

United Nations Security Council Resolutions Currently Being Violated by Countries Other than Iraq

By Stephen Zunes

(Editor's Note: In its effort to justify its planned invasion of Iraq, the Bush administration has emphasized the importance of enforcing UN Security Council resolutions. However, in addition to the dozen or so resolutions currently being violated by Iraq, a conservative estimate reveals that there are an additional 91 Security Council resolutions about countries other than Iraq that are also currently being violated. This raises serious questions regarding the Bush administration's insistence that it is motivated by a duty to preserve the credibility of the United Nations, particularly since the vast majority of the governments violating UN Security Council resolutions are close allies of the United States. Stephen Zunes <stephen@coho.org>, University of San Francisco professor and Middle East Editor for Foreign Policy in Focus (online at www.fpif.org), compiled the following partial list of UN resolutions that are currently being violated by countries other than Iraq.)

The cases are listed in order of resolution number, followed by the year in which the resolution was passed, the country or countries in violation, and a brief description of the resolution.

Resolution 252 (1968) Israel

Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind measures that change the legal status of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and properties thereon.

262 (1968) Israel

Calls upon Israel to pay compensation to

Lebanon for destruction of airliners at Beirut International Airport.

267 (1969) Israel

Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem.

271 (1969) Israel

Reiterates calls to rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem and calls on Israel to scrupulously abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the responsibilities of occupying powers.

298 (1971) Israel

Reiterates demand that Israel rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem.

353 (1974) Turkey

Calls on nations to respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus and for the withdrawal without delay of foreign troops from Cyprus.

354 (1974) Turkey

Reiterates provisions of UNSC resolution 353.

360 (1974) Turkey

Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus "without delay."

364 (1974) Turkey

Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.

367 (1975) Turkey

Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.

370 (1975) Turkey

Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.

377 (1979) Morocco

Calls on countries to respect the right of self-determination for Western Sahara.



- 379 (1979) Morocco
Calls for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Western Sahara.
- 380 (1979) Morocco
Reiterates the need for compliance with previous resolutions.
- 391 (1976) Turkey
Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.
- 401 (1976) Turkey
Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.
- 414 (1977) Turkey
Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.
- 422 (1977) Turkey
Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.
- 440 (1978) Turkey
Reaffirms the need for compliance with prior resolutions regarding Cyprus.
- 446 (1979) Israel
Calls upon Israel to scrupulously abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the responsibilities of occupying powers, to rescind previous measures that violate these relevant provisions, and “in particular, not to transport parts of its civilian population into the occupied Arab territories.”
- 452 (1979) Israel
Calls on the government of Israel to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction, and planning of settlements in the Arab territories, occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.
- 465 (1980) Israel
Reiterates previous resolutions on Israel’s settlements policy.
- 471 (1980) Israel
Demands prosecution of those involved in assassination attempts of West Bank leaders and compensation for damages; reiterates demands to abide by Fourth Geneva Convention.
- 484 (1980) Israel
Reiterates request that Israel abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention.
- 487 (1981) Israel
Calls upon Israel to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguard of the UN’s International Atomic Energy Agency.
- 497 (1981) Israel
Demands that Israel rescind its decision to impose its domestic laws in the occupied Syrian Golan region.
- 541 (1983) Turkey
Reiterates the need for compliance with prior resolutions and demands that the declaration of an independent Turkish Cypriot state be withdrawn.
- 550 (1984) Turkey
Reiterates UNSC resolution 541 and insists that member states may “not to facilitate or in any way assist” the secessionist entity.
- 573 (1985) Israel
Calls on Israel to pay compensation for human and material losses from its attack against Tunisia and to refrain from all such attacks or threats of attacks against other nations.
- 592 (1986) Israel
Insists Israel abide by the Fourth Geneva Conventions in East Jerusalem and other occupied territories.
- 605 (1987) Israel
“Calls once more upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War, and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention.”
- 607 (1986) Israel
Reiterates calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention and to cease its practice of deportations from occupied Arab territories.
- 608 (1988) Israel
Reiterates call for Israel to cease its deportations.
- 636 (1989) Israel
Reiterates call for Israel to cease its deportations.
- 641 (1989) Israel
Reiterates previous resolutions calling on Israel to desist in its deportations.
- 658 (1990) Morocco
Calls upon Morocco to “cooperate fully” with the Secretary General of the United Nations and the chairman of the Organization of African Unity “in their efforts aimed at an early settlement of the question of Western Sahara.”
- 672 (1990) Israel
Reiterates calls for Israel to abide by provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied Arab territories.
- 673 (1990) Israel
Insists that Israel come into compliance with resolution 672.
- 681 (1990) Israel
Reiterates call on Israel to abide by Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied Arab territories.
- 690 (1991) Morocco
Calls upon both parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary General in implementing a referendum on the fate of the territory.
- 694 (1991) Morocco
Reiterates that Israel “must refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilian from the occupied territories and ensure the safe and immediate return of all those deported.”
- 716 (1991) Morocco
Reaffirms previous resolutions on Cyprus.
- 725 (1991) Morocco
“Calls upon the two parties to cooperate fully in the settlement plan.”
- 726 (1992) Israel
Reiterates calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention and to cease its practice of deportations from occupied Arab territories.
- 799 (1992) Israel
“Reaffirms applicability of Fourth Geneva Convention...to all Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including

- Jerusalem, and affirms that deportation of civilians constitutes a contraction of its obligations under the Convention.”
- 807 (1993) Croatia
Demands return of heavy weapons seized from UN storage areas.
- 809 (1992) Morocco
Reiterates call to cooperate with the peace settlement plan, particularly regarding voter eligibility for referendum.
- 815 (1993) Croatia
Reaffirms UNSC resolution 807.
- 822 (1993) Armenia
Calls for Armenia to implement the “immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces from the Kelbadjar district and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan.”
- 853 (1993) Armenia
Demands “complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces” from Azerbaijani territory.
- 874 (1993) Armenia
Reiterates calls for withdrawal of occupation forces.
- 884 (1993) Armenia
Calls on Armenia to use its influence to force compliance by Armenian militias to previous resolutions and to withdraw its remaining occupation forces.
- 896 (1994) Russia
“Calls upon all concerned to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia.”
- 904 (1994) Israel
Calls upon Israel, as the occupying power, “to take and implement measures, inter alia, confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by settlers.”
- 973 (1995) Morocco
Reiterates the need for cooperation with United Nations and expediting referendum on the fate of Western Sahara.
- 995 (1995) Morocco
Calls for “genuine cooperation” with UN efforts to move forward with a referendum.
- 1002 (1995) Morocco
Reiteration of call for “genuine cooperation” with UN efforts.
- 1009 (1995) Croatia
Demands that Croatia “respect fully the rights of the local Serb population to remain, leave, or return in safety.”
- 1017 (1995) Morocco
Reiterates the call for “genuine cooperation” with UN efforts and to cease “procrastinating actions which could further delay the referendum.”
- 1033 (1995) Morocco
Reiterates call for “genuine cooperation” with UN efforts.
- 1044 (1996) Sudan
Calls upon Sudan to extradite to Ethiopia for prosecution three suspects in an assassination attempt of visiting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and to cease its support for sanctuary and offering of sanctuary to terrorists.
- 1054 (1996) Sudan
Demands that Sudan come into compliance with UNSC resolution 1044.
- 1056 (1996) Morocco
Calls for the release of political prisoners from occupied Western Sahara.
- 1070 (1996) Sudan
Reiterates demands to comply with 1044 and 1054.
- 1073 (1996) Israel
“Calls on the safety and security of Palestinian civilians to be ensured.”
- 1079 (1996) Croatia
Reaffirms right of return for Serbian refugees to Croatia.
- 1092 (1996) Turkey/Cyprus
Calls for a reduction of foreign troops in Cyprus as the first step toward a total withdrawal troops as well as a reduction in military spending.
- 1117 (1997) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates call for a reduction of foreign troops in Cyprus as the first step toward a total withdrawal troops and reduction in military spending.
- 1120 (1997) Croatia
Reaffirms right of return for Serbian refugees to Croatia and calls on Croatia to change certain policies that obstruct this right, and to treat its citizens equally regardless of ethnic origin.
- 1145 (1997) Croatia
Reiterates Croatian responsibility in supporting the political and economic rights of its people regardless of ethnic origin.
- 1172 (1998) India, Pakistan
Calls upon India and Pakistan to cease their development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles.
- 1178 (1998) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates call for a substantial reduction of foreign troops and reduction in military spending.
- 1185 (1998) Morocco
Calls for the lifting of restrictions of movement by aircraft of UN peace-keeping force.
- 1215 (1998) Morocco
Urges Morocco to promptly sign a “status of forces agreement.”
- 1217 (1998) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates call for a substantial reduction of foreign troops and reduction in military spending.
- 1251 (1999) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates call for a substantial reduction of foreign troops and reduction in military spending.
- 1264 (1999) Indonesia
Calls on Indonesia to provide safe return for refugees and punish those for acts of violence during and after the referendum campaign.
- 1272 (1999) Indonesia
Stresses the need for Indonesia to provide for the safe return for refugees and maintain the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps.
- 1283 (1999) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates UNSC resolution 1251.
- 1303 (2000) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates UNSC resolutions 1283 and 1251.
- 1319 (2000) Indonesia
Insists that Indonesia “take immediate additional steps, in fulfillment of its responsibilities, to disarm and disband the militia immediately, restore law and order in the affected areas of West Timor, ensure safety and securi-

- ty in the refugee camps and for humanitarian workers, and prevent incursions into East Timor.” Stresses that those guilty of attacks on international personnel be brought to justice and reiterates the need to provide safe return for refugees who wish to repatriate and provide resettlement for those wishing to stay in Indonesia.
- 1322 (2000) Israel
Calls upon Israel to scrupulously abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the responsibilities of occupying power.
- 1331 (2000) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates UNSC resolution 1251 and subsequent resolutions.
- 1338 (2001) Indonesia
Calls for Indonesian cooperation with the UN and other international agencies in the fulfillment of UNSC resolution 1319.
- 1359 (2001) Morocco
Calls on the parties to “abide by their obligations under international humanitarian law to release without further delay all those held since the start of the conflict.”
- 1384 (2001) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates 1251 and all relevant resolutions on Cyprus.
- 1402 (2002) Israel
Calls for Israel to withdraw from Palestinian cities.
- 1403 (2002) Israel
Demands that Israel go through with “the implementation of its resolution 1402, without delay.”
- 1405 (2002) Israel
Calls for UN inspectors to investigate civilian deaths during an Israeli assault on the Jenin refugee camp.
- 1416 (2002) Turkey/Cyprus
Reiterates UNSC resolution 1251

and all relevant resolutions on Cyprus.

1435 (2002) Israel

Calls on Israel to withdraw to positions of September 2000 and end its military activities in and around Ramallah, including the destruction of security and civilian infrastructure.

Explanatory Notes:

This list deals exclusively with resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, a fifteen-member body consisting of five permanent members (the United States, Russia, China, France, and the United Kingdom) and ten non-permanent members elected for rotating two-year terms representing various regions of the world. The Security Council’s primary responsibility, under the UN Charter, is for the maintenance of international peace and security. For a resolution to pass, it must be approved by a majority of the total membership with no dissenting vote from any of the five permanent members. Since the early 1970s, the United States has used its veto power nearly fifty times, more than all other permanent members during that same period combined. In the vast majority of these cases, the U.S. was the only dissenting vote. The preceding list, therefore, includes only resolutions where the United States voted in the affirmative or abstained.

This list does not include resolutions that merely condemn a particular action, only those that specifically proscribe a particular ongoing activity or future activity and/or call upon a particular government to imple-

ment a particular action. Nor does this list does include resolutions where the language is ambiguous enough to make assertions of non-compliance debatable, such as UNSC resolutions 242 and 338 on the Arab-Israeli conflict that put forward the formula of “land for peace,” to cite the most famous. Similarly, it does not include broad resolutions calling for universal compliance not in reference to a particular conflict, particularly if there is not a clear definition. For example, in a resolution that proscribes the harboring of terrorists, there is no clear definition for what constitutes a terrorist. This list does not include nonstate actors, such as secessionist governments, rebel groups or terrorists, only recognized nation-states.

Furthermore, this list does not include resolutions that were also violated for a number of years that are now moot (such as those dealing with Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor, South Africa’s occupation of Namibia, and Israel’s occupation of southern Lebanon). If these were also included, the number of violations would double. In most of these cases, the United States played a key role in blocking enforcement of these resolutions as well.

Finally, it should be noted that this is only a partial list, since some of the resolutions involved technical questions I was unable to judge, particularly when they involved parts of the world with which we were less familiar. S.Z.