cultural fields;".

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.352

Pakistan: amendments to document A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1

[Original text: English]
[6 December 1965]

1. Add at the end of paragraph 2 the words "and other international agreements and treaties;".
2. Add in paragraph 3 the word "self-determination," between the words "for" and "national independence".

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3. Add as paragraph 5:

"To further call upon all States to undertake unconditionally the obligation to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, such as mediation, conciliation, arbitration and resort to the International Court of Justice, irrespective of any conditions or reservations attached to their acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court."

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.353/REV.4 AND ADD.1

Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cyprus, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia: revised draft resolution

[Original text: English]
[11 December 1965]

The General Assembly,

Recalling that the peoples of the United Nations declared their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice has brought untold sorrow to mankind,

Recalling further that the peoples of the United Nations declared their readiness to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security,

Considering that one of the basic principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter is to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and independence, complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and nations,

Noting that it is its duty, in accordance with the Charter, to make recommendations related to the progressive development of international law and its codification,

Fully convinced that peace and freedom are interdependent,

Conscious of the obligations of all States to observe strictly their duty not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any form, in the internal or external affairs of States and nations,

Believing that the practice of intervention by States in the internal or external affairs of States hampers the free will of States and peoples to determine their policies in the best manner fit and suitable for their needs, and consequently impedes the promotion of international peace and co-operation,

Firmly believing that colonialism in any form or manifestation still practised against States and peoples constitutes a gross violation of the principle of non-intervention, and hampers the sacred right of every State and people to their freedom and sovereignty over their territories and natural resources,

Fully convinced that policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination are basically in contravention of the fundamental human rights and the dignity of man,

Reaffirming its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted in its resolution 1514 (XV),

Considering that armed intervention is synonymous with aggression, and as such is considered in contradiction with the basic principles on which peaceful international co-operation between States should be built,

Confirming its belief that the principles of non-intervention will lead to the establishment of a world of peace and justice,

Convinced that attempts to deprive the peoples of their national identity are a violation of their rights and are inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention,

Bearing in mind that the principle of non-intervention has been embodied in the basic constitutions and statutes of all regional organizations in the world,

Affirming the principle of non-intervention as stated in the charters of the Organization of American States, the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity, and proclaimed at the Conferences of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Chapultepec and Bogotá, as well as in the decisions of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung and the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade, and in the "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted at the end of the Cairo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,

Noting the Charter of the Organization of African Unity which affirms in article III the commitment of members of that Organization to "non-interference in the internal affairs of States" and "unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State", and also the declaration on non-interference adopted by the Heads of State of the African countries in Accra on 24 October 1965,

Fully aware of the imperative need to create appropriate conditions which would enable all States, and in particular the developing States, to choose without duress or coercion their own political, economic and social institutions,

In the light of the above, the Member States of the United Nations solemnly declare:

1. That no State or group of States is entitled to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any form, in the internal or external affairs of any State;

2. That every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State or group of States;

3. That all States shall respect the right of self-determination and independence of peoples and nations to be freely exercised without any foreign pressure;

4. That colonialism in any form impairs the right of peoples to determine their own future and develop their own resources in a manner which meets their needs;

5. That the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination are policies contrary to the principle of non-

intervention, due to the fact that these policies not only impair the free will of the people who suffer from these policies, but they moreover deny them their inalienable right freely to choose their own political, economic, social and cultural systems;

6. That the use of force to dislocate peoples and the denial to them of their national identity are direct violations of their inherent rights and are inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention;

7. That it is the duty of all States not to interfere with or hinder the legitimate exercise by any other

people, presently under colonial or foreign domination, of their sacred right to self-determination and independence;

8. That all States should refrain from any policy aimed at bringing economic or political pressure to bear on States and peoples which would impair their freedom to develop their own political, economic, social and cultural systems;

9. That all States have the duty to abide strictly by the principle of non-intervention in accordance with this declaration.

DOCUMENT A/C.1/L.354

India: amendments to document A/C.1/L.349/Rev.1 and Add.1

[Original text: English]
[8 December 1965]

1. In the fourth preambular paragraph, after "Bogotá", delete the words "as well as in documents drawn up at the Conferences of Afro-Asian and of non-aligned countries held at Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo".

2. Add two new preambular paragraphs after the present fourth paragraph, as follows:

"Recalling further that the independent nations of Asia and Africa, as also the non-aligned nations, have, in the Declarations of Bandung 1955, Belgrade 1961 and Cairo 1964, affirmed their vital concern with the strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in all its ramifications,

"Noting that the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in 1964, states that 'every State must abstain from interfering in the affairs of other States, whether openly or insidiously or by means of subversion and the various forms of political, economic and military pressure'."

3. After the present fifth preambular paragraph, add a new preambular paragraph as follows:

"Noting further that the Charter of the Organization of African Unity affirms in article III the commitment of the members of that Organization to 'non-interference in the internal affairs of States' and 'unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State'."

4. In the present seventh preambular paragraph, add the word "social" after "economic".

5. After the present seventh preambular paragraph, add the following new preambular paragraph:

"Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) concerning the immediate attainment of freedom by colonial countries and peoples,"

6. In the present eighth preambular paragraph, replace the words "which are the essence of the Charter of the United Nations" by the words "which are enjoined by the Charter of the United Nations".

7. Replace the present operative paragraph 2 by the following new operative paragraphs and renumber the paragraphs accordingly:

"Emphasizes the urgent need to respect the right of peoples to self-determination, as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples", and resolution 1541 (XV);

"Endorses the provisions embodied in the Charter of the Organization of American States, as well as in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the resolution adopted by the Organization of African Unity on the inviolability of boundaries of States and the non-recognition of territorial acquisitions obtained by force;

"Emphasizes further that no State may use or encourage the use of measures of an economic or political character to coerce another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind and that, in particular, States shall not organize, assist, foment, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities against another State or interfere in civil strife in another State;"

8. Reword the present operative paragraph 3 as follows:

"Condemns all forms of intervention, whether armed or otherwise, direct or indirect, under any pretext whatsoever, which impair the sovereignty, the autonomy, the security or the political, economic and cultural integrity of States;"

9. Delete the present operative paragraphs 4 and 5.

10. Reword the present operative paragraph 6 as follows:

"Calls upon all States to refrain from any intervention, whether armed or otherwise, direct or indirect, under any pretext whatsoever, and, instead, to direct their energies and resources towards effective co-operation for the advancement of the developing countries;"

11. In the final operative paragraph, delete the words "The General Assembly" and number the paragraph "7".

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DOCUMENT A/6220

Report of the First Committee

[Original text: English]
[21 December 1965]

1. On 24 September 1965, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requested (A/5977), the inclusion in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty".

2. At its 161st meeting, on 27 September 1965, the General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly and its allocation to the First Committee.

3. At its 1340th plenary meeting, on 28 September 1965, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of the General Committee (A/5999).

4. The First Committee considered this item at its 1395th to 1406th meetings, from 3 to 10 December, at its 1420th meeting, on 18 December, and at its 1422nd and 1423rd meetings, on 20 December 1965.

5. At the 1395th meeting, on 3 December 1965, the representative of the USSR introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1) entitled "Draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty". [For the text, see p. 2 above.]

6. On 3 December 1965, amendments to the USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1) were submitted by the United States of America (A/C.1/L.350 and Corr.1). [For the text, see p. 5 above.]

7. On 6 December, amendments to the USSR draft resolution were submitted by the United Kingdom (A/C.1/L.351). [For the text, see p. 6 above.]

8. On the same day, amendments to the USSR draft resolution were submitted by Pakistan (A/C.1/L.352). [For the text, see p. 6 above.]

9. Also at the 1395th meeting, the representative of Colombia introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.349) sponsored by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. On 6 December, the sponsors, joined by Guatemala, submitted a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.349/Rev.1 and Add.1). [For the text, see p. 3 above.]

10. On 8 December, amendments to the eighteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.349/Rev.1 and Add.1) were submitted by India (A/C.1/L.354). [For the text, see p. 8 above.]

11. On 9 December, a second revised text of the eighteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.349/Rev.2) was submitted. [For the text, see p. 4 above.]

12. On 6 December, a draft resolution was submitted by the United Arab Republic (A/C.1/L.353) which, in its final revised form (A/C.1/L.353/Rev.4 and Add.1), was sponsored by Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cyprus, India, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Togo, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia [For the text, see p. 7 above.]

13. At the 1420th meeting, on 18 December, the representatives of Peru and Mali introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.364) sponsored by Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, the Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen and Yugoslavia. Subsequently, Afghanistan, the Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Gabon, Iran, Malawi, the Niger, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda and Zambia joined the sponsors (A/C.1/L.364/Add.1).

14. At its 1422nd meeting, on 20 December, the First Committee, after deciding without objection to give priority in the voting to the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1), adopted it by a roll-call vote of 100 to none, with 5 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

15. After the vote the Chairman stated that he had been informed that the sponsors of the other draft resolutions had agreed not to press for a vote on their drafts.

Recommendation of the First Committee

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

DECLARATION ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF STATES AND THE PROTECTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

[Text adopted by the General Assembly without change. See "Action taken by the General Assembly" below.]

ACTION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At its 1408th plenary meeting, on 21 December 1965, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee (A/6220, para. 16). For the final text, see resolution 2131 (XX) below.

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

2131 (XX). DECLARATION ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF STATES AND THE PROTECTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned at the gravity of the international situation and the increasing threat to universal peace due to armed intervention and other direct or indirect forms of interference threatening the sovereign personality and the political independence of States,

Considering that the United Nations, in accordance with their aim to eliminate war, threats to the peace and acts of aggression, created an Organization, based on the sovereign equality of States, whose friendly relations would be based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and on the obligation of its Members to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State,

Recognizing that, in fulfilment of the principle of self-determination, the General Assembly, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, stated its conviction that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory, and that, by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Recalling that in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the General Assembly proclaimed that recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, without distinction of any kind,

Reaffirming the principle of non-intervention, proclaimed in the charters of the Organization of American States, the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity and affirmed at the conferences held at Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Chapultepec and Bogotá, as well as in the decisions of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade, in the Programme for Peace and International Co-operation adopted at the end of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Cairo, and in the declaration on subversion adopted at Accra by the Heads of State and Government of the African States,

Recognizing that full observance of the principle of the non-intervention of States in the internal and external affairs of other States is essential to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Considering that armed intervention is synonymous with aggression and, as such, is contrary to the basic principles on which peaceful international co-operation between States should be built,

Considering further that direct intervention, subversion and all forms of indirect intervention are contrary to these principles and, consequently, constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations,

Mindful that violation of the principle of non-intervention poses a threat to the independence, freedom and normal political, economic, social and cultural development of countries, particularly those which have freed themselves from colonialism, and can pose a serious threat to the maintenance of peace,

Fully aware of the imperative need to create appropriate conditions which would enable all States, and in particular the developing countries, to choose without duress or coercion their own political, economic and social institutions,

In the light of the foregoing considerations, solemnly declares:

1. No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned;

2. No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights or to secure from it advantages of any kind. Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State;

3. The use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention;

4. The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security;

5. Every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State;

6. All States shall respect the right of self-determination and independence of peoples and nations, to be freely exercised without any foreign pressure, and with absolute respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Consequently, all States shall contribute to the complete elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

7. For the term "State of States";
8. Nothing affecting it

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A/C.1/L.34

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7. For the purpose of the present Declaration, the term "State" covers both individual States and groups of States;

8. Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as affecting in any manner the relevant provisions of the

Charter of the United Nations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular those contained in Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

*1408th plenary meeting,
21 December 1965.*

CHECK LIST OF DOCUMENTS

NOTE. This check list includes the documents mentioned during the consideration of agenda item 107 which are not reproduced in the present fascicle.

| Document No. | Title | Observations and references |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| A/C.1/L.343 | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1 |
| A/C.1/L.349 | Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela: draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.349/Rev.1 |
| A/C.1/L.353 and Add.1 | United Arab Republic and United Republic of Tanzania: draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.353/Rev.1 |
| A/C.1/L.353/Rev.1 | Iraq, United Arab Republic and United Republic of Tanzania: revised draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.353/Rev.2 |
| A/C.1/L.353/Rev.2 | Algeria, Burma, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Nigeria, Syria, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia: revised draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.353/Rev.3 |
| A/C.1/L.353/Rev.3 and Add.1 | Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, Syria, Togo, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia: revised draft resolution | Replaced by A/C.1/L.353/Rev.4 |
| A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1 | Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Syria, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia: draft resolution | Adopted without change. See A/6220, para. 16 |