



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



LIMITED  
A/C.1/PV.988  
18 November 1958  
ENGLISH

Thirteenth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 18 November 1958, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. URQUIA

(El Salvador)

Question of the peaceful use of outer space [60] (continued)

- (a) The banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space;
- (b) Programme for international co-operation in the field of outer space.

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## AGENDA ITEM 60

QUESTION OF THE PEACEFUL USE OF OUTER SPACE (continued)

- (a) THE BANNING OF THE USE OF COSMIC SPACE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, THE ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES ON THE TERRITORIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE STUDY OF COSMIC SPACE;
- (b) PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF OUTER SPACE

Mr. AMBROSINI (Italy) (interpretation from French): I have asked for the floor in order to exercise briefly my right of reply in connexion with the remarks of the representative of Byelorussian SSR. In his speech yesterday morning, he adverted to the speech of the Italian delegation on the current topic on our agenda. To begin with, the representative of Byelorussian SSR does not seem to attach the same importance as we do to the juridical aspects of the complex problems arising in connexion with the use of outer space. I am confident, nevertheless, that the representative of Byelorussian SSR does not mean to suggest that the use of outer space should not be settled in conformity with the principles and norms of international law, because, if this were so, Italy surely could not endorse a view of that kind. In our opinion, it is very important to see to it that international relations in connexion with the use of outer space should not degenerate into disorder and chaos, which would be bound to happen if juridical procedures were disregarded.

However, the representative of Byelorussian SSR objected to the measures taken by the Italian Government in order to ensure my country's defence, which includes the installation of modern military equipment. These measures were adopted for purely defensive purposes. The representative of Byelorussian SSR asked me a question concerning the utilization of this military equipment and these facilities. It is easy for me to answer. Such equipment and facilities will be used, if the need should arise, against any aggressor. The problem of military installations, moreover, is only part and parcel of the broader disarmament problem, and in this connexion the Italian delegation has already stated its views clearly and forthrightly in this Committee. Italy has called for and urged the adoption of effective measures for controlled and balanced disarmament. Italy herself has

(Mr. Ambrosini, Italy)

declared her readiness to abide by decisions which, as we hope, will eventually be adopted in this field. Until this is done, it is not conceivable for the Italian Government to ignore its sacred duty -- one of the supreme duties of any Government; that is, to safeguard its people's security and its territory's integrity.

We are confident, for that matter, that the Government of the Byelorussian SSR performs the same functions in an ample and adequate manner as regards its own country. As far as we are concerned, nothing would make us happier than to ensure that the resources, which present circumstances force us to assign to defence, should be used for peaceful purposes and constructive purposes; but this problem has already been dealt with at length in this Committee, and the General Assembly has already taken a decision on this topic. It is regrettable, in fact, that this decision was taken without the approval or support of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR. If concrete headway or achievements in the disarmament matter have not been registered, it surely is not our fault. As far as the uses of outer space are concerned, we have already stated that these uses should be peaceful exclusively.

(Mr. Ambrosini, Italy)

This is a principle which is set forth and included in the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) which my delegation, jointly with nineteen other delegations, has sponsored in this Committee. As a matter of good faith, I feel that all the delegations present here should be in a position to approve of and support this draft resolution.

Mr. NUÑEZ-PORTUONDO (Cuba)(interpretation from Spanish): The important item at present before the First Committee represents a new subject, both in the field of science and in the field of law. We still have not obtained complete knowledge of all the facets represented by these conquests, which demonstrate how far human intelligence can go in its striving to transcend itself. We may add that if the great Powers -- which can call upon a large number of scientists and which particularly have the economic resources available to carry out experiments -- still find it difficult to set a policy in a given direction, then far less can we, the States only having small populations and limited wealth, endeavour to set standards on so difficult and complex a subject.

Despite this, we do take part in the debate, because, as is always the case, although we may derive no immediate advantage from these important scientific conquests, on the other hand, if these scientific conquests are directed into paths of evil, then we would be the first to suffer the consequences of such a development. We have heard very important statements in this room, very important primarily because they conveyed scientific information. I am speaking of the statements made by the representatives of Chile, Italy, Peru, France and Argentina. We infer and conclude from these statements, quite clearly, that new scientific developments must necessarily call into being new law.

We cannot agree to the thesis that these immeasurable spaces -- which are referred to on the agenda as "outer space" -- can come under the same legal regulations or rules which so far have applied to the seas or to air space. We cannot speak in the same breath of the principle that a part of the earth may be occupied by those who discover it, or that there should be freedom of navigation on the high seas, or that every State has sovereignty over its direct air space, and at the same time speak of the right of a State to claim to bring the moon, planets and stars under its sovereignty.

(Mr. Nuñez-Portuondo, Cuba)

Since all these matters raise problems of tremendous importance, we must move forward slowly so that we will not be called upon to change our principles and our views as scientific advances grow in number. The Cuban delegation feels that it would have been desirable to have a unanimous, forthright and decisive statement embodied in a resolution distinct from any other subject, a resolution and declaration which would expressly prohibit any State or group of States from laying territorial claims on the planets and stars. A declaration of this type, with the unanimous commitment and obligation that all explorations of outer space should be made for the benefit of all mankind, on the basis of equal rights for all and in behalf of and under the direction of the United Nations, would quiet the apprehensions of the peoples throughout the world who as yet do not know what to expect or what may be their destiny if a State, clearly an aggressor on earth, were to endeavour to use outer space in an attempt to continue its conquests of those parts of our planet which were yet free.

Two draft resolutions have been put before us for our consideration and decision, one draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219) submitted by the Soviet Union, and the other draft resolution (A/C.L/L.220) sponsored by Australia and several other delegations. The proposal of the Soviet Union, according to the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union, is submitted on behalf of peace-loving peoples headed by the Soviet Union. This proposal, in our view, suffers from the drawback that it cannot be considered to embody a sincerely peaceful intention since it emanates from those States which are responsible for starting all the wars of recent years.

In this draft resolution we find provisions which have no close connexion with the matter under discussion. We do not understand how an item on outer space can be linked with the question of military bases on earth, a matter which was dealt with exhaustively by this Committee when we were discussing disarmament. This item is one on which the great majority of the General Assembly has already expressed its views, and these views are at variance with that of the Government of Moscow and its satellites.

(Mr. Nuñez-Portuondo, Cuba)

The Cuban delegation feels that under sound procedural practice, the draft resolution of the Soviet Union should be voted upon in parts. First, we should vote separately on the words in the fourth paragraph of the preamble which read, "to eliminate all foreign military bases on the territories of other countries". Then, we should vote on the words in paragraph 2 which read, "The elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other States, primarily in Europe, the Near and Middle East and North Africa". Lastly, we would vote on the remaining parts of the draft resolution.

But it seems to us that the suggestion made by Mr. Freitas-Valle, the representative of Brazil, that this draft resolution be referred to the Disarmament Commission, is a preferable course to follow. We are authorized by the rules of procedure to request such a vote by division, and the suggestion that we should vote by division is based upon the reasoning that this part of the draft resolution has no connexion with the item under discussion.

As was eloquently demonstrated by Mr. Lodge, the representative of the United States, and by Mr. Lequerica, the representative of Spain, we have no certainty that there are foreign bases in the areas referred to in the Soviet proposal, since what is involved here is clearly a series of bases established by each country, making use, in so doing, of its sovereign rights. The Cuban delegation wishes to add that it cannot vote in favour of the elimination of these bases, not only because this would amount to an intervention in the domestic affairs of the States concerned, but also because we are convinced that, just as the atomic and hydrogen bombs, these bases have served to avert aggression against the free nations of the world.

When military bases disappear, then aggression will be unleashed against the free peoples of the world. This opinion is borne out by the very insistence of the Soviet Union that these bases be eliminated, and it is also borne out by the recent threats leveled against the Federal Republic of Germany. We do not consider the proposals submitted by Australia and several other Powers as a perfect document, but it does seem to us to be an initiative, submitted in good faith, which is fully in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter. This draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) represents a first step in this field and that is why we will vote in favour of it.

Sir Pierscn DIXON (United Kingdom): Most of the surface of the earth has now been explored, and man has turned to the exploration of outer space as his next adventure into the unknown. For the first time since the beginning of the world, man-made devices are circling the earth. In one of them, launched by the Soviet Union, a dog has survived for a week. And earlier this year the United States successfully launched a vehicle, the Pioneer, which travelled 80,000 miles into space.

In sober language, the achievements of the space exploration programmes in the United States and the Soviet Union constitute a phase in the development of transport and communications which marks a transition from aeronautics to astronautics. The development of space vehicles has of course an obvious bearing on a new military conception. For centuries we have had the conception of sea power; during the past fifty years there has been the conception of air power; now we confront the conception of "space power". But the primary inspiration behind the space exploration programmes has been the desire for scientific knowledge. A great impulse in this direction was given by the International Geophysical Year, the purpose of which is of course scientific research.

The sort of investigations which have been planned for these space vehicles have been levelled at such subjects as temperature, meteor penetration, surface erosion, air drag and density measurements -- at extreme atmospheric altitudes -- geodetic measurements, spectrography, cosmic ray observations, auroral radiations, the measurement of the earth's magnetic field and many more.

To give, if I might, a single striking example: we now know that the earth's flatness at the poles is about one furlong more -- that is, 220 yards more -- than it was previously thought to be. This revision is not of immediate practical significance, but it does show dramatically how in a brief time the work of satellites has been able to produce more accurate information about the shape of the earth than several generations of accurate measurements of the earth's surface. Many more scientific revisions and new discoveries are certainly to come.

My country is not yet a "sputnik power", but United Kingdom scientists have helped to provide many of the basic ideas of space flight and research. As the Committee is no doubt aware, the world's largest radio-telescope is located at Jodrell Bank in England and we have been happy to provide information on the tracking of satellites to those who wish to receive it. United Kingdom scientists

(Sir Pierson Dixon, United Kingdom)

have done much work in these fields, and I think it is fair to say that they have made notable contributions to them. In this connexion I would refer in particular to the Conference held in London last week under the auspices of the Royal Society and under the Chairmanship of Professor Massey of University College, London. The object of this Conference was to examine anew the scientific problems which can be tackled with the help of satellites, and the limitations imposed by requirements of orbit control, tracking, instrument design and, not least, the recovery of data obtained. The Committee meeting was attended by the representatives of other countries, and it was a matter of regret to us that Soviet scientists were unable to accept the invitation to attend. This particular Conference was, however, followed at the end of last week by a meeting at Burlington House in London of the International Commission on Space Research. This body has been formed by the International Council of Scientific Unions and is an attempt to extend international co-operation at the scientific level to this new field. This was the first meeting of this Commission, and I understand that it got off to a very good start. There was a general readiness on the part of the countries and organizations represented to co-operate at the scientific level. We were very glad that at this meeting the Soviet Union was represented.

In the missile field my Australian colleague mentioned yesterday the development of the Black Knight, a missile which could be used to launch a satellite or, in conjunction with another missile -- the Blue Streak -- to place as much as half a ton in orbit. And in this connexion I would like to pay a tribute to Australia's work in this field and to the assistance which it has afforded to the United Kingdom. It was in Australia that the Black Knight rose to a height of between 300 and 400 miles in a single stage firing. Woomera is indeed the only rocket range in the Southern Hemisphere and is as complete as any in the world. Australian scientists have expert knowledge in the field of launching and tracking space vehicles and occupy a leading place in the field of radio astronomy and the study of cosmic rays.

Australia, as Dr. Walker said, has long been an air-minded country, and it is now in the forefront of the space-minded countries too. We are all very much in its debt.



Mr. Lodge has already given this Committee an indication of the sort of benefits which can accrue to mankind from the study and exploitation of outer space. There is no need for me to cover the same ground. Examples of the sort of projects on which attention is now focussed are the use of radio-relay satellites to provide almost perfect world-wide communications; satellites which will chart the weather and offer early warning against natural catastrophe; devices which will enable aircraft and ships to navigate with unprecedented accuracy and speed; the construction of space platforms to facilitate further exploration into outer space; and the projection of manned rockets to the moon and other planets.

The peaceful uses of outer space are still, however, largely a matter of theory. No one knows in exactly what form it may be possible to use for peaceful purposes the knowledge derived from exploring space, nor how long it will take before practical use can be made of them at all. What is clear is that they will raise problems which can only be solved by international action or agreement. They are thus clearly a matter for this Organization.

As the representative of Peru, Mr. Belaunde, pointed out in his most valuable speech on 13 November, the subject of outer space raises many entirely new legal problems which are not covered by international law as at present constituted. For example, it has not yet been decided whether, and if so on what principles, to determine the upper limit of territorial sovereignty. If there is unlikely to be agreement that sovereignty over space above national territory should extend indefinitely upwards, still it cannot be said that international law has yet determined the exact limit to be placed on the extension of sovereignty upwards, or by reference to what principles. Nor can the question be easily settled, for example, by analogy with the Law of the Sea.

It is manifestly premature in the present stage of knowledge to try to crystallize views on points of law that may arise in the exploration of outer space. Before doing so, it would be more logical to determine the general scope and nature of these problems. Here then is an aspect of the question which requires international study.

Now there is also the question of the military uses to which outer space may be put. This is clearly a matter which sooner or later will have to be the subject of a study undertaken by an international body. In particular, of course, there will have to be a study to determine the practicability of a control system adequate to ensure that outer space is in fact used solely for peaceful purposes. Without such an effective control it would, for example, seldom be possible at long range to distinguish peaceful sputniks and rockets from military ones. But this is a different question from that of the peaceful uses of outer space which we are now considering, and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has, as this Committee will be aware, already put forward proposals on the military aspect in their proper context -- the context of disarmament. The Soviet Government, to judge from the speech of the representative of the Soviet Union, looks at this question differently, and the Soviet draft resolution proposes to deal with it by a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes in exchange for what the draft resolution describes as the elimination of foreign military bases.

(Sir Pierson Dixon,  
United Kingdom)

Superficially, the idea of a ban on the military use of outer space might seem to have attractions. But such a ban would of course be valueless unless it were to be enforced by effective international control. As I have already mentioned, without such control it would seldom be possible to identify a military space vehicle as opposed to vehicles with a purely non-military purpose. The ban would simply be a series of paper undertakings and no more. It would not prevent aggression, and it would certainly not be observed once such aggression had unleashed a war.

I must also say a word about the references which have been made by the representative of the Soviet Union to foreign bases. As Mr. Lodge explained last Wednesday, these are not "foreign". They exist, at any rate in the Western world, with the freely given consent of the country concerned. Such bases exist, for example, in my country, and we welcome their presence there. They are for our own defence, as much as for anyone else's, under a system of collective self-defence. Under the Charter of this Organization all nations have the right to make collective arrangements for self-defence, just as they have the right to call on their friends for support. Soviet spokesmen, I regret to have to say so, constantly seek to obscure and distort this fact.

The Soviet draft resolution which we have before us is not, in the opinion of my delegation, the most expeditious way of moving towards the aim that outer space should be used only for peaceful purposes. It seeks to confuse two issues which, if we are to make any progress at all, should be kept separate. A ban on the military uses of outer space is a disarmament measure and, in our view, such a ban could only be put into effect as part of a comprehensive disarmament plan which would include a reliable and effective control and inspection system.

What we are now considering is the peaceful uses of outer space. And I suggest that by concentrating on the question of the peaceful uses of space we shall make more rapid progress towards our aim that space should be reserved for such peaceful purposes. I think it is generally held, and I am sure that it is rightly held, that the studies which have been undertaken of the peaceful uses of atomic energy have in themselves contributed greatly to our endeavours to ensure that this new discovery is used for peaceful, and not for war-like, purposes. This view is, I think, clearly brought out in the twenty-Power draft resolution.

(Sir Pierson Dixon,  
United Kingdom)

Now I believe that this Committee is not really deeply divided on this question of the practical measures to be taken now. I leave aside the question of the ban proposed by the Soviet Union because, frankly, it does not strike me as a practical measure. But the Soviet delegation visualizes, as we do, the establishment of international machinery to deal with the peaceful uses of outer space. Where we differ is that, in our opinion, the machinery envisaged in the Soviet draft is too ambitious in the present initial stages of the problem. To set up an agency would, in fact, be asking the international community to run before it can walk along these uncharted routes. The peaceful uses of outer space may be a matter of conjecture, but they will certainly raise problems which can only be dealt with by international action or agreement. To set up a fresh agency to deal with outer space, before we have at least some idea of what is involved, would, I am sure, complicate rather than advance matters.

Surely what is needed at this stage is a study by a competent committee of what the United Nations has done and can do as regards the peaceful needs, potentials and resources of space. It should review the interest and resources which the United Nations, and more particularly the specialized agencies, already have in outer space and see what the United Nations could reasonably do, as regards the peaceful uses of outer space, in the future. It should also consider the nature of the legal problems that may arise. It should not, however, in our view, stray into the disarmament field. Quite apart from any other considerations, to do so would introduce a problem which our recent deliberations here have shown to be, to say the least, highly controversial. On the other hand, a study of the kind we propose in the twenty-Power draft resolution need not be controversial. It should be constructive and helpful.

We should like this committee to be a thoroughly competent one. As the draft resolution suggests, it would consist of representatives of Governments. They would, of course, be assisted where necessary by expert advisers.

As for the composition of the committee, my delegation believes that in matters of this sort the best work is done if committees are kept small. One of my countrymen, who I believe is now on a visit to New York, Professor Parkinson, has written an illuminating work on this subject, and I think his findings are

(Sir Pierson Dixon,  
United Kingdom)

borne out by some of our experiences here. In a matter relating to a question of such magnitude as outer space, I doubt if we should be guided too much, when considering the membership of this body, by considerations relating to geographical representation, though clearly these must be taken into account. On the whole, I suggest the right general criterion would be the degree of qualification on grounds of scientific expertise, and that a useful yardstick would be the extent and value of a country's contribution to the work done during the International Geophysical Year.

The considerations which I have mentioned are reflected in the draft resolution which my delegation has the honour of co-sponsoring. It calls for the establishment of an ad hoc committee on the lines which I have described, and it requests the Secretary-General to afford assistance to that committee and to recommend any other steps which might advance what the draft resolution describes as "the fullest international co-operation for the peaceful uses of outer space". This is what Senator Lyndon Johnson, in his eloquent and statesmanlike speech, referred to as the "joint adventure" in which mankind can now participate.

Before I close, I would like to say one final word. The breakdown of the barriers between mankind and outer space is a capital event in the age-long history of this planet. Let us not make the mistake which mankind has made so often when confronted with a new element or a new field for conquest by human endeavour.

There are so many examples that there is no need to quote more than one, the most recent and perhaps the most lamentable, example of a great opportunity missed -- the failure at the end of the war to adopt the principles in regard to the use of atomic energy advocated on behalf of the United States by Mr. Bernard Baruch. Let us, therefore, try to make progress in this new field, which has such an inspiring future and, so far as mankind is concerned, no past to bedevil it.

That we are discussing outer space at all we owe to those great scientists and engineers from countries all over the world who have brought us to its threshold. We here face a challenge -- to show that we in the United Nations are worthy of their achievements.

Mr. HERRARTE (Guatemala) (Interpretation from Spanish): The tremendous scientific advances which have marked the past year in the conquest of outer space with the launching of various man-made satellites into the orbit of the earth give the General Assembly of the United Nations an opportunity to include a new item on its agenda for this session -- a subject already **broached the** year before last upon the request of the United States as a forecast of these surprising developments.

The daring of man and his insatiable curiosity for the unknown led him four hundred years ago to seek these American shores in fragile ships, thus giving Spain the imperishable glory of discovering a new world. This same daring and curiosity now leads man to outer space in his first attempts to discover unknown worlds and to open the portals of infinite space -- a world which hitherto man could only divine through the marvelous powers of his imagination. Tremendous prospects for the future of all mankind have thus been opened, and these must be the subject for profound reflection and meditation.

As the representative of the United States has stated, this new dimension which has been brought into our lives can be used by man to destroy man or can be used as a spur for a co-operation which we consider would have immeasurable consequences. Man's destiny is such that any new discovery places before him a tragic choice. As master of his discovery, he can use the power of his intellect for the good of all mankind, or he can use it for his own destruction. Since we cannot and should not shackle this marvelous gift of our Creator, it is only fair and just that we should endeavour to use it for the good of all.

In his desire to control the forces of nature and to reach out to the unknown, man has attained tremendous heights. We have left behind the times when we observed the stars with the naked eye; we have moved through an endless series of successes and discoveries until we have now inaugurated a new era with the discovery of atomic energy -- an era which is culminating at the present time in the first attempts to explore outer space. In this new era it would be senseless indeed if we were to fail to use the present circumstances in which this new era is being inaugurated to establish rules of genuine human co-operation in the discovery and use of outer space. We must not allow the same thing to occur here as happened with the discovery of the principle of atomic energy which, despite all that it might offer for the development of man, presents at present a great threat for the very survival of all mankind.

(Mr. Herrarte, Guatemala)

As regards the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, many problems must arise in the technical, economic and juridical fields, and these problems have already been set forth brilliantly. It is clear that in order to embark upon this new realm of activity it is not only necessary to have complete technical mastery in the various scientific disciplines; it is not only necessary to make large-scale capital investments, a fact that prevents many countries with sufficient know-how from undertaking these experiments, which can be carried out only by the United States and the Soviet Union; it is also necessary to tackle the many juridical problems, which must be clarified at the outset so as to ensure effective international co-operation and so as to provide for complete equality for all States, as was pointed out quite rightly by the representatives of Argentina and Brazil.

Thus many legal problems arise as regards the organization and regulation of international co-operation -- more particularly problems with regard to the juridical nature of outer space, that is, problems bearing on the question of national sovereignty. According to the Roman concepts of law, man owned the subsoil and the space above his land extending into the infinite. However, we are now engaged in a theoretical discussion regarding the rights extending to air space and outer space. We feel that outer space must be governed by a given juridical system making the use of outer space free for all mankind and preventing outer space from being used for belligerent purposes by any nation.

As to the organization and regulation of international co-operation, we feel we have for the first time an opportunity to do something for the benefit of all mankind. We can establish an organization which would allow all States access to these new realms and in this way we could also resolve the economic problems which call for new investigation. For this reason, we feel that this matter should be taken up separately from any other question which may not be germane to it, however much it may be linked to it.

The endeavour here is to establish international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. This is a new field. Therefore, the establishment of this co-operation cannot be subordinated to the complex problems of disarmament; nor can it be considered as a part of disarmament. Otherwise we should not be able to work effectively. Any opposition in this direction would only place obstacles in the path of this very necessary co-operation and would delay the use by mankind

(Mr. Herrarte, Guatemala)

of the important benefits expected from these new experiments and investigations. I would refer to the achievements mentioned by the representative of the United States, Mr. Lodge, in the fields of cosmic rays, medicine, geophysics, magnetic phenomena and television. The progress achieved as a result of the International Geophysical Year gives us hope that, with the help of leading international scientific institutions, we may rapidly attain satisfactory results. The United Nations must assume the role which befits it as a major international organization and must co-ordinate this very interesting work.

Accordingly, my delegation feels that it is not proper to link the item on the peaceful uses of outer space with items which, properly speaking, are disarmament items and which can therefore be studied in the Disarmament Commission. As we said on a previous occasion, the disarmament question is an extremely complex one. If the linking of it with the item on outer space is intended to prevent international co-operation on this separate item, then it is true that we shall have difficulty in finding any problem that can be dissociated from it. It may be, then, that tomorrow the remarkable international co-operation that has taken place in the field of world health will have to be kept aside because of the alleged dangers of bacteriological warfare.

My delegation, together with nineteen other delegations, has co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.220, in which we point to the common interest of mankind in outer space, we mention various formulae which might be used to avoid national rivalries in this field and to protect the principle of the equality of all States and the possibilities of the improvement of man's life through new developments in respect of the peaceful use of outer space, and we propose that an ad hoc committee be established to study all the subjects related to this important field and to report to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

We believe that, in view of the present status of scientific explorations, it would be brazen to express any hard and fast opinions. Only a committee charged with the study of the various phases of the matter can properly suggest adequate solutions. Let us hope that political interests which have been prematurely voiced will not interfere and that the draft resolution will receive the support of a large majority. This would be a demonstration of faith in international co-operation and would represent a promise of a better world in the future.



Mr. ABDON (Iran): The delegation of Iran welcomes the initiative taken by the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union in submitting the question of co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space for inclusion in our agenda. To be sure, the need to utilize the United Nations as a centre to harmonize the endeavours of mankind towards progress, is becoming more and more imperative as the prodigious achievements in the sciences, particularly in the field of nuclear and thermonuclear energy and the penetration of outer space, increases. These well-nigh miraculous discoveries and inventions are a manifestation of man's unquenchable thirst for knowledge, for the progress they symbolize in their own respective fields constitutes a formidable challenge for world statesmanship which is duty-bound to parallel its efforts with the advance of the sciences, so that human knowledge will contribute to a better way of life for all, and not to universal destruction.

The first step in this direction was taken with the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Although, in the words of one of our colleagues before the General Assembly, the Agency is still "going through its growing pains", it nevertheless represents, as the Secretary-General phrased it, "one of the most hopeful events in international life."

It appears to my delegation that the next step would be to promote international co-operation in the field of outer space. All nations, great and small, have an immense stake in this matter, not only because a peacefully oriented use of this new area will be beneficial to all, but also because all countries may be a target for destruction from outer space if attempts have not been made to use that realm for peaceful purposes solely. The reality of this danger makes it all the more incumbent on Member nations to exert their efforts to ensure co-operation in the field of outer space, which is so vital, particularly at this stage of international relations.

In this connexion, I entirely share the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the 13th session of the General Assembly, when he said:

"The tendency to link the United Nations with all aspects of international life has been strengthened by the rapid strides in scientific discovery, the exploration of outer space, the development of atomic energy and of new and powerful weapons of mass destruction. It is becoming increasingly apparent to people of many different shades of opinion that the problems created by these new developments cannot be handled without the help of world institutions. Accordingly, it is felt widely that since international machinery exists in the United Nations and its agencies, that machinery should be used in efforts to handle these pressing questions."

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The General Assembly is the proper forum for consideration of these questions and the United Nations should involve itself in this problem with a view to achieving international co-operation in solving various aspects of the problems which have arisen and may in future arise from man's penetration into outer space.

It would seem premature and somewhat temerous for a layman like me, however, to deliver categorical assertions on this matter before various aspects of the question have been thoroughly studied by qualified individuals in a United Nations committee or otherwise. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to an expression of the views of my Government on the two draft resolutions before this Committee, and then to dwell briefly on a few preliminary remarks on some of the legal aspects of this problem, acknowledging that this also constitutes an area for thorough study.

This Committee has, as I have said, two draft resolutions before it -- one, of wide scope which covers the banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign bases on the territories of other countries, and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space (A/C.1/L.219), submitted by the delegation of the USSR, and the other submitted by twenty Member States (A/C.1/L.220), which particularly envisages the setting up of a committee to consider international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of outer space.

(Mr. Abdoh, Iran)

It can hardly be questioned that the ideal would be to reach agreement on a controlled ban of the use of outer space for military purposes, and my delegation earnestly hopes that, in the near future, negotiations will be initiated between the parties mainly concerned, as has been the case in other fields of disarmament, and that the conclusion of such an agreement will be realized. In this connexion, we were heartened to hear Ambassador Lodge declare the other day, that the United States is ready to enter into serious discussion of this problem at the earliest possible time.

In the opinion of my delegation, however, such discussion could profitably be held within the Disarmament Commission, which has just been set up by the General Assembly to submit to the latter constructive proposals and recommendations in the field of disarmament. In other words, without intending to express any view on the substance of the draft submitted by the Soviet delegation regarding the banning of outer space for military purposes, it is the view of my delegation that, for pragmatic reasons, it would be fitting for the Committee at present to limit itself to the vigorous promotion and pursuance of the development of programmes of international co-operation on the peaceful uses of outer space.

We hold this view for several reasons, which we believe to be highly valid. First, although certain aspects of the question of outer space are undoubtedly bound up with problems of security and disarmament, the banning of the military use of outer space would not seem to be a prerequisite to the setting up of a programme of international co-operation in that field. In fact, we must bear in mind that the question of outer space is potentially a more far-reaching one than its immediate impact on the security and disarmament problem. Secondly, it seems to my delegation that the problem of banning the use of outer space for military purposes is, by its very nature, part of the wider problem of disarmament and should logically be dealt with within the framework of the disarmament discussions. Moreover, since the General Assembly has just adopted a resolution under which the Disarmament Commission shall be convened for 1959 to submit to the Security Council and to the General Assembly constructive proposals and recommendations in the field of disarmament, it seems to my delegation that we would somehow be going back on this decision if we now were to take up this particular aspect of disarmament, that is, the banning of outer space for military purposes. It is, moreover, superfluous to say that any

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discussion of this particular aspect of disarmament would inevitably provoke a renewed discussion of the entire problem of disarmament and invite a repetition of all that was said before this Committee during the month of October.

Thirdly, no matter how desirable it may be to attain a controlled ban on the use of outer space for military purposes, since at best some time will be required before an understanding can be achieved and agreement reached in this matter, the international community may in the meantime profitably attempt to secure international co-operation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

(Mr. Abdoh, Iran)

By way of an analogous illustration, may I just point out that international co-operation is being achieved today in the field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes through the International Atomic Energy Agency. Indeed, the very fact that such co-operation in the field of atomic energy was possible while it has not been possible to reach an agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear energy for military purposes demonstrates clearly that there would appear to be no inconsistency between attempting maximum co-operation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes while not yet having attained the banning of the use of outer space for military purposes. It is obvious, moreover, that any progress towards international co-operation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes would facilitate the reaching of understanding on the military aspects of this problem and would help toward the attainment of our common aim of utilizing man's newest conquest solely in the interests of peace and well-being.

Fourthly, even assuming that there might be some relation between banning the use of cosmic space for military purposes and the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries, as the delegation of the Soviet Union would contend, it certainly does not follow that there is a relation between international co-operation for peaceful purposes in outer space and the elimination of foreign military bases. I submit that international co-operation for peaceful purposes in the field of outer space, which would seem to be the aim of the twenty-Power draft resolution, can be achieved without altering in any way the military advantage of one side or another. If such is the case, as we believe it is, my delegation earnestly hopes that the USSR could be safely prepared to offer its co-operation in this field irrespective of the military aspects of the problem which might be dealt with at the proper time.

Fifthly, the principle of international co-operation in the field of outer space for peaceful purposes has already been accepted by all sides by the very fact of their participation in the International Geophysical Year, a world-wide non-governmental organization which has already succeeded in achieving a degree of co-ordination and regulation in this field. In our understanding, what the twenty-Power draft resolution proposes is no more than the continuation and expansion of this type of co-operation among Member States through the

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United Nations. Does it not seem logical that those countries which took part in the IGY should now be willing to continue and expand their co-operation in this field under the auspices of the United Nations independent of the military aspects of the matter?

For all these considerations, it would be appropriate, in the view of my delegation, for the General Assembly at this stage and cognizant of the common interest of mankind in the peaceful development of the use of outer space, to promote international co-operation in that field. In such a way, not only would scientific progress be cultivated through combined efforts, but narrow national rivalries in the exploration and exploitation of outer space would be avoided and the present overlapping of energy and expense would be averted. Moreover, while only two nations have succeeded in penetrating outer space and before any national claims have been laid, it would appear more easily possible to secure international co-operation.

My delegation, therefore, is of the opinion that efforts should be multiplied to give impetus to international co-operation in this field within the framework of the United Nations. The fact that man's explorations into outer space took place under the auspices of the IGY and in peace time, contrary to the development of atomic energy, which was initially used to create a weapon of mass destruction, gives us further reason to hope that international co-operation in this field will be strengthened and broadened through the United Nations.

I return to the two draft resolutions before this Committee. If we compare the two drafts, we come to the conclusion that, although they are at variance in that the Soviet draft resolution covers some aspects of disarmament, such as the banning of outer space for military purposes and the elimination of foreign military bases, while the twenty-Power draft does not include such items, we find that there is, none the less, a common denominator in terms of the fact that provisions exist in both drafts calling for international co-operation in and establishing international machinery for the peaceful uses of outer space.

The twenty-Power draft resolution recommends the establishment of an ad hoc committee with a view to obtaining the fullest information on the many problems relating to the peaceful uses of outer space before recommending specific

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programmes of international co-operation in this field. The Soviet draft goes as far as to recommend forthwith the reaching of an agreement on, among other things, the establishment of a United Nations agency for international co-operation in the study of cosmic space, which, among other things, would have, as one of its tasks, the continuation, on a permanent basis, of the work of the IGY and would serve as a world centre for the collection, mutual exchange and dissemination of information on cosmic research.

While we do not dismiss the idea of the establishment of a United Nations agency for the peaceful uses of outer space, it would seem more reasonable first to survey the resources and activities of the United Nations and other international organizations and perhaps next year, when the report of the envisaged ad hoc committee is to be submitted to the United Nations and the matter is riper, to contemplate the establishment of an international agency as set forth in the Soviet draft. My delegation believes that setting up a General Assembly ad hoc committee on space problems appears more practical at this stage, particularly if we bear in mind the similar process which preceded the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency - a process which produced highly successful results.

My delegation considers that the Secretary-General, assisted by his staff who have already gained experience in analogous areas, particularly in the field of atomic energy, will be able to lend great assistance to an ad hoc committee which may be set up under the twenty-Power draft resolution. The relevant specialized agencies should also be consulted, and we are confident that all would render a valuable contribution to the fulfilment of the purposes of such an ad hoc committee.

For these many reasons, it is the belief of my delegation that the approach taken by the twenty-Power draft resolution appears more practical for the time being. We earnestly hope that, since the twenty-Power draft, as we have tried to point out, partly pursues a common aim with the Soviet draft resolution -- that is, the establishment of an international machinery -- irrespective of the particular features of the latter which, in our view, fall within the scope of disarmament, the sponsors of both drafts will attempt to reconcile their views and

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adopt a common approach to the problem of co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of outer space. Such an approach, my delegation believes, can be found. As has just been said by the representative of the United Kingdom, the Committee does not seem to be divided on the principle of initiating international co-operation for peaceful purposes in the field of outer space by the United Nations.



(Mr. Abdoh, Iran)

It would appear that both sides consider that there should be international machinery for this purpose. In the view of the Soviet delegation this should take the form of a United Nations agency, which to our delegation seems somehow an ambitious approach at this time, while the twenty-Power resolution envisages an ad hoc committee to review the problems related to the peaceful uses of outer space. Under the circumstances, therefore, I do believe that it is entirely possible to find a compromise approach. It is obvious, I believe, that a compromise approach must be found, for the efficiency and the capacities of any ad hoc committee of this nature would be seriously impaired and reduced if the Soviet Government were not prepared to participate. I reiterate, therefore, our earnest hope that efforts towards reaching a compromise conducive to an understanding between the parties mainly concerned will be multiplied and will result in a formula or in formulae acceptable to all sides. We firmly believe, with the representative of Australia, that "international co-operation in this field transcends ideological as well as national frontiers."

With your kind permission, Mr. Chairman, I should now like to refer briefly to some legal aspects involved in the problem of outer space, without proposing to embark on any comprehensive legal analysis of the question.

Although I share the views expressed by the delegation of Argentina to the effect that this Committee should not in any way prejudice the nature of legal problems which may arise in the carrying-out of programmes to explore outer space, it seems to my delegation that any sort of exclusive terrestrial sovereignty over outer space should be excluded, and since outer space should shed the unquestionable benefits which can be reaped from it on all, the only practical and just solution, as was so well expressed by the representative of Italy, would seem to be to consider it as res communis omnium, as something belonging in its entirety to the whole world.

In this connexion my delegation has noted with satisfaction paragraph 2 of the preamble of the twenty-Power draft resolution embodying the principle of the sovereign equality of all members and implying this idea of devoting the benefits gained through the exploitation of outer space to the best interests of all. We likewise note with satisfaction paragraph 1 of the operative part of the twenty-Power draft resolution under which the envisaged ad hoc committee would be requested to study the area of international co-operation in the peaceful use of

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outer space to the benefit of States irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development.

My delegation would also like to stress its interest in the idea of establishing an international centre for study and experiment relating to outer space, which would train experts from the different parts of our globe and gradually disseminate knowledge of this new field to all nations in line with the idea set forth in the twenty-Power draft resolution that its benefits be universal. However, the establishment of such a centre, in the opinion of my delegation, seems premature at this stage.

In the light of these considerations my delegation, while expressing the sincere hope that a compromise acceptable to all will emerge as a result of our deliberations, will, in the absence of such a compromise, cast its vote in favour of the twenty-Power draft resolution as the only practical approach at this stage.

Before concluding I should like to emphasize that the ever-increasing progress achieved in the sciences and in technology affords a great opportunity and tremendous responsibility at the same time to the United Nations to help bring about conditions conducive to full co-operation in the exploitation of these new discoveries for peaceful purposes and the betterment of the lot of mankind.

Let us, therefore, shoulder our responsibility and take advantage of the opportunity to promote energetically the fullest exploration and exploitation of outer space for the benefit of man. We have in this particular field a splendid and exceptional opportunity, for attempts at co-operation have been made from its very infancy, before any State has laid any claim and before any deadlock has arisen to block the efforts of the international community. Let us hope that, under the auspices of the United Nations, fruitful and peaceful co-operation in this field will evolve in the best interests of all.

Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): My delegation, while taking part in the debate on the peaceful uses of outer space, is fully conscious of the fact that we have nothing whatsoever to contribute to the basic information on the subject, by reason of our lack of experience in space exploration. However, we have always felt that it is in the common interest of mankind as a whole to have outer space used exclusively

(Mr. Shaha, Nepal)

for peaceful purposes, and to eliminate as far as possible the extension of national and ideological rivalries into this new field of knowledge. That is the reason that has led us to co-sponsor a resolution on the subject, along with several countries from different parts of the world. The purpose of this resolution, in our opinion, is purely academic and constructive; there are no political motives behind it; it does not in any way harm the interests of any nation or group of nations, nor does it in any way affect the susceptibilities of any nation, for that matter. That is precisely why it has become possible for us to co-sponsor it.

Until last year the question of controlling outer space was largely a hypothetical question, since the possibility of man-made satellites entering and remaining in orbit in outer space had not become a living reality. But now, little more than a year after the first successful launching of a man-made satellite, there are a number of these satellites orbiting at approximately 18,000 miles per hour at a distance of more than 300 miles from the earth. This is just the beginning. Explorations have already been made to a height of 80,000 miles, and it will not be long before even this distance will be extended. It appears that the moon will be the next target, and after that we can be sure that science will be extending its goals to the other planets of our solar system. And as we all know, the possibilities for explorations do not end merely with our own solar system.

The study of outer space by means of man-made satellites can be of immense importance to our own and to future generations. The information thus gained can work, and certainly will work, to the benefit of all mankind. Increased knowledge about the earth and its atmosphere, and the other influences to which we may be subjected in the space beyond the atmosphere, can help us in our daily lives and work to our mutual benefit.

Though the subject of the use of outer space is in a way related distantly to the question of disarmament, we honestly feel that any attempt at present to link these two questions might hinder effective and fruitful international co-operation in the study of the various aspects of the question of outer space itself, because in the existing atmosphere of fear and distrust that prevails among nations, the prospects for reaching any agreement on the question of disarmament itself appear remote and distant.

(Mr. Shaha, Nepal)

That does not mean, however, that we should disregard the opportunity to secure international co-operation in such a constructive field as the peaceful use of outer space. The draft resolution which we have the honour to co-sponsor advisedly omits any reference to the question of disarmament. We do not for a moment minimize the importance of securing an agreement on the banning of the use of outer space for military purposes, with adequate provision for the establishment of an inspection system under the United Nations to detect any violations of such an agreement. What we suggest for the present is merely this: that this matter of banning the use of outer space for military purposes logically belongs to the question of disarmament and that the settlement of the question of disarmament as such might await the growth of greater understanding and trust between nations. For the moment, a more constructive purpose would be served by merely focussing international co-operation on the study of the peaceful use of outer space under the auspices of the United Nations. The same logic and considerations that have led to the implementation of the programme of international co-operation in the peaceful application of nuclear energy reinforce the need and demand for this initial step of co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space, as envisaged in our draft resolution, which might eventually lead to the establishment of a special United Nations agency for the peaceful use of outer space, like the agency established under "Atoms for Peace".

If the success of the scientific co-operative programme of the International Geophysical Year has resulted in the exploration of outer space, with man-made satellites orbitting round the earth, further progress could be made in this particular field through international co-operation and programmes. Many studies and much research have been carried out by the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Meteorological Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Astronautical Federation. In the light of their own research, all these organizations could provide much-needed advice and assistance in all future efforts. All that the joint draft resolution does is to initiate and promote wide study of the subject through international co-operation, within the framework of the United Nations and with the help of the activities and resources of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and other international groups.

(Mr. Shaha, Nepal)

Some of the speakers in the general debate have referred to the way in which the question of the use of outer space could give rise to new problems in international law. If an ad hoc committee on the peaceful use of outer space is established, as envisaged in our draft resolution, that committee could perform a useful service in this direction, also, by studying the nature of the legal problems which may arise in carrying out the programmes to explore space. For example, the most important question in this respect is whether the subjacent country has sovereignty over solar space in the same way as it has jurisdiction over air space, as recognized by the Chicago Convention of 1944 and the Paris Convention of 1919. These Conventions might need modification, now that international practice seems to permit the free use of outer space; or else an intermediary zone in space might have to be defined so that the space beyond that zone could be kept absolutely free. There are trends of opinion to the effect that outer space should be regarded as something to be placed under international control and to be used for peaceful purposes only. After some time, the problem might arise of controlling even the other planets. The study of the legal nature of these problems by the ad hoc committee would, in due course, help the international community to find solutions to the legal problems that may be created by the modern attempts at space exploration. In our opinion, it is high time that a committee under the United Nations be formed to look into these problems, and we therefore commend the draft resolution to the First Committee for its unanimous approval.

Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): It is hardly more than a year since United States and Soviet scientists first launched man-made satellites to circle the earth. These first ventures into outer space stand as magnificent testimony to man's ingenuity and industry and to his determination to probe into and master the forces of nature. The imagination cannot fail to be stirred by the immense prospects and promise which this most recent achievement presents to mankind. During this debate, possibilities for the enlargement of human well being have been drawn to our attention which but a few years ago remained fixed in the realms of fantasy and fiction.

(Mr. Shanahan, New Zealand)

But the full extent of the effect which investigation of the mysteries of this vast and largely unknown new world will have on the daily lives of men stretches far beyond our capacity to comprehend. There can as yet be no exhaustive list of the possibilities which this dramatic expansion of scientific knowledge and activity may eventually bring within our grasp. Nevertheless, after only a year has passed, we can already perceive many new avenues of progress which for the first time lie open to the inquiry of science.

The prospect that the study of cosmic space may yield the key to a fuller understanding of meteorological phenomena has already been brought home to us by the United States representative, Mr. Lodge, in his statement last Thursday. Improved weather forecasting will produce benefits of great human and economic importance, for it may well furnish the means by which provision may be made in advance against periods of dearth and drought which today reduce millions of people to poverty and hunger. It may, moreover, help the efforts, particularly in the more densely populated regions of the world, to increase the levels of world food production.

The investigation of outer space also offers promise of improved means of international communication, with all that that could imply in the breaking down of barriers of misunderstanding and distrust which now divide the world.

Those are but two of the many possibilities which scientists can confidently predict will be fulfilled in the future. And it can scarcely be doubted that man's access to outer space will, in greater or lesser degree, affect every branch of scientific endeavour.

We cannot expect, however, that man's progress in the exploration of outer space will go forward without the emergence of new problems and difficulties, and these will not be exclusively confined to the realm of science. Some of these problems are already apparent, and their solution poses a challenge to this Organization.

My delegation has listened with particular interest to the statements of those representatives who have delved into the implications for international law of the extension of human activity into cosmic space. I cannot fail at this point to pay a tribute to the wise and penetrating interventions of Mr. Belaunde, the representative of Peru, and Mr. Schurmann of the Netherlands, who spoke yesterday.

(Mr. Shanahan, New Zealand)

My delegation is greatly indebted to those representatives and to others who have presented their views to this Committee in thoughtful and measured statements. I trust that the ideas to which they have given expression will be taken fully into account, together with the views of eminent jurists outside this forum who have already approached these new problems. Although we have not found, nor would we have expected to find, identity of views among those best qualified to examine the legal problems which have already emerged, it seems to my delegation that the importance and indeed the urgency of thorough study of the nature of those problems which are likely to be encountered has been amply demonstrated. Only when we understand the nature of these problems shall we be able to develop the principles of law which, in the interests of the world community, should apply to man's use of outer space.

(Mr. Shanahan, New Zealand)

Nor should we forget that, as my friend the representative of Australia very appropriately reminded us in his statement yesterday, the choice between the various possible legal arrangements must, in the last resort, be a political decision. But the study of the legal aspects of this question is likely to prove an absorbing but unrewarding intellectual exercise unless there is, first, agreement on the broad principles governing the utilization of outer space. International law can enshrine and protect these principles, but there must first be understanding about the basic aims and objectives which should be sought. One of these objectives is to ensure that the exploration and exploitation of outer space should not become the source of national rivalries and the cause of international disputes. It is clear that effective international co-operation will result only from a positive decision by States to abandon unilateral efforts to exploit outer space in favour of pursuing programmes of international collaboration for the common benefit of mankind.

I trust that I do not misinterpret the record of this debate when I say that so much seems to be agreed. If this assumption is correct, we are then confronted with a wide range of problems, primarily of an organizational character, for which solutions must be found, and found soon, if we are to ensure that the international co-operation already established in this field during the International Geophysical Year is to be maintained and confirmed in the future. A number of pertinent considerations come to mind. Many delegations have referred to the need for further study of the work of international organizations within and without the United Nations, which already exercise functions and responsibilities in the field of outer space and in related fields of scientific study. My delegation regards the free dissemination of scientific information, which has yielded such fruitful results during the International Geophysical Year, as being of particular importance. We assume that in relation to the science and technology of outer space account will be taken of the views of agencies which have a special competence in this matter.

This Organization itself will have a major part to play in this field in assisting and stimulating international activity. The need, therefore, clearly exists for an investigation to determine in what direction the efforts of the



(Mr. Shanahan, New Zealand)

United Nations might, most profitably, be applied to the peaceful utilization of outer space. Since we believe that these questions are ripe for international consideration, my delegation has joined in co-sponsoring the draft resolution submitted to this Committee by twenty Powers. This draft resolution envisages the establishment of a representative ad hoc committee, with broad terms of reference, which would report back to the Assembly at its next session. This committee, we believe, will be able to lay down the lines of a realistic and practical approach toward that ideal of genuine co-operation, which must be our prime objective.

The second aim upon which we feel we must insist is that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. My delegation was among those which, at the eleventh session of the Assembly, supported comprehensive disarmament proposals, which, if they could have been carried into effect, would have led to the fulfilment of this aim. These proposals, however, were not accepted by the Soviet Union, and the threat of the use of outer space to carry desolation and destruction across the earth still confronts it.

I believe that all delegations regard it as imperative that outer space should not be used to increase the menace to mankind, but my delegation cannot, for its part, subscribe to the proposals which the Soviet Union has this year presented to this Committee. To demand that the banning of the use of outer space for military purposes together with the abolition of foreign bases must be accepted as the quid pro quo for progress towards international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, appears offer a singularly unpromising line of approach. We cannot accept this arbitrary and artificial isolation of the questions of the military use of outer space and the abolition of foreign bases from their proper context in the framework of disarmament as a whole. In our view, it is in this context, as suggested by the representative of the United Kingdom this morning, that solutions must be sought to these problems, and not by means of declarations in place of commitments. Genuine progress toward disarmament can come about only if measures to that end are accompanied by the necessary controls and supervision, which will guarantee equally and to all that the obligations they assume will be matched by corresponding undertakings on the part of others, and we do not find any such assurance in the Soviet Union proposals before us.

On the other hand, the proposals which we have co-sponsored in the twenty-Power draft resolution point the way toward measures which can be taken now to establish and confirm international co-operation in the exploration and exploitation of outer space, without prejudice to the security of any State, great or small.

It is in our power to avoid the dangers and difficulties which will inevitably follow if we do not respond to the present opportunity and challenge; and we trust that the necessary response will not be lacking.

Mr. Ali SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia): Man stands today on the threshold of unravelling the secrets of the universe. The advances of science and technology have catapulted us into a new era of nuclear power and interplanetary exploration. There have, of course, been other eras of great discoveries. Each one has presented man with a challenge of using his new-found tools for his benefit rather than for his own destruction. But there is a crucial difference between the past and the present. In the past, the challenge concerned man's way of life. We have now moved one step further. The challenge concerns not merely our way of life, but life itself. The question to which we must provide an answer is, whether this new dimension of outer space is to be used to hasten the elimination of life on this planet, or to provide a better, more satisfying life for the peoples of the world.

In that sense we notice, with appreciation, that the United States of America and the Soviet Union have taken the initiative in bringing the question of the peaceful use of outer space before the United Nations. The launching of satellites into outer space was acclaimed by the whole world as a great scientific feat. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, the military obligations and potentialities of this scientific and technological accomplishment have taken precedence over everything else. This trend of thinking in military terms, of carrying out experiments and research for military ends, continues to dominate in this infant stage of outer space projects. Nor is this very surprising, given the human situation and the political realities of our time.

(Mr. Ali Sastramidjojo, Indonesia)

At the same time, we cannot accept this state of affairs, with all that it portends for the future of humanity. What must be done, then, is to take steps to reverse the present trend. This is, as we see it, the primary task of the United Nations: to help remove this latest achievement of man's ingenuity from the military realm, and to promote its further development in the enlightened and humanitarian spirit of science. There are differences of capabilities among States to explore outer space. It is, however, in the common interest of the community of nations that these new tools be used with the responsibility due mankind.

From the debate in this Committee so far, two distinct approaches have emerged on the question of the peaceful use of outer space. One approach is to separate the question of using outer space only for peaceful purposes -- that is, the aspect of disarmament -- from the question of international co-operation in the field of outer space, so that progress can be made in the latter field pending agreement in the former.

(Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Indonesia)

The other approach is one of stressing the close links between the peaceful use of outer space and the general question of disarmament, along with the necessity of resolving this issue effectively as the basis for international co-operation in the field of outer space.

It seems to my delegation that these are two extreme approaches, each one not without some merit. In our opinion, one cannot completely separate the disarmament aspect of outer space from international co-operation in this field. On the other hand, international co-operation in the field of outer space, at every stage now possible, should not be made contingent upon a solution of the disarmament problem. As we see it, the United Nations should simultaneously and with equal urgency initiate steps to eliminate the threat of rocket weapons and to promote international co-operation for the peaceful and beneficial use of outer space. The Organization must tackle this problem as a whole, if it wishes to lift this problem from the military sphere and channel it along peaceful lines.

On the basis of these observations, I would like now to make some comments on various points that have been raised in the course of this debate. First, there is the question of the relation of military bases to the problem of the peaceful use of outer space. That a relationship does exist can hardly be denied. It is also obvious that one cannot dispose of this question by merely declaring that these far-flung bases are purely for defence. In an article appearing recently in the New York Herald Tribune, Mr. Walter Lippmann thoughtfully analyzed the suspicions created between East and West by the current armaments race, including the maintenance of military bases. He found that, notwithstanding protestations of arming for defence:

"The cause of the bad relations is the suspicion, felt on each side of the Iron Curtain, that the other side intends to commit aggression."

Indeed, in this divided world, a defensive posture by one party automatically provokes a reciprocal defensive posture from the other party. It is, therefore, only natural that the reaction of the Soviet Union to the military bases that ring its frontiers is one of seeking an equalizing or superior defensive weapon. In turn, it is again natural for the Western Powers to react by accumulating such military hardware as might restore this precarious balance. And so it goes on ad infinitum with each new scientific and technological development. No one can derive any comfort from the fact that the weapons are called defensive. What we are still

(Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Indonesia)

left with is a nuclear armaments and rocket weapons race pursued in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion.

We recognize, of course, that the maintenance of military bases, and the armaments race in general, reflect cold-war tensions. That there is an intimate connection between the elimination of military bases and the establishment of mutual confidence cannot be ignored. But this appreciation only underlines the need for seeking in every possible way to build up mutual confidence, rather than concentrate on mutual military defences.

In this connexion, I would like to call the Committee's attention to the suggestion made by the representative of Sweden for controls to avoid the sending of all types of armed weapons and machines through outer space, that is, medium-range as well as intercontinental missiles. Coupled with agreements on the subjects now under discussion at Geneva, such a controlled prohibition would certainly constitute an important initial step towards strengthening world peace. It would, moreover, be in accordance with the generally accepted principle that no State should have cause to fear that its security is endangered.

In the statement made before this Committee by the representative of the United States, Mr. Lodge, an analogy was drawn between the initiation of world-wide international collaboration in the nuclear energy field prior to a settlement of the disarmament aspects of nuclear energy, and international co-operation in outer space programmes. The Indonesian delegation also sees here a parallel, although perhaps in a certain different way. As is well known, we have vigorously supported immediate international collaboration in harnessing nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. Concurrently, and with equal vigour, we have called for agreement among the great Powers to end test explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, pending a ban on the use and manufacture of these weapons of mass destruction under an effective system of international control.

Now, similarly, we believe that in respect of outer space, it must be the twin objective of the United Nations to promote international co-operation for the beneficial use of outer space and to prevent the sending into outer space of rocket weapons and missiles with conventional or nuclear warheads.

(Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Indonesia)

Affirmation by the United Nations of such a twin objective is, indeed, made imperative by the very nature of outer space programmes. For instance, increased knowledge about weather and improvements in communication can be used for peace as well as for war. Thus, there exists a real question whether international co-operation in outer space programmes, even with the most stringent regulations and controls, would not defeat rather than help to achieve the aim that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only, so long as military projects are still carried out in this field. This is a risk that can only be avoided by effective measures to divorce outer space from the terrestrial cold-war tensions and armaments race.

However, though fully aware of this risk, we feel that there is a compelling reason for initiating steps now to promote the widest possible international co-operation in the field of outer space, pending agreement on the disarmament aspects of this question. We are still witnessing the infant stage of penetrating and exploring outer space. At the moment, our efforts to guarantee the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only are not complicated by the existence of lunar bases or space platforms that threaten the earth. We are not yet faced with the task of safely dismantling lunar bases. Terrestrial conflicts, in all their magnitude, have not yet been projected on to the cosmos. But given the incredible rapidity of scientific and technological breakthroughs, there is no time to waste. Consequently, the United Nations should start immediately to provide for the necessary machinery to ensure that maturity in the field of outer space will be achieved on the basis of international co-operation in the common interest of mankind, rather than on the basis of a power struggle projected on to outer space. This is the challenge. It is also a unique opportunity. Let us grasp it and make man's adventure in outer space a tribute not only to his scientific and technological skill, but also to his wisdom and potential for good.

(Mr. Ali Sastramidjojo, Indonesia)

To sum up then, the Indonesian delegation believes that there is a two-fold task which the United Nations must pursue with equal determination: first, to ensure the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. In this connexion, the question of military bases and, in particular, of control over the dissemination and use of rocket weapons and missiles could be considered on an urgent basis by the newly-established eighty-one member Disarmament Commission; secondly, to promote international co-operation in the field of outer space under the aegis of the United Nations. For this purpose, the present session of the General Assembly should initiate steps for setting up the required international machinery.

In stating the views of Indonesia on this item, I have refrained from commenting on the juridical and technical aspects of outer space. Fascinating and significant as they may be, we nevertheless feel that in this early stage they should be dealt with by qualified experts. In fact, as noted by the Secretary-General in an address delivered on 19 May of this year, the legal aspects of this problem of outer space are already being studied by a Secretariat Committee in the United Nations. They are, of course, also the subject of intensive study and consideration by many other qualified groups outside the United Nations.

Before concluding, let me stress the expectation of my delegation that this Committee will be able to adopt by unanimous vote constructive and positive recommendations on this item. Unanimity here is not an academic matter. It is, we believe, imperative that the States which are conducting programmes in outer space find a common ground for co-operation, bearing in mind the interests of all mankind in this matter.

Indeed, the common interest of mankind is not merely one of security from the threat of rocket weapons and missiles. That common interest is also one of gaining security by using the progress of science and technology to promote closer understanding and, above all, to do battle against the scourges of want and poverty. In this way, science and technology would not only be opening the door to knowledge about outer space, but would also help to remove the causes for conflict on this earth and thus make our world a better, more peaceful place in which to live.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.