ARTICLES 1(1), 1(3), 1(4), 2(1), 2(2), 2(3) AND 2(5)

TEXT OF ARTICLE 1(1), 1(3) AND 1(4)

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

TEXT OF ARTICLE 2(1), 2(2), 2(3) AND 2(5)

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. In this Supplement, as in Supplements Nos. 2, 3 and 4, Article 1(2) as well as paragraphs 4, 6 and 7 of Article 2 are treated in separate studies. The present study is therefore confined to the practice of United Nations organs relating to paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of Article 1 and to paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 5 of Article 2.

2. As before, the decisions of United Nations organs taken under other Articles of the Charter are dealt with under those Articles to which they are directly related. Consequently, the present study is confined, for the reasons stated in Supplement No. 2, to an examination (a) of the general features of the practice of the General Assembly in making reference to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and (b) of certain decisions of the General Assembly as the organ with the widest-ranging functions and responsibilities under the Charter.

3. The relevant provisions of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the period under review are tabulated in two annexes to the present study.

SUMMARY OF PRACTICE

4. During the period under review, United Nations organs continued their practice of relying on the Purposes and Principles of the Charter as a whole, or on a particular provision of Article 1 or Article 2, as a basis for dealing with varied subject-matters. The main features of that practice were summarized in paragraphs 8-15 of the Repertory study of Articles 1 and 2(1-5).

The practice of the General Assembly

1. THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES AS A WHOLE

5. During the period covered by this Supplement, a number of General Assembly resolutions stressed the duty of all Member States to observe and support the Purposes and
Principles of the Charter. For example, in resolution 2734 (XXV) on the strengthening of international security, the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed the "universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems . . . " and declared that "the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever". In the same resolution, the General Assembly called upon "all States to adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the Charter, including the principle that States shall 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". In other resolutions on the strengthening of international security such as 2925 (XXVII), 2993 (XXVIII), 3185 (XXVIII), 3332 (XXIX), 3389 (XXX) and 33/75 the General Assembly also appealed to all States to observe the principles of the United Nations Charter strictly. In resolution 2653 (XXV), the General Assembly recognized the positive influence of the principles and purposes of the Charter on the work of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on the ideas, needs and aspirations of youth. In resolution 2676 (XXV) the General Assembly reiterated the obligation of Member States for the urgent termination of all armed aggression, as envisaged in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. Similarly, in resolution 3222 (XXIX) the General Assembly reaffirmed "its attachment to the principles, values and ideals of the Charter" and in resolution 32/130 declared itself convinced that the obligation of all States to observe the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations was fundamental for the promotion and respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms and for the realization of the full dignity and worth of the human person. Other resolutions dealing with measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance emphasized the duty of States to adhere to and enforce the principles and purposes of the Charter. In resolution 2647 (XXV), for instance, the General Assembly recalled that Member States had pledged themselves solemnly under Article 1 of the Charter to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Language to the same effect may be found in resolutions 2713 (XXV), 2784 (XXVI), 2839 (XXVI), 2919 (XXVII), 31/77 and 32/13.

6. Other General Assembly resolutions invoking the Purposes and Principles of the Charter dealt with the following matters: (a) Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations; (b) Representation of China in the United Nations; (c) Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof; (d) Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction; (e) General and complete disarmament; (f) International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space; (g) Tenth anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies; (h) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; (i) Invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization in the efforts for peace in the Middle East; (j) The situation in the Middle East; (k) Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories; (l) Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development; (m) Application of computer technology for development; (n) Question of the elderly and the aged; (o) Protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict; (p) Declaration of the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons; (q) United Nations University; (r) Women's participation in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the struggle against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation and all forms of foreign domination; (s) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; (t) Basic principles for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts; (u) Question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands; (v) Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and Nations under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa; (w) Question of Spanish Sahara; (x) Question of Korea; (y) Question of Namibia; (z) Question of Guam; (aa) Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace; (bb) Reports of the International Law Commission; (cc) Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; (dd) The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa; (ee) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents; (ff) Review of the role of the International Court of Justice; (gg) Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization; (hh) Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa; (ii) United Nations Conference on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties; (jj) Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages; (kk) Safety of international civil aviation; and (ll) United Nations assistance to East Pakistan refugees through the United Nations focal point and United Nations humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan.

2. ARTICLE 1(1)

7. In the period covered by this Supplement, no explicit reference was made to Article 1(1) in resolutions of the General Assembly. However, the General Assembly adopted a few resolutions bearing on that Article. They related to the following items: (a) Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and (b) Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

3. ARTICLE 1(3)

8. Article 1(3) was invoked by the General Assembly in the annex to resolution 2625 (XXV), entitled "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations". By the annex to this resolution, the General Assembly proclaimed that "States have the duty to co-operate with one another, irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems, in
the various spheres of international relations, in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress, the general welfare of nations and international co-operation free from discrimination based on such differences.” Also, during the period under review, the General Assembly adopted other resolutions which although not explicitly invoking Article 1(3) had a bearing on it. They related to the following subjects: (a) Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations and (b) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.\(^42\)

4. ARTICLE 1(4)

9. No explicit reference was made to Article 1(4) in General Assembly resolutions during the period under review. However, resolution 32/155, on the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, can be said to bear on Article 1(4).

5. ARTICLE 2(1)

10. Reference to Article 2(1) was made by the General Assembly in the annex to resolution 2625 (XXV), entitled “Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations”.\(^43\) By the annex to this resolution, the General Assembly proclaimed that: “All States enjoy sovereign equality. They have equal rights and duties and are equal members of the international community, notwithstanding differences of an economic, social, political or other nature\(^44\). Resolution 2925 (XXVII) can also be said to have a bearing on Article 2(1).

6. ARTICLE 2(2)

11. Article 2(2) was invoked by the General Assembly in the annex to resolution 2625 (XXV)\(^45\) under “the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter”.

7. ARTICLE 2(3)

12. Resolution 3232 (XXIX) of the General Assembly on the review of the role of the International Court of Justice stated that, in accordance with Article 2(3) of the Charter, all Members should settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. The Article was also invoked in the annex to resolution 2625 (XXV)\(^46\) and was implied in resolution 2925 (XXVII).

8. ARTICLE 2(5)

13. Article 2(5) was invoked in three resolutions\(^46\) adopted by the General Assembly on the question of Southern Rhodesia. In resolution 31/154 the General Assembly condemned those Governments, particularly the racist régime of South Africa, which in open contravention of their specific obligations under Article 2(5) continued to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime.

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NOTES

1 G A resolution 2627 (XXV).
2 G A resolution 2642 (XXV).
3 G A resolution 2660 (XXV).
4 G A resolution 2826 (XXVI).
5 G A resolution 33/91.
6 G A resolution 2733 (XXV).
7 G A resolution 32/195.
8 G A resolutions 2672 (XXV), 2792 (XXVI), 2963 (XXVII), 3089 (XXVIII).
9 G A resolution 3375 (XXIX).
10 G A resolutions 2949 (XXVII), 31/61.
11 G A resolutions 2727 (XXV), 3092 (XXVIII), 3240 (XXIX), 31/106.
12 G A resolutions 2633 (XXV), 2770 (XXVI), 31/132.
13 G A resolution 2804 (XXVII).
14 G A resolution 2842 (XXVII).
15 G A resolution 2854 (XXVII).
16 G A resolution 2856 (XXVII).
17 G A resolution 3439 (XXVII).
18 G A resolutions 3519 (XXV), 32/142.
19 G A resolutions 2788 (XXVII), 3025 (XXVII), 3412 (XXVIII), 3270 (XXIX).
20 G A resolution 2675 (XXV).
21 G A resolutions 2869 (XXVI), 2709 (XXV), 3156 (XXVII).
22 G A resolutions 317 (XXVIII), 3299 (XXIX), 31/7.
23 G A resolution 2711 (XXV).
24 G A resolution 3333 (XXIX).
26 G A resolutions 31/58, 32/28.
27 G A resolutions 2832 (XXVII), 3080 (XXVIII).
28 G A resolutions 2634 (XXV), 2926 (XXVII), 3071 (XXVIII), 3495 (XXIX), 31/97, 33/139.
29 G A resolution 2936 (XXVII).
30 G A resolutions 2775 (XXV), 2922 (XXVII), 3068 (XXVIII), 3324 (XXIX) 3380 (XXX), 33/103.
31 G A resolution 3166 (XXVIII).
32 G A resolution 3232 (XXX).
33 G A resolutions 3499 (XXX), 31/28.
34 G A resolution 33/23.
35 G A resolution 31/18.
36 G A resolution 31/103.
37 G A resolution 32/8.
38 G A resolution 2790 (XXV).
39 G A resolution 2627 (XXV).
40 G A resolution 33/75.
41 G A resolution 2627 (XXV).
42 G A resolutions 2788 (XXVI), 3025 (XXVII), 3412 (XXVIII), 3270 (XXIX).
43 G A resolution 2625 (XXV).
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 G A resolutions 31/154, 32/116, 33/38.
### ANNEX I

Tabulation of decisions of the General Assembly referring to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter as a whole

(1 January 1970-31 December 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resolution No</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Charter reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2627 (XXV)</td>
<td>Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations</td>
<td>The General Assembly, “in pursuance of the purposes of the Charter”, reaffirmed its “determination to respect the principles of international law. . .”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2642 (XXV)</td>
<td>Representation of China in the United Nations</td>
<td>The General Assembly recalled the recommendation contained in its resolution 396 (V) of 14 December 1950 that, whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations and this question becomes the subject of controversy in the United Nations, the question should be considered “in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the circumstances of each case”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2660 (XXV)</td>
<td>Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself convinced that “the Treaty will further the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . .”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2734 (XXV)</td>
<td>Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered that “in order to fulfil the purposes and principles of the United Nations Member States must strictly abide by all provisions of the Charter”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2727 (XXV)</td>
<td>Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself to be “guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2633 (XXV)</td>
<td>Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered it important that young people of all countries of the world should resolutely oppose military and other action designed to suppress the liberation movements of peoples still under colonial, racist or alien domination and under military occupation, and should support those peoples in every way possible “in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations . . .”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2646 (XXV)</td>
<td>Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself aware that “racism and apartheid continue to be instruments of colonialism, imperialism and economic exploitation, and that they are a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. . .”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2713 (XXV)</td>
<td>Measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed its “faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and stated that it was abiding by them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2709 (XXV)</td>
<td>Question of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands</td>
<td>The General Assembly reiterated its declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in those Territories is “incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. . .”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2711 (XXV)</td>
<td>Question of Spanish Sahara</td>
<td>The General Assembly urged the Administering Power to respect and implement scrupulously the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the free consultation of peoples under United Nations auspices and guarantees and “in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which define the conditions for the free consultation of peoples with a view to their self-determination”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2634 (XXV)</td>
<td>Report of the International Law Commission</td>
<td>The General Assembly emphasized “the need for the further codification and progressive development of international law in order to make it a more effective means of implementing the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and to give increased importance to its role in relations among nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2826 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself convinced that “the Convention will contribute to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2832 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself convinced that the establishment of a zone of peace in an extensive geographical area in one region could have a beneficial influence on the establishment of permanent universal peace based on equal rights and justice for all, “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2880 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
<td>The General Assembly called upon all States to contribute towards resolving existing conflict and situations likely to endanger international peace and security, “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and in keeping with the Declaration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resolution No</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Charter reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>2775 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Situation in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered that “the United Nations and Member States should intensify their efforts to solve the situation in South Africa in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2804 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Application of computer technology for development</td>
<td>The General Assembly urged Governments to give particular attention to the application of computer technology consistent with their national goals, and invited them to encourage, “in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations”, broader bilateral and multilateral co-operation in this field and to explore new ways and means of intensifying this cooperation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2770 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Youth, its problems and needs, and its participation in social development</td>
<td>The General Assembly recognized “the important role of youth in the realization of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2784 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself “firmly convinced that all forms of racial discrimination are a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and that they militate against human progress, peace and justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2788 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared that it firmly believed that the entry into force of the International Covenant on Human Rights and the Optional Protocol will greatly enhance the ability of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and will “contribute to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2790 (XXVI)</td>
<td>United Nations assistance to East Pakistan refugees through the United Nations focal point and United Nations humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan</td>
<td>The General Assembly urged all Member States “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” to intensify their efforts to bring about conditions necessary for the speedy and voluntary repatriation of the refugees to their homes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2839 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Measures to be taken against nazism and other totalitarian ideologies and practices based on incitement to hatred and racial intolerance</td>
<td>The General Assembly recognized that there still existed in the world convinced adherents of nazism and racial intolerance whose activities, if not opposed in sufficient time, could bring about a resurgence of those ideologies, which are “clearly incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and that, accordingly, the danger of a revival or a development of new forms of nazism and racial discrimination combined with terrorism cannot be disregarded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2842 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Question of the elderly and the aged</td>
<td>The General Assembly bore in mind “the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with reference to respect for the dignity and worth of the human person”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2854 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict</td>
<td>The General Assembly noted Commission on Human Rights resolution 15 (XXVII) of 24 March 1971, in which the Commission expressed its conviction that there was an urgent need to examine the question of the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions, both on humanitarian grounds and in order to enable journalists with due respect for the law to seek, receive and impart information fully, objectively and faithfully “in the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights concerning freedom of information”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2869 (XXVI)</td>
<td>Question of American Samos, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and the United States Virgin Islands</td>
<td>The General Assembly deprecated any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in those Territories, as being “incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2949 (XXVII)</td>
<td>The situation in the Middle East</td>
<td>The General Assembly affirmed that changes in the physical character or demographic composition of occupied Territories are “contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as to the provisions of the relevant applicable international conventions”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2993 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
<td>The General Assembly expressed the hope that the present favourable trends in bilateral, regional and multilateral relations, including the creation of zones of peace and co-operation in various areas of the world, will continue and that efforts to that end will be pursued and intensified, thus furthering the strengthening of international security, “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resolution No</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>2919 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination</td>
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<td>2922 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid</td>
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<tr>
<td>3025 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>2984 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Question of American Samoa, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands and United States Virgin Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>2926 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Report of the International Law Commission</td>
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<td>3080 (XXVII)</td>
<td>Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>3185 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>3068 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid</td>
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<tr>
<td>3142 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>3117 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3156 (XXVIII)</td>
<td>Question of American Samoa, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Guam, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, Seychelles and Solomon Islands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I. Purposes and Principles

Resolution No. Title Charter reference

3071 (XXVIII) Report of the International Law Commission The General Assembly emphasized the need for the further codification and progressive development of international law in order to make it a more effective means of "implementing the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations" and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States, and to give increased importance to its role in relations among States.

3166 (XXVIII) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents The General Assembly considered that the codification and progressive development of international law "contributes to the implementation of the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations".

3332 (XXIX) Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security The General Assembly reaffirmed that all States have the right to participate on a basis of equality in the settlement of major international problems "in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations" so that peace and security will be based on effective respect for the sovereignty and independence of each State and the inalienable right of each people to determine its own destiny freely and without outside interference, coercion or pressure.

3333 (XXIX) Question of Korea The General Assembly recognized that, "in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has a continuing responsibility to ensure the attainment of this goal on the Korean peninsula.

3240 (XXIX) Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories The General Assembly declared that the policies of Israel constituted not only a direct contravention to, and violation of, the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, the principles and provisions of the applicable international law concerning occupation and the basic human rights of the people, but also an impediment to the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

3324 (XXIX) Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa The General Assembly declared itself anxious to avert the danger of a race conflict in southern Africa and to promote a just solution of the grave situation in South Africa "in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

3221 (XXIX) Improvement of the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms The General Assembly invited appropriate non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council to submit to the Secretary-General any relevant material on the subject, taking into account that such material will not be politically motivated "contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

3270 (XXIX) Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights The General Assembly recalled its resolutions 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 and 3142 (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, and in particular its belief that the coming into force of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol will greatly enhance the ability of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and will "contribute to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

3290 (XXIX) Question of American Samoa, Guam, New Hebrides, Pitoaion, St. Helena and Solomon Islands The General Assembly strongly deprecated any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial Territories as being "incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

3299 (XXIX) Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa The General Assembly reaffirmed that any economic or other activity which impeded the implementation of the Declaration and obstructed efforts aimed at the elimination of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in other colonial Territories violated the political, economic and social rights and interests of the peoples of the Territories and was therefore "incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter".

3375 (XXX) Invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the efforts for peace in the Middle East The General Assembly believed that the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people "in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" was a prerequisite to achieving a just and lasting peace in the area.

3389 (XXX) Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security The General Assembly solemnly called upon all States to seek "strict and consistent implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" and of all the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security as a basis for relations among States, irrespective of their size, level of development and socio-economic system.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resolution No</th>
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<th>Charter reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3411 (XXX)</td>
<td>Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself aware of its &quot;responsibility of upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It reaffirmed that the establishment of bantustans was a measure essentially designed to destroy the territorial integrity of the country &quot;in violation of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations&quot;. It also condemned the racist régime of South Africa for its policies and practices of apartheid, which were a crime against humanity, for its &quot;persistent and flagrant violations of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and for its continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3439 (XXX)</td>
<td>United Nations University</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed that, as an international community of scholars, the United Nations University should play an important role in &quot;furthering the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot; by devoting its work to research into the pressing global problems that are the concern of the United Nations and of the organizations of the United Nations system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3380 (XXX)</td>
<td>Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed its firm conviction that apartheid constitutes a &quot;total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and is a crime against humanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3519 (XXX)</td>
<td>Women's participation in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the struggle against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation and all forms of foreign domination</td>
<td>The General Assembly emphasized the grave concern that in some regions of the world colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination and foreign aggression continue to exist and territories are still occupied, which represents &quot;a most serious infringement of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and of human rights of both men and women, and of the peoples' right to self-determination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3495 (XXX)</td>
<td>Report of the International Law Commission</td>
<td>The General Assembly emphasized the need for the progressive development of international law and its codification in order to make a more effective means of &quot;implementing the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, and to give increased importance to its role in relations among States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3419 (XXX)</td>
<td>Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed its &quot;support for the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/91</td>
<td>Non-interference in the internal affairs of States</td>
<td>The General Assembly called upon all States, &quot;in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot;, to undertake the necessary measures in order to prevent any hostile act or activity taking place within their territory and directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of another State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/106</td>
<td>Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered that the promotion of respect for the obligations arising from the Charter of the United Nations and other instruments and rules of international law is among the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations. The General Assembly also declared itself &quot;guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations&quot; as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/33</td>
<td>Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa</td>
<td>The General Assembly noted that the actions of some States in strengthening political, economic, military and other relations with the South African régime are &quot;in flagrant and deliberate violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/77</td>
<td>Implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed that the policies of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid are &quot;flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot; and constitute serious violations of the obligations of Member States under the Charter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21/124</td>
<td>Protection of human rights in Chile</td>
<td>The General Assembly invited Member States, United Nations agencies and other international organizations to take steps which they may consider appropriate as a contribution to the restoration and safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, &quot;in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations&quot;, and welcomed the steps already taken to that end.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resolution No</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Charter reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>31/18</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Succession of States in respect of Treaties</td>
<td>The General Assembly believed that the successful codification and progressive development of the rules of international law governing succession of States in respect of treaties would contribute to the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States, irrespective of their constitutional and social systems, and would assist in “promoting and implementing the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/103</td>
<td>Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered that the progressive development of international law and its codification contributed to “the implementation of the purposes and principles set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/9</td>
<td>Question of Namibia</td>
<td>The General Assembly affirmed that the natural resources of Namibia were the birthright of the Namibian people and that the depletion of those resources by foreign economic interests under the protection of the repressive illegal administration of South Africa was “in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/153</td>
<td>Non-interference in the internal affairs of States</td>
<td>The General Assembly called on all States, “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”, to undertake necessary measures in order to prevent any hostile act or activity taking place within their territory and being directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of another State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/195</td>
<td>Tenth anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself convinced that, during the decade in which the Treaty had been in force, it had played a positive role in “the implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and the progressive development of the law of outer space, including the elaboration and adoption of other international instruments governing the outer space activities of States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/8</td>
<td>Safety of international civil aviation</td>
<td>The General Assembly called upon all States to take all necessary steps, taking into account the relevant recommendations of the United Nations and the International Civil Aviation Organization, to prevent acts of the nature referred to in paragraph 1 of the resolution, including the improvement of security arrangements at airports or by airlines as well as the exchange of relevant information, and to this end to take joint and separate action, subject to “respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and for the relevant United Nations declarations, covenants and resolutions and without prejudice to the sovereignty or territorial integrity of any State, in co-operation with the United Nations and the International Civil Aviation Organization, to ensure that passengers, crew and aircraft engaged in civil aviation are not used as a means of exerting advantage of any kind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution No</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Charter reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>32/13</td>
<td>Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination</td>
<td>The General Assembly commended the Committee for furthering the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination by requesting the States parties to the Convention to include in their reports under article 9 information on the measures which they had adopted to give effect to article 7 of the Convention in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination, promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial or ethnic groups, and “propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/130</td>
<td>Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared itself convinced that the “obligation of all States to observe the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” is fundamental for the promotion and respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms and for the realization of the full dignity and worth of the human person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/142</td>
<td>Women’s participation in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the struggle against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation and all forms of foreign domination</td>
<td>The General Assembly emphasized its grave concern that in some regions of the world colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination and aggression continued to exist and territories were still occupied, which represented “a most serious infringement of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and of human rights of both women and men, and of the peoples’ right to self-determination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/28</td>
<td>Question of Guam</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed its strong conviction that the presence of United States bases on Guam should not prevent the people of the Territory from freely exercising their rights to self-determination “in accordance with the Declaration and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/73</td>
<td>Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace</td>
<td>The General Assembly declared that, “in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations”, States have the duty to refrain from propaganda for wars of aggression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/75</td>
<td>Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
<td>The General Assembly called upon all States to “adhere fully, in international relations, to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and to contribute effectively to the implementation and further elaboration of the provisions embodied in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/91</td>
<td>General and complete disarmament</td>
<td>The General Assembly considered that “strict compliance of all States with the purposes and principles of the Charter” is essential to ease international tensions and to create mutual confidence among States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/23</td>
<td>Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa</td>
<td>The General Assembly noted that the maintenance by certain States of political, economic, military and other relations with the racist regime of South Africa is “in flagrant and deliberate violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter” and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/103</td>
<td>Status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid</td>
<td>The General Assembly reaffirmed its firm conviction that apartheid constitutes a “total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations” and is a gross violation of human rights and a crime against humanity seriously disturbing and threatening international peace and security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/139</td>
<td>Report of the International Law Commission</td>
<td>The General Assembly emphasized the need for the progressive development of international law and its codification in order to make it a more effective means of “implementing the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations” and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, and to give increased importance to its role in relations among States.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ANNEX II

**Tabulation of decisions of the General Assembly referring to specific Purposes and Principles of the Charter**

(1 January 1970-31 December 1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resolution No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Extract of provisions</th>
<th>Charter Article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2625 (XXV), annex</td>
<td>Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations</td>
<td>&quot;The General Assembly, &quot;... &quot;I. Solemnly proclaims &quot;... &quot;The principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered&quot; &quot;Every State shall settle its international disputes with other States by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. &quot;States shall accordingly seek early and just settlement of their international disputes by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their choice. In seeking such a settlement the parties shall agree upon such peaceful means as may be appropriate to the circumstances and nature of the dispute. &quot;The parties to a dispute have the duty, in the event of failure to reach a solution by any one of the above peaceful means, to continue to seek a settlement of the dispute by other peaceful means agreed upon by them. &quot;States parties to an international dispute, as well as other States, shall refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation so as to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. &quot;International disputes shall be settled on the basis of the sovereign equality of States and in accordance with the principle of free choice of means. Recourse to, or acceptance of, a settlement procedure freely agreed to by States with regard to existing or future disputes to which they are parties shall not be regarded as incompatible with sovereign equality. &quot;Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs prejudices or derogates from the applicable provisions of the Charter, in particular those relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes. &quot;... &quot;The duty of States to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter &quot;... States have the duty to co-operate with one another, irrespective of the differences in their political, economic and social systems, in the various spheres of international relations, in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress, the general welfare of nations and international co-operation free from discrimination based on such differences. &quot;To this end: &quot;(a) States shall co-operate with other States in the maintenance of international peace and security; &quot;(b) States shall co-operate in the promotion of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and in the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and all forms of religious intolerance; &quot;(c) States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention; &quot;(d) States Members of the United Nations have the duty to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.</td>
<td>2(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2(1) | 1(3) |
“States should co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields as well as in the field of science and technology and for the promotion of international cultural and educational progress. States should co-operate in the promotion of economic growth throughout the world, especially that of the developing countries.

“...”

“The principle of sovereign equality of States

“All States enjoy sovereign equality. They have equal rights and duties and are equal members of the international community, notwithstanding differences of an economic, social, political or other nature.

“In particular, sovereign equality includes the following elements:

“(a) States are juridically equal;

“(b) Each State enjoys the rights inherent in full sovereignty;

“(c) Each State has the duty to respect the personality of other States;

“(d) The territorial integrity and political independence of the State are inviolable;

“(e) Each State has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems;

“(f) Each State has the duty to comply fully and in good faith with its international obligations and to live in peace with other States.

“The principle that States shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter

“Every State has the duty to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by it in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

“Every State has the duty to fulfill in good faith its obligations under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law.

“Every State has the duty to fulfill in good faith its obligations under international agreements valid under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law.

“Where obligations arising under international agreements are in conflict with the obligations of Members of the United Nations under the Charter of the United Nations, the obligations under the Charter shall prevail.”

“The General Assembly,

“...”

“Recalling that Member States pledged themselves solemnly under Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,”.

“The General Assembly,

“...”

“Reiterating the obligation of Member States for the urgent termination of all armed aggression, as envisaged in Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter and in other relevant documents of the United Nations,”.

“The General Assembly,

“...”

“Reaffirming faith in human rights and fundamental freedoms and in the principles of peace, of the dignity and worth of the human person and of social justice proclaimed in the Charter,”.

“The General Assembly,

“...”

“Aware that the United Nations is duty bound to act persistently for the observance in relations between all States of the principles of refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the settlement of international
disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in domestic affairs, the sovereign equality of all States, the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and co-operation between States, "

"E

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing that the problem of the Palestinian Arab refuges has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ".

1(3)

3232 (XXIX) Review of the role of the International Court of Justice

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling further that, in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter, all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, ".

2(3)

31/123 International Year of Disabled Persons

"The General Assembly,

"Reaffirming its deep-rooted faith in human rights and fundamental freedoms, the principles of peace, the dignity and worth of the human person and the promotion of social justice, as proclaimed by the Charter of the United Nations, ".

1(3)

31/124 Protection of human rights in Chile

"The General Assembly,

"Reiterating its responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, ".

1(3)

31/154 B Question of Southern Rhodesia

"The General Assembly,

"Strongly condemning those Governments, particularly the racist régime of South Africa, which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in open contravention of their specific obligations under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration;

2(5)

2. Condemns all violations of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as well as the continued failure of certain Member States to enforce those sanctions strictly, as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter;

2(5)

32/155 Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing that, in order to resolve effectively international problems, an ever increasing degree of harmony and co-operation among nations is called for, ".

1(4)

32/116 B Question of Southern Rhodesia

"The General Assembly,

"Strongly deplores the increasing collaboration, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, which certain States, particularly South Africa, maintain with the illegal racist minority régime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions and other measures taken thus far against the illegal régime, 

2(5)

1. Strongly condemns those Governments, particularly the Government of South Africa, which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in open contravention of their specific obligations under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration;
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<th>Extract of provisions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33/73</td>
<td>Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace</td>
<td>&quot;The General Assembly, &quot;Recalling that in the Charter the peoples of the United Nations proclaimed their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and that one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security,&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/75</td>
<td>Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security</td>
<td>&quot;Deeply concerned at the frequent acts of violation of the Charter of the United Nations, breaches of the peace and threats to international peace and security, recourse to the threat or use of force, non-compliance by States with their obligations to solve disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter, disregard of the role of the United Nations and the lessening of confidence in the effectiveness of the Security Council in ensuring compliance with the Charter,&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33/38 B</td>
<td>Question of Southern Rhodesia</td>
<td>&quot;Strongly deploring the increasing collaboration, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, which certain States, particularly South Africa, maintain with the illegal racist minority régime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions and other measures taken thus far against the illegal régime,&quot;.</td>
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</table>
ARTICLE 1(2)

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ARTICLE 1(2)

TEXT OF ARTICLE 1(2)
The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To save future generations from the scourge of war, which so happily terrify mankind; to bring all nations to a common sense of justice; to the respect for the obligations inherent in the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. The present study is limited to the consideration by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the general question of the implementation of Article 1(2) and the bearing of this Article on specific political questions, while other questions relating to self-determination are treated, where appropriate, under Articles 55 and 73 of the Charter.

2. The practice of the General Assembly concerning the application and interpretation of the concept of the right of self-determination as formulated in resolution 1514 (XV) entitled "Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples" is dealt with under Article 73 of the Charter.

3. The Summary of Practice reviews the decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which contained implicit references to Article 1(2).

4. The Summary of Practice also deals with the instances when Article 1(2) was explicitly invoked during discussions in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

5. None of the decisions and references mentioned above gave rise to a constitutional discussion regarding the application of Article 1(2).

SUMMARY OF PRACTICE

6. During the period under review the General Assembly adopted a large number of resolutions with implicit references to Article 1(2). None of these involved constitutional arguments regarding the interpretation of the second paragraph of Article 1.

7. In the case of two agenda items, the General Assembly adopted resolutions which contained an explicit reference to Article 1 together with the language employed in paragraph 2 of that Article.

8. The first instance arose in connexion with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations on 24 October 1970, when the General Assembly adopted as resolution 2627 (XXV) a solemn Declaration which, in its second paragraph, stated:

"2. The United Nations, despite its limitations, has, in its role as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining the purposes mentioned in Article 1 of the Charter, made an important contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, to developing friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to achieving international co-operation in economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields . . ."

The Declaration contained a further implicit reference to Article 1(2) in its paragraph 7.

9. During the twenty-fifth session, in connexion with the question of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the General Assembly adopted resolution 2672 C (XXV), which contained the following statement:

"Bearing in mind the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter and more recently reaffirmed in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations . . ."

This resolution 2672 C contained several other implicit references to Article 1(2) in declaring the support of the General Assembly for the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to self-determination.

10. The invocation of this inalienable right to self-determination together with the explicit reference to Article 1 was renewed in General Assembly resolutions 2792 D (XXVI), 2963 E (XXVII), and 3089 D (XXVIII), regarding the work of UNRWA.

11. The following resolutions of the General Assembly also contained implicit references to Article 1(2) without giving rise to constitutional arguments.

12. General Assembly resolutions 2625 (XXV) regarding the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and 2633 (XXV) concerning Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development, referred implicitly to Article 1(2). Resolutions 2646 (XXV) and 3579 (XXX), which were adopted in connexion with the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, also referred to Article 1(2).

13. Throughout the period under review, the General Assembly, in dealing with the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights, invoked Article 1(2) in its resolutions 2649 (XXV), 2787 (XXVI), 2955 (XXVII), 3070 (XXVIII), 3246 (XXIX), 3382 (XXX), 31/34, 32/14, 32/24, and 32/25.

14. Each year, the General Assembly referred implicitly to Article 1(2) in its resolutions 2678 (XXV), 2871 (XXVI), 3031 (XXVII), 3111 (XXVIII), 3295 (XXIX), 3399 (XXX), 31/146, 32/9 A, B, C, D, and E, 33/182 A, B, and C, and 33/206, regarding the question of Namibia. In
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1970, the Assembly also referred implicitly to Article 1(2) in resolution 2679 (XXVIII)94 in connexion with the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

15. The Assembly invoked the principle of Article 1(2) in resolution 2700 (XXVI)95 and also 2865 (XXVI)96 regarding the question of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and in resolution 2702 (XXVI)97 regarding the question of Oman.

16. With regard to "activities of foreign economic and other interest" which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Territories under Portuguese domination98 and in all other Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa", the General Assembly made implicit references to Article 1(2) in its resolutions 2703 (XXV),36 2873 (XXVI),37 2979 (XXVIII),38 3117 (XXVIII),39 3299 (XXIX),40 3398 (XXX),41 31/7,42 32/35,43 and 33/40.44

17. In connexion with the question of Territories under Portuguese administration the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2707 (XXV),45 2795 (XXVI),45 2918 (XXVII),46 3113 (XXVIII),45 and 3294 (XXX).45

18. Each year, in considering the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Assembly adopted resolutions invoking the principle of self-determination: these resolutions were 2708 (XXV),46 2878 (XXVI),47 2908 (XXVII),48 3163 (XXVIII),49 3226 (XXIX),50 3481 (XXX),51 31/143,52 32/42,53 and 33/44.54

19. In considering the question of Western Sahara, formerly called Spanish Sahara, the General Assembly made implicit references to Article 1(2) in its resolutions 2711 (XXV),55 3458 A and B (XXX),56 31/45,57 32/22,58 and 33/31.59

20. At its twentieth session, the General Assembly adopted as resolution 2784 (XXXV) the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which contained a few implicit references to Article 1(2).60 At the subsequent sessions, in dealing with the implementation of that Declaration, the General Assembly made similar references in its resolutions 2880 (XXXV),56 2993 (XXXV),61 3185 (XXXVIII),62 3332 (XXX),63 3389 (XXX),64 31/91,65 32/154,66 and 33/75.67

21. At the twenty-sixth session and in subsequent years, the Assembly referred implicitly to Article 1(2) in its resolutions 2775 E (XXVII),68 2923 E (XXVII),69 3324 C (XXIX),70 3411 B, C, D, F, G (XXX),71 31/6 C and I,72 32/105 B, H, I, J,73 and 33/183 L8 concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, and in its resolutions 2796 (XXVI),74 2877 (XXVI),75 2945 (XXVII),76 3115 (XXVIII),77 3297 (XXIX),78 3298 (XXX),79 3396 (XXX),80 31/154 A,81 32/116 A,82 and 33/38 A,83 concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia.

22. At the twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly made implicit references to Article 1(2) in its resolution 2925 (XXVIII)84 concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States, in its resolution 2936 (XXVIII)85 regarding the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and in resolution 3034 (XXVII)86 concerning measures to prevent international terrorism.84 The General Assembly adopted in subsequent years two other resolutions with implicit references to Article 1(2), namely, resolutions 31/10287 and 32/147,88 in connexion with the last agenda item.

23. General Assembly resolution 3061 (XXVIII),89 adopted in connexion with the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic, also contained implicit references to Article 1(2). So did resolutions 3236 (XXIX)90 and 3376 (XXX),91 which the General Assembly adopted in connexion with the question of Palestine, and resolution 3314 (XXXI)92 containing the Definition of Aggression.

24. The General Assembly implicitly invoked Article 1(2) in adopting resolutions 3377 (XXX),93 31/77,94 and 32/1003 regarding the implementation of the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, resolution 3384 (XXX)95 with regard to the Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind, and resolution 3519 (XXX)96 in connexion with women's participation in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the struggle against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation and all forms of foreign domination.

25. In regarding specific political questions arising from difficulties in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XVI)), the General Assembly made implicit references to the principle of self-determination under Article 1(2) in its resolutions 3424 (XXX)97 and 32/27/87 pertaining to the question of Brunei, resolution 3430 (XXX)98 regarding the Seychelles, resolutions 3432 (XXX),99 31/50,100 32/32,101 and 33/3612 in connexion with Belize, and resolutions 3485 (XXX),102 31/53,103 32/34,104 and 33/3915 relating to the question of Timor.

26. At the thirty-first and thirty-second sessions, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 31/14516 and 32/4117 with implicit references to Article 1(2) regarding the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The same applied to General Assembly resolutions 31/3310 and 33/2310 adopted in connexion with the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa, and to resolution 31/9118 regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

27. Article 1(2) was also referred to in General Assembly resolutions 32/2819 and 33/3320 in connexion with the question of Guam, resolution 32/12221 regarding the protection of persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle against apartheid, racism and racial discrimination, colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation and for self-determination, independence and social progress for their people, resolution 32/13022 pertaining to alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, resolutions 32/15523 relating to the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Déente and, at the thirty-third session, resolution 33/7217 which contained the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

28. During the period under review, the Security Council adopted a number of resolutions with implicit references to Article 1(2) without giving rise to a constitutional discussion.


council was currently seized and implementation of the policies of apartheid of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations. 

150. Article 1(2) was further explicitly invoked during the general debate (a.i. 9) at the twenty-fifth session during the consideration of human rights and pertaining to the need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations, and regarding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations.

32. Throughout the period under review, there were a number of instances in which Article 1(2) was explicitly referred to in the General Assembly and its main committees as well as in the Security Council, but none of the instances resulted in constitutional discussions.

33. In the General Assembly, Article 1(2) was explicitly referred to during the general debate (a.i. 9) at the twenty-fifth, thirtieth and thirty-third sessions; also during the consideration of the situation in the Middle East, in connexion with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, regarding the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, and pertaining to the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights.

34. Explicit references to Article 1(2) were also made in the General Assembly during the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in connexion with the consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security, pertaining to the need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations, and regarding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations.

35. The discussion of the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa gave rise to explicit references to Article 1(2); so did the consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of measures to prevent international terrorism which endangered or took innocent human lives or jeopardized fundamental freedoms, of the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, of the question of Korea, of the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States and in connexion with the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression.

36. Article 1(2) was further explicitly invoked during the thirtieth session during the consideration of human rights and scientific and technological development, also in connexion with the question of Palestine, with the deepening and consolidation of international detente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war, and regarding a few items relating to racism and human rights.

37. In the Security Council there were explicit references to Article 1(2) in connexion with the following issues: consideration of questions relating to Africa of which the Security Council was currently seized and implementation of the Council’s relevant resolutions, question concerning the situation in Territories under Portuguese administration, complaint by Zambia, consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America, the situation in the Middle East, the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa, the situation in Namibia, the Middle East problem including the Palestinian question, and the question of South Africa.

38. The implicit references to Article 1(2) in the General Assembly as well as in the Security Council were too numerous to be listed here.
jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes."

87 Preambular paras. 2 and 4, para. 1; a.i. 25.
88 Preambular para. 4; a.i. 24.
89 Para. 1; a.i. 70.
90 Para. 1; a.i. 76.
91 Preambular para. 4, para. 1; a.i. 33.
92 Preambular para. 7, paras. 2 and 5; a.i. 24.
93 Para. 2 and 7; a.i. 24.
94 A.i. 12.
95 Preambular para. 10, para 1(6); a.i. 76.
96 Para. 6; a.i. 127.
97 1, para. 5; a.i. 50.
98 Preambular para. 1.
99 Preambular paras. 1 and 8, para. 2.
100 Para. 3.
101 Preambular para. 9.
102 Para. 2.
103 Para. 4.
104 Preambular para. 4, para. 2.
105 Para. 1.
106 Preambular para. 6, para. 5.
107 Preambular para. 3.
108 Preambular para. 2.
109 Preambular para. 4.
110 The full title of the agenda item reads as follows: "Request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations in relation to the situation which has arisen as a result of its decision to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council."
111 Preambular para. 5.
112 Preambular para. 6, para. 5.
113 Preambular para. 3.
114 Preambular para. 9.
115 G A (25), Plen., 1851st mtg.: Madagascar, para. 19; 1859th mtg.: Sudan, para. 153; G A (30), Plen., 2376th mtg.: Chile; G A (33), Plen., 344th mtg.: Somalia.
116 G A (25), Plen., 1888th mtg.: Saudi Arabia, paras. 85-86; 1894th mtg.: Kuwait, para. 144; a.i. 22; G A (27), Plen., 2096th mtg.: Syrian Arab Republic, para. 49; a.i. 21; G A (33), Plen., 69th mtg.: Jordan; a.i. 30.
117 G A (25), Spec. Pol. Com., 736th mtg.: Kuwait, para. 28; 738th mtg.: Saudi Arabia, para. 57; 81st mtg.: Kuwait, para. 28; a.i. 35; G A (27), Spec. Pol. Com., 835th mtg.: Egypt, para. 32; a.i. 40.
118 G A (25), 3rd Com., 1768th mtg.: Yugoslavia, para. 8; 1773rd mtg.: Pakistan, para. 7; 1777th mtg.: Lebanon, para. 39; a.i. 53; G A (30), 3rd Com., 2128th mtg.: Peru, para. 52; 2129th mtg.: Cuba, para. 4; a.i. 68; G A (33), 3rd Com., 28th mtg.: Israel, para. 66; a.i. 81.
119 G A (25), 3rd Com., 1768th mtg.: Yugoslavia, para. 8; 1773rd mtg.: Pakistan, para. 7; 1777th mtg.: Lebanon, para. 39; a.i. 60; G A (27), 3rd Com., 1958th mtg.: United States, para. 30; a.i. 51; G A (30), 3rd Com., 2124th mtg.: Mr. Schreiber, Division of Human Rights, para. 1; a.i. 77; G A (31), 3rd Com., 14th mtg.: Cyprus, para. 12-13; 15th mtg.: Chile, para. 62; 16th mtg.: Kenya, para. 6; 17th mtg.: India, para. 54; a.i. 76; G A (33), 3rd Com., 28th mtg.: Israel, para. 66; a.i. 82.
120 G A (25), Plen., 1870th mtg.: Saudi Arabia, paras. 150 and 158; 1875th mtg.: Mali, para. 190; 1879th mtg.: France, para. 80; a.i. 21.
121 G A (25), 1st Com., 1733rd mtg.: Ecuador, para. 95; a.i. 32.
122 G A (25), Plen., 1926th mtg.: Cuba, para. 67; a.i. 88.
123 G A (25), Plen., 1913th mtg.: Madagascar, paras. 13-15 (explicit reference to Articles 1 and 2(6)); a.i. 97.
124 G A (26), Spec. Pol. Com., 733rd mtg.: Madagascar, para. 34; a.i. 37; G A (28), Spec. Pol. Com., 809th mtg.: Greece, para. 4; 870th mtg.: Belyroussin SSR, para. 49; a.i. 42.
125 G A (27), Plen., 2065th mtg.: Madagascar, para. 6; 2071st mtg.: Egypt, para. 29; a.i. 22.
126 G A (27), 6th Com., 1355th mtg.: Saudi Arabia, para. 6; a.i. 92; G A (32), 6th Com., 55th mtg.: Afghanistan, para. 16; a.i. 118.
127 G A (28), 4th Com., 2057th mtg.: Egypt, para. 36; a.i. 71.
128 G A (28), 1st Com., 1961st mtg.: Albania; 1967th mtg.: Barbados; a.i. 41.
129 G A (29), Plen., 234 th mtg.: Tunisia; 236th mtg.: Iraq; a.i. 20.
130 For an explicit reference to Article 1 in general see G A (29), 6th Com., 1479th mtg.: Cuba, para. 44. See also important implicit references.
to Article 1(2) ibid., 1475th mtg.: Romania, para. 10; 1477th mtg.: Pakistan, para. 5; 1478th mtg.: Bangladesh, paras. 3-4; 1479th mtg.: Democratic Yemen, para. 27; a.i. 86.

169  G A (30), 3rd Com., 2141st mtg.: Bulgaria, para. 24; a.i. 69.

170  G A (31), Plen., 71st mtg.: Mexico, para. 32; a.i. 27; G A (33), Plen., 66th mtg.: Bangladesh; a.i. 31.

171  G A (32), 1st Com., 47th mtg.: Czechoslovakia; a.i. 127.

172  G A (33), 3rd Com., 28th mtg.: Israel, para. 66; a.i. 73, 74, 76.

173  S C (27), 1633rd mtg.: Mr. Leballo; 1635th mtg.: United States.

174  S C (28), 1672nd mtg.: Liberia.

175  S C (28), 1688th mtg.: Egypt, para. 75.

176  S C (28), 1702nd mtg.: President (Panama).

177  S C (28), 1718th mtg.: Syrian Arab Republic; 1725th mtg.: President (USSR).

Among the many references to the principle of self-determination, mention should be made of the discussion in the Security Council in connexion with the situation in the Comoros: several arguments were proposed regarding the primacy of self-determination over territorial integrity or vice versa. France (SC (31), 1887th mtg.) submitted that the right to self-determination ranked higher than territorial unity and was opposed by Benin (ibid.). See also the concept of self-determination as suggested by Kenya (ibid.).
ARTICLE 2(4)

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Notes
ARTICLE 2(4)

TEXT OF ARTICLE 2(4)

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

4. All Members shall 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.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. As in the three previous Supplements covering the periods from 1 September 1956 to 31 August 1959,1 1 September 1959 to 31 August 19662 and 1 September 1966 to 31 December 1969,3 Article 2(4) requires treatment in a separate study since there were a number of decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly bearing on its provisions and giving rise to extensive constitutional discussions.

2. The General Survey briefly summarizes all those decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly which referred explicitly or implicitly to the provisions of Article 2(4) but were not preceded by a constitutional discussion.

3. The Analytical Summary of Practice contains a detailed account of a few decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly which have a direct bearing on the interpretation and application of Article 2(4) and were preceded by an extensive constitutional discussion.

4. While the constitutional discussion in the Security Council was related to specific situations under consideration, there were four instances in the General Assembly where the consideration of items of a general nature gave rise to constitutional discussion concerning the interpretation of Article 2(4). Three of these instances, those relating to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the Declaration of Aggression, are considered in the Analytical Summary of Practice.4

5. In the fourth instance, the provisions of Article 2(4) were considered in general terms in connexion with the item entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations"5 during the thirty-first to thirty-third sessions of the General Assembly. As the General Assembly did not make a final recommendation on the matter during the period under review, the relevant proceedings are briefly reviewed in the General Survey.

6. A few other items involving the discussion in the General Assembly or its Committees of provisions of Article 2(4) in a somewhat general manner are also reviewed in the General Survey, since their consideration was very brief and limited and did not lead to a substantive constitutional discussion.6

7. The proceedings and constitutional discussions in the Security Council and the General Assembly relating to questions treated in this study shed light on the meaning and scope of the terms of Article 2(4) as understood by the members of these two organs. In some instances references to Article 2(4) were accompanied by references to other Articles of the Charter or to the provisions of other paragraphs of Articles 1 and 2 which set forth the purposes and principles of the United Nations. On occasion, the objections raised against the threat or use of force were answered by references to Article 2(7) which prohibits the United Nations from intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The threat or use of force was also defended with references to Articles 51 or 53; this viewpoint was, however, opposed by the argument that the threat or use of force was at variance with the provisions of those two Articles.

8. The general structure of this study follows that developed in the last three Supplements of the Repertory. The material in the Analytical Summary of Practice is again organized under the broad subheadings: A. The question of the scope and limits of the phrase "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state"; and C. The question of the bearing of the injunction in Article 2(4) on the right of self-defense. No material was found for inclusion under subheading B (The question of the scope and limits of the phrase "in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations").

9. One of the questions which arose in the proceedings of the Security Council and the General Assembly was whether the use of force in certain specific circumstances, as claimed, could be considered legitimate within the provisions of Article 2(4). The categories of such claims listed below were formulated merely in order to enable the reader to obtain an overall view of the cases related to the interpretation and application of the provisions of Article 2(4). No constitutional significance should be attached to them.

(i) The use of force:
(a) by one State against acts of violence perpetrated from the territory of another State;
(b) for the purpose of reprisals;
(c) for the purpose of prevention of the development of a threat to the security of the State concerned;
(d) for the protection of its own ethnic community in another State;
(e) by individuals or organizations in sporadic acts of national resistance in occupied territories.

(ii) The use of force pursuant to a request:
(a) by a secessionist movement for intervention by a foreign State against the central Government;
(b) by an ethnic community for intervention by a foreign State against the central Government;
(c) by political groups for intervention by a foreign State against forces seeking political independence of a former colonial territory.

(iii) The use of force, in connexion with the process of decolonization:
(a) in support of the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples under a colonial régime; 
(b) in support of wars of liberation or national liberation movements;
(c) in order to retaliate against national liberation movements committing violent acts from third countries.

10. Another issue which arose in the discussions concerning the interpretation and application of Article 2(4) was whether activities not involving the use of force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of States constituted indirect aggression and, therefore, contravened Article 2(4).

11. In the Analytical Summary of Practice and, where applicable, in the General Survey, some indication is offered as to the instances in which these specific topics were discussed in the Security Council or in the General Assembly and its committees.

I. GENERAL SURVEY

12. During the period under review, none of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council contained an explicit reference to paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter. But the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions which contained such explicit references, namely: resolution 2793 (XXVI) regarding the question considered by the Security Council at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings on 4, 5 and 6 December 1971, resolution 3061 (XXVIII) regarding the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic, resolutions 3485 (XXX), 31/53, 32/34 and 33/395 regarding the question of Timor, resolution 31/91 regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and resolution 32/445 regarding the respect for human rights in armed conflicts.

13. Several Security Council resolutions, without referring explicitly to Article 2(4), cited _verbatim_ the text of that provision in the preambular parts. The General Assembly also adopted a number of resolutions quoting the full text of Article 2(4) or the basic principle enshrined in that provision.

14. During the period under review both the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted numerous resolutions which contained what might be considered as implicit references to Article 2(4). Several resolutions adopted by the General Assembly as well as by the Security Council paraphrased the basic provision in Article 2(4), the call to refrain from the threat or use of force, calling for a cease-fire, for the withdrawal of troops from foreign territory and for the cessation of acts of violence, or called upon parties to refrain from the use of force.

15. Throughout the period under review, the Security Council and the General Assembly adopted a large number of resolutions which contained implicit references to Article 2(4) in that they affirmed the principle of territorial integrity and political independence of States or deplored their violation and asked that they be fully respected. The Assembly and the Council also by reference to Article 2(4) reaffirmed the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition through the use of force.

16. Both organs, however, affirmed in a number of resolutions the legitimacy of the struggle of dependent peoples to achieve their right to self-determination and independence. This legitimation of liberation struggles implied a significant exemption from the prohibition expressed in Article 2(4).

17. Most of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council which contain explicit or implicit references to Article 2(4), as listed above, did not give rise to a constitutional discussion regarding the interpretation and application of its provisions. The cases included in the Analytical Summary of Practice involved relevant constitutional discussions. A number of resolutions or draft resolutions also merit special mention because they brought out significant aspects of the principle of non-use of force. These included decisions as well as deliberations of the General Assembly and Security Council.

18. In its resolution 294 (1971) of 15 July 1971 concerning the complaint by Senegal, the Security Council cited the full text of Article 2(4), condemned the acts of violence and demanded from the Government of Portugal an end to all acts of violence and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Senegal. During the deliberations in the Council the principle of Article 2(4) was invoked and the inadmissibility of the Council's acts of aggression against Senegalese territory was emphasized, whereas the accused party claimed that its own territory had been the target of attacks from a subversive group organized in Senegal.

19. Security Council resolution 300 (1971) of 12 October 1971 regarding the complaint by Zambia contained in its preamble the full text of Article 2(4) and called upon South Africa to respect fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Zambia. In the course of the discussion about the Zambian complaint it was argued that aggressive acts against another State were in direct violation of the Charter and constituted a threat to the security in the region. It was alleged on the other hand that the incursions into Zambian territory had taken place in reaction to repeated violations of South Africa's air space originating in Zambia.

20. In resolution 330 (1973) of 21 March 1973, concerning the consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America, the Security Council indicated that coercive measures had been used to affect the exercise of permanent sovereignty over the natural resources of Latin American countries and appealed to States to ensure that such coercive measures not be used by enterprises or States against Latin American countries.

21. In the course of the Security Council's consideration of the complaint by Iraq the President was able, at the 1764th meeting on 28 February 1974, to announce a consensus of the Council by which it deplored the loss of human life, appealed to the parties to refrain from all military action and reaffirmed the Charter principles regarding respect for the territorial sovereignty of States and the pacific settlement of disputes. The parties accused each other of acts of aggres-
sion and of having invaded each other's territory. Both sides agreed to settle their differences through negotiation.43

22. In connexion with the complaint by Kenya, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, concerning the act of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, the Security Council, at its 1906th meeting on 31 March 1976, adopted resolution 387 (1976) which cited the text of Article 2(4) in full, condemned South Africa's aggression against Angola, demanded South Africa's scrupulous respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and an end to the utilization by South Africa of the territory of Namibia for aggressive acts against neighbouring States.44 During the Council debate, Article 2(4) and relevant provisions of the Definition of Aggression were invoked in order to show their direct bearing on the South African aggression against Angola, and to demand appropriate measures against the aggressor.45

23. At the 1948th meeting on 30 July 1976, during the consideration of the complaint by Zambia against South Africa, the Security Council adopted resolution 393 (1976), which quoted verbatim the provisions of Article 2(4), strongly condemned the armed attack of South Africa against Zambia and the flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of Zambia, demanded South Africa to cease the utilization of Namibia as a base for attacking neighbouring countries and warned that the Council would have to consider effective measures if South Africa did not comply.46 The Council's deliberations revealed strong disapproval of South Africa's aggressive acts as being in violation of the principle of Article 2(4) and showed support for measures to protect the territory and independence of Zambia.47

24. When the Security Council considered the complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty, it adopted resolutions 403 (1977) and 406 (1977)48 by which it condemned the provocative and hostile acts against Botswana's territorial integrity and independence and demanded the immediate cessation of these acts by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.49 The deliberations in the Council demonstrated unanimity among the members in censuring the acts of violence against Botswana and in endorsing its appeal for political and economic aid from the international community.50

25. In a similar situation involving acts of aggression by the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, in connexion with the complaint by Mozambique, the Security Council, at its 209th meeting on 30 June 1977, adopted resolution 411 (1977) which contained a strong condemnation of those aggressive acts and a demand that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Mozambique be scrupulously respected.51 The Council expressed unanimous support for Mozambique and called for a programme of assistance to help overcome the consequences of the ongoing aggression from Southern Rhodesia.52

26. During its twenty-fifth session in 1970, the General Assembly adopted as resolution 2627 (XXV) the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations which contained, together with other basic provisions of the Charter, a full citation of the principle set out in Article 2(4).53 The deliberations in the Committee for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations54 and in the commemorative session of the General Assembly55 involved frequent invocations of the principle of non-use of force, but did not give rise to a constitutional discussion of the provisions of Article 2(4).

27. During the twenty-sixth session the General Assembly adopted, at its 2003rd plenary meeting on 7 December 1971, resolution 2793 (XXVI) concerning the question considered by the Security Council at its 1606th, 1607th and 1608th meetings on 4, 5 and 6 December 1971, whereby it invoked explicitly Article 2(4), expressed its grave concern about the hostilities between India and Pakistan and called upon both parties to make arrangements for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of their armed forces behind their respective borders.56 The proceedings in the plenary revealed nearly unanimous support for the inviolability of the territorial integrity and political independence of all States and the disavowal of the threat or use of force except in self-defence, but no constitutional discussion ensued regarding the interpretation and application of the provisions of Article 2(4).57

28. In the course of the twenty-seventh session the General Assembly adopted resolutions 2936 (XXVII) concerning non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, in which it noted with concern the continued use of force in international relations, pointed out the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, reaffirmed the principle of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, reaffirmed the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force and the inherent right of States to recover such territories by all the means at their disposal as well as the legitimacy of the struggle of colonized peoples for their freedom by all appropriate means at their disposal, and solemnly declared, on behalf of the Member States, the renunciation of the use or threat of force in all its forms and manifestations in international relations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.58 The deliberations in the plenary of the General Assembly showed on the one hand strong support for the linking of the principle of non-use or non-threat of force in international relations and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, whereas it was argued on the other hand that the text of the draft resolution, in its original and amended form59 did not specify or advance the meaning of Article 2(4), but instead gave rise to doubts and misconceptions about the role of nuclear weapons, about the scope of the right of self-defence and about the exemptions from the prohibition under Article 2(4) in cases of colonial liberation or attempts to recover territories lost by force.60

29. During the twenty-eighth session the General Assembly adopted, at its 2163rd meeting on 2 November 1973, resolution 3061 (XXVIII) dealing with the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic. This resolution expressed deep concern about the acts of aggression and the illegal occupation by Portuguese armed forces of parts of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, invoked explicitly Article 2(4) and cited its text in full, and demanded that the Government of Portugal desist from further violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and from all acts of aggression against the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde by withdrawing its armed forces from those territories.61 The deliberations in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly focused on the validity of the provisions of Article 2(4) in the struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for liberation from Portuguese colonial rule. On one side it was argued that the presence of the Portuguese armed forces was in violation of the prohibition of the use of force as set out in Article 2(4), whereas on the other side it was suggested that the principles of that Article did not apply in the case of Guinea-Bissau since the territory had not yet reached the qualities of sovereign state as defined by international law.62

30. During the thirtieth session, the General Assembly was seized of the question of Timor, while it dealt with the question of Territories under Portuguese administration, and adopted resolution 3485 (XXX), whereby the Assembly explicitly referred to Article 2(4) and cited the text of the principle in full, strongly deplored the military intervention
of Indonesian armed forces in Portuguese Timor and called upon the Government of Indonesia to desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and to withdraw its armed forces from the Territory without delay in order to enable the people of the Territory to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence.\footnote{89} In resolutions adopted during the next three years\footnote{90} the General Assembly reiterated its reference to Article 2(4) and its request for the implementation of measures to enable the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination.\footnote{91} The deliberations and the preparation of draft resolutions in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly revolved around the use of force by Indonesia against the people of Portuguese Timor at the time that Portugal was relinquishing its colonial administration over the Territory. On the one hand, it was argued that the Indonesian absorption of East Timor constituted a direct violation of Article 2(4) and a denial of the elemental right to self-determination for the population of East Timor. On the other hand, it was suggested that Indonesia had acted in response to demands from various groups in East Timor for political and military assistance. The position taken by the General Assembly was contested, but the deliberations did not lead to a constitutional discussion.\footnote{92}

31. During the thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/91 entitled “Non-interference in the internal affairs of States,” whereby it invoked Article 2(4), quoted the text in full, declared that the use of force to deprive people of their national identity constituted a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention, and called upon all States to prevent hostile activities taking place within their territory and directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of another State.\footnote{93} The agenda item before the First Committee was entitled “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security”, but did not give rise to a constitutional discussion regarding the interpretation or application of Article 2(4) nor did it result in a detailed examination of the draft resolution. However, Article 2(4) was frequently referred to.\footnote{94}

32. During the thirty-first session the General Assembly began its examination of the item “Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations” which had been proposed for inclusion in the agenda by the USSR.\footnote{95} The Assembly decided to allocate the item to the First Committee and to refer it, at the appropriate stage, to the Sixth Committee for examination of its legal implications.\footnote{96} The First Committee considered the item\footnote{97} and prepared a draft resolution\footnote{98} which was adopted by the General Assembly at its 57th plenary meeting as resolution 31/9.\footnote{99} The resolution emphasized the universal importance of the principle of non-use of force, took note of the draft treaty submitted by the Soviet Union, and requested the Member States to examine the total question and convey their views to the Secretary-General, who was asked to report to the thirty-second session of the Assembly.\footnote{100} Following the adoption of the resolution, the Assembly decided that the Sixth Committee should consider the legal implications of the item and report back to the Assembly during the thirty-first session.\footnote{101} The Sixth Committee carried out the mandate and conveyed to the Assembly its views including a request that the Assembly recommend to the Member States to give due weight in their consideration of this item to the important legal issues involved which would require further examination in the future, and it recalled its role in elaborating the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations\footnote{102} and the Definition of Aggression.\footnote{103} The text of this decision by the Sixth Committee\footnote{104} was adopted by the General Assembly at its 97th plenary meeting on 13 December 1976.

33. At the thirty-second session the General Assembly again included the item in its agenda and allocated it to the First and Sixth Committees. The First Committee considered the item together with two other agenda items during its 47th to 49th and 51st to 58th meetings, but decided not to discuss the item any further in view of the fact that the Sixth Committee was expected to adopt an appropriate decision for submission to the General Assembly.\footnote{105} The Sixth Committee considered the question at its 64th to 67th, 69th and 70th meetings and agreed on a draft resolution\footnote{106} which it submitted to the General Assembly for adoption. At its 106th meeting, on 19 December 1977, the General Assembly adopted the draft as resolution 32/150 by 111 votes to 4, with 27 abstentions. In this resolution the Assembly reiterated its belief in the need for universal application of the principle of Article 2(4) and decided to set up a Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations charged with the task of drafting a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.\footnote{107} 34. The item entitled “Report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations” was included in the agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly and allocated to the Sixth Committee.\footnote{108} The Sixth Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee\footnote{109} and considered the item at its 50th and 52nd to 61st meetings. It agreed on a draft resolution\footnote{110} and submitted it to the General Assembly for adoption. At its 86th plenary meeting, on 16 December 1978, the General Assembly adopted the draft as resolution 33/96 by a vote of 117 in favour, 1 against, with 23 abstentions. The resolution reaffirmed the need for universal and effective application of the principle of non-use of force, took note of the report of the Special Committee and extended its mandate to allow the completion of a draft world treaty on the subject.\footnote{111} The Assembly consequently decided to include the item in the provisional agenda of its thirty-fourth session.\footnote{112}

35. Since the item was included in the agenda of the General Assembly, it has been subject of a lively constitutional discussion in the First and Sixth Committees and in the Special Committee. On one hand, it has been argued that the principle of Article 2(4) could be extended to other forms of force affecting the course of international relations. On the other hand, there was significant uneasiness on the part of representatives who considered the text of Article 2(4) as fundamental and comprehensive and warned that the adoption of a world treaty on the non-use of force might be seen as undermining the scope and intent of Article 2(4); they held that recent accomplishments, such as the Definition of Aggression (General Assembly resolution 33/11X, annex), were not what the Assembly intended not to use force and to refrain from the use of force over and beyond the text of the Charter; the time should be spent on seeking ways to implement the existing principles rather than to develop new ones.\footnote{113} 36. The deliberations concerning the item were not completed during the period under review.\footnote{114} 37. There were a number of references, explicit and implicit, usually invoking the principle of Article 2(4) and occasionally citing its text, without necessarily involving a constitutional argument. Most of these references are identified in connexion with the case material in the Analytical Summary of Practice and in the General Survey. Such references also occurred in some other instances\footnote{115} both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly; most of these instances involved incidental remarks invoking Article 2(4) but did not lead to further discussion.
II. ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF PRACTICE

A. The question of the scope and limits of the phrase "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State"

38. Article 2(4) was referred to in the Security Council in connexion with questions which involved allegations of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a State. It was also invoked in the General Assembly in connexion with a few basic legal instruments which were adopted by the Assembly and focused on the prohibition of the threat or use of force. In the course of those discussions, questions arose concerning the interpretation and application of the principle of Article 2(4). The following items entailed such relevant constitutional material:

In the Security Council:

(a) In connexion with the situation in the Middle East the question was discussed whether the so-called "acts of reprisals" by Israel against the territory of Lebanon fell under Article 51 and were compatible with Article 2(4);

(b) In connexion with the situation in the Middle East the question arose whether the changes in the status of Jerusalem undertaken by the Government of Israel violated the provision of territorial integrity and whether these measures should be rescinded;

(c) In connexion with the situation in Cyprus the issue under discussion was whether the intervention of foreign troops on the island amounted to a violation of Article 2(4) or was justified as an action to restore the constitutional rights of the minority in the island republic;

(d) In connexion with the situation in Timor the question was discussed whether the intervention of a neighbouring State in the former Portuguese Territory constituted a breach of Article 2(4) and also violated the right of the people in Timor to self-determination;

(e) In connexion with the complaint by the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Chairman of the OAU, of the "act of aggression" by Israel against the Republic of Uganda it was argued that the Israeli operation at the Entebbe airport in Uganda which resulted in the rescue of the hostages hijacked by Palestinian commandos constituted a violation of Uganda's territorial integrity and an act of aggression against its sovereignty;

(f) In connexion with the complaint by Benin the discussion focused on the alleged use of mercenaries in the invasion of Benin and on the view that the role of mercenaries was a direct violation of Article 2(4).

In the General Assembly:

(a) In connexion with the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security the particular significance of the principle of Article 2(4) for the maintenance of international peace and security was emphasized;

(b) In connexion with the adoption of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Article 2(4) was universally acknowledged as one of the pillars of the system of international legal norms designed to stabilize relations among sovereign States;

(c) In connexion with the adoption of the Definition of Aggression, a long discussion arose regarding the role of Article 2(4) in the attempt to define the various components of the term "aggression" and to delineate its meaning from that of legitimate uses of force, such as self-defence, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51.

1. IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL


(i) Précis of proceedings

39. By letter dated 12 May 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon charged that Israeli armed forces had launched earlier that day an invasion of Lebanese territory and, in view of the gravity of the situation endangering the peace and security of the region, requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. By letter dated 12 May 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council the representative of Israel also requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the acts of armed attack and violence perpetrated from Lebanese territory against the Israeli population and territory.

40. At the 1537th meeting on 12 May 1970, the Security Council adopted resolution 279 (1970) which read as follows:

"The Security Council

"Demands the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanese territory."

41. At the 1542nd meeting on 19 May 1970, the Security Council adopted resolution 280 (1970) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"..."Gravely concerned about the deteriorating situation resulting from violations of resolutions of the Security Council,

"..."

"Convinced that the Israeli military attack against Lebanon was premeditated and of a large scale and carefully planned in nature,

"Recalling its resolution 279 (1970) of 12 May 1970 demanding the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanese territory,

"1. Deplores the failure of Israel to abide by resolutions 262 (1968) and 270 (1969);

"2. Condemns Israel for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations;

"3. Declares that such armed attacks can no longer be tolerated and repeats its solemn warning to Israel that if they were to be repeated the Security Council would, in accordance with resolution 262 (1968) and the present resolution, consider taking adequate and effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Charter to implement its resolutions;

"4. Deplores the loss of life and damage to property inflicted as a result of violations of resolutions of the Security Council."

42. By letter dated 5 September 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon referred to his earlier letter of 4 September 1970 regarding continuous Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon, complained specifically about two new Israeli attacks on Lebanese territory and, in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

43. At the 1551st meeting, on 5 September 1970, the Secu-
49. At the 1711th meeting, on 21 April 1973, the Security Council adopted resolution 285 (1970) which read as follows:

"The Security Council

"Demands the complete and immediate withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanese territory."

44. By letter\textsuperscript{47} dated 25 February 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon complained about a large-scale air and ground attack by Israel against Lebanon on the same day and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. By a letter\textsuperscript{48} dated 25 February 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Israel complained about further terrorist attacks from Lebanese territory, stated that Israel had been compelled to act in self-defence against terrorist encampments and also requested that an urgent meeting of the Council be convened.

45. At the 1644th meeting, on 28 February 1972, the Security Council adopted\textsuperscript{49} resolution 313 (1972) which read as follows:

"The Security Council

"Demands that Israel immediately desist and refrain from any ground and air military action against Lebanon and forthwith withdraw all its military forces from Lebanese territory."

46. By letter\textsuperscript{50} dated 23 June 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon complained about Israel's persistent aggression against Lebanon that had culminated in a large-scale air and ground attack on 21, 22 and 23 June, and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council in view of the extreme gravity of the situation. By letter\textsuperscript{51} dated 23 June 1972 addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of Israel also requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the continued armed attacks and other acts of terror and violence perpetrated from Lebanese territory against Israel.

47. At the 1650th meeting, on 26 June 1972, the Security Council adopted\textsuperscript{52} resolution 316 (1972) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deploring the tragic loss of life resulting from all acts of violence and retaliation,


"1. Calls upon Israel to strictly abide by the aforementioned resolutions and to refrain from all military acts against Lebanon;

"2. Condemns, while profoundly deploring all acts of violence, the repeated attacks of Israeli forces on Lebanese territory and population in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and Israel's obligations thereunder;"

48. By letter\textsuperscript{53} dated 12 April 1973 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon referred to his previous communication\textsuperscript{54} dated 11 April 1973, in which he had reported to the Council details regarding an Israeli attack against Lebanon in the morning of 10 April and, in view of the gravity of the aggression, requested an urgent meeting of the Council.

49. At the 1711th meeting, on 21 April 1973, the Security Council adopted\textsuperscript{55} resolution 332 (1973) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Grieved at the tragic loss of civilian life,

"Deeply deploring all recent acts of violence resulting in the loss of life of innocent individuals

"1. Expresses deep concern over and condemns all acts of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives;

"2. Condemns the repeated military attacks conducted by Israel against Lebanon and Israel's violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon and of the Council's cease-fire resolutions;

"3. Calls upon Israel to desist forthwith from all military attacks on Lebanon."

50. By letter\textsuperscript{56} dated 11 August 1973 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon complained about the invasion of Lebanese air space by the Israeli air force, which intercepted a civilian plane and forced it to fly to Israel and land at a military base, and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to deal with this grave threat to Lebanon's sovereignty and to international aviation.

51. At the 1740th meeting, on 15 August 1973, the Security Council adopted\textsuperscript{57} resolution 337 (1973) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"1. Condemns the Government of Israel for violating Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and for the forcible diversion and seizure by the Israeli air force of a Lebanese airliner from Lebanon's air space;

"2. Considers that these actions by Israel constitute a violation of the Lebanese-Israeli Armistice Agreement of 1949, the cease-fire resolutions of the Security Council of 1967, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the international conventions on civil aviation and the principles of international law and morality;

"4. Calls on Israel to desist from any and all acts that violate Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and endanger the safety of international civil aviation and solemnly warns Israel that, if such acts are repeated, the Council will consider taking adequate steps or measures to enforce its resolutions."

52. By letter\textsuperscript{58} dated 13 April 1974, addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon complained about a new case of Israeli aggression against six Lebanese villages and requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider this grave situation.

53. At the 1769th meeting on 24 April 1974, the Security Council adopted\textsuperscript{59} resolution 347 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deploring at the tragic loss of civilian life,

"Deeply disturbed at the continuation of acts of violence,

"1. Condemns Israel's violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty and calls once more on the Government of Israel to refrain from further military actions and threats against Lebanon;

"2. Condemns all acts of violence, especially those which result in the tragic loss of innocent civilian life, and
urges all concerned to refrain from any further acts of violence'.'

54. By letter dated 17 March 1978 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Lebanon referred to two earlier letters detailing a new massive invasion of Lebanese territory by the Israeli armed forces and requested an urgent meeting of the Council. By letter dated 17 March 1978, the representative of Israel also requested the President of the Security Council to convene a meeting of the Council to consider the acts of terror and violence against Israeli civilians being perpetrated from Lebanese territory.

55. At the 2074th meeting, on 19 March 1978, the Security Council adopted resolution 425 (1978) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

1. Calls for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries;

2. Calls upon Israel immediately to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese territory.''.

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

56. During the discussion of the Lebanese and Israeli complaints, with one side charging massive attacks by Israeli armed forces on Lebanese soil, the other side alleging terrorist raids from Lebanese territory against Israel, most speakers invoked Article 2(4) explicitly or implicitly, stated that the use of force against the territory of another State was inadmissible, rejected the Israeli claim to a right of reprisal in retaliation against terrorist attacks and expressed the view that the Government of Lebanon could not be held accountable for the movements and actions of Palestinians who were resisting the Israeli occupation of their native land. Speaking in defence of retaliatory measures, it was asserted that under international law every Government was bound to refrain from the use of force and to prevent anybody from using its territory for threats and attacks against another country; the right to self-defence under Article 51 had to be seen in the light of every Government's foremost duty to protect its citizens from all external attacks.""

b. Decision of 25 September 1971 in connexion with the situation in the Middle East

(i) Précis of proceedings

57. By letter dated 13 September 1971 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Jordan requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider Israel's illegal measures in Jerusalem; he reported that Israel had continued to change the Arab character of the city and was contemplating legislation extending the border of Jerusalem to include 30 new Arab towns and villages; the illegal Israeli measures constituted a new threat to the peace and security in the region calling for immediate consideration by the Security Council.

58. At the 1582nd meeting on 25 September 1971, the Security Council adopted resolution 298 (1971) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Reaffirming the principle that acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible,

1. Reaffirms its resolutions 252 (1968) and 267 (1969);

2. Deplores the failure of Israel to respect the previous resolutions adopted by the United Nations concerning measures and actions by Israel purporting to affect the status of the City of Jerusalem;

3. Confirms in the clearest possible terms that all legislative and administrative actions taken by Israel to change the status of the City of Jerusalem including expropriation of land and properties, transfer of populations and legislation aimed at the incorporation of the occupied sections are totally invalid and cannot change that status;''.

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

59. During the debate it was maintained that the measures and actions taken by Israel purporting to affect the status of the City of Jerusalem defied international law and the provisions of the Charter, in particular those contained in Article 2(4), and contravened several resolutions adopted in the past by the General Assembly and the Security Council by which Israel was requested to rescind all measures already taken and to desist from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem. It was argued on the other hand that Israel was guided by the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens of Jerusalem irrespective of nationality and faith and would ensure the sanctity of the Holy Places and free access to them as well as the jurisdiction of the various religious communities over them."

60. By letter dated 16 July 1974 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General requested a meeting of the Council in order that he might report on the information he had received through his Special Representative in Cyprus and the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). By letter dated 16 July 1974 addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of Cyprus requested an urgent meeting of the Council on the critical situation in Cyprus arising as a consequence of outside intervention with grave implications for the Republic of Cyprus and for international peace and security in the area. By letter dated 20 July 1974 addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of Greece requested an urgent meeting of the Council in order to take appropriate steps with regard to the explosive situation created by the aggression of Turkish armed forces against Cyprus that was then in progress.

61. At the 1781st meeting on 20 July 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 353 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply deplores the outbreak of violence and the continuing bloodshed,

1. Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

2. Calls upon all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing and requests all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation;

3. Demands an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of the provisions of paragraph 1 above;

4. Requests the withdrawal without delay from the
At the 1792nd meeting, on 14 August 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 357 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Demands that all parties to the present fighting comply immediately with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 353 (1974) calling for an immediate cessation of all firing in the area and requesting all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation."

By letter dated 26 July 1974 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Cyprus requested an emergency meeting of the Council to consider the grave deterioration of the situation in Cyprus resulting from the continuing violations of the cease-fire by Turkey.

By letter dated 28 July 1974 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of the Soviet Union requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the continuing serious situation threatening international peace and security, owing to the non-implementation of resolution 353 (1974).

At the 1787th meeting, on 29 July 1974, the representative of the Soviet Union introduced a draft resolution which would have insisted on the immediate cessation of all firing and of all acts of violence against the Republic of Cyprus and on the speediest withdrawal of all foreign forces and military personnel present in Cyprus in violation of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as a non-aligned State. The draft resolution was not put to the vote.

At the 1788th meeting on 31 July 1974, the President announced the withdrawal of a draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom, which would have had the effect that all States had declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

At the same meeting, a draft resolution agreed to in the course of consultations among Council members, which would have noted that all States had declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, was put to the vote, amended and failed of adoption owing to the negative vote of a permanent member.

At the 1789th meeting, on 1 August 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 355 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Noting that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus,"

By letter dated 13 August 1974 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Cyprus requested an emergency meeting of the Council in order to consider the dangerously grave situation that had arisen in Cyprus in consequence of renewed acts of naked aggression by Turkey. By letter also dated 13 August 1974 addressed to the President of the Council, the representative of Greece requested an urgent meeting of the Council to take appropriate steps following the explosive situation that had been created by the unilateral termination by Turkey of the second phase of the Geneva talks regarding the crisis in Cyprus.

At the 1792nd meeting, on 14 August 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 357 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply deplores the resumption of fighting in Cyprus, contrary to the provisions of its resolution 353 (1974),

"Demands that all parties to the present fighting cease all firing and military action forthwith;"

At the 1793rd meeting, on 15 August 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 358 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply concerned about the continuation of violence and bloodshed in Cyprus,

"Insists on the full implementation of the above resolutions by all parties and on the immediate and strict observance of the cease-fire."

At the 1794th meeting, on 16 August 1974, the Security Council adopted resolution 360 (1974) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Noting that all States have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus,

"Gravely concerned at the deterioration of the situation in Cyprus resulting from the further military operations, which constituted a most serious threat to peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean area,

"1. Records its formal disapproval of the unilateral military actions undertaken against the Republic of Cyprus;

"2. Urges the parties to comply with all the provisions of previous resolutions of the Security Council, including those concerning the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements;"

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

During the extensive deliberations concerning the critical situation in Cyprus during July and August 1974, the members of the Security Council and the parties almost unanimously invoked the principles and provisions of Article 2(4) and reaffirmed the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Many speakers condemned the intervention by foreign armed forces on the island and urgently called for a cease-fire and a complete withdrawal of all these troops. The spokesman for Turkey asserted that the intervention had taken place to restore the constitutional rights of the minority community; the intervention was said not to constitute a violation of Charter principles, but an effort to solve the Cyprus problem in justice and with equity.

d. Decisions of 22 December 1975 and 22 April 1976 in connexion with the situation in Timor

(i) Précis of proceedings

By letter dated 7 December 1975 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Portugal requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the situation arising from the offensive action launched that day by Indonesian armed forces against the Territory of Portuguese Timor, which, in the view of Portugal, constituted an act of aggression affecting peace and the exercise by the people of the Territory of their right to self-determination. By
letter dated 12 December 1975 the Secretary-General transmitted to the President of the Security Council the text of resolution 3485 (XXX), adopted that same day by the General Assembly in regard to the question of the Territories under Portuguese administration. In paragraph 6 of the resolution, the Assembly drew the attention of the Council to the critical situation in Timor and recommended that urgent action be taken by the Council to protect the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination.

75. At the 1869th meeting, on 22 December 1975, the Security Council adopted resolution 384 (1975) which read as follows:

“The Security Council,

1. Calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to send urgently a special representative to East Timor for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the existing situation.”

76. On 12 March 1976 the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council in pursuance of resolution 384 (1975), by which he transmitted the report of his Special Representative regarding the fulfillment of the mandate under paragraphs 5 and 6 of that resolution. The Security Council included that report on its agenda at the 1908th meeting on 12 April 1976.

77. At the 1914th meeting, on 22 April 1976, the Security Council adopted resolution 389 (1976) which read as follows:

“The Security Council,

1. Calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to assist the Timorese people against the terror of a small organization which had usurped political power and declared an independent republic; Indonesia’s military presence was required to prevent Timor from slipping into factional bloodshed and anarchy and to restore public order; the integration of East Timor into the state of Indonesia fulfilled the principle of self-determination and the destiny of its common history.

4. Decision of 14 July 1976 in connexion with the complaint by the Prime Minister of Mauritius, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, of the “act of aggression” by Israel against the Republic of Uganda

(i) Précis of proceedings

79. By letter dated 6 July 1976 the Assistant Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) transmitted the text of a telegram addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Prime Minister of Mauritius, the current Chairman of OAU. The telegram stated that, on 4 July 1976, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in Mauritius had received information concerning the invasion of Uganda by Israeli commandos carried out at 1 a.m. on that day and had decided to request the Security Council to meet urgently to consider that wanton act of aggression against a Member State of the United Nations.

80. By letter dated 6 July 1976 the representative of Mauritania, as Chairman of the African Group of States at the United Nations for the month of July, requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the contents of the telegram of 6 July from the Chairman of OAU.

81. By letter dated 4 July 1976, addressed to the Secretary-General, the representative of Israel transmitted excerpts from a statement by the Prime Minister of Israel regarding the operation conducted by the Israeli defence forces at Entebbe international airport in Uganda in order to rescue hostages hijacked by Palestinian terrorists. By letter dated 5 July 1976, the representative of Uganda transmitted the text of a message dated 4 July from the President of the Republic of Uganda, drawing attention to the serious incident which had occurred at Entebbe international airport on the night of 3/4 July.

82. At the 1939th meeting, on 9 July 1976, the Security Council included these four letters in its agenda. During the deliberations on this question two draft resolutions were submitted to the Council: the text sponsored by the United Kingdom and the United States would have condemned hijacking, deplored the loss of life, reaffirmed the need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and called upon the international community to further strengthen the safety and reliability of international civil aviation. The second draft sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the United Republic of Tanzania would have invoked the text of Article 2(4), expressed concern at the premeditated Israeli raid and the loss of life as well as the extensive property damage, condemned Israel’s flagrant violation of Uganda’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and asked for full compensation by Israel for the damage and destruction inflicted on Uganda.

83. At the 1943rd meeting, on 14 July 1976, the two-Power draft resolution (S/12138) was not adopted, having received 6 votes in favour, none against, with 2 abstentions; seven members did not participate in the vote. The other draft (S/12139) was not put to the vote.

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

84. During the deliberations in the Security Council a major constitutional discussion arose over the nature of the Israeli operation in rescuing hostages held by hijackers at the Entebbe international airport in Uganda. One side argued
that the Israeli action was in clear violation of the fundamental precepts of Article 2(4) and that the seizure of the hijackers and hostages on Ugandan soil constituted a breach of Uganda's territorial integrity and sovereignty, regardless of the successful outcome of the Israeli strike. Self-defence could not be claimed in that the airliner and most of its crew and passengers were not from Israel and the use of force could therefore not be condoned. On the other side, it was asserted that the practice of hijacking had grown into a major menace to international security and that the Israeli decision to liberate the victims from their grave predicament at Entebbe airport was to be applauded as long as the international community had not yet established a viable system of protection for international civil aviation; the rescue of innocent air passengers from injury or death could not be called an "act of aggression", but it helped focus the international legal and political debate on ways to overcome the new disease of hijacking.150

f. Decisions of 8 February 1977, 14 April 1977, and 24 November 1977 in connexion with the complaint by Benin

(i) Précis of proceedings

85. By letter151 dated 26 January 1977 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Benin, in accordance with Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations, requested a meeting of the Council to consider the aggression against the People's Republic of Benin, which had been committed by a commando unit of mercenaries at the airport and city of Cotonou on 16 January 1977. By letter152 dated 4 February 1977, the representative of Guinea transmitted a message from the President of Guinea supporting Benin's request for a meeting of the Security Council.

86. At the 1987th meeting, on 8 February 1977, the Security Council adopted153 resolution 404 (1977) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Bearing in mind that all Member States must 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,

"1. Affirms that the territorial integrity and political independence of the People's Republic of Benin must be respected;

"2. Decides to send a Special Mission composed of three members of the Security Council to the People's Republic of Benin in order to investigate the events of 16 January 1977 at Cotonou and report not later than the end of February 1977;"


88. At the 2003rd meeting, on 14 April 1977, the Security Council adopted155 resolution 405 (1977) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Gravely concerned at the violation of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of the State of Benin,

"2. Strongly condemns the act of armed aggression perpetrated against the People's Republic of Benin on 16 January 1977;

90. At the 2049th meeting, on 24 November 1977, the Security Council adopted156 resolution 419 (1977) which read as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply concerned over the danger which international mercenaries represent for all States, in particular the smaller ones,

"Reaffirms its resolution 239 (1967) of 10 July 1967, by which, inter alia, it condemns any State which persists in permitting or tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries and the provision of facilities to them, with the objective of overthrowing the Governments of Member States;

"Calls upon all States to exercise the utmost vigilance against the danger posed by international mercenaries and to ensure that their territory and other territories under their control, as well as their nationals, are not used for the planning of subversion and recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries on their territory and other territories under their control;

"Further calls upon all States to consider taking necessary measures to prohibit, under their respective domestic laws, the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries on their territory and other territories under their control;

"Condemns all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of Member States, including the use of international mercenaries to destabilize States and/or to violate their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence;"

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

91. During the discussion of the complaint by Benin the role of mercenaries in acts of aggression and breaches of the peace was the subject of considerable debate. It was argued by a large number of representatives that a mercenary attack against a sovereign State constituted an infringement of territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence and thus stood in direct violation of Article 2(4). It was strongly recommended that this dimension of international disturbances should be regulated in order to ensure that the irregular transgressions of mercenaries were put clearly and effectively under the prohibition of the relevant Charter provision. Other members of the Council did not accept this interpretation of the Charter.158

2. IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

a. Decision of 16 December 1970 in connexion with the item: Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security
(i) Précis of proceedings

92. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 2606 (XXIV), the Assembly included the item entitled "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security: report of the Secretary-General" in the agenda of the twenty-fifth session and allocated it to the First Committee for consideration and report.

93. The First Committee considered the item at its 1725th to 1739th, 1795th and 1797th meetings. During its deliberations a number of draft resolutions were submitted, all of which referred implicitly to Article 2(4) and its principal provision. At the 1795th meeting the Chairman announced that an informal working group established at the 1739th meeting had reached agreement on a single text. At the 1797th meeting the First Committee adopted the draft, as slightly amended.

94. At the 1932nd plenary meeting, on 16 December 1970, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2734 (XXV), entitled Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

1. Calls upon all States to adhere strictly in their international relations to the purposes and principles of the Charter, including the principle that States shall 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;

2. Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country;

3. Solemnly reaffirms that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any other State, and that the territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter, that the territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force, that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal and that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State;"

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

95. During the deliberations in the First Committee and in the plenary, the central importance of Article 2(4) for a basic declaration on the strengthening of international security was unanimously affirmed, but the specific applications of this general principle in the various facets of international relations were the subject of some discussion. Most representatives held that the Charter implied an absolute prohibition of any acquisition or occupation of territory by force, yet issues such as the illegality of colonial rule or the extent of the Charter-based restriction on the employment of force against alien rule in dependent territory remained controversial. The discussions resulted in a substantial agreement on the various dimensions of the provisions of Article 2(4).

b. Decision of 24 October 1970 in connexion with the item: Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations

(i) Précis of proceedings

96. The item "Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" had been discussed by the General Assembly beginning with the twentieth session. The General Assembly, at its 1843rd plenary meeting on 18 September 1970, decided to include the item in the agenda of its twenty-fifth session and to allocate it to the Sixth Committee.

97. The Sixth Committee considered the item during its 1178th to 1184th meetings and had before it, as a basis for its consideration of the item, the report of the 1970 session of the Special Committee. At the 1183rd meeting, a draft resolution was submitted by 64 Member States; this draft resolution was adopted by the Sixth Committee at its 1184th meeting without objection.

98. At its 1883rd plenary meeting, on 24 October 1970, the General Assembly adopted the draft declaration submitted by the Sixth Committee as resolution 2625 (XXV); among the provisions of the Declaration, which was proclaimed in the annex to that resolution, were the following:

"The General Assembly,

1. Recalling the duty of States to refrain in their international relations from military, political, economic or any other form of coercion aimed against the political independence or territorial integrity of any State,

2. Considering it essential that all States shall 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 manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

3. Convinced in consequence that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of a State or a country or at its political independence is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter,

4. Considering that the progressive development and codification of the following principles:

(a) The principle that States shall 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,

so as to secure their more effective application within the international community, would promote the realization of the purposes of the United Nations,

1. Solemnly proclaims the following principles:

The principle that States shall 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.

Every State has the duty to refrain in its 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. Such a threat or use of force constitutes a violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and shall never be employed as a means of settling international issues. 

"A war of aggression constitutes a crime against the peace, for which there is responsibility under international law.

"In accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, States have the duty to refrain from propaganda for wars of aggression.

"Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing international boundaries of another State or as a means of solving international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers of States.

"Every State likewise has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate international lines of demarcation, such as armistice lines, established by or pursuant to an international agreement to which it is a party or which it is otherwise bound to respect. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as prejudicing the positions of the parties concerned with regard to the status and effects of such lines under their special régimes or as affecting their temporary character.

"States have a duty to refrain from acts of reprisal involving the use of force.

"Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples referred to in the elaboration of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence.

"Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bands, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another State.

"Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts when the acts referred to in the present paragraph involve a threat or use of force.

"The territory of a State shall not be the object of military occupation resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter. The territory of a State shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force. No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as affecting:

"(a) Provisions of the Charter or any international agreement prior to the Charter régime and valid under international law; or

"(b) The powers of the Security Council under the Charter.

"All States shall pursue in good faith negotiations for the early conclusion of a universal treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and strive to adopt appropriate measures to reduce international tensions and strengthen confidence among States.

"All States shall comply in good faith with their obligations under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, and shall endeavour to make the United Nations security system based on the Charter more effective.

"Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as enlarging or diminishing in any way the scope of the provisions of the Charter concerning cases in which the use of force is lawful."

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

99. During the extensive deliberations leading to the adoption of the Declaration, the arguments that bore constitutional relevance focused on the broadening of the definition of the principle regarding the threat or use of force and on the limits of the right to self-defence. Some argued for a broad conception of force including economic, political and other kinds of coercive behaviour, whereas others maintained that force under Article 2(4) should be viewed narrowly. Another argument had to do with the delimitation between the legitimate and illegitimate uses of force: force employed in the liberation struggle of dependent peoples was seen by some as fully justified under the Charter. The final form of the Declaration reveals the limits of consensus regarding this basic legal document.170

(c. Decision of 14 December 1974 in connexion with the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression

(i) Précis of proceedings

100. The question of defining aggression was discussed by the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly and by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression prior to 1970.171 From the twenty-fifth through twenty-ninth sessions, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 2549 (XXIV), 2644 (XXV), 2781 (XXVI), 2967 (XXVII) and 3105 (XXVIII) the Special Committee and the Sixth Committee continued to consider the question and submitted reports.172 During the twenty-ninth session, in 1974, the General Assembly included in its agenda the report of the Special Committee173 and allocated it to the Sixth Committee.174

101. The report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression on the work of its 1974 session contained a draft definition of aggression which the Special Committee had adopted by consensus and had recommended to the General Assembly for approval.175

102. At the 1483rd and 1488th meetings of the Sixth Committee, working papers176 were introduced by two groups of sponsors. At the 1502nd meeting a draft resolution177 was submitted and, at the 1503rd meeting, adopted without a vote.

103. At the 2319th plenary meeting, on 14 December 1974, the General Assembly adopted178 the draft resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee as resolution 3314 (XXIX). The Definition of Aggression, contained in the annex to the resolution, read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Basing itself on the fact that one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace,

"Recalling that the Security Council, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations, shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security,

"Recalling also the duty of States under the Charter to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in order not to endanger international peace, security and justice,
"Bearing in mind that nothing in this Definition shall be interpreted as in any way affecting the scope of the provisions of the Charter with respect to the functions and powers of the organs of the United Nations,

"Considering also that, since aggression is the most serious and dangerous form of the illegal use of force, being fraught, in the conditions created by the existence of all types of weapons of mass destruction, with the possible threat of a world conflict and all its catastrophic consequences, aggression should be defined at the present stage,

"Reaffirming the duty of States not to use armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence, or to disrupt territorial integrity.

"Reaffirming also that the territory of a State shall not be violated by being the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State in contravention of the Charter, and that it shall not be the object of acquisition by another State resulting from such measures or the threat thereof,

"Reaffirming also the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

"Convinced that the adoption of a definition of aggression ought to have the effect of deterring a potential aggressor, would simplify the determination of acts of aggression and the implementation of measures to suppress them and would also facilitate the protection of the rights and lawful interests of, and the rendering of assistance to, the victim,

"Believing that, although the question whether an act of aggression has been committed must be considered in the light of all the circumstances of each particular case, it is nevertheless desirable to formulate basic principles as guidance for such determination,

"Adopts the following Definition of Aggression:179

"Article 1

"Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, as set out in this Definition.

"Explanatory note: In this Definition the term 'State':

"(a) Is used without prejudice to questions of recognition or to whether a State is a member of the United Nations;

"(b) Includes the concept of a 'group of States' where appropriate.

"Article 2

"The first use of armed force by a State in contravention of the Charter shall constitute prima facie evidence of an act of aggression although the Security Council may, in conformity with the Charter, conclude that a determination that an act of aggression has been committed would not be justified in the light of other relevant circumstances, including the fact that the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity.

"Article 3

"Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Article 2, qualify as an act of aggression:

"(a) The invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupa-

...
**Article 8**

"In their interpretation and application the above provisions are interrelated and each provision should be construed in the context of the other provisions."

(ii) Précis of relevant constitutional discussion

104. The lengthy deliberations over a period of seven years leading to the adoption of the Definition of Aggression involved a large number of complicated issues all of which gave rise to some constitutional discussion. Its direct bearing on the interpretation and application of Article 2(4) is quite clear in that aggression is defined as the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State. The main problems on which the deliberations centered were the following: the general definition of aggression; questions of priority and aggressive intent; particular acts of aggression to be included; the right of peoples to self-determination; legal consequences of aggression; legal uses of force, including the right to self-defence; the question of which political entities the definition would apply to; the question of what power the Security Council would exercise with regard to the definition of aggression and its application. The questions of priority and intent in aggression as well as the inclusion of indirect forms of aggression and the compromise formulation regarding the rights of people struggling for self-determination to pursue their goals and to seek the support of others were among the most difficult issues confronting the Special Committee and the Sixth Committee.

105. The final text adopted and the published records of the long and delicate debate leading to the adoption by consensus of the Definition reveal in a striking manner the manifold compromises which all sides in the end agreed to in order to enable the General Assembly to finish this undertaking.²⁰³

**B. The question of the scope and limits of the phrase “in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations”**

C. The question of the bearing of the injunction in Article 2(4) on the right of self-defence

106. During the period under review there were several occasions when some constitutional discussion regarding the right to self-defence and its interrelationship with the injunction in Article 2(4) arose. These instances are dealt with above in part A of the Analytical Summary of Practice.²¹² In this period, no other cases requiring separate analysis were found.²¹³

**Notes**


⁴ For the detailed presentation and evaluation of these three instances in the General Assembly see paras. 92-103.

⁵ This item, which was introduced by the USSR during the thirty-first session, gave rise to intensive deliberations in the First and Sixth Committees of the General Assembly. See paras. 32-36.

⁶ These instances include the consideration of the item “Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons” in the General Assembly plenary at the twenty-seventh session and the adoption of resolution 31/91 entitled “Non-interference in the internal affairs of States” in connexion with the consideration of agenda item “Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security” in the First Committee and in the plenary of the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. See paras. 28 and 31.

⁷ Fifth preamb. para.

⁸ The question involved the situation in the India/Pakistan subcontinent in December 1971.

⁹ Third preamb. para.

¹⁰ Fifth preamb. para.

¹¹ Seventh preamb. para.

¹² Fifth preamb. para.

¹³ Seventh preamb. para.

¹⁴ Ninth preamb. para.

¹⁵ Second preamb. para.

¹⁶ S C resolutions 294 (1971), fourth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Senegal; 295 (1971), third preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Guinea; 300 (1971), fourth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Zamb; 387 (1976), fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Kenya, on behalf of the African Group of States at the United Nations, concerning the act of aggression committed by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola; 393 (1976), ninth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Zambia against South Africa; 404 (1977), fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Benin; and 428 (1978), fourth preamb. para. in connexion with the complaint by Angola against South Africa.

¹⁷ G A resolution 2625 (XXV), annex, ninth preamb. para., para. 1 (principle 1) containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; G A resolution 2607 (XXVII), para. 3 in connexion with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations; G A resolution 2734 (XXV), paras. 2, 4, 5, entitled Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 3061 (XXVIII), third preamb. para. in connexion with the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic; G A resolution 3485 (XXX), fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the question of Timor; G A resolution 31/53, seventh preamb. para. in connexion with the question of Timor; G A resolution 31/91, ninth preamb. para. in connexion with non-interference in the internal affairs of States; G A resolution 32/34, fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the question of Timor; G A resolution 32/150, first preamb. para. in connexion with the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations; G A resolution 33/39, seventh preamb. para. in connexion with the question of Timor.

¹⁸ G A resolution 2645 (XXV), para. 1 in connexion with aerial hijacking or interference with civil air travel; G A resolution 2799 (XXVI), third preamb. para. in connexion with the situation in the Middle East; G A resolution 2880 (XXVI), para. 3 in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 2925 (XXVII), second preamb. para. in connexion with the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of cooperation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States; G A resolution 3185 (XXVIII), fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 334/3 (XXIX), para. 3 containing the definition of aggression; G A resolution 3332 (XXXI), fourth preamb. para. in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 3472 B (XXX), first preamb. para. in connexion with the comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects; G A resolution 31/59, first and second preamb. paras. in connexion with the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations; G A resolution 32/44, second preamb. para. in connexion with the respect for human rights in armed conflicts; G A resolution 32/154, para. 4 in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 32/155, para. 5 in connexion with the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Peace; G A resolutions 33/72 A, second preamb. para. and 33/72 B, fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States; G A resolution 33/96, sixth preamb. para. in connexion with the report of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations.

¹⁹ G A resolution 2625 (XXV), annex, para. 1: principle regarding the threat or use of force, definitions, from the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; G A resolution 2666 (XXV), fifth and sixth preamb. paras. (with an explicit reference to

²⁰³ The lengthy deliberations over a period of seven years leading to the adoption of the Definition of Aggression involved a large number of complicated issues all of which gave rise to some constitutional discussion. Its direct bearing on the interpretation and application of Article 2(4) is quite clear in that aggression is defined as the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State. The main problems on which the deliberations centered were the following: the general definition of aggression; questions of priority and aggressive intent; particular acts of aggression to be included; the right of peoples to self-determination; legal consequences of aggression; legal uses of force, including the right to self-defence; the question of which political entities the definition would apply to; the question of what power the Security Council would exercise with regard to the definition of aggression and its application. The questions of priority and intent in aggression as well as the inclusion of indirect forms of aggression and the compromise formulation regarding the rights of people struggling for self-determination to pursue their goals and to seek the support of others were among the most difficult issues confronting the Special Committee and the Sixth Committee.

²¹² In this period, no other cases requiring separate analysis were found.

²¹³ The final text adopted and the published records of the long and delicate debate leading to the adoption by consensus of the Definition reveal in a striking manner the manifold compromises which all sides in the end agreed to in order to enable the General Assembly to finish this undertaking.
Article 2) in connection with the status of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2456 (XXIII) concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco); G A resolution 2677 (XXV), first preamb. para. in connection with the use for human rights in armed conflicts; G A resolution 2852 (XXVI), first preamb. para. in connexion with the same agenda item; G A resolution 2936 (XXVII), first, second, third, ninth and tenth preamb. paras. and para. 1 in connexion with the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; G A resolution 3514 (XXX), para. 3 and annex, fifth, sixth and seventh paras. paras. and para. 1 in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; G A resolution 3389 (XXX), para. 5 in connexion with the situation in Cyprus. See also G A resolution 2793 (XXVI), para. 1 in connexion with the security of non-nuclear States; G A resolution 33/75, fifth preamb. para., para. 5 in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

22 C S resolutions 330 (1973), para. 2 in connexion with the consideration of the maintenance of international peace and security in Latin America in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter; 332 (1973), para. 3 and 337 (1973), para. 4, both in connexion with the situation in the Middle East; C S resolutions 28 February 1974, para. 2 in connexion with the complaint by Iraq concerning incidents on its frontier with Iran; C S resolutions 347 (1974), para. 1 in connexion with the situation in the Middle East and 367 (1975), para. 1 in connexion with the situation in Cyprus.

23 The parapraphs of the principle included formulations such as ‘refrain from the use of military force’ and ‘desist from the acts of violence’ or ‘refrain from the use of coercive measures’. Since under the Charter the Security Council is the main organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the resolutions referred to in the following note originated mostly in the Council; only in a few cases did the General Assembly adopt resolutions calling upon parties to desist from hostilities or to accept and maintain a cease-fire.

24 C S resolutions 280 (1970), para. 2; 316 (1972), para. 2; 332 (1973), para. 2; 337 (1973), para. 1; 347 (1974), paras. 1 and 2, regarding the situation in the Middle East; 326 (1973), para. 1; 328 (1973), para. 2; 424 (1978), para. 1 regarding complaints by Zambia; 360 (1974), para. 1 regarding the situation in Cyprus; 366 (1974), para. 1; 385 (1976), paras. 1 and 3 regarding the situation in Namibia; 386 (1976), para. 2 regarding the request by Mozambique under Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations; 387 (1976), para. 2 regarding the question of the status of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty; 405 (1977), para. 2 regarding the complaint by Benin; 411 (1977), para. 1 regarding the complaint by Mozambique; 428 (1978), paras. 1 and 2 regarding the complaint by Angola against South Africa. See also G A resolution 3061 (XXXVIII), para. 2 regarding the illegal occupation by Portuguese military forces of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and acts of aggression committed by them against the people of the Republic; also 3212 (XXIX), para. 2 regarding the complaint by Angola against South Africa; 392 (1976), para. 1 regarding the situation in South Africa; killings and violence by the apartheid régime in Soweto and other areas; 403 (1977), para. 4 regarding the complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty.

25 C S resolution 358 (1973), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East.


27 The following Security Council resolutions referred to both territorial integrity and political independence of States: C S resolutions: 290 (1971); 295 (1971); 353 (1974); 355 (1974); 360 (1974); 367 (1975); 367 (1976); 403 (1977); 404 (1977); 406 (1977); 407 (1977); 409 (1977); 434 (1978); 436 (1978). Another group of Security Council resolutions only referred to the principle of territorial integrity, as follows: C S resolutions 300 (1971); 302 (1971); 310 (1972); 312 (1972); 321 (1972); 326 (1973); 366 (1974); 384 (1975); 386 (1976); 393 (1976); 411 (1977); 424 (1978); 432 (1978).

28 The following General Assembly resolutions endorsed the principle of territorial integrity and political independence of States: G A resolutions 2625 (XXV); 2633 (XXV); 2918 (XXVI); 2949 (XXVII); 3212 (XXIX); 3224 (XXX); 3297 (XXIX); 3299 (XXVII); 3073 (XXVIII); 35/28.

29 A General Assembly resolution 2628 (XXV), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 2649 (XXV), para. 4 regarding the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights; 2799 (XXVI), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 2936 (XXVI), seventh preamb. para. regarding the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; 2949 (XXVII), para. 4 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 3240A (XXIX), para. 3 (d), (d) regarding the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories; 334 (XXIII), annex, seventh preamb. para. article 5 (3) regarding the definition of aggression: 3414 (XXX); para. 1; 32/20, fifth preamb. para.; 33/29, fifth preamb. para. in connexion with the situation in the Middle East.

30 C S resolution 298 (1971), third preamb. para. regarding the situation in the Middle East.

31 The following resolutions adopted by the General Assembly affirmed in principle the legitimacy of liberation struggles: G A resolution 2625 (XXV), para. 4 in connexion with the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations; 2871 (XXVI), para. 1 regarding the question of Namibia; 2936 (XXVI), seventh preamb. para. regarding the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; 3246 (XXIX), para. 3 ("reaffirms the legitimacy of the peoples’ struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle") regarding the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights.

32 C S resolutions 338 (1973), para. 1; 359 (1973), para. 1; 340 (1973), para. 1; 425 (1978), para. 2; 436 (1978), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 353 (1974), para. 2; 355 (1974), para. 2; 360 (1974), para. 2 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 384 (1975), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 326 (1973), para. 2; 332 (1973), para. 1; 347 (1974), paras. 1, 2 regarding the situation in the Middle East; 392 (1976), para. 5, regarding the situation in South Africa; killings and violence by the apartheid régime in Soweto and other areas; 403 (1977), para. 4 regarding the complaint of the Government of Botswana against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia concerning violations of its territorial sovereignty.

33 C S resolution 358 (1973), para. 1 regarding the situation in the Middle East.

34 The Analytical Summary of Practice deals with Security Council resolutions and draft resolutions regarding the situation in the Middle East, the situation in Cyprus, the situation in Timor, the complaint by Benin, and the complaint by the Prime Minister of Mauritius of the "act of aggression" by Israel against the Republic of Uganda. It also analyses three major resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which constituted milestones in the
development of international law. The only standard for selection of these cases has been the constitutional discussion arising in the relevant proceedings.

35 The material in the General Survey includes a few instances of work in progress in the General Assembly where the plenary or committees have taken up important projects of universal treaties without completing the envisaged round of deliberations. Where warranted, the case is more fully covered in the General Survey.

36 S C resolution 294 (1971), fourth to eighth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
37 For texts of relevant statements see S C (26), 1569th mtg.: Guinea, paras. paras. 1-3.
38 For texts of relevant statements see S C (32), 20th and 21st mtgs.; and G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
39 For texts of relevant statements see S C (28), 20th and 21st mtgs.; and G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
40 For texts of relevant statements see S C (29), 1903rd mtg.: Sierra Leone; 1905th mtg.: Romania; 1906th mtg.: Mali, United Republic of Tanzania.
41 S C resolution 393 (1976), third, fifth and ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
42 For texts of relevant statements see S C (31), 1944th mtg.: Mauritania, South Africa, Zambia; 1945th mtg.: Madagascar; 1947th mtg.: Guyana; 1948th mtg.: Sweden.
43 S C resolution 403 (1977) was adopted on 14 January 1977 at the 1985th mtg.: S C resolution 406 (1977) was adopted on 25 May 1977 at the 2006th mtg.
44 S C resolution 403 (1977), ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-4; S C resolution 406 (1977), para. 1.
45 For texts of relevant statements see S C (32), 1983rd mtg.: Botswana, paras. 24-41; Mauritius, paras. 57-61; 1984th mtg.: Kenya, paras. 93, 94, 97; Nigeria, paras. paras. 102-104; Zambia, para. 22; 1985th mtg.: Guinea, USSR; 1987th mtg.: France, United Kingdom, United States, Zaire; 1987th mtg.: President (Panama).
47 For texts of relevant statements see S C (29), 1976th mtg.: Istanb, Iraq; 1976th mtg.: Democratic Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Libyan Arab Republic.
48 S C resolution 387 (1976), fifth-eighth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
49 S C resolution 390 (1976), fourth and seventh preamble, paras. paras. 2.
50 For texts of relevant statements see S C (28), 20th and 21st mtgs.; and G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
51 S C resolution 393 (1976), third, fifth and ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
52 For texts of relevant statements see S C (31), 1944th mtg.: Mauritania, South Africa, Zambia; 1945th mtg.: Madagascar; 1947th mtg.: Guyana; 1948th mtg.: Sweden.
53 S C resolution 403 (1977) was adopted on 14 January 1977 at the 1985th mtg.: S C resolution 406 (1977) was adopted on 25 May 1977 at the 2006th mtg.
54 S C resolution 403 (1977), ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-4; S C resolution 406 (1977), para. 1.
55 For texts of relevant statements see S C (32), 1983rd mtg.: Botswana, paras. 24-41; Mauritius, paras. 57-61; 1984th mtg.: Kenya, paras. paras. 102-104; Zambia, para. 22; 1985th mtg.: Guinea, USSR; 1987th mtg.: France, United Kingdom, United States, Zaire; 1987th mtg.: President (Panama).
57 For texts of relevant statements see S C (29), 1976th mtg.: Istanb, Iraq; 1976th mtg.: Democratic Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Libyan Arab Republic.
58 S C resolution 387 (1976), fifth-eighth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
59 S C resolution 390 (1976), fourth and seventh preamble, paras. paras. 2.
60 For texts of relevant statements see S C (31), 1944th mtg.: Mauritania, South Africa, Zambia; 1945th mtg.: Madagascar; 1947th mtg.: Guyana; 1948th mtg.: Sweden.
61 S C resolution 403 (1977) was adopted on 14 January 1977 at the 1985th mtg.: S C resolution 406 (1977) was adopted on 25 May 1977 at the 2006th mtg.
62 S C resolution 403 (1977), ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-4; S C resolution 406 (1977), para. 1.
63 For texts of relevant statements see S C (32), 20th and 21st mtgs.; and G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
64 S C resolution 393 (1976), third, fifth and ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
65 For texts of relevant statements see S C (31), 1944th mtg.: Mauritania, South Africa, Zambia; 1945th mtg.: Madagascar; 1947th mtg.: Guyana; 1948th mtg.: Sweden.
66 S C resolution 403 (1977) was adopted on 14 January 1977 at the 1985th mtg.: S C resolution 406 (1977) was adopted on 25 May 1977 at the 2006th mtg.
67 S C resolution 403 (1977), ninth preamble, paras. paras. 1-4; S C resolution 406 (1977), para. 1.
69 S C resolution 411 (1977), fourth, eighth and sixteenth preamble, paras. paras. 1-3.
70 For texts of relevant statements see S C (31), 20th and 21st mtgs.; and G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
71 G A decision 31/140. See also G A (31), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-2.
72 The vote in the General Assembly was 88 in favour, 2 against, with 31 abstentions.
73 G A resolution 31/9, first-third preamble, paras. paras. 1 and 2.
74 See G A (31), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-2.
75 The Sixth Committee considered the legal implications during its 50th to 54th mtgs. between 22 and 25 November 1976.
76 G A resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.
77 G A resolution 3314 (XXX), fifth and sixth preamble, paras. paras. 1-2.
78 G A decision 31/140. See also G A (31), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-2.
79 G A (32), Annexes, paras. para. 3.
80 The vote on the draft resolution (A/31/C.1/L.3) which was adopted in the First Committee by 94 votes to 2, with 35 abstentions.
81 G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 1-3.
82 The vote in the First Committee was 79 in favour, none against, with 24 abstentions.
83 G A resolution 32/150, first and second preamble, paras. paras. 1 and 2.
84 The President of the General Assembly, in accordance with para. para. appointed the members of the Special Committee (A/32/500, mimeographed).
85 G A (33), Annexes, paras. para. 1.
86 The report of the Special Committee (A/33/41) was issued as G A (33), Suppl. No. 41.
87 G A (33), Annexes, paras. para. 1.
88 G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 3-5; 2/34/466, paras. paras. 1-2.
89 G A (32), Annexes, paras. paras. 2-3.
90 The vote on the revised draft resolution (A/C.6/18/Rev.1) was 85 in favour, 4 against, with 24 abstentions.
91 G A resolution 32/150, first and second preamble, paras. paras. 1 and 2.
92 The President of the General Assembly, in accordance with para. para. appointed the members of the Special Committee (A/32/500, mimeographed).
93 G A (33), Annexes, paras. para. 1.
94 The report of the Special Committee (A/33/41) was issued as G A (33), Suppl. No. 41.
tions. All the statements during the various proceedings referred to the constitutional issue under consideration. Many representatives invoked Article 2(4) not only implicitly, but also explicitly and frequently cited the text of Article 2(4) in full or in part.

Since consideration of the item had not been completed by the end of the thirty-third session, the material has not been included in the Analytical Summary of Practice.

These instances involving incidental explicit references to Article 2(4) were the following: G A (25), Plen., 1842nd mtg.: Japan, para. 61; 1891st mtg.: Poland, para. 57; 1st Com., 1275th mtg.: Mexico, para. 18; 3rd Com., 1784th mtg.: Israel, para. 31; 1788th mtg.: Hungary, para. 1; 1800th mtg.: United States, para. 31; 6th Com., 1230th mtg.: Japan, para. 1; 1230th mtg.: Turkey, para. 10; A (26), Plen., 2047th mtg.: Bahrain, para. 210; 22nd Com., 1359th mtg.: Costa Rica, para. 15; 21900th mtg.: Equatorial Guinea, para. 73; 6th Com., 1359th mtg.: Uruguay, para. 10; G A (29), Plen., 2239th mtg.: Greece, para. 96; 1st Com., 2033rd mtg.: Madagascar; G A (30), Plen., 2423rd mtg.: Kuwait; 4th Com., 2189th mtg.: New Zealand, para. 7; G A (31), Plen., 212th mtg.: Greece, para. 255; 15th mtg.: India, para. 68; 37th mtg.: Cuba, para. 64; 90th mtg.: Sri Lanka, para. 45; 64th Com., 49th mtg.: Cyprus, para. 80; 83; G A (32), 1st Com., 7th mtg.: Cyprus; 6th Com., 17th mtg.: Austria, paras. 44, 46; G A (33), 1st Com., 15th mtg.: Cyprus; 27th mtg.: Yugoslavia; 28th mtg.: Federal Republic of Germany; 6th Com., 22nd mtg.: Cyprus, para. 2; G A (3-8), Plen., 2nd mtg.: United Republic of Cyprus; 3rd Com., 29th mtg.: United Arab Jamahiriya; 27th mtg.: Cyprus. The following references occurred in the Security Council in connection with various agenda items: S C (25), 1543rd mtg.: Cyprus, para. 218 (Complaint of the Government of Cyprus); 1559th mtg.: Guinea, para. 21; 1590th mtg.: People's Republic of the Congo, para. 25; 1556th mtg.: Burundi, para. 107 (Complaint by Guinea); S C (26), Suppl. for Dec.-Feb. 1974; 1608th mtg.: United States, paras. 104/Rev. 1, eighth preamb. para. (Situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent); S C (27), Suppl. for April-June 1976, S/10600: Letter dated 15 April 1972 from the representative of Cuba (Complaint of the Government of Cuba); S C (28), Suppl. for July-Sept. 1973, S/10955: Letter dated 13 September 1973 from the representative of Cuba (Complaint by Cuba); S C (29), 1800th mtg.: Yugoslavia; 1802nd mtg.: Barbados; ibid. Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1974, draft resolution S/15434, fourth preamb. para.; S C (31), 1888th mtg.: Romania (Situation in the Comoros); S C (32), 2033th mtg.: Panama, para. 214 (Situation in Cyprus). The implicit references to Article 2(4) are far too numerous to be listed in this study.

96 S C (25), Suppl. for April-June 1976, S/9795.
97 Ibid., S/9795.
98 The draft resolution submitted by Spain (S/9800) was adopted unanimously, after a United States amendment and a USSR sub-amendment to the United States amendment were put to the vote and failed to acquire the necessary majority. The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 13 to none; two members did not participate in the vote. The resolution established the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).
99 For the text of relevant statements see S C (25), 1537th mtg.: Israel, paras. 31, 34, 36, 38, 39-41, 79; Lebanon, paras. 11-15, 17, 19, 23, 24; Spain, paras. 42, 45, 46; 47-49; Zambia, paras. 50, 54, 55; 57; 66; 1046/Rev. 1, eighth preamb. para. (Situation in the India-Pakistan subcontinent).
100 S C (27), Suppl. for April-June 1976, S/9795.
101 Ibid., S/10995.
102 The draft resolution submitted by Spain (S/9928) was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.
103 S C (27), Suppl. for Jan.-March 1972, S/10546.
104 Ibid., S/10550.
105 The draft resolution (S/10552) was sponsored by Belgium, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. During the vote the preambular paragraph ("Deploring all actions which have resulted in the loss of innocent lives") which had been subject to proposals for amendment or deletion during the Council's deliberations, was voted upon separately and failed to receive the required majority of nine votes; the remainder of the draft resolution was unanimously adopted. 
106 S C (27), Suppl. for April-June 1976, S/10775. See also the letter dated 26 June 1972 from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic (S/10720) in which he requested that the Syrian Arab Republic be considered an integral party to the Lebanese complaint.
107 S C (27), Suppl. for April-June 1976, S/10776.
108 The draft resolution (S/10722) was submitted by Belgium, France and the United Kingdom. It was put to the vote and adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions. An alternate draft submitted by the United States, which would have condemned acts of violence in the area, called for an immediate cessation of all such acts and called upon all Governments concerned to repatriate all armed forces personnel held in custody, was not put to the vote in view of the adoption of the three-Power draft resolution.
109 S C (28), Suppl. for April-June 1973, S/10913.
In the course of the discussion at the 1788th meeting the representative of the USSR submitted two amendments (S/1401), one of which was adopted while the other was rejected by vote.

The draft resolution as amended was put to the vote and received 12 votes in favour, 2 against, with one member not participating in the vote.

The draft resolution (S/1402) had been agreed to in the course of consultations among the Council Members. It was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions and one member not participating.

S C (29), Suppl. for July-Sept. 1974, S/1444.

Ibid., S/1445.

The draft resolution was submitted by the United Kingdom (S/1446) and was withdrawn during consultations. The revised draft (S/1446/Rev.1) was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

The draft resolution (S/1448) was agreed upon in the course of consultations. It was adopted unanimously.

The original draft (S/1450) was submitted by France. It was twice revised substantially (S/1450/Rev.2) before it was put to the vote and adopted by 11 votes to none, with 3 abstentions and one member not participating.

For the texts of relevant statements, see S C (29), 1779th mtg.: Secretary-General, Cyprus, France, Turkey, USSR, United States; 1780th mtg.: China, Greece, President Makarios, Romania, Turkey, United States, Yugoslavia; 1781st mtg.: Cyprus, France, Kenya, Mauritania, Mauritius, Secretary-General, USSR, United Kingdom; 1783rd mtg.: Greece; 1786th mtg.: Japan, Portugal, United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius, President of the USSR submitted two amendments (S/12057) inserting one word in paragraph 2 of the draft. The amendment was put to the vote and failed to obtain the required majority of 9 votes.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions; one member did not participate in the vote.

For the texts of relevant statements see S C (30), 1864th mtg.: Mr. Horta, Indonesia, Portugal; 1865th mtg.: China; 1867th mtg.: Japan, Portugal, USSR, United Arab Republic of Tanzania; S C (31), 1908th mtg.: Mr. Horta, Portugal; 1912th mtg.: Italy; 1951th mtg.: Sweden.

S C (31), Suppl. for July-Sept. 1976, S/12126.

Ibid., S/12123.

Ibid., S/12124.


Ibid., S/12139. The sponsors did not insist on a vote on the draft resolution.

For the texts of relevant statements see: S C (31), 1939th mtg.: France, Israel, Mauritania, United Republic of Cameroon; 1940th mtg.: Guyana, Sweden, United Kingdom; 1941st mtg.: Pakistan, USSR, United Republic of Tanzania, United States; 1942nd mtg.: India, Israel, Panama, Romania; 1943rd mtg.: Cuba, France, Uganda.

S C (32), Suppl. for Jan.-March 1977, S/12278.

S C (32), Suppl. for Jan.-March 1977, S/12281.

The draft resolution (S/12282) was initially submitted by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius; it was revised (S/12282/Rev.1) by modifying the second paragraph and inserting a fourth paragraph and adopted by vote, without a vote.

S C (32), Special Suppl. No. 3, 1977, S/12294 and Add.1. The report contained a detailed account of the events at Cotonou and of the recruitment and composition of the mercenary force.

The draft resolution (S/12322), which was sponsored by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius and Panama, was adopted by consensus, without a vote.


The draft resolution (S/12454), which had been submitted by Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritius, was revised (S/12454/Rev.1) and adopted without a vote.

For the texts of relevant statements; see: S C (32), 1966th mtg.: Benin, paras. 10-29; Madagascar, para. 84; Rwanda, paras. 55-56; 1987th mtg.: India, paras. 61-64; 2000th mtg.: Mauritius, paras. 99-111; Panama, paras. 29-31; 2001st mtg.: USSR, para. 8; 2004th mtg.: Somalia, paras. 51-53; 2005th mtg.: Equatorial Guinea, para. 48; Mali, paras. 82-83; 2047th mtg.: Benin, para. 24; 2049th mtg.: Equatorial Guinea, para. 48.

G A resolution 2506 (XXVI), para. 1 expressed the belief that, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the General Assembly should consider appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security.

G A (25), Annexes, a.i. 32, A/8096 (Report of the First Committee), A/C.1/313, draft resolution submitted by Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian SSR and USSR, especially paras. 1-3; 6; A/C.1/L.514, draft resolution submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, Japan, subsequently also sponsored by the Netherlands, para. 1; A/C.1/L.517, draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela, para. 3; A/C.1/L.518, draft resolution submitted by Afghanistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ghana, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Singapore, the Sudan, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia, subsequently sponsored also by Burundi, Senegal and Tunisia, paras. 1, 5, 6. Several amendments were proposed to the various draft resolutions, but did not affect the paragraphs containing implicit references to Article 2(4).

See G A (25), Annexes, a.i. 32, A/8096, paras. 6-9. The new draft resolution (A/C.1/L.558) was submitted by Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Ecuador, India, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia and Zambia, subsequently sponsored also by Barbados, Bolivia, Burundi, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iraq, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Romania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Ibid., A/8096, paras. 10-18, regarding the amendments introduced regarding the unified draft and the votes taken on those amendments and on the draft resolution as a whole. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution as amended, by a roll-call vote of 106 to 1, with 1 abstention.

The vote in the General Assembly was 120 in favour, 1 against, with 1 abstention.

For the texts of relevant statements see G A (25), Plen., 1932nd mtg.: India, para. 127; 1st Com., 1725th mtg.: USSR, paras. 33-35; 1727th mtg.: Pakistan, para. 43; 1728th mtg.: Greece, paras. 62-63; Yugoslavia, para. 91; 1729th mtg.: Japan, paras. 53-54; 172nd mtg.: Australia, para. 34; Hungary, para. 48; 173rd mtg.: Ecuador, para. 90; El Salvador, para. 22; 1734th mtg.: Pakistan, para. 106; Romania, para. 47-50; 1737th mtg.: Lebanon, paras. 93-94; 1738th mtg.: India, paras. 71-72; USSR, paras. 145-150.

See G A (25), Annexes, a.i. 85, introductory note. For the proceedings prior to 1970 see Reportor Supplement No. 4, under Article 2 (4), paragraph 36. As shown there, a large part of the work on the formulation of the principle concerning the prohibition of the threat or use of force was concluded prior to 1970.

G A (25), Annexes, a.i. 85, document A/8082, para. 1. The General Assembly took this action in accordance with its resolution 2533 (XXIV) of 8 December 1969, in which it asked the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Questions of Principle to consult with the Ad Hoc Committee of Twenty-Five and with the states to expedite its work and to attempt to submit to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth session a comprehensive report containing a draft Declaration on all the seven principles.

G A (25), Supplement No. II (A/8081). This long and very detailed report of the Special Committee set out in depth the various proposals for the draft Declaration, the principles and phrases agreed to by the Special Committee and those suggestions which were put before it but not yet acted upon. The report also contains a comprehensive summary of the positions taken by the members of the Special Committee. The suggestions that did not find acceptance in the Special Committee or in the Sixth Committee are briefly summarized in conjunction with the final text of the Declaration. See note 169 below.

A/C.6/L.793 and Corr.1 and Add.1. The list of sponsors reflected fully the wide consensus for the draft Declaration. See G A (25), Annexes, a.i. 85, para. 5.

The Declaration was adopted without objection. Only a few provisions, which still were pending for decision in the Special Committee, were not accepted in the final text. These related to the organization of armed bands and the instigation of civil strife and terrorist acts: proposals to exempt the process of self-determination and colonial liberation from the prohibition expressed in these two points explaining the range of principle 1 and to allow for any kind of support for the legitimate struggle in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) were not adopted.

For the texts of relevant statements see G A (25), Supplement No 18 chapter II C, paras. 91-93 (USSR), 106 (Argentina), 114 (Venezuela), 120 (Romania), 136 (Italy), 146-149, 151 (France), 161 (Yugoslavia), 171 (Canada), 179 (Poland), 183 (Nigeria), 195 (Czechoslovakia), 201 (Australia),
The General Assembly adopted the draft Definition by consensus.

"2. With reference to the first paragraph of article 5, the Committee states that this paragraph should not be construed so as to prejudice the established principles of international law relating to the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force."

See G A (29), Supplement No. 19, para. 20 for these explanatory notes. The following statements by the Chairman at the 1503rd meeting of the Sixth Committee were included in the report to the General Assembly and accepted in connexion with the adoption of the Definition (See G A (29), Annexes, a.i. 86, A/9890, paras. 9-10):

"The Sixth Committee agreed that nothing in the Definition of Aggression, and in particular article 3(d), shall be construed as a justification for a State to block, contrary to international law, the routes of free access of a land-locked country to and from the sea."

"The Sixth Committee agreed that nothing in the Definition of Aggression, and in particular article 3(c), shall be construed as a justification for a State to block, contrary to international law, the routes of free access of a land-locked country to and from the sea."

During the period under review, all meetings held by the Special Committee and by the Sixth Committee during the twenty-fifth to twenty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly constituted examples of full-fledged constitutional discussion. The best survey over the course of the discussion and the range of arguments is contained in the reports of the Special Committee and by the Sixth Committee during the twenty-fifth to twenty-ninth meetings; 15th session: 1211th to 1213th meetings; 26th session: 1268th to 1276th and 1281st meetings; 27th session: 1346th to 1352nd, 1366th, 1368th and 1371st meetings; 28th session: 1439th to 1445th meetings; 29th session: 1488th, 1502nd to 1504th meetings) and submitted the following reports to the General Assembly: G A (25), A/8049; G A (26), A/8419; G A (27), A/8719; G A (28), A/9019; G A (29), A/9619 and Corr.1.

The Sixth Committee agreed that the expression 'any weapons' is used without making a distinction between conventional weapons, weapons of mass destruction and any other kind of weapon.