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Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

AGENDA ITEM 60

**Question of the peaceful use of outer space (A/3818 and
Corr.1, A/3902, A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1, A/C.1/L.220)
(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**

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. PALAMARCHUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) emphasized that the latest achievements of science, which might contribute to man's advancement or lead to his destruction, placed new responsibilities on the United Nations.

2. The attempts of certain Western political and military leaders to extend the armaments race to space could not fail to arouse the most serious alarm. Mr. Roy William Johnson, head of the Pentagon's scientific research branch, had suggested to a committee of the Congress that all space between the earth and the moon should be used by the United States for military purposes, and General Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, had advocated that the United States should conquer interplanetary space and retain the capacity to control it. As for General John Brice Medaris, he believed that it might be necessary to bring down the Soviet artificial earth satellites.

3. At the 986th meeting the United States representative had told the Committee that distrust and fear would not appear in cosmic space unless they were sent on ahead. It could be asked, however, whether the Government which was attempting to control space for selfish ends and which was constantly postponing the banning of the use of space for military purposes and opposing the elimination of military bases on foreign territories was acting accordingly.

4. If there had been agreement on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, there would be no problem, for the nuclear warheads of rockets would automatically be excluded from the arsenals of States. Unfortunately, the position of the Western Powers made it necessary to seek other solutions to the new problem confronting mankind. The Soviet Union proposals of 15 March 1958 (A/3818 and Corr.1) provided an excellent solution: States would pledge themselves not to use cosmic space for military purposes, rockets would not be launched except under an agreed international programme and bases on foreign territories would be eliminated, all the foregoing to be under controls organized within the framework of the United Nations. In addition, a United Nations body would co-ordinate international co-operation for the study of cosmic space.

5. Those proposals took into account the security interests of all States. The Soviet Union could not be expected to renounce the intercontinental ballistic missile with which it could, in case of necessity, threaten the territory of the United States, unless at the same time the network of military bases threatening its own territory were eliminated. It had been said that the question of bases should be dealt with only in the event that some Power set one up on the moon, but it was the actual bases established close to their borders that were a cause of concern to the Ukrainian people.

6. Whereas ten years before, United States forces, including occupation forces, had been stationed in only ten countries, there were now United States bases (over a million men) in thirty-five countries. Furthermore, at many of those bases there were aircraft of the Strategic Air Command, each of which carried a nuclear bomb and had an assigned target in the Soviet Union. A solution which gave one party so great a military advantage could not be satisfactory. Yet the United States was not prepared to accept an agreement covering both the use of cosmic space exclusively for peaceful purposes and the elimination of bases.

7. The peaceful and the military aspects of the question of cosmic space were closely interrelated. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to overlook the possibility of a separate agreement merely because agreement could not be reached on all aspects of the question. The United Nations had an active part to play with regard to international co-operation for the study of cosmic space.

8. The Soviet Union had submitted a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) which would make it possible to achieve that aim. At the 989th meeting, the United Kingdom representative had called it a "move in the right direction". It was to be hoped that the sponsors of the twenty-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) would also exert every effort to find a common denominator acceptable to all.

9. The International Geophysical Year had shown that co-operation among the scientists of the world was possible and fruitful. Consequently, the establishment of an international committee for co-operation in the study of cosmic space for peaceful purposes was fully justified. That committee would make it possible to co-ordinate the efforts of Governments to conquer the universe. All countries, even the small Powers, would thus be able to contribute. Some delegations had stated that it was premature to establish such a committee. It was hard to see why, since the committee would merely be collecting information on the possibilities of co-operation and the first steps towards organizing such co-operation had already been taken.

10. It was difficult to understand why the representatives of the United Kingdom and Portugal objected to operative paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution. For genuine co-operation in the field of the study of cosmic space, a preparatory group had to be established with the best chance of success. The constitution of a truly representative group as provided for in operative paragraph 2 would be a favourable starting point for co-operation on a basis of full equality.

11. The two proposals before the Committee were similar in content. The Ukrainian delegation would be glad if the sponsors of the two texts succeeded in working out a solution which could be unanimously accepted.

12. Mr. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA (Greece) pointed out that the question of outer space required more and more detailed study. The layman, considering the question, wondered whether to be hopeful or afraid, and that was what prompted the Committee to discuss it: there had to be agreement that progress in that field should be utilized for the welfare of mankind and not for its destruction.

13. Everybody acknowledged the need to set up a body to study the question. The proposals that had been submitted to the Committee had been brought closer together. It was to be hoped that the differences still outstanding would be eliminated.

14. Outer space, which in a sense was the domain of all the peoples of the world, belonged to none of them individually. It could not be considered to be an upward extension of the sovereignty of States, if only because the earth's rotation constantly changed the portion of outer space above any given territory. What belonged to all mankind could not be used for any but peaceful purposes. That was where the United Nations had a definite role to play. One of its main tasks would be to ensure the peaceful use of space by establishing the strictest control. In due course, the Greek delegation would submit further observations on the subject to the committee which, it was to be hoped, would be set up by unanimous vote.

15. Mr. TAMAYO (Bolivia) said that the debate on the question under consideration should be conducted with the utmost dignity and divorced from all political considerations. In particular, the question should not be linked with that of disarmament.

16. The problem was an entirely new one which would have major consequences for the future. No one could foresee what new scientific discoveries would be made or the extent to which man's conquests in outer space might alter the life of future generations. It could nevertheless be said that all the countries of the world had the right to enjoy the benefits flowing from man's

efforts to conquer and rule space. That right should be affirmed in whatever draft resolution the First Committee adopted, for it was essential to proclaim the juridical equality of all States if the development of peaceful coexistence and solidarity among men was to be promoted.

17. Bolivia, which possessed one of the world's most modern laboratories for research in cosmic physics, was proud to participate in carrying out the programme of the International Geophysical Year, whose success showed the path that world co-operation should take. Although for the most part the small countries lacked the material means to join with the great Powers in attempting the conquest of outer space, they could nevertheless, by virtue of their geographical situation, their abundant possession of the raw materials needed to build devices to be sent into space, or their advanced universities and scientific centres, contribute to that great undertaking, which should not be the monopoly of one Power or group of Powers. A dispersion of efforts or the imposition of geographical or political restrictions on contributions to the common effort would serve only to impede the acquisition of knowledge about the world.

18. His delegation felt honoured to have joined nineteen other delegations in submitting the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.220, which was based on all the considerations he had cited.

19. Mr. DELGADO (Philippines) thought that a problem as complex as that of outer space called for an attitude of humility and caution.

20. Recalling the statement his delegation had made at the eleventh session (824th meeting), he said that, even before the launching into space of the first sputnik, the United States proposal for international control of experiments in outer space had shown that there was already an awareness of the problems which were to arise. Unfortunately, it had not been possible to reach an agreement, a fact which, in view of the speed of scientific developments, might have tragic consequences. An effort must therefore be made to make up for lost time.

21. There were two aspects of the question of outer space on which the First Committee seemed to be in general agreement: the freedom of outer space and the need to establish a body, within the framework of the United Nations, to co-ordinate scientific activities directed towards using outer space for peaceful purposes. It was important to note that the general sentiment in favour of those two principles had been largely inspired by the United States and the USSR themselves.

22. Many arguments could be adduced in support of the freedom of outer space: the launching of artificial satellites by the USSR and the United States had not aroused any protests; cosmic space was in constant movement and had no fixed frontiers, so that it was impossible to speak of a sector of space; lastly, there was no means by which a country could assert sovereign rights to outer space. The artificial satellites of the future would follow the cycle of their classical prototypes: they would go up, they would go into orbit around the earth, and, once they had exhausted their energy, they would fall back to earth. They would not be able to remain in space indefinitely to protect the interests of those who had launched them.

23. With regard to the need for co-ordinating scientific activities and pooling the resources devoted to the study of outer space, the essential point was to avoid duplication of effort and eliminate the possibility of conflicts of interest among rival nations. After those scientific areas in which co-operation was likely to prove most fruitful had been determined, the next step would be to establish rules governing the exploration of space similar to those applied by civil and commercial aviation.

24. The question of the extent of the States' vertical sovereignty, with which several representatives had already dealt, should be made the subject of an international discussion on the lines of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The scientific and technological advances thus far achieved had made the Chicago Convention^{1/} obsolete; furthermore, the proposed 300-mile limit was arbitrary.

25. In view of the military role which could be played by reconnaissance satellites, an early decision should also be taken on the question of establishing controls over such devices.

26. With regard to the question of the appropriation of the moon or the planets, he cited the opinion of the English jurist, Mr. Michael Aaronson, in support of his contention that the freedom of outer space extended to the celestial bodies.

27. Turning to the two draft resolutions before the Committee, he said that the presentation of a new draft by the Soviet delegation was encouraging. The differences that remained between the Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) and the twenty-Power draft (A/C.1/L.220) concerned the manner of approach. Since the primary question was how any given agreement could be implemented in actual practice, it was obvious that only one which seemed capable of being put into effect under a given set of circumstances should be negotiated. However, since there seemed to be no basic contradictions between the two draft resolutions, the Philippine delegation, too, felt that they could be regarded as complementary and that it should be possible to work out a joint draft.

28. He wished to protest against certain unfortunate remarks which the USSR representative had made at the 989th meeting concerning the United States bases in the Philippines. Profiting from the lessons of the Second World War, which had cost the Philippines a million human lives and material destruction amounting to thousands of millions of dollars, the Philippine Government had concluded with the United States Government an agreement designed to ensure the Philippines' defence against foreign aggression and to further the interests of the free world, of which the Philippines was a part. Nevertheless, if the bases in question were used for purposes other than those specifically provided in the agreement, the Philippine Government would not hesitate to repudiate it.

29. The Soviet Union representative had quoted an article said to have appeared in The New York Times, according to which the United States had supplied the Philippines with new funds to the extent of \$280 million in exchange for the leasing of new sites for bases. His delegation had not found the article in question:

^{1/} Convention on international civil aviation, signed at Chicago on 7 December 1944.

on 21 and 22 June 1958, The New York Times had announced that the United States had granted to the Philippines loans amounting to \$125 million, but those loans were intended solely for the industrial and agricultural development of the Philippines and had no connexion with United States military bases.

30. Mr. TUGARINOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the quotation to which the Philippine representative had referred appeared on page 16 of The New York Times of 5 July 1958.

31. Mr. SUBASINGHE (Ceylon) said that the Committee had given adequate consideration to the question of outer space and it was now for the technicians to continue the discussion and draw the necessary conclusions. The exploration of outer space raised complex problems on which early action must be taken so that they could be settled in time.

32. The scientific progress made in recent years in the fields of atomic energy and outer space had been, in large part, the result of the armaments race, and it was contradictory to wish to prepare for war and at the same time to utilize the results of that preparation for peaceful purposes. In that respect, the peaceful use of outer space was closely linked with military preparations at lower altitudes, including ground level. From that point of view, therefore, no distinction could be made between the question of military bases and that of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and serious and fruitful co-operation on outer space would be possible only if simultaneous efforts were made to achieve disarmament.

33. His delegation, unlike some others, felt that it would be dangerous to postpone consideration of the disarmament aspect of the question of outer space. Moreover, international co-operation, which presupposed the exchange of information and the pooling of resources, could hardly be expected so long as there was rivalry between nations in the very field selected for co-operation. That did not mean that co-operation should not be attempted on the pretext that it could only be limited. However, it must be recognized that the question of the peaceful use of outer space was closely linked with that of disarmament. His delegation therefore hoped that, whatever the arrangements decided on by the Committee, the problems would be considered in their proper relationship to one another. It was glad there was a possibility that a solution would be adopted unanimously, for such a solution would pave the way for international co-operation in the field of outer space.

34. Mr. BUDO (Albania) said that the United States, which based its "positions-of-strength" policy chiefly on weapons of mass destruction, was concentrating on the production and improvement of short- and medium-range ballistic missiles, whose lack of power would be compensated for by the whole United States offensive network and particularly by the location of its military bases in foreign countries near the vital centres of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The United States Press and the statements of United States leaders showed clearly the aggressive character of those military bases. In that connexion he quoted a passage from the magazine U.S. News & World Report, and a statement made by the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force. Moreover, an article in the Washington Post seemed to contradict the statement by the

United States representative that those bases were established with the consent of the countries concerned. In any case, the United States leaders believed that their system of foreign bases ensured the invulnerability of the United States.

35. That was why, when the Soviet Union had acquired intercontinental missiles capable of reaching any point on the globe, the United States had, on the pretext of ensuring the peaceful use of outer space, called for the prohibition of rockets which required the use of outer space. The question of ballistic missiles and outer space was therefore closely linked with the question of military bases in foreign countries. As the American commentator William Frye had written, the United States did not need intercontinental missiles as long as it maintained its alliances and, consequently, its military bases on foreign territories. The prohibition of such missiles would therefore be of enormous advantage to the United States. It was obvious that such a request was unacceptable to the countries concerned and dangerous to peace, since its purpose was to deprive the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of an important means of defence while the United States would retain the use, from its foreign bases, of short- and medium-range rockets, which were just as dangerous to the peoples of the world.

36. It was essential that any action to neutralize outer space should be accompanied by equal guarantees for the security of all States. The proposals made by the Soviet Union on 15 March 1958 (A/3818 and Corr.1) and the original draft resolution submitted by the Soviet

delegation (A/C.1/L.219) fully satisfied that requirement. While meeting the views of the United States on the prohibition of intercontinental missiles, the Soviet proposals went further and were more realistic, for they made it possible to prevent missile warfare. Moreover, they opened the way to broad international co-operation in the study of cosmic space. Their adoption would constitute a very great contribution to the cause of international peace and security. However, because of the negative attitude of the United States delegation, the Soviet Union had had to submit a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) which limited itself to proposing measures of international co-operation in the field of cosmic space. The Albanian delegation hoped that, in view of the spirit of compromise shown by the Soviet delegation, that draft resolution would be adopted unanimously, especially as it represented an important step, touching as it did on the substance of the problem by providing for the establishment of an international committee for co-operation in the study of outer space.

37. With regard to the statements made by the United States representative at the 982nd and later meetings, he noted that the slanders uttered against socialist countries were contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. They were a proof of the difficulty the United States representatives experienced in defending the so-called policy of "positions of strength" which their Government practised.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.