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Chairman: Mr. Károly CSATORDAY (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 31

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/5785, A/6042; A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1, L.365)

1. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States) said that peaceful co-operation in outer space was an ideal theme for United Nations consideration. It was not only a few major Powers which would benefit from the newest developments; the potential values of space should be common to the world. Some remarkable technical breakthroughs had already occurred; they promised to make important modern services quickly and cheaply available to regions and States which otherwise could not have afforded them.

2. The weather satellite programme was now a practical reality; meteorological satellites were already providing weather information on a global basis. He urged the developing countries in particular to avail themselves of the new techniques. Automatic picture transmission systems would enable any nation to acquire local cloud-cover photographs directly from satellites passing overhead, and thus to save lives, money, crops and fishing fleets. He was glad that the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) was taking measures to ensure effective use of satellite data under the World Weather Watch programme. He hoped that all Member States would co-operate fully with WMO in that undertaking.

3. In terms of immediate practical benefits, satellite communications ranked at the head of outer space programmes. In April 1965 the international commercial communications satellite system had become a reality when the "early bird" satellite had gone into position. In June that satellite had begun handling commercial communications, including television transmissions between North America and Europe—a giant step towards the fulfilment of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI). The recent accession of Nigeria to the Agreement establishing Interim Arrangements for a Global Commercial Communications Satellite System had brought the total number of participants to forty-seven.

4. Of less immediate application but of great significance were the research programmes assigned to explore the realm between the earth and the moon—and beyond. Much of the work in that field was being carried out by the United States in co-operation with other countries. A particularly good opportunity for such co-operation was the programme under which foreign scientists were invited to propose individual experiments to be carried out by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Sixteen experiments had already been chosen and more were being considered. Seventeen countries had joined in projects using small sounding rockets. It had been a particularly fruitful year for co-operative satellite projects; Italian, Canadian and French satellites had been launched in the United States with great success.

5. The United States did not regard its accomplishments in space exploration as narrow national achievements. The eight countries which co-operated in the United States manned flight networks had played a vital part in the Gemini flights. The three countries which co-operated in deep space tracking and data acquisition could feel that they, too, had made the acquaintance of Mars. Scientists in thirty-eight countries had received complete sets of Ranger photographs of the moon suitable for professional measurement and analysis. The Mariner photographs of Mars were also to be circulated. To provide a larger base for future international co-operation, the United States offered many opportunities for education and training.

6. Besides the practical benefits of space exploration, the First Committee should remember the adventure of the spirit that was involved. But if space exploration was to remain a great human adventure, it must be carried out in an open and generous manner. Information must be shared in a spirit of participation which transcended national boundaries. The live radio and television reporting of the United States manned flight projects gave everyone such a sense of participation. Furthermore, since 1958 more than 15,000 individuals from 108 countries had visited NASA installations. If any representatives in the First Committee would like to visit Cape Kennedy, he would be delighted to make the necessary arrangements.

7. The United Nations had done useful work in the field of co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, although more progress in that direction was needed. It had issued publications on national and international activities, programmes of international organizations and educational opportunities in the field of outer space. It had also adopted resolutions setting out the principles which should govern co-

operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The United States intended to respect those principles and hoped that other countries would do likewise. The next step was to begin putting some of the principles in question into the form of treaties. Two draft international agreements were now being prepared by the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, but progress was slow. There was no simple formula for getting negotiations moving, but all representatives should approach the problem with a determination not to let external political problems interfere. The United States would continue to work through the United Nations to extend the rule of law into outer space. His delegation had already suggested that the Organization should begin work on a comprehensive treaty concerning the exploration of celestial bodies. The United States Government planned to present a definite proposal on the contents of such a treaty.

8. The thirteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1), of which the United States was a sponsor, would advance the objectives of the United Nations, and he hoped that all Members would support it. What had been accomplished so far in the peaceful uses of outer space was only the beginning; the United States believed that international co-operation must expand still further if mankind was to pursue its common destiny in space and derive the maximum earthly benefits from that endeavour.

9. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that during the past two years his country had carried out space research both near the earth and in distant parts of the solar system, using automatic interplanetary stations, satellites, rockets and other means. It had gained much new scientific information, extended its knowledge of the laws of nature and found answers to problems of rocket and space technology. A Soviet cosmonaut had been the first to leave his space craft and make a free flight in space. Soviet launchings of the Cosmos series of scientific satellites continued. The Soviet Union was also trying to land a space station on the moon, to study the lunar surface and conditions as a preliminary to the landing and return of cosmonauts. The Molniya 1 and Molniya 2 communications satellites were being used for experiments in audio and video transmission between distant points in the Soviet Union. A successful television transmission carried out in November 1965 between Paris and Moscow suggested that regular television exchanges using space satellites was a real possibility, and the method would be widely used for television broadcasts.

10. His country was eager to co-operate with other countries in space research for peaceful purposes, and had recently concluded negotiations on the co-ordination of work with France. Recently, under a co-operation agreement with a number of East European and Asian countries, a two-week course had been held at Tashkent to train young scientists in satellite tracking. The success of that course had prompted COSPAR to set up a committee to organize other training courses designed particularly for scientists from the developing countries.

11. The United States too had carried out many interesting experiments during the period under review;

the Gemini 6 and Gemini 7 flights had made an important contribution to the conquest of space. Scientists from a number of socialist and other countries had also done interesting work. France had recently launched its first satellite. Despite certain difficulties, bilateral and multilateral scientific contacts had multiplied; COSPAR had continued to work successfully, and its membership had grown. The International Astronautical Federation and the regional organizations were playing an increasing part. The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and WMO had done valuable work with artificial earth satellites, and scientists were working through WMO on the use of satellite data for weather forecasting.

12. The Soviet Union supported the proposal for the convening of an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space in 1967. Such a conference would further space research and international co-operation, and would be particularly valuable to the developing countries, for which questions relating to the training of national scientific personnel, the participation of developing countries in space research programmes and the practical application of satellite meteorological and communications systems were of great importance.

13. Progress in the legal regulation of outer space activities lagged considerably behind the scientific and technical advances. While the declaration of legal principles contained in General Assembly resolution 1962 (XVIII) had contributed to the preparation of international legal rules for outer space activities, no legal principles governing the activities of States in outer space had yet been incorporated in international agreement form. Although the need for a declaration in that form had long been felt, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had so far been unable, because of the opposition of certain Western Powers, to begin drafting an appropriate document, as recommended in General Assembly resolution 1963 (XVIII). Nor, unfortunately, had that Committee completed the draft international agreements on assistance to and return of astronauts and on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. The Soviet delegation in the Legal Sub-Committee had repeatedly amended its original draft agreement on the rescue of astronauts, and had proposed new compromise texts. The blame for the fact that some provisions of the draft agreement were still being debated lay with those Western countries which evidently lacked sufficient interest in the conclusion of such an agreement.

14. The drafting of an agreement on liability for damage raised complex problems and would be a laborious process. In the Soviet view, the most acceptable basis for working out an agreement was that submitted to the Legal Sub-Committee by the Hungarian delegation, which took due account of the declaration of legal principles and of the different approaches of various legal systems.

15. The Soviet delegation supported the conclusions and recommendations contained in the reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space now under consideration (A/5785, A/6042).

16. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria) said the two years which had passed since the General Assembly had last

dealt with the present item had witnessed spectacular achievements by the United States and the Soviet Union in the exploration of the planet Mars and of the lunar surface. The most significant feature, however, was undoubtedly the fact that man himself had seized control over the instruments at his disposal. The conquest of space would inevitably add a new dimension to the probing mind of the scientist, a new field of activity for engineers and a subject of growing importance for the political leaders of nations.

17. In view of the rapidity of scientific and technological developments, it became more and more imperative that the United Nations should incorporate in an international agreement the basic principles governing the exploration and conquest of outer space. The General Assembly had already adopted important resolutions on the basis of which the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had conducted its work. The two latest reports of that Committee (A/5785, A/6042) contained a number of encouraging elements, and his delegation hoped that the General Assembly would adopt the Committee's recommendations. The way would thus be open to increased international co-operation in the scientific and technical field of outer space research. He stressed the importance of training and the possibilities offered by the establishment of international space programmes.

18. In carrying out its mandate, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should give more weight to the practical application of outer space research. In that way, Member States, irrespective of their degree of development, could benefit most directly from the peaceful exploration and use of outer space. Three major fields of application deserved special attention: the creation of a global satellite communications system, the establishment of a World Weather Watch, and the development of a navigational satellite network.

19. It was hardly necessary to stress the worldwide utility and importance of a global satellite communications system. The demand for international and intercontinental telecommunication services was continuing to grow, and existing facilities were already insufficient to meet the demand. The interest of Member States in the improvement of means of intercontinental communication was demonstrated by the fact that about fifty countries, including Austria, had signed the Agreement establishing Interim Arrangements for a Global Commercial Communications Satellite System.

20. The establishment of the World Weather Watch, under the auspices of WMO, was also of great importance. The World Meteorological Centres at Moscow and Washington were already in full operation, and further centres were likely to be established in Australia and in the tropical zones. The report of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development stressed that an improved world-wide weather forecast would be a service of outstanding value to developing and developed countries alike.^{1/}

^{1/} See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 14, para. 40.

21. The encouraging possibilities of a satellite network for navigation purposes were now being studied by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO). It was becoming more and more apparent that the use of satellites for navigation could greatly contribute to the safety and effectiveness of traffic control both at sea and in the air. His delegation had therefore submitted a proposal which had been adopted by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and which invited the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee to submit a report on the possibility of establishing a civil world-wide navigation satellite system on a non-discriminatory basis (A/5785, para. 21).

22. His delegation regretted that the Legal Sub-Committee had been unable to make progress on the elaboration of the two draft international agreements. Nevertheless, useful work had been done in elaborating basic principles, in clarifying the positions of delegations and in narrowing the gap on a number of important points. He hoped that at its next session the Legal Sub-Committee would be able to overcome the remaining difficulties so that it could carry out its mandate under General Assembly resolution 1963 (XVIII).

23. Finally, he commended to the Committee the thirteen-Power draft resolution, of which Australia was a sponsor. He hoped that it would be unanimously adopted and thus constitute a further significant step towards increased collaboration designed to strengthen the principle of peaceful use of outer space.

24. Mr. HASEGANU (Romania) said that his country attached great importance to space activities and was aware of the vast prospects which they opened up for humanity. Since the First Committee had last discussed the problem, spectacular achievements had been recorded, particularly by the Soviet Union and the United States, in the exploration of space. A growing number of States were contributing to the conquest of space, and on 26 November 1965 France had successfully launched its first artificial satellite. The results of cosmic exploration were revolutionary, and had repercussions in all spheres of life. Some of the lessons of that exploration were already being applied. The reports of the two specialized agencies concerned with space programmes, ITU (E/4037/Add.1) and WMO (A/AC.105/L.19), provided a picture of the progress achieved and suggested how it could benefit man. A long-term programme should be worked out to enable States to benefit from the conquest of science and technology in outer space. Special emphasis should be laid on the training of national specialized personnel, and on satellite communications and space meteorology.

25. While the results obtained in space exploration were impressive, the United Nations had made only a modest contribution. It was particularly important to draw up legal principles governing the use of outer space, but little progress had been made towards doing so. Nevertheless, his delegation was convinced that the exchange of views that had already taken place had been useful and that eventually the work on the two agreements would be successfully con-

cluded. It was also essential to elaborate a convention embodying the principles governing the space activities of States.

26. Romania had participated actively in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and of its two sub-committees. It would continue to do so, in order to promote the objectives which the United Nations had set for itself in that field. Romania, therefore, fully supported the recommendations made by the Committee in its reports and was in favour of convening an international conference on outer space.

27. Mr. DELEAU (France) congratulated both the Soviet Union and the United States on their remarkable achievements in space. France was co-operating actively with the Soviet Union in the transmission of colour television pictures by satellite, and on 26 November 1965 France had launched its first artificial satellite. That launching had been highly successful and was to be followed by others in 1966. Another recent event of interest in the French space programme had been the successful launching of the satellite FR-1, designed to gather data on the propagation of characteristics of very low frequency electromagnetic waves in the ionosphere. That launching, which had taken place on 6 December 1965 from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, was an example of the close collaboration between France and the United States in the space field.

28. His delegation was convinced that international scientific co-operation should be increased and should be free from any political considerations. With its increasing knowledge and experience France was prepared to expand its contribution to international co-operation for the peaceful use of space. His delegation considered that international exchanges of scientific information should be encouraged, and he congratulated the Secretariat on its useful work in that field. However, for budgetary reasons, he had some reservations about the proposal to convene an international conference. France was one of the sponsors of the thirteen-Power draft resolution and hoped that its adoption would encourage the Legal Sub-Committee to make further progress.

29. Mr. PRANDLER (Hungary) expressed admiration for the recent achievements by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and France in the exploration of space. Smaller countries such as his own could contribute to outer space research only through international co-operation. In November 1965 Hungary had participated in a meeting of the socialist countries held at Moscow to establish such co-operation, at which joint research programmes in a number of fields had been discussed.

30. His delegation approved the recommendations in the reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, but regretted that difficulties had held up progress in the legal field. The Legal Sub-Committee had failed to agree on legal principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space, and the problem had become urgent. General Assembly resolution 1963 (XVIII) gave the legal principles priority over agreements on specific matters, and he did not understand why they had been relegated to third place in the thirteen-Power

draft resolution. The results of the third and fourth sessions of the Legal Sub-Committee had been meagre. The Sub-Committee had failed to draw up an agreement on assistance to the return of astronauts and space vehicles, and on the question of liability for damage had reached preliminary agreement only on certain points. That failure was the result of the negative attitude of some Western countries. At the Legal Sub-Committee's fourth session, his delegation had submitted a revised version of its original draft convention on liability, and he hoped that further efforts would finally lead to agreement. He therefore agreed with the recommendation of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that the Legal Sub-Committee should resume its work. He also endorsed the recommendation that United Nations sponsorship should be granted for the continuing operation of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS). He supported the convening of the working group on an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, considering that such a conference, provided that all States were enabled to participate, would be of benefit to the United Nations. The need for the conference had been recognized in General Assembly resolution 1472 (XIV), and the Secretary-General had even been requested to make the necessary organizational arrangements for holding it in 1960 or 1961. Since then, that need had greatly increased, and had been recognized by the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Cairo in October 1964.

31. Mr. FIORIO (Italy) stressed the need for the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to show scientific vision, common sense and imagination in order to pursue actively the further development of international co-operation in space through new ideas, proposals, and suggestions. The space situation and prospects of co-operation were changing every day, as was shown by the accelerating pace of developments over the last two months. France had joined the United States and the Soviet Union as a space Power by placing two satellites in orbit; the United Kingdom's Ariel satellite and the Canadian Isis orbiter had been successfully launched. There had also been the tremendous feats of the United States space ships Gemini 6 and Gemini 7 and the Soviet Union's launchings of the Luna series and other space craft. There was therefore no time to waste in ensuring the active pursuit of international co-operation; and he would like to convey that feeling of urgency to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. That was why his delegation had become a sponsor of the thirteen-Power draft resolution, in which the General Assembly, while approving the past work of that Committee and its recommendations and proposals, would urge it to continue with determination its work in the development of law for outer space.

32. Mr. FAHMY (United Arab Republic), after referring to the tremendous achievements in space of the Soviet Union, the United States and, more recently, France, said that all activities in outer space should be for peaceful purposes. That was now more important than ever because world tension and the escalation of the arms race. The United Nations had always shown its interest in the question, and should now take further

steps to indicate guidelines for the activities of Governments. The first step should be to prohibit all non-peaceful uses of outer space. General Assembly resolution 1884 (XVIII), welcoming the expression of intention by the Soviet Union and the United States not to station in outer space objects carrying nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction, had called on all States to refrain from using outer space for such purposes. Moreover, the 1964 Cairo Conference had called for an international treaty prohibiting the utilization of outer space for military purposes. The next stage should be the drafting of a binding agreement forbidding all military activities in outer space.

33. Unfortunately, however, developments in space law had not gained momentum with advances in space science. The Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should therefore continue its work on the draft agreements and continue the effort to incorporate in an international agreement the legal principles governing the activities of States in outer space, as recommended in General Assembly resolution 1963 (XVIII). The essential need for international co-operation had been stressed in the Cairo Declaration of 10 October 1964, which had also urged the exchange and dissemination of information on space research and the convening of an international space conference. He therefore trusted that the working group to be convened early in 1966 would make a positive recommendation endorsing the idea of such a conference.

34. The role of the United Nations in space education and training had been repeatedly stressed by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The establishment of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) had opened a new avenue, but he believed that a detailed draft programme should be prepared by the Secretary-General, as suggested in the second amendment in document A/C.1/L.365 to the thirteen-Power draft resolution.

35. The statement by the Secretary of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space annexed to its latest report (A/6042) quoted the recent conclusion of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination that the question of training was one of the most important facing the United Nations family in the space field.^{2/} He believed that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee should consider the question of rendering technical assistance to the developing countries in that sphere. Accordingly, he was not entirely satisfied with the draft resolution in its present form, and for that reason had joined in submitting the amendments contained in document A/C.1/L.365.

36. Mr. SHAW (Australia) observed that progress in the exploration and use of outer space in recent years had not been limited to any one country. To the exciting achievements of the United States and the USSR had been added France's feat of placing a satellite in orbit. Other countries had contributed in less spectacular but no less real ways to the development of space science and its application to

^{2/} Ibid., Thirty-ninth Session, Annexes, agenda item 4, document E/4029, para. 72.

modern communications and weather forecasting technology.

37. The General Assembly had from the outset emphasized the necessity for international co-operation in outer space with a view to preventing the creation of a new theatre of conflict. In common with many other countries, Australia had found that its role in the conduct of space activities lay in co-operation with other States rather than in isolated achievement, and its participation in international space projects had not only been of benefit to its own scientific community but had promoted the peaceful exploration and use of outer space for the benefit of all mankind. One of his country's main contributions was the provision of tracking facilities for satellites, manned space flights and interplanetary space probes, in support of the Gemini, Apollo and other programmes. In co-operation with the United Kingdom, Australia had carried out a large number of sounding rocket firings for scientific purposes, and as a founder member of the European Launcher Development Organization it was engaged in test launchings in preparation for the placing of a satellite in orbit.

38. Australia was also a participant in the arrangements for a satellite communications system, in the World Weather Watch and in research—in connexion with the International Years of the Quiet Sun—on long-distance radio wave propagation. The tremendous benefits to be derived from such programmes for a remote and largely agricultural country such as Australia were already being felt.

39. The Australian delegation was continuing to take an active part in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and of its two Sub-Committees, and its sponsorship of the draft resolution indicated its interest in encouraging the activities of that Committee and in extending the benefits of space technology to more and more countries. It was to be hoped that the example of co-operation among major space Powers provided by the establishment of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) would set the pattern for increased co-operation between all countries in the Committee's work, and that United Nations sponsorship would be granted to that project.

40. His delegation hoped that the working group on the convening of an international conference and the Legal Sub-Committee would be able to make greater progress during 1966. It was most important that the rules which that Sub-Committee was working out for the regulation of space activities should make adequate provision for the rights and duties of international organizations, since it was only through them that the smaller States could participate in those activities.

41. In conclusion, his delegation welcomed the reports of ITU and WMO, and appreciated the continuing interest of those organizations and of ICAO in United Nations outer space activities.

42. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) congratulated the delegations of the United States, the USSR and France on their countries' recent outstanding achievements in space launchings. Such spectacular feats served to emphasize how essential was the need for the fullest possible co-operation among the major space Powers if

outer space was to be used for peaceful purposes only. His country did not aim at becoming a major space Power, but it had co-operated in the past and would continue to co-operate in international space activities.

43. Although it was true that substantial progress had been made by the Legal and the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committees, the results left little room for complacency when considered in relation to the pace and scope of individual national programmes. It was essential that the Legal Sub-Committee should resume and intensify its endeavours to secure the conclusion of agreements on liability and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles. The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, when it met in 1966, would have before it evidence of the tremendous possibilities of the peaceful uses of outer space in the reports of ITU and WMO.

44. It should be the objective of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space to enable the United Nations, through its Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, to match the efforts of national Governments and to seek to ensure that the vast benefits to be derived from space exploration were applied to the peoples of all countries.

45. His delegation was one of the sponsors of the thirteen-Power draft resolution and hoped it would be approved unanimously by the Committee.

46. Mr. GOWLAND (Argentina) said that the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was intended to promote one of the principal purposes of the United Nations: the establishment of a framework for the scientific and technical progress of humanity. The extraordinary achievements of the major space Powers demonstrated the urgency of the need for international agreement on the exchange of information and on legal responsibilities in space exploration, if outer space was not to become a new area of conflict.

47. His Government's interest in international co-operation in space activities had been demonstrated by its appointment of two experts to serve on the Sub-Committees of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Moreover, in the conviction that it was essential for the future of the world for every country to contribute to space research, his Government was providing training for space experts, and was developing small rockets. His delegation was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, which stressed the special responsibility of the United Nations for promoting international co-operation in the exploration and use of space, and hoped it would receive unanimous approval.

48. Mr. GOTMANOV (Czechoslovakia) said that the participation of a growing number of countries in space research was providing greater knowledge of the resources and potentialities of space and a basis for improving living conditions for mankind. Each new space project brought to light new fields for study and extended the scope of the activities of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. It was therefore to be hoped that progress would be made during the coming year towards the convening of a conference on the exploration and peaceful use

of outer space, at which the advances of the previous ten years could be reviewed and useful proposals could be made for the intensification of international co-operation in space activities. It was a matter of concern that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had as yet made little progress in the preparation of the draft agreements called for in the General Assembly resolution 1963 (XVIII). It might be advisable for the Assembly to define the specific tasks of the Committee in greater detail, in order to give renewed impetus to its work on those agreements.

49. His delegation took an active part in the work of the Committee and its two Sub-Committees, and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was continuing its studies of methods of international co-operation in space research programmes. His country intended to do its utmost to promote the co-operation of all States in the peaceful use of outer space.

50. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada) said that his delegation attached considerable importance to the promotion of international co-operation in the use of outer space since it was only through such co-operation that the smaller countries could reap the benefits of recent spectacular advances in space technology. His country with the co-operation of the United States space authorities and with the support of national industry had recently launched its second satellite, Alouette 2, to carry out soundings of the ionosphere; it was hoped that the results of the second project would be even more valuable than those of the Alouette 1, which was still providing scientific data.

51. His delegation believed that the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space provided an opportunity for all States, irrespectively of their resources, to take an active interest in the encouragement of peaceful applications of space technology; he therefore hoped that it would be found possible in 1966 to arrange for the holding of an international conference on peaceful space exploration and its benefits for mankind. His delegation had demonstrated its interest in the continuance of the Committee's useful work by becoming a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1, which he hoped would be adopted unanimously by the First Committee.

52. Mr. JAIN (India) said in the two years since the Committee had last met there had been a number of extraordinary achievements in space exploration; he congratulated the delegations of France, the United States and the USSR on their countries' recent successes. Many other countries attached special meaning and importance to programmes of education and training in the field of space research. His delegation had always attached great importance to the dissemination of knowledge and techniques of information in that field, since they were of the utmost significance for the less developed countries. UNESCO had already given technical assistance for the training of students and experts from the developing countries, and had provided fellowships for the training of overseas personnel at the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station. He hoped that the recommendations of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination on future training programmes^{2/} would help to give the develop-

ing countries a greater part in the peaceful uses of outer space.

53. The Indian delegation had consistently stressed, in the General Assembly, the First Committee and the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the need to prevent any military use of outer space. The Antarctic Treaty of 1 December 1959, by which twelve Powers had agreed to keep Antarctica free from military bases, nuclear experiments etc., should serve as the forerunner of a declaration of the principle that outer space should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

54. The amendments in document A/C.1/L.365 were in agreement with the views he had just expressed, and his delegation supported them.

55. Mr. BAKOTO (Cameroon) said he believed that the draft resolution would gain in clarity by the incorporation of the amendments in document A/C.1/L.365, which his delegation had joined in sponsoring. The second amendment was intended to place greater emphasis on the importance for developing countries of expanded programmes of education and training in the peaceful uses of outer space, and was in line with the recommendations of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination and the proposals of the Outer Space Affairs Group referred to at the 37th meeting of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space by the Secretary of the Committee (A/6042, annex II). As a result of informal consultations, however, the sponsors wished to revise the text of their amendments, and they would therefore be grateful if further consideration of the item under discussion could be deferred until Monday, 20 December, to enable them to put a revised text before the Committee.

56. Mr. SHALLOUF (Libya) said that his country had acceded to the Agreement establishing Interim Arrangements for a Global Commercial Communications Satellite System, and was ready to co-operate with other countries in the exploration of outer space. It would vote for the draft resolution and the amendments in document A/C.1/L.365.

57. Mrs. THOMAS (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that the activities of UNESCO relating to outer space covered various aspects of international co-operation, including assistance to research projects, co-operation with WMO, and assistance to Member States at their request.

58. Between 6 and 10 December 1965 a meeting had been held at UNESCO headquarters to define the principles and main lines of a long-term programme to promote the use of space communication for the free flow of information and the rapid spread of education and greater cultural exchange. The meeting had been attended by experts from nineteen countries, with observers from the United Nations and its related organizations. It had strongly emphasized the need for the future use of space communication in the implementation of the UNESCO programme for the development of information media called for by the Economic and Social Council and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 1778 (XVII).

59. The experts had also considered that it was essential for UNESCO to continue its co-operation with the United Nations—including the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—and ITU. The report of the experts suggested the need for an arrangements under which the broad social implications of space communication could receive continuing consideration and under which new developments could be actively studied by all concerned. The experts had urged that United Nations technical assistance to provide experts and fellowships on the subject of communication satellites should be gradually increased. They had also recommended that a pilot project should be initiated with the help of UNESCO and other United Nations agencies on the use of satellite communication mainly for education in a large and heavily populated area.

60. The suggestions of the experts were being studied by the Director-General of UNESCO, who would report on them to the next session of the General Conference, to be held in November 1966.

61. Mr. PISKAREV (International Atomic Energy Agency) said that IAEA, in pursuance of its special responsibility for the encouragement of research on peaceful applications of atomic energy and for the exchange of information in that field, took an active interest in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

62. There had been new developments in the use of atomic energy as a power source and as a means of propulsion in space, and it was probable that the use of ion and plasma engines would be followed in the near future by other advanced methods of propulsion, such as nuclear and arc rocket engines. Those developments had encouraged the Agency to undertake a programme of information on the use of nuclear energy in outer space, which had included, for instance, the organization during the third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy of a meeting on the direct conversion of heat into electricity.

63. The Agency had a special interest in the problem of contamination as a result of nuclear incidents in space—which involved the question of liability as well as that of the biological shielding of cosmonauts from radiation from nuclear power sources and naturally-occurring cosmic radiation. The Agency had formulated safety standards for nuclear facilities, and would assist in the establishment of such standards in outer space conditions. It was expanding its work on the biological effects of cosmic rays.

64. The work of ensuring international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space would call for greater participation by the United Nations family; IAEA was prepared to increase its efforts to that end.

65. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon) moved the adjournment of the meeting until Monday, 20 December, at 10 a.m., when a vote could be taken on the draft resolution and amendments under consideration.

66. Mr. BAKOTO (Cameroon) supported that motion.

67. After a discussion in which Mr. THACHER (United States of America), Sir Roger JACKLING (United Kingdom), Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada), and Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) took part, the CHAIRMAN put the Lebanese motion to the vote.

The motion was adopted by 27 votes to 22, with 16 abstentions.

The meeting rose on Sunday, 19 December, 12.45 a.m.

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE, 1422nd
MEETING

Monday, 20 December 1965,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Károly CSATORDAY (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 31

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (concluded) (A/5785, A/6042; A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1, L.365/Rev.1)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to continue its consideration of the thirteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1) and the revised amendments submitted by Cameroon and the United Arab Republic (A/C.1/L.365/Rev.1).
2. Mr. YOST (United States of America) said that his delegation could accept the first of the amendments. Since the beginning of the space age, the United States had constantly endorsed the principle that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes. In that context, "peaceful" meant non-aggressive rather than non-military. The United States space programme had been notable for its predominantly civilian character but military components and personnel had made indispensable contributions. There was no practical dividing-line between military and non-military uses of space: United States and Soviet astronauts had been members of their countries' armed forces; a navigation satellite could guide a warship as well as a merchant ship; communication satellites could serve military establishments as well as civilian communities. The question of military activities in space could not be divorced from the question of military activities on earth. The test of any space activity must therefore be not whether it was military or non-military but whether it was consistent with the Charter and other obligations of international law. The United States space programme passed that test.
3. He proposed a sub-amendment to the second of the amendments in document A/C.1/L.365/Rev.1,

consisting of the insertion after the words "Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space" of the phrase "in co-operation with the Secretary-General and making full use of the functions and resources of the Secretariat, and". The original text of the amendments (A/C.1/L.365) had contained a reference to the Secretary-General, which had been omitted from the revised version. The sub-amendment he proposed used the wording employed in General Assembly resolution 1721 B (XVI), which had been sponsored by all the members of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and adopted unanimously by the Assembly. He did not think that the sub-amendment should prove controversial.

4. Mr. FAHMY (United Arab Republic) said that, in order to expedite the Committee's work, his delegation and the delegation of Cameroon would not press the first of their amendments.

5. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) noted that support had been expressed for the draft resolution before the Committee. The best course would be to adopt an uncontroversial text; such an approach would be in accordance with the long-established tradition followed in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In that Committee, decisions were adopted by mutual agreement, and issues likely to give rise to disagreement were not pressed to a vote. The United States sub-amendment, which had been submitted at the last minute, contained new ideas and amounted to a new approach to the question.

6. Provisions which were appropriate and justified in one resolution could not always be transplanted to another resolution on a similar subject being considered in different circumstances. Furthermore, there was no need to specify the procedure and methods of work to be followed by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. That Committee should decide those matters itself; if it saw fit it would take into account the wishes expressed by the United States delegation.

7. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada) expressed support for the United States sub-amendment. The point at issue was uncontroversial and had already been accepted by the General Assembly. It would be an unusual procedure to leave the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to prepare suggestions for programmes of education and training of specialists without the help of the Secretariat. That Committee reflected mainly national views; the co-operation of the Secretariat in its work would sound an international note and provide useful knowledge and experience.

8. Mr. SEATON (United Republic of Tanzania) said that the use of outer space was not a monopoly or exclusive concern of the Powers having space programmes. Tanzania had therefore welcomed the two-Power amendment, which was designed to give the developing countries a greater opportunity to participate in the use of outer space.

9. The Committee should not lose valuable time in procedural or controversial debates. His delegation had no objection to the United States sub-amendment, which might well have received substantial support if it had been submitted earlier; in the circumstances, however, no wide support for it had been voiced. He hoped that it would soon be possible for the Committee to proceed to a vote.

10. Mr. SHAW (Australia) said that his delegation supported the United States sub-amendment. It was difficult to see how the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space could perform the task entrusted to it without the assistance and support of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat. The programmes contemplated would have to be integrated and co-ordinated with other similar programmes, for example, and the financing available would have to be taken into account.

11. Mr. GARCIA DEL SOLAR (Argentina) appealed to the delegations concerned to display a spirit of compromise such as prevailed in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

12. It was not clear what "functions" of the Secretariat were envisaged in the United States sub-amendment. Furthermore, the phrase "making full use of" the resources of the Secretariat might give a false idea of the amount of resources which should be devoted to the project in question. He therefore suggested that the United States delegation should revise its sub-amendment to read "in co-operation with the Secretary-General and making use of the available resources of the Secretariat, and".

13. Mr. YOST (United States of America) agreed to revise his sub-amendment in the manner suggested by the Argentine representative.

14. Mr. SEATON (United Republic of Tanzania) observed that it would presumably be a normal duty of the Secretariat to assist the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in any way necessary.

15. He moved the closure of the debate on the item under discussion, under rule 118 of the rules of procedure.

The motion was adopted without objection.

16. Mr. VELLODI (Secretary of the Committee) informed the Committee, in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure, that provision had been made in the budget estimates for 1966 for the continuation of the normal activities of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Sub-Committees.

17. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to vote on the proposals before it.

The United States sub-amendment, as revised, was adopted by 79 votes to 8, with 5 abstentions.

The second amendment in document A/C.1/L.365/Rev.1, as amended, was adopted by 96 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.363/Rev.1, as amended, was adopted by 98 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

18. Mr. MISHRA (India) expressed his country's gratitude to the members of the Committee for voting in favour of granting United Nations sponsorship to the Thumba international equatorial sounding rocket facility, and thanked those countries which had helped in and expressed support for that venture.

19. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation had voted for the two-Power amendment. The assistance contemplated in that amendment—and indeed any kind of assistance—should be given on a voluntary basis, possibly within the framework of the technical assistance provided by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The question of space research and the use of outer space affected the security interests of States. That fact should be taken into consideration when it was decided what forms the proposed assistance should take.

AGENDA ITEM 107

The inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty (continued) (A/5977; A/C.1/L.343/Rev.1, L.349/Rev.2, L.350 and Corr.1, L.351, L.352, L.353/Rev.4 and Add.1, L.354, L.364 and Add.1)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (continued) (A/C.1/L.343/REV.1, L.349/REV.2, L.350 AND CORR.1, L.351, L.352, L.353/REV.4 AND ADD.1, L.354, L.364 AND ADD.1)

20. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) proposed that priority should be given in the voting to the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1).

It was so decided.

21. The CHAIRMAN invited representatives wishing to explain their votes to do so.

22. Sir ROGER JACKLING (United Kingdom) said that his delegation fully supported the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. As he had said in the general debate (1398th meeting), the proposed declaration should be an objective and comprehensive expression of the principle of non-intervention and should deal with intervention in all and not merely some of its forms. It should not only discourage the condemn intervention but should also actively encourage co-operation among Member States. It should be carefully elaborated so that it did not mean different things to different people.

23. In his opinion, the principle of non-intervention concerned a vital area of international law which required detailed study before it could be fully expressed in a series of propositions. It was particularly important that the terms used should be accurately and precisely defined. However, the Committee was faced with a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1) which had been introduced only

a short time before; members had not been given sufficient time to study in detail all its implications, and some Governments would not have seen the text at all. In the circumstances, it would have been better for the Committee to refer the matter to an intersessional committee or to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, as had been proposed by a number of delegations.

24. He drew attention to a draft resolution which had been adopted at the 898th meeting of the Sixth Committee^{1/} and which stressed the significance of continuing the effort to achieve general agreement at every stage of the process of the elaboration of the seven principles of international law set forth in General Assembly resolution 1815 (XVII), among which was the principle of non-intervention.

25. While there was much in the draft declaration with which his delegation could fully concur, it had reservations about some of the expressions used in the text which, in its view, failed to satisfy the essential criteria. Moreover, a decision concerning the interpretation of Charter principles should be taken only after all delegations and Governments had had an opportunity to bring their views to bear on the proposed formulations. Consequently, his delegation would have to abstain in the vote on the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution.

26. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria) said that the fact that his delegation had not taken part in the general debate on the item should not be interpreted as a lack of interest on its part. On the contrary, it considered non-intervention to be one of the most important principles of the Charter, which was based on the sovereign equality of all Members.

27. Before the Second World War, Austria had suffered from all forms of intervention, including economic pressure, political blackmail and ideological strife fomented from abroad. Although a faithful member of the League of Nations, Austria had been made a victim of open intervention, including the threat and use of force.

28. His delegation appreciated the initiative of the USSR delegation and the efforts of a member of other delegations to elaborate a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty. Despite the provisions of the Charter, the United Nations had been confronted time and again with situations where countries openly or covertly resorted to the threat or use of force. It was appropriate therefore that the United Nations should once again reaffirm a fundamental principle of the Charter and bring it into line with the realities of international life and just aspirations of all nations. His delegation gratified that all the draft resolutions introduced under that item of the agenda had tried to take into account the increasingly close political, economic and cultural interdependence of nations and that many representatives had stressed the importance of the Charter provisions concerning the self-deter-

^{1/} Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 2103 (XX).

mination of peoples and the promotion of human rights and of social, economic and cultural progress all over the world. In particular, it welcomed the Swedish representative's proposal concerning a declaration on the promotion of international world-wide co-operation.

29. Intervention, in whatever form and for whatever reason it was undertaken, was a violation of the Charter and an inadmissible act against the independence of a State and the personality of its people. The United Nations must ensure that the fundamental principle of non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of States was scrupulously respected. He was glad that through the untiring efforts of some delegations it had been possible to elaborate a draft which apparently enjoyed broad support in the Committee, and he would vote for it.

30. Mr. SHAW (Australia) said that while he appreciated the considerable efforts which had been made to reach agreement on draft resolution A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1, he was not sure that he could support it. In examining any declaration on non-intervention, an important consideration was whether it had the backing of the major Powers represented in the United Nations. It would be of doubtful value if the permanent members of the Security Council did not agree to give it their support. It was not, however, simply a question of the relations between the great Powers of East and West: several speakers in the general debate had mentioned instances of intolerable acts of indirect aggression carried out by the smaller or medium-sized Powers. It was important also to consider what effect the declaration would have in insisting upon compliance with the provisions of the Charter by all Member States. The debate had revealed the realities which lay behind the pretensions of certain Members to exercise the right to interfere in the affairs of other Members. It had shown also that the major potential threat to world peace lay not in the rivalries among the great Powers represented in the United Nations but in the interference by a major Power not a member of the United Nations in the affairs of smaller countries.

31. One weakness of the draft resolution lay in its mixture of political and legal concepts which would not normally be found in an international instrument setting forth the obligations of States in regard to non-intervention. It was surely wrong to say, as in the ninth preambular paragraph, that "violation of the principle of non-intervention poses a threat to the independence, freedom and normal political, economic, social and cultural development of countries, particularly those which have freed themselves from colonialism" when an old and long-independent State like Thailand was clearly subjected to threats from Hanoi and Peking. The Committee had heard about indirect aggression against a number of Latin American States which, like Australia, probably no longer regarded themselves as having been freed from colonialism. In any case that particular qualification should not be a requirement for a State to be able to claim that it was the victim of intervention.

32. The first sentence of operative paragraph 1 seemed to be an attempt to add something to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter and was open to

legal controversy. Moreover, it seemed unrealistic to suppose that international relations could exist without States seeking to influence the actions and policies of other States. The real problem was to define what intervention was not permissible. There was a danger that by being made too general, the principle might lose its effectiveness. The draft was open also to the objection that it contained no reference to the right of States to accept such external assistance as they might decide to accept. Most States would regard such a right as an essential attribute of State sovereignty.

33. His delegation considered that the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution should be referred to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States; that Committee should be asked to consider it and to report to the General Assembly at its next session. To have maximum impact, and declaration to be made by the Assembly required further refinement. His delegation would decide how it would vote in the light of the overriding interest of all Member States in the prevention of intervention.

34. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) said that the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution recalled principles with which his delegation fully agreed. Nevertheless, he had certain reservations about the text, which in some parts was too vague and in others too diffuse. It was based more on concepts of international morality than on a rigorous juridical analysis. He would, however, vote in favour of the draft resolution on the clear understanding that it should not in any circumstances be invoked as a precedent in the Sixth Committee or in the Special Committee on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. He drew attention to the vague use of the word "peoples" in the draft resolution and also stressed how useful it would have been to indicate in the draft, in addition to those forms of intervention which were to be condemned, those which were carried out at the request of a State under treaties of friendship and alliance and which were obviously not liable to the same condemnation.

35. Since his delegation had not voted in favour of resolution 1514 (XV), mentioned in the third preambular paragraph, he had asked the sponsors who had introduced the draft whether it would be possible to have a separate vote on that paragraph, but they had been against it. Had there been a separate vote, he would have abstained on that paragraph. Consequently, his vote in favour of the draft resolution must not be interpreted as implying any change in his Government's position on resolution 1514 (XV).

36. Mr. FARAH (Somalia) said that his country would have been a sponsor of the draft resolution had it not been for the reference, in the fifth preambular paragraph, to the "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Cairo in 1964. While that reference might appear innocuous, his country had been one of those which had expressed strong reservations regarding section IV of that declaration, in which it was stated that "a situation brought about

by the threat or use of force shall not be recognized, and in particular the established frontiers of States shall be inviolable" Somalia and other countries involved in territorial disputes found the second half of that statement unacceptable, and the position of his Government had been clearly stated at the Cairo Conference and in the General Assembly. Frontiers were valid if established by lawful and equitable treaties on the basis of respect for the right of self-determination, but States often claimed territory and then refused to sanction any challenge to their claim on the ground that it constituted "interference" in its internal affairs.

37. Somalia was committed by its Constitution to the peaceful settlement of territorial and other disputes, but the principle of territorial integrity must not be perverted to mean that territorial holdings were sacrosanct, regardless of legality. Somalia would therefore vote for the draft resolution on the express understanding that it did not prejudice the position of any States which were parties to territorial disputes and did not imply any legal recognition of existing frontiers.

38. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) congratulated the delegations which had taken part in the negotiations leading to the submission of draft resolution A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1. Since that draft set forth principles which had always been proclaimed by the Moroccan Government as the basis for relations between States, he would vote for it. However, it contained a reference, in the fifth preambular paragraph, to the "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted at the end of the Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries, certain parts of which had not been unanimously adopted and were not acceptable to his Government. He therefore wished to stress that his vote was in no way to be construed as a change in his Government's position, and the reservations expressed in his letter dated 26 January 1965 to the Secretary-General (A/5865) remained valid.

39. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand) said that his delegation shared the view that the question of non-intervention was of the highest significance and that any declaration adopted by the General Assembly would be among the most important documents of the United Nations. It was all the more important, therefore, that the text should be wholly acceptable in both its legal and its political aspects. As a political statement of intent, the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution professed principles to which New Zealand, as a small nation, whole-heartedly subscribed. The delegations concerned in drafting the single text deserved credit for their achievement, but the draft itself inevitably reflected the fact that it had been drawn up under the pressure of a time-limit. In addition, it had not been subjected to examination in the Committee. In view of the importance of the question, it would therefore be preferable for a decision to be deferred until an appropriate body, perhaps the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, had studied the matter more thoroughly. If the draft declaration were nevertheless put to the vote, the New Zealand delegation would have no alternative but to abstain on it.

40. Mr. ANZAR (Spain) said that he had welcomed the Soviet Union's initiative in submitting a draft declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty, anticipating that the debate would prove to be one of the most important in the annals of the United Nations. However, he had soon realized that delegations were not sufficiently prepared for the long and arduous task involved. What had been achieved was far from perfect. Nevertheless, he would vote in favour of the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution, which he regarded as a prelude to a real declaration on the problems of non-intervention. The statement, in the seventh preambular paragraph, that "armed intervention is synonymous with aggression" and, in operative paragraphs 1 and 2, such language as "all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State", or "the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights", or "no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite...", were subjects for long debate. The draft resolution could perhaps serve as a sort of *loi-cadre* within which further developments might follow. He hoped therefore that the USSR and other delegations would bring the matter again to the attention of the General Assembly so that the problems of non-intervention could receive the full and expert attention which they deserved.

41. Mr. TREMBLAY (Canada) said that his delegation appreciated the strenuous efforts which had been made to reach an understanding on the text of a draft declaration on non-intervention. Because of the primary importance of the principle involved, the Canadian delegation was bound to have some reservations concerning the speed with which the Committee was drawing up a text that would undoubtedly be of the highest significance for the future. In its view, the wisest course would have been to transfer the item for further consideration to the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. Nevertheless, since it fully appreciated the sense of urgency underlying the efforts which had been made, it would not oppose the conclusion of the item at the present session. Even if a declaration were adopted, however, many legal aspects would still have to be considered, and to that end the Special Committee should be encouraged to continue its work.

42. He wished to associate himself with the view of the representative of France that the draft on which the Committee was about to vote should guide international relations. Like the representative of France, he had some reservations concerning certain expressions used in the text: for instance, in the fifth preambular paragraph, he doubted whether the word "Reaffirm" was appropriately used, and elsewhere in the text the word "peoples" was imprecise. He would, however, vote in favour of the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution as the expression of the will of the Committee and later of the General Assembly on a question of primary importance.

43. Mr. VINCI (Italy) congratulated the sponsors of resolution A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1 on their constructive efforts to achieve a single text, and said that his delegation would vote for it since it included a number of principles which it fully endorsed. Like other speakers, he would have preferred to have more time to study such an important document, to appraise its implications and to achieve greater clarity and precision in its wording. He wished to enter two reservations: firstly, nothing in the draft resolution should be interpreted as being prejudicial to the right of a State to request aid in any form which it desired; secondly, that it should not constitute a precedent for the work of the Sixth Committee or the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States. His delegation also reserved the right to make a further statement concerning the text at a later stage.

44. Mr. PANNI (Pakistan) said that, since the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution contained most of the essentials for a declaration on non-intervention, he would vote for it. He agreed with the view that it was only a first step and that its provisions should later be strengthened and elaborated, and it was on that understanding that Pakistan did not press for the incorporation of the first and third amendments submitted in document A/C.1/L.352. He was gratified to note that the second amendment contained in that document had been included in both the preambular and operative parts of the new draft.

45. He noted with satisfaction that the draft unequivocally condemned policies of racial discrimination and included provisions under which Governments practising those inhuman policies would not be able to evade their obligations by claiming that the matters in question were domestic affairs. Recalling that his delegation had drawn the Committee's attention at the 1404th meeting, to the denial of the sacrosanct right of self-determination in many parts of the world, he welcomed the reference, in the preamble and in operative paragraph 6, to the "self-determination of peoples". However, it was possible that certain States might attempt a perverse interpretation of that expression, as well as of the expression "national identity" used in operative paragraph 3. In his view, those expressions were quite unambiguous, since it was universally accepted that territory acquired by force and maintained in violation of the right of self-determination could not be an element in a nation's identity.

46. It was regrettable that the draft before the Committee did not include any condemnation of the use of force to dislocate and expel peoples from their homelands. It was a tragic fact that the denial of the right of self-determination and the use of coercion for that purpose had caused such dislocation and expulsion on a large scale. In their political aspect, such actions could result in the people concerned becoming either totally extinct or an insignificant minority in their own land. Their human aspect was well known, and there was no need to elaborate on the tragic plight of refugees. The draft was weakened by the absence of any condemnation of such barbarous acts, but he would vote in favour because of its many positive elements.

47. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines) said that he greatly appreciated the achievement of the sponsors in reconciling many different views in a short time, and he would vote for the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution. However, he wished to express reservations regarding the procedure that had been adopted, which had allowed little time for the submission of amendments or for further discussion of the final text, and regarding the wording, which could have been improved upon. In the circumstances, the document should be regarded as a declaration of political intent, rather than as a precise legal definition of the principles underlying non-intervention. It did, however, fulfil the need to reaffirm those principles at the present time.

48. Mr. ASTRÖM (Sweden) stressed the importance of a reaffirmation of the principles of the Charter, and repeated his delegation's view that it would have been fitting for the General Assembly, in its twentieth anniversary year, to adopt a resolution or declaration reaffirming its adherence to all the Charter principles. No resolution or declaration by the Assembly would in any way alter the obligations contained in the Charter, and the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States was at present engaged in drawing up a precise definition of the principles underlying those obligations. It was on the understanding that any decision by the First Committee, and subsequently by the General Assembly, would not prejudice the work of the Special Committee that the Swedish delegation would vote for the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution.

49. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) said that, with regard to the references that had been made to the "Programme for Peace and International Co-operation" adopted at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo in 1964, he felt bound to point out that there had been a misrepresentation of fact and of legislative intent, and expressly reserved his delegation's right to make its position known fully at the appropriate time.

50. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee would proceed to vote on the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.364 and Add.1).

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Pakistan, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour:: Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Belgium, Netherlands, New Zealand.

The draft resolution was adopted by 100 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

51. The CHAIRMAN said that it had been his understanding that if the fifty-seven-Power draft resolution was adopted, the sponsors of the other drafts before the Committee would not press for a vote on them. If he heard no objection, therefore, the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.343/Rev.2 and A/C.1/L.353/Rev.4 and Add.1 would not be put to the vote.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.