

UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



LIMITED  
A/C.1/PV.992  
20 November 1958  
ENGLISH

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Thirteenth Session  
FIRST COMMITTEE  
VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND MEETING  
Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 20 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) PROGRAMMES FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF OUTER SPACE

Mr. SYLVAIN (Haiti) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation has put itself down as having a speaker, in order to contribute its humble assistance in the examination of the peaceful uses of outer space, as is stated in our agenda item. Although it may be said frequently, in order to speak evil of certain parliamentarians, that they are very unwilling to abstain from making a speech which they have prepared, that is certainly not the case -- probably exceptionally -- as regards my delegation. The statement which it intended to make is, quite fortunately for the progress of our discussion, outstripped, and would perhaps sound as an anachronism.

The new and important fact, consisting of the introduction of the revised draft resolution of the Soviet Union, absolves us, we believe, from making before the Committee the few comments which we thought we should make on the basis of a debate which is of such great interest to the progress of our humanity. Very little needs to be added to the brilliant and numerous statements which we have heard. In view of the fact that the scientific, legal, and even philosophical aspects have already been highlighted in such a remarkable way -- I am thinking particularly of the sapient statements of the representatives of Chile, Italy and Peru -- my delegation intended chiefly to speak only of the political aspects of the question, and this, in fact, is the substance and the ultimate purpose of our debates.

The Committee will remember, no doubt, that my delegation, in attempting to be the interpreter of the feelings of the great majority of this Assembly launched, in connexion with the discussion of questions related to disarmament, to the Powers directly concerned, an appeal for tolerance and for collaboration. Quite modestly, at that time I requested, as the price of a resolution which would be accepted

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unanimously and which would constitute an act of goodwill -- as I say, I requested only that a change of form or a change of words be introduced. We are very grateful to the Soviet delegation, which has in this respect followed the happy attitude which the Western Powers have shown in this case.

We are grateful, as I say, to the Soviet delegation for having itself this time taken the initiative by this concession of form of accepting the fact that we should dissociate the question of the use of cosmic space for peaceful purposes from the question of the elimination of foreign bases on territories of other countries. It has been stated quite appropriately, as a matter of fact, in connexion with the problem of disarmament, that they constituted an indivisible whole.

(Mr. Sylvain, Haiti)

This truth seems to be evident to my delegation, with this subtle difference, however, that something that is one indivisible whole is not a block. This means that in relation to difficulties, by beginning with those that should be dealt with with the least probability of failure we are doing something constructive which leads us closer and more definitely to a solution of the whole.

This is what the Soviet delegation has recognized, quite fortunately, and that is what has been stated right from the beginning of our work by the majority of the Members of our Organization who are opposing some of the tenets of the Soviet point of view. The path is now open for constructive work which will lead to a unanimously accepted set of solutions. My delegation has welcomed with great satisfaction the initiative -- which we hope will be a joint one -- of the United States and of the Soviet Union to present for the consideration of our Organization the study of the question of the peaceful use of outer space. One of the essential functions of the United Nations indeed is to be the centre of universal collaboration, so as to enable humanity to benefit from the progress of science. And this field of science that we are dealing with now is still incompletely explored. This is one more reason for this collaboration to be total and without any reservations, for it is this collaboration which will necessarily be the substance of the work of the committee or working group which will be produced, and which will enable man to be worthy of his destiny.

The Committee has before it two draft resolutions which touch upon each other and which in some parts overlap. How, under these circumstances, is our Committee going to decide between two draft resolutions which are almost identical? Why should an effort not be made, a fruitful effort which would indicate in advance the nature and efficiency of the collaboration called for in this draft resolution, to allow the Committee to come to a decision upon a question which needs but little in order to be unanimous?

Certainly the draft resolution of the twenty Powers (A/C.1/L.220), by its prudence and the modesty of its objectives, and above all because it reaffirms a principle which is dear to us, that of the juridical equality of States, would satisfy more completely the wishes of my delegation to see this problem, the facts of which are not yet known, situated in a definite framework

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which would render its solution easier. But the possibility cannot be excluded, in our view, that an agreement may be achieved between the two draft resolutions, so that our Committee may, towards the end of our debate, vote on a unified draft resolution.

It is for this reason that my delegation, in renewing its appeal for collaboration on the part of all, requests the authors of these two draft resolutions -- if it has not already been done -- to get together in order to come to an agreement on a single text; and we propose, Mr. Chairman, that in order to avoid any ruffled feelings, you yourself take the initiative in this respect.

If we recall the universal enthusiasm of world opinion in paying tribute to the scientists of the Soviet Union and to those of the United States at the time when the first sputnik, followed by the American Explorer, reached the regions of outer space, one after the other, what excuse would we have to disappoint this enthusiasm?

Mr. de LEONORICA (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Our debate is just about reaching a conclusion, and fortunately there are obvious signs of concord and agreement which, after the necessary conversations are held, we all hope will lead us to a unanimous vote. This would be a most excellent result from this debate. A great part has been played in this by the withdrawal on the part of the delegation of the Soviet Union of an unfortunate interpolation concerning the question of foreign military bases, which gave rise to a number of comments, some of them my own, which I do not believe need be prolonged by an exchange of homeric imprecations among the various delegations on this unhappy theme.

Thanking the Soviet Union for its willingness to hear our comment, and with no desire for polemics, I should like to refer very briefly to Mr. Zorin's comment on the economic origin of the friendship and the relation, established in the form of bases, between the United States of America and Spain. I don't believe -- and from what I have read in the verbatim record, the representative of the Philippines stated it very well as far as his country is concerned -- that it will be very difficult for the representatives to understand why a country at this time should seek the friendship of a strong Power and establish

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

military collaboration in a basic manner with that Power, if only as a matter of national security. In allowing these bases to be established Spain, certainly, was not thinking in economic terms; rather we were glancing down a list of nations once politically independent which had disappeared from the map. We could not help but look at the Baltic countries, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia; we cast our eyes at Eastern Germany; I will not say whether or not we contemplated Hungary, because that it is a more unsavory subject still. But it was sufficient to observe the countries of Asia and the situation of China, to observe what had happened in Viet-Minh and to recall other interventions in southern Europe. This mene, mene, tekel, upharsin, appearing like the handwriting on the wall at the Babylonian feast, made the Spanish people think about the advisability of associating themselves, for their national defense, with those Powers which today represent order and independence in the face of so grave a threat.

I do not believe that the Soviet delegation showed discretion in alluding to this aspect of the question. There is a Spanish proverb, harsh and violent in its phrasing but general in its character and applicable to those who try to impose their will, and it is to the effect that "The thief believes everyone dishonest like himself."

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In other words, those who believe that dishonesty is the only way to rule are obviously led by the fear that everyone else is going to be dishonest. This would perhaps apply in the present case, but fortunately this statement is not necessary now. The representative of Cuba made a statement in which he first proposed the separation of the question of foreign military bases from the general question of outer space, and once again we have re-established order in our debates; now we can go on to the end which we have sought.

The Soviet Union for once has followed the suggestion and the political directive of Cuba, and has been right in so doing. Perhaps they may make this a habit.

Since we have now reached the final stages of the general debate we should limit our remarks to a few necessary words. First of all, we have had to take into account the juridical aspects of the equality of States as set forth in Article 2 of the Charter and accordingly guarantee that outer space will be used for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all humanity equally. Our delegation is not one of those having too much confidence in agreements arrived at between the countries into which humanity has divided itself at present. As I have said earlier, mine is a delegation which takes an extremely partial position. We are attached to the Western Powers, and as far as we are concerned, it would to put it frankly, be good news to hear that the Western Powers had increased their arms with great success, that their scientific progress had guaranteed humanity, as we understand it, a period of peace such as has not been achieved by any other countries. I think it was Sir Winston Churchill who at one time said that it was thanks to the atom bomb and the monopoly over it that then existed that a dreadful war had been avoided, with the destruction of many nations, especially European nations. We still continue to be partial, and I have a great respect for the Power that has placed all its strength at the disposal of countries desiring peace, security and tranquility.

Despite the mistrust that we have in regard to others, we are happy that a vote is to be taken here because we do not believe that confidence can underlie international relations as a general rule. That, unfortunately, is not true; history has never shown it to be true. It is this mutual mistrust, this need to regulate the dangers facing the nations, that has given rise to many of the agreements which have led to peaceful coexistence as we know it.

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After all, international law is a type of penal code. It is full of punishments for those who contravene the code. It is a penal code in which we still hold the idea of private revenge, which has been wiped out in all national laws. These punishments are what is known as wars. We have to live in an atmosphere of mistrust, yet within this atmosphere we have to close our eyes and lull ourselves into a sense of false security in the hope that agreements will be arrived at. History teaches that the greatest threats to the world have not caused tragic cataclysms. They have petered out, they have been watered down and finally have become part and parcel of mutual trust and coexistence. That is what we hope for. That is why we attach such great importance to this step in the direction of harmony. Paradoxically, it is in outer space; it is in outer space that we may find the way of uniting with and understanding one another. Let us believe that our common problems will be solved by an agreement in outer space. There is no country free of all guilt, and perhaps in outer space all of us may have to seek the right of asylum, the right of sanctuary as was granted in earlier times in the churches, and perhaps in outer space we may do penance and atone for the crimes we have committed and find agreement. Our debates here have to a large extent placed the matter in this context.

Juridically speaking, the delegations of Latin America have placed the problem in the legal framework. The representative of Argentina, Mr. Amadeo, made an eloquent statement and Mr. de Freitas-Valle of Brazil also made a statement of the same nature, placing the problem squarely in the framework of legality. I was full of trepidation when I knew that we were going to discuss this question because I represent a country that has launched no rockets, that has launched no Pioneers or Sputniks and that can only give an enthusiastic though modest contribution to the solution of these problems. I must say that I felt like the man who arrived at a formal evening reception wearing tweeds. Yet the manner in which this problem has been put before us has restored my confidence and not only has it helped me but it has helped this Committee, because it has developed an essential aspect of the question. All these great scientific advances on the part of humanity are not definitive and cannot be, because they have to be accompanied by a juridical background that will safeguard the position of humanity. Then only will they be definitive.



(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

The representative of Guatemala recalled the other day, in words which moved me deeply, the discovery of America and what was meant by it. He recalled the discovery of America by a man who was then a great Spanish Admiral, and the representative of Portugal, representing a country which has given some great navigators to the world, also referred to the same great event in the history of man. All this is true, but behind it all there were innumerable scientific conferences which took place in preparation for what was later the first voyage of discovery. There were even letters from the Catholic Kings of Spain authorizing their emissaries to present their compliments to the rulers of whatever countries might be discovered. There was a plan for the spiritual conversion of the indigenous inhabitants who might be met with in the lands to be found, and it is because of this that the Latin American countries are the heirs of the great juridical traditions of that period.

Now the Latin American countries have overtaken their teacher and I therefore felt that I was amply represented by Latin America in placing this question within the juridical framework of the United Nations.

Now we are tearing away the veils which hide a great mystery. There was a classic statement by a Spaniard to the effect that the lies of the stars are true lies and none can question them, but we are going to question them, we shall go to the stars, but we must go with clean souls and seek the place wherein we can help humanity and atone for our earlier sins by making the future of succeeding generations a safe, tranquil and serene one.

Man, when breaking into the so far unknown space, must do so with a spirit full of goodwill, leaving aside the heavy load of ambition and envy which in the past has unfortunately cause so many quarrels and wars on our planet. This desire, which no doubt is universal, requires that this new dimension be used only for peaceful purposes, to promote the progress and improvement of humanity as a whole. It must be taken advantage of to unite the people of the world, although paradoxically, to unite the world we may have to leave it behind. But let us do so with the best of intentions; this is a unique opportunity and we must not waste it. We have to stimulate and encourage international co-operation in this new field which has been opened up during the International Geophysical Year with such good omen.

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Therefore, we must as soon as possible come to agreement on the problems raised by the peaceful uses of outer space as a field apparently more susceptible to agreement than that of the peaceful uses of inner space. Despite the mistrust, in fact because we live in an atmosphere of mistrust, more than ever do I call for a spirit of brotherhood. The conquest of outer space unfortunately carries with it the possibility of warlike intentions which must not be overlooked. The most enthusiastic supporters of the wide juridical statement of the problem, those who support the Argentine and Brazilian point of view, must realise that they cannot separate future progress in this field from the strategic needs of the great Powers; therefore as the representative of Canada said in a very perspicacious statement the restriction of outer space to peaceful uses must be controlled and be made part and parcel of a balanced programme of disarmament.

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We cannot expect a full discussion of this problem by leaving aside these aspects of disarmament which are so closely and strategically linked with the problem. But in order to study this problem and to relate it to any of the problems of disarmament, we must at the same time keep it separate in our minds from the question of disarmament. We cannot forget the statement made by the representative of the Netherlands -- who made one of the best statements I have heard here -- when he quoted Charles V whose slogan was "Not yet". We may find a moment when we can say "Now, yes". Perhaps, as Charles V, when he was older, decided to say plus ultra -- "Now, go ahead". Then, we will be able to celebrate the fact that we have gone ahead too.

We cannot take one step until we know there is co-operation in all problems. Many may be isolated from this, many of them might be discouraged. Nevertheless, basic co-operation is required. That is why we believe it quite correct to say that now we have to adopt the appropriate measures to achieve peaceful co-existence of an effective nature, and parallel but separate from the efforts that are made to achieve agreements on the problems of outer space related to disarmament.

Now, how are the problems to be faced that are raised by man's confrontation with outer space. I think we can once again repeat that this is a completely new and novel idea and as such must be discussed. Perhaps no one foresaw this matter. The representative of Peru drew a picture of great beauty; but we understood exactly why he drew this picture of what could be gathered from outer space. We have to apply the rights recognized by civilized nations as referred to Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice -- and this was referred to by the representative of the Netherlands also -- because these are derived from the eternal norms that must guide the life of man. I would go even further, I would think of the tradition of the Spaniards that these principles of natural law must be applied. Francisco de Victoria, with Grotius, who founded international law said that "Natural law is based upon all by which the natural light of day appears right for all and in accordance with true reasons". Now this can be applied to all situations that may occur, but though these principles may be universally valid, we must also recognize that it might be dangerous simply to extend to outer space certain juridical institutions which were drafted and prepared for completely different purposes. We cannot, for

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example, conceive of anyone talking of the rights of the first claimant or occupier in space -- on the stars or on the planets -- because that would grant certain privileges to countries; we could not grant sovereignty over space that is eternally changing; and this has been repeated time and again.

But we trust that the historic step that has now been taken will give rise to new historic institutions. When the New World was discovered, certain laws could be applied that had been previously applied in Europe; but certain new laws had to be adopted from the conditions obtaining. From all the above, we understand that outer space must be regulated by a new type of legislation, and one of these steps must obviously be the determination of the limits where such space begins.

I shall not repeat what we know of the atmospheric space, the definition of Chicago Convention, where it is stated that the contracting parties recognize that each State has complete and exclusive rights over the air space of its territory, but when going beyond the atmosphere it is obvious that some international agreement must be arrived at which will clearly define what is understood by outer space, and regulate the right of flight, the nationality of the instruments cutting through such space, and so on.

Along these roads we find the draft resolution submitted by the twenty Powers a very apt one. It is not a question here of reading documents out to the Committee, because it makes speeches unnecessarily lengthy; but in the two texts before us we find certain elements that coincide -- and the representative of Haiti has just pointed this out in words that were full of eloquence. Let us take full advantage of these points of agreement. Those representatives who have complete confidence in both parties, and those of us who have confidence in only one of the parties, let us ask them to get together to draft norms on the basis of international law, and continue to apply what I have already called a penal code.

Let us remember the future of these new worlds that are being opened up to us; perhaps we may discover worlds that are inhabited. Lately, with curiosity, but without too much interest, I was glancing through the book The War Between The Worlds by Welles. I do not think that as literature he is very much to talk about, but I think he did make an effort of imagination at the time he wrote this. I do not think that he comes to within a mile of Jules Verne, who made our own childhood and youth so fascinating. But I was, nevertheless,

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impressed by The War Between The Worlds where he talks about the first Martian rockets landing near Winchester, frightening many peaceful professors and so-called normal persons living in England.

There is a certain aspect of warning in this book. Let us never allow any rockets of this nature to fall unexpectedly in our lands. Since in outer space we are trying to find the catharsis and the purification for our own kind, let us not make confusion worse confounded. Let us not separate ourselves more and more, dividing us into different bands and thus making it easier for anyone coming from outer space to conquer us.

In her comments and in her orders to Christopher Columbus, the Catholic Queen Isabella said, "No matter what you discover, I am already worried about this." Let us bear this in mind.

Mr. VECA GOMEZ (El Salvador) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the scientists of all countries who have permitted man to widen the frontiers of earth to where only a Jules Verne or a Dante had dreamed it. The mind is shocked and astounded at the possibilities that have been opened by these scientists for humanity. These tremendous possibilities with all their paradoxes make it nevertheless possible for man to enter these outer spaces where the very concept of the infinite, in time and space, acquire new meaning.

Man, I say, because of these undreamed of distances seems to become but a grain of sand. It appears that the triumph of human intelligence had to lead man to put himself where he really belongs -- to understand, what is known in English, as "Cutting himself down to size". Thus from the heights of the mountains we are able to look down on the green valley and see what happens there from our vantage point; so outside, far from the woods, we can see the trees better. So, leaving behind the earth and entering outer space, that very earth, that globe of ours, becomes smaller and smaller, until it becomes but a dot. The concept of the individuality of man seems to disappear and becomes something even more reduced, yet, at the same time, greater. Man, therefore, with the distance, with the infinity, becomes part of the miracle of man, becoming part of mankind -- the unique instrument of creation.

(Mr. Vega Gomez, El Salvador)

Frontiers disappear; there are no veils; there are no curtains; there are no ideological separations, no rivalries, no conflicts.

Is the expansion of these frontiers to be a blessing or a curse for humanity? Time will tell. That is the ghastly question which we must put to fate. Meanwhile, what can man logically do today? And I am not speaking only of the man in the great and powerful nations whose resources have made it possible for the Explorers and Sputniks to hurtle through space. It is not to that man that I address my question. I address my question to the man in all nations, great and small. I put my question to every man breathing the breath of divine life. Man cannot simply forget that he exists. Man must understand the triumphs of his fellow man. Man must be led towards the benefits of humanity and not towards ruin and extermination. It is the duty of every one of us to do that. For the triumph of these scientists to whom I have already referred is not the triumph of a handful of quiet men in the Soviet Union, the United States, Italy or Germany: it is the triumph of man per se; it is the triumph of human intelligence; it is the result of culture accumulated through centuries, with the contributions brought by the sufferings of men; it is the triumph of the intellect of man, the man that is part of all of us.

But let us return to terra firma. The International Geophysical Year has given most encouraging proof of what can be achieved through international co-operation, without regard to ideological differences, in the new fields where these programmes have been applied. This is all the more encouraging because it demonstrates that, like in the truly scientific field to which I have referred, magnificent results may be achieved through international co-operation. The Sputniks and Explorers prove that, when there is a desire to overcome ideological differences, great discoveries can be made. In the same way, the great nations and their leaders must understand that they owe a debt to humanity and, in order to pay this debt, they should be able to find ways to face and solve the various problems arising from scientific progress. No one who offers a solution should be under-estimated; there should be no prejudice against anyone suggesting a solution that may be unanimously accepted and operate to the benefit of all. That will constitute the greatest step forward. At that moment, the world will begin to breathe more easily.

(Mr. Vega Gomez, El Salvador)

Australia, Belgium and eighteen other countries have submitted a draft resolution, dated 13 November, which is contained in document A/C.1/L.220. My delegation feels that in the present circumstances this draft resolution is quite adequate. It tries to safeguard the positions of all States. It refers to Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Charter, which states that the "Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members". It envisages the need to utilize outer space for the benefit of mankind. It suggests the establishment of an ad hoc committee to make a complete study of all the aspects of the problem of the peaceful uses of outer space and to report to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.

On 7 November, the Soviet Union delegation submitted a draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.219. This draft resolution was based on the elimination of foreign military bases, which we believed to be an extrapolation of the disarmament question. On 18 November, however, the Soviet Union saw the light and submitted a revised text (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1). Actually, in our opinion, this is more a new text than a revision of the original one.

We do not wish to under-estimate the value of the new Soviet Union draft resolution. Although there are certain similarities between the Soviet Union and the twenty-Power draft resolutions, there are certain aspects where the two texts are completely different. For instance, whereas the twenty-Power draft resolution leaves a blank for the membership of the proposed ad hoc committee on the peaceful uses of outer space -- a procedure which would allow every delegation to examine the question of representation on the committee -- the Soviet Union draft resolution sets down the composition of the proposed preparatory group to draft the programme and rules of the committee for international co-operation.

My delegation feels that the twenty-Power draft resolution is more in keeping with the realities of the position. At the same time, however, we believe that certain improvements could be made in the draft. We believe that, using elements of both draft resolutions, we should be able to prepare a compromise text that might obtain unanimous approval. Moreover, we feel that the new compromise text would have greater importance if it were something more than a mere joining of the two draft resolutions now before the Committee. It

(Mr. Vega Gomez, El Salvador)

might be useful for the ad hoc committee or the preparatory group if the draft resolution went into substantive matters, at least so far as the juridical aspects of the problem are concerned. Unlike some delegations, my delegation considers that, although the General Assembly is at present taking only the first faltering steps in the study and control of the exploitation of outer space -- a subject which will in due time undoubtedly become a special branch of law -- it might be appropriate to lay down at the outset at least a general principle from which, subsequently, corollaries could be drawn to meet the new circumstances resulting from a greater knowledge of outer space. This principle, to which reference has already been made by a number of delegations, is that outer space and the bodies found there -- such as the moon, various planets and stars -- cannot by their very nature be appropriated by any nation and must therefore be regarded as res communis omnium, like the air we breathe and the high seas. The proclamation of this principle by the United Nations would immediately set the general trend of thought in the world on this matter and might, as we have already said, form the basis of subsequent juridical formulations.



Mr. MATSUDAIRA (Japan): The great human advances in science and engineering have brought mankind to the challenge of space exploration. We are entering the space age. This age seems to be full of hope and yet at the same time fraught with immense danger. To eliminate this danger, we must affirm, unequivocally and now, our common aim, which is that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only.

The problem has two aspects. One is military, and my delegation notes with satisfaction the position in this regard taken by the United States. The United States has reaffirmed the following:

- (1) "In the field of disarmament, we must take effective steps to explore methods whereby we can assure that outer space will be used only for peaceful purposes."
- (2) We should "study the creation of an inspection system which would ensure that the sending of objects through outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes."
- (3) "If there is general agreement to proceed with such a study, the United States would be willing to enter into talks without awaiting the conclusion of negotiations on other problems of disarmament."

We welcome this position of the United States, as I have said, for it is in consonance with the general pattern of thought contained in my statements made in this Committee last year, in the sense that serious talks on this problem could be undertaken in the field of disarmament without waiting for the conclusion of negotiations on other disarmament measures.

Now I wish to turn to the peaceful and second aspect of the problem. This peaceful aspect is concerned only with the new possibilities in outer space for peaceful purposes. If productively used, the possibilities in outer space open up an endless horizon for the good of human welfare. And here my delegation feels that the United Nations should play a prominent role in this field as it did in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

As the Committee is well aware, under the programme of the International Geophysical Year, space research has been actively engaged in by the scientists of various countries, including my own. The scientists of my country have participated in the research and contributed to the success of the programme not only by means of optical and radio tracking and recording of telemetered signals

(Mr. Matsudaira, Japan)

of earth satellites but also by the launching of rockets to study solar radiation, cosmic rays, and so forth. Our scientists are planning to launch rockets to a height of over 100 kilometres.

International scientific co-operation in the field of space research has thus been undertaken by the International Council of Scientific Unions, and under its aegis the programme of the International Geophysical Year has been conducted and a Committee on Space Research has been established. To put, however, such co-operation on a permanent and more solid basis, the United Nations is, in the view of my delegation, the most appropriate organization, inasmuch as the United Nations can command a wider latitude in approaching the problem of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space than any other international organization.

For this reason, my delegation expects the United Nations to play the same part as it has in the case of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It may, however, be rather difficult at the present stage for the United Nations to organize forthwith the scheme for the peaceful uses of outer space, without proper preparations for it. Such preparations will involve detailed study of the scientific, administrative and legal aspects of the problem, and they may well be dealt with as a first step by an ad hoc committee as is proposed in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.220, which my delegation has the privilege of co-sponsoring.

The debate on outer space reminds me of a similar historic event which took place 400 years ago. The discovery of new continents, which were, in that age, another outer space, affected profoundly the destiny of nations and mankind. It might not be without interest to recall the location of Japan in the imagination of the explorers of that time. As you all know, Christopher Columbus died in 1506 after four voyages to the New World, believing that he had reached Japan. Attempts were made to find a north-west passage to Asia by men like Frobisher, Davis, Baffin and Hudson. Barents tried to find a north-east passage. The Florentine Verrazano was sent out to find a strait through North America. After Vasco da Gama's epic voyage, Japan was first visited by the Portuguese in 1542, and St. Francis Xavier was received by the Japanese with courtesy a few years later. This is one of the most fascinating sagas of human intrepidity and daring. It was a new age dawning.

(Mr. Matsudaira, Japan)

The impact of this event produced a fundamental change within the context of the then existing world order, especially in its legal concepts. As to the world order itself, it created and strengthened nationhood. People who had been vaguely patriotic became wholly patriotic. As to the legal concepts, the notion of national sovereignty had taken root. The freedom of the high seas had been proclaimed and became gradually accepted.

This new world order and these legal concepts thus became inherent in the new age. We are now faced with another new age. The new advances in technology will have the same dynamic impact on the world order and legal concepts. We feel that we must accept a new dimension in the world order and legal concepts. As Senator Lyndon Johnson said here:

"Today outer space is free. It is unscarred by conflict. No nation holds a concession there. It must remain this way." (A/C.1/PV.986, page 23)

Without prejudging the outcome of the future work of the Committee on the legal problems, we feel that a new dimension should imply far greater international co-operation than has heretofore existed. We might expect some fundamental change in the character and the quality of this international co-operation. It would mean, in a way altogether greater and altogether different in its general tendency, the processes of the moral and intellectual reunion of mankind. It might be pregnant with a far-reaching new approach to the world order.

(Mr. Mutsudaira, Japan)

Finally, I should like to say a few words on the draft resolution of twenty Powers that we are recommending to the Committee. The draft resolution is rather of a procedural character; and yet, as the first step, we feel that this augurs well.

I should also like to say a few words on the draft resolutions submitted by the Soviet Union. The revised Soviet Union draft resolution we feel is a new approach which seems to us conciliatory. In response to this new situation, it is the hope of my delegation that a compromise formula can be found between the twenty-Power draft resolution and the Soviet Union's revised draft. My delegation is particularly concerned with the composition of the ad hoc committee. We are eager not to introduce new elements of discord in a new form of the veto power, in setting up a committee which will not reflect the general trends of thought of the General Assembly. This ad hoc committee must symbolize a harmonious and urgent international co-operation. It should be so composed as not to hinder or paralyse this most important and challenging human activity.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): With the statement you have just heard from the representative of Japan, we have now concluded the list of speakers on the general debate. The representative of India on a point of order.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): I was not going to raise a point of order. My delegation had put down its name to participate in this general debate, following nearly twenty other speakers.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): According to what I was told by the Secretary of the Committee, you had asked to speak on the resolution later.

Mr. Krishna MENON (India): That is what I am going to say. I would just like to make a brief observation. We do not think that the discussion that may take place will be assisted by further controversy at this stage. The character of the discussion of the subject has changed entirely, and the best

(Mr. Krishna Menon, India)

we can hope for from this meeting is to get some unanimous agreement. We hope this unanimous agreement will be forthcoming, in which case it should be possible, I hope, with your permission, to participate at the resolution stage of this debate.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Naturally, I will be happy to call on you then. Furthermore, I have already said that we have you down on the list of representatives who wish to speak on the resolutions themselves, but, as I was saying, those who wanted to speak on the general debate have now spoken. Unless any representative wishes to exercise his right of reply, I would take it that the general debate is over. That being the case, I would go on to something else, naturally, within the general framework of the debate. Out of deference to representatives of two of the specialized agencies, who were good enough to be observers and present in this scientific discussion, these two observers have asked for the floor to make short statements. These representatives are, one, the representative of the International Civil Aviation Organization and, secondly, the representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. I take it that there is no objection on the part of the Committee to our hearing the statements they wish to make. That being the case, I call first on the observer for the International Civil Aviation Organization.

Mr. FITZGERALD (International Civil Aviation Organization): As the representative of the Secretary-General on the International Civil Aviation Organization, I wish to express my appreciation of the opportunity I have had of listening to the debate in this Committee as an observer. ICAO took relatively early action in relation to the outer space question. Thus, in June-July 1956, the legal commission of the ICAO assembly, noting the growing interest among jurists in legal problems expected to arise in connexion with the use of outer space, recommended that the subject might, at a suitable time, be placed on the work programme of the standing legal committee of the organization. The Assembly approved that recommendation. It will be appreciated that the use of outer space was not at that time a reality. The subject of outer space was not further

(Mr. FitzGerald, ICAO)

considered in the representative bodies of the ICAO. However, the secretariat of the ICAO has been keeping under review the developments taking place in relation to outer space, particularly in relation to implications for the use of air space and for international civil aviation. This, of course, has been with a view to placing before appropriate organs of the ICAO such documentation relating to outer space as will enable consideration being given to those aspects of the subject within the purview of the ICAO.

Needless to say, the ICAO, in its agreement with the United Nations, has affirmed "its intention of co-operating in whatever measures may be necessary to make co-ordination of the activities of specialized agencies and those of the United Nations fully effective".

Mr. GAGLIOTTI (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization): Thank you for this opportunity to address the First Committee. The records of the First Committee's discussion on the subject of the peaceful uses of outer space should include a brief description of the relation which exists between the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the field of science and this subject.

There are three specific areas of UNESCO's programme which should be mentioned in this connexion. These areas have been touched upon repeatedly in statements by representatives here during the last few days. They are: basic research, the co-ordination and dissemination of information, and the International Geophysical Year. The first is described in UNESCO's Programme and Budget under the heading of "contribution to scientific research". One of the resolutions repeatedly approved by UNESCO's General Conference under this particular heading reads as follows:

"The Director-General is authorized, in co-operation with the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other appropriate international organizations and national and regional research bodies, on the advice of advisory committees when appropriate, to study scientific problems, the solution of which may help to improve the living conditions of mankind, to stimulate research on these problems, and to promote, when appropriate, the adoption of international or regional measures for the development of such research."

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(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

Until this year, seven scientific fields were included under this resolution. I have just learned by cable that our General Conference, now in session in Paris, has added an eighth field on the study, entitled "outer space exploration".

(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

The second programme area which should be called to the attention of the Committee deals with scientific communications. Half of our programme in the field of science is devoted to this particular subject. The whole description of the programme is shot through with references to the dissemination of scientific information. It occurs in our work in the development of scientific documentation as well as in the production of traveling exhibits devoted to the field of science, and in particular in connexion with our regional activities which take place all over the world. These regional activities are carried out by four field science offices which are responsible, among other things, for the co-ordination of scientific research and the dissemination of scientific information.

The third area which I should discuss now must be particularly emphasized because it relates to the International Geophysical Year, which is mentioned in both resolutions before the Committee. UNESCO, in the field of science, is authorized to assist with subventions and services, international non-governmental organizations concerned with international scientific co-operation. UNESCO contributes heavily to the cost of the programme of ICSU and to its thirteen Unions. As a further indication of this activity we might mention our connexion with the Federation of Astronomical and Geophysical Services which includes ionospheric data in its list of services.

As early as 1952 UNESCO allocated sums to assist, through the International Council of Scientific Unions, the Special Committee on the International Geophysical Year. This assistance helped to organize the first meeting of the Committee in Brussels in 1952; it helped in the preparatory work which took place in 1953; it helped support the second meeting of the Committee in Rome in 1954; and it helped in the establishment of the Permanent Committee Headquarters and in its maintenance through 1955, 1956, 1957 and 1958. Finally on this point, UNESCO has allocated in its 1959-1960 budgetary proposals a further \$25,000 expressly for the purpose of compiling and publishing the vast mass of material obtained during the International Geophysical Year. The question of increasing this allocation by \$10,000 has been raised at the General Conference by the United Kingdom delegation.



(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

Mr. Chairman, the Director-General has instructed me to assure the Committee that UNESCO is ready and willing to play its authorized role in connexion with the subject of the peaceful use of outer space. UNESCO will, of course, co-operate to the fullest extent with any Committee established by the General Assembly to study this question.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): This completes the general debate, and I formally declare that debate ended now. According to the practice followed in the Committees of the General Assembly we have now to focus our attention on the draft resolutions submitted on the item before us.

The representative of New Zealand has asked for the floor.

Mr. SHAMAHAN (New Zealand): Mr. Chairman, as you pointed out, we have come now to the stage where we have completed the general debate on this item, and we would in the ordinary course of procedure discuss the two draft resolutions which are before the Committee: our own twenty-Power draft resolution of which New Zealand is a co-sponsor (A/C.1/L.220), and the later Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) which is before the Committee. These two draft resolutions have very much in common, and I think and I hope, as the representative of India said a moment ago, that we may be able to reach agreement. I believe myself that there is a good prospect for agreement. But I feel that this process of reconciliation and agreement at this stage can best proceed in private discussion, and I feel that this process would be assisted if we were to adjourn our discussions here. I therefore move, Sir, that we adjourn until, say, tomorrow afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): You have heard the motion of the representative of New Zealand to adjourn the debate, which normally would be taken up at this point on the draft resolutions before us, until tomorrow afternoon. According to rule 117 of the Rules of Procedure I can recognize two speakers who may wish to support the motion for adjournement and two who may wish to oppose it. The floor is now open.

(The Chairman)

It appears that no one wishes to speak. That being the case, I shall put to the vote the motion of the representative of New Zealand that the debate on the draft resolutions be postponed until tomorrow afternoon.

The motion was adopted by 67 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We will reconvene tomorrow at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.