Sixteenth Session
FIRST COMMITTEE

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THOUSAND HUNDRED AND TWELFTH MEETING

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on Wednesday, 6 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. ARAYEDO (Argentina)

Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (continued)

Note: The official record of this meeting, i.e. the summary record, will appear in mimeographed form under the symbol A/C.1/5177. Delegations may submit corrections to the summary record for incorporation in the final version which will appear in a printed volume.

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All the Czechoslovak people highly appreciate the historical successes attained by the Soviet Union in conquering outer space which became the property of all mankind. In this connexion also the important contribution of American science to the exploration of outer space must be positively evaluated.

Together with the magnificent perspectives of the interplanetary flights, the exploration of outer space yields also very significant scientific knowledge which will be utilized in a number of scientific fields to the benefit of all mankind. It has already been mentioned in some previous statements that the existence of satellites will enable us to solve, for example, the question of radio communication and television relays on a world scale. There are great possibilities in the field of meteorology since the system of satellites can be used with success for the weather forecasting, which would be of particular importance in agriculture as well as in naval and air transport.

From the biological point of view the exploration of outer space will also be possible not only the study of life outside the earth on other planets, but also the determination of the factors affecting our earth organisms in outer space and will contribute to the solution of questions concerning our world of life on earth.

In spite of these magnificent successes of present science and technology, mankind has made only the first steps aimed at revealing the secrets of outer space, and immense tasks still face us. Its successful solution will, no doubt, require the co-ordinated efforts on an international scale.

In this respect we must positively evaluate the developmental co-operation in the International Committee on Space Research (CCSR) and in the International Astronautics Federation. However, it becomes evident that with regard to the very challenging task which awaits us, an effective co-operation on the closest possible international basis must be organized. However, the fact that it presents too Powers, the USSR and the United States, primarily carry out the exploration of outer space does not mean at all that other scientific fields remain their exclusive domain. Wide international co-operation in the field of the exploration of outer space would not only enable the mobilization and utilization of the scientific knowledge and technical skill of all nations, but at the same time it would enable all peoples to
share in the achieved results. Therefore, the exploration of outer space and its results concern all States, all people on our globe.

Consequently, it is all the more important to ensure that outer space as well as all cosmic bodies should be used exclusively for peaceful ends, for the welfare and benefit of all mankind and for the progressive development of science. That should be a guideline for fruitful international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. It is deplorable that such co-operation does not exist so far in the United Nations, although there are the best conditions for it in view of the comprehensive membership of this international organization.

Since the beginning, the USSR and the other Socialist States have exercised their initiative in organizing and developing international co-operation in the field of peaceful exploration and uses of outer space. It is well known that, upon the initiative of the USSR, the fourteenth session of the General Assembly adopted a decision concerning the convocation of an international scientific conference aimed at the exchange of experience in the exploration of outer space. With the active participation of the Soviet Union, an agreement on the establishment of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was also achieved at the same session. The Socialist States -- among them Czechoslovakia, which is a member of that Committee -- expected that the Committee would become an effective and useful body which, on a basis of equality, would co-ordinate international co-operation in the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space and would be able to help towards the solution of the various problems connected with this question.

Unfortunately, this expectation was not realized, and the responsibility for failure lies with the Western Powers, especially the United States. Contrary to the principle of equal international co-operation, the United States Government tried, in the course of Soviet-American negotiations, to usurp a predominant position in the Committee for itself and other members of the Western military groups, a position which accorded neither to the present situation in the world nor to the scientific success of those countries.

The United States rejected every proposal of the government of the USSR aimed at the pursuance of successful activities of the Committee on the basis of a genuine equality of all participating States.

Contrary to the real situation and the principles on which co-operation between equal sovereign States should be based in all fields of international relations, the United States tried, for example, to have it agreed that decisions of the Committee should not be adopted on the basis of the mutual agreement of all participating States, but on the basis of a majority vote.
This unacceptable position aimed at the establishment of a prerequisite by means of which the votes of a majority composed of members of the Western military groups could be imposed upon the Committee.

It is regrettable that this position was defended by a number of representatives of the Western countries, in the course of the debate in the First Committee, who attempted to describe the justifiable demands of the Soviet Union as a sort of veto. Such a course of action can scarcely lead to positive results in the current bilateral negotiations between the USSR and the United States.

The Czechoslovak delegation considers that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space can achieve success only if it is guided by the principle of equal decisions acceptable to all, rather than by the principle of voting. Significant and complex problems are involved which cannot be resolved by a majority vote.

The character of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is different from that of other committees of the United Nations, and the experience gained from the activities of the International Committee on the Investigation of Outer Space as well as the International Conference on the Anti-Ballistic Missiles international cooperation is relevant and useful for carrying out its tasks.

The fact that the United States maintains the unacceptable position to which I have referred was the main reason why constructive and fruitful cooperation in such an important field as that of the peaceful uses of outer space has not begun. The Committee is not only a recent fact but also a basic one, and it should be invited to the formal report to the General Assembly (A/4937).

In this connection I should like to point out that, in the view of the Czechoslovak delegation, it is in the interest of ensuring the maximum effectiveness of the Committee and its composition, and that of its subsidiary bodies, should be in harmony with the present situation in the world. Therefore, it is necessary that the three existing groups of states in the world should be represented in the Committee and its subsidiary bodies in an equitable manner.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I should like to express our hope that the current debate in the First Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space and the activities of the relevant Committee will result in its further development and will be conducive to the adoption of a resolution on the basis of which that Committee will be able to begin its activities with no further delay.

The Czechoslovak delegation reserves its right to state its position at a later stage in our debate, on the draft resolution in A/4931 and on any other drafts which may be submitted.
of outer space, the most spectacular of which was undoubtedly man's first flight into outer space carried out by the Soviet Union on 12 April of this year. This feat was followed by other successful landings into space of capsules containing human beings by the Soviet Union and the United States.

We are happy to report that substantial progress has also been made in this field in Japan. For example, since the Japanese delegation told the Committee two years ago that Japanese scientists and engineers were trying to increase the range of their sounding rockets named "Kappa" up to a height of 180-150 kilometres, they have successfully attained this goal and even gone beyond it. A model Y rocket of the "Kappa" series has achieved a height of 350 kilometres, giving valuable data concerning the ionosphere. At present the manufacture of a new and more powerful type of rocket called "Ismo" is being undertaken.

We expect that when it is completed in two years, it will soar above a height of 1,000 kilometres into space, opening various new scientific possibilities for Japan including independent survey of the Great Radiation Belt and even orbiting of our own artificial satellites. We are glad to note that several other countries now actually possess or are developing their own capabilities of rocket launching. An even larger number of countries are participating actively in space exploration through such means as the tracking of space vehicles and analysis of data obtained therefrom. Although these achievements may tend to pass unnoticed in the shadow of the dramatic performances of the Soviet Union and the United States, there is increasing evidence that the effects of the advent of the space age are keenly felt not only by big countries, but also by a large number of other States. Since space activities inherently ignore national boundaries, the time will soon come, or if it is not already here, when no nation can possibly remain indifferent to such activities and no nation, however big and advanced it may be, can effectively pursue space activities without the co-operation of the other States.

It is with this background that my delegation submits that the need for international co-operation in this field has become more and more pressing. Through such bodies as the International Council of Scientific Unions a considerable degree of international co-operation has already been achieved with regard to the scientific aspects of outer space exploration. It is our belief, however, that with the rapid advance of science and technology and of actual accomplishments in the field of outer space, international co-operation should not be limited to the purely scientific aspects. Possibilities of many useful applications of space science and technology for the welfare of mankind are now in sight. For example, artificial satellites may be used for the purpose of long-range weather forecasting. Such satellites will provide us with more precise information on clouds, rain, temperature and other basic weather data. This information is of great importance to Japan because we are surrounded by sea, with vast oceans to the east and south. It is thus difficult for us to undertake meteorological observations in this area on a permanent and continual basis by ordinary methods. The use of meteorological satellites will reduce the handicaps resulting from the geographical position of our country. It is easy
far until the work of the Outer Space Committee must be considered as relatively small questions into which political considerations should not be injected. Perhaps we should start now the practice of thinking less in terms of bloc politics, and more in terms of true international cooperation with regard to all aspects of the peaceful uses of outer space.

One of the most important tasks confronting the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is a study of various juridical problems arising from outer space activities. I should like to discuss briefly some of the preliminary considerations which we entertain at present on the legal aspects of these activities.

First, there is the question of the basic approach to the legal problems concerning outer space. It would not be very realistic to seek any wholesale solution of all the complex legal problems that may arise with regard to outer space at the present time, when many important outer space activities are still in the experimental stage. The legal aspects and nature of future space activities are difficult to anticipate. We should rather start by solving concrete legal questions one by one, only as and when such questions actually arise as a result of the further extension of man's activities in outer space. While my delegation believes in the desirability of this cautious approach, we should like to point out that outer space is a new area of human activity in which there are as yet no vested interests or conventional norms.
In our view we should take full advantage of this situation before an accumulation of undesirable facts accumulate is built up. We believe, therefore, that even at this early stage of space activities we should try to establish certain general principles which would ensure that such activities will be conducted peacefully and openly and in an orderly manner for the benefit of all mankind.

My second point is related to this objective. The Japanese delegation believes that we should proclaim our recognition in principle of the desirability of using outer space only for peaceful purposes, although it may be part of the disarmament question and outside the scope of the ICSU, we urge discussion to consider prohibiting the use of outer space for military purposes or concrete steps to enforce such a prohibition under effective international verification and control. In this connection, my delegation believes that we should undertake the study of legal problems arising from space activities, which should proceed very carefully in order not to be anything detrimental to the efforts to prevent any use of outer space for other than peaceful purposes. For instance, if we are to proclaim the freedom of exploration and use of outer space, we should carefully avoid any implication that we are sanctioning in effect freedom for any and every kind of exploration and use of outer space, including its use for military purposes.

I have referred to the development in Japan of sounding rockets for the research and exploration of outer space. These rockets have been developed by scientists and engineers associated with the Institute for Industrial Science of the University of Tokyo — namely, by a purely academic and civilian group — and only for use in scientific research. We are proud of the fact that Japan has achieved some tangible success in the exploration of outer space by rockets by the efforts of a purely academic group and believe that this fact may serve as encouragement to other countries, with relatively limited resources, wishing to participate more positively in space activities. The development of rocket technology, in fact, is the very means of making relaxing to outer space which have been undertaken by Japanese scientists. Shortly after World War II, a research committee on the atmosphere was formed under the Science Council of Japan, and scientists in the fields of meteorology, physics, astronomy, electronics, and so on have pursued very interesting studies of the ionosphere. The results of their work have been published successively and, I believe, have been highly valued by the international scientific community. Japanese scientists have also been engaged for some time in the study of altitudes higher than the ionosphere, including the Van Allen Radiation Belt.

In May, 1965, a Council on Space Exploration was set up under the Cabinet of Japan in order to achieve a balanced and well-coordinated program of space exploration in co-operation with other countries and international organizations. Scientific circles and the Government of Japan are both eager to continue and, indeed, to increase their contribution to the work of the international community in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, while the more Japanese nation currently desires that this new dimension for human activity be kept free from any of the struggles and conflicts with which we are too familiar on the surface of this planet.

I have tried in this brief intervention to illustrate the urgency of organizing international co-operation in the field of outer space on a wider and more active basis. Especially, we wish to emphasize the need to keep the United Nations in a position to meet effectively the needs of today for such international co-operation.

From this point of view the Japanese delegation is in sympathy with the objective, and is in favour of the general line of the draft resolution (A/C.11/L.301) submitted by Australia, Canada, Italy and the United States, which undoubtedly seeks to organize promptly more extensive and effective international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The people and Government of Japan, who have always shown great interest in every aspect of international scientific co-operation, are prepared to contribute to the efforts in order to bring about a programme of steady international co-operation in this new field of human activity. At the same time we wish to stress once again that this spirit of co-operation on our part is based on the strong and common desire of the entire Japanese people that any use of outer space for military purposes should be banned.
Mr. SCHRAMM (Belgium), (Interpretation from French): At this stage of the debate, I should like to make a very brief statement. Those who have spoken before me have already brought up a number of very pertinent, wise and knowledgeable aspects of the question. I share those views, and do not think that I need to repeat them here. However, I should like to make three comments, one of which will be very brief.

First, the representative of Japan, who has just spoken, referred to the rule of law. I am not a great jurist, but I was not entirely convinced by the juridical arguments advanced by those who have spoken so far, before it is evident that the subject brings up a number of juridical matters which warrant elucidation. That is why I am particularly happy at the fact that the resolution submitted by Australia, Canada, Italy and the United States invites the Committee on the newest use of outer space to consider the juridical problem that arise from the exploration of, and the use of resources of, outer space.

The representative of the United States, Mr. Schramm, referred in his statement to the role to be played by the Secretariat. Primarily, he said that it was true that the Secretariat was entrusted with these essential tasks, adding: "I believe that this recommendation should be implemented without authorizing, enabling the fullest possible use of existing resources of the Secretariat."
The Astronomical Observatory at Kharkov together with the Sternberg State Astronomical Institute in Moscow have studied the other side of the moon and have prepared its first maps. Thus, in the first lunar globes that can today be obtained in many shops in the Soviet Union, the work and talent of Ukrainian scientists have played no small part.

The Astronomical Observatory of Kharkov University has for over forty years investigated physical conditions on the moon and of planets of the solar system. The investigation of the physical nature of celestial bodies is based upon a study of the luminosity of these objects. This interesting work is directed by the eminent scientist, Academician Barabashov. The group of scientists led by Barabashov has been devoting particular attention to the study of the surface of the moon and its structure in order to obtain information necessary for the landing of interplanetary ships on the moon.

The study of the physical conditions on the moon and on certain other planets has also been undertaken in the main Astronomical Observatory of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Very interesting investigations have been undertaken in that Observatory on the more precise calculation of the mass and orbit of planets, which is indispensable for the calculation of the trajectories of space, rockets, and a completely new methodology is being developed which will in the future allow the discoverers of the moon to orient themselves on the moon.

The main Astronomical Observatory of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR is preparing to use the moon as a basis for astronomical observations. The construction of automatic installations is being prepared and, once launched on the moon, they will be able by themselves automatically to reach a determined place, fulfill their task, make the necessary investigations and calculations, and transmit back to earth the results of these investigations and the information necessary to find these installations on the moon. Astronomical investigations on the moon will open new possibilities for the study of its movement. Thanks to the great precision of astronomical investigations on earth, it has become possible to obtain data on the movement of the earth, on the basis of which certain important conclusions have been drawn with respect to its mechanical characteristics. Up to now the moon has been studied at a distance of about 30,000 kilometres, and science does not possess sufficiently precise data in order to make similar conclusions concerning the moon. When the automatic astronomical installations reach the surface of the moon, it will be possible to obtain such data. This important problem, including the preparation of the necessary scientific installations and equipment, are now the object of work being done by many scientists, particularly by those of the Academy of Science of the Ukraine.

In accordance with the decisions of the Presidium of the Academy of Science of the Ukraine, the Institute of Physiology and certain other scientific institutes are working in the field of cosmic biology. Studies are being undertaken in the field of the creation of dynamic balance between the bodies of cosmonauts and their environment in a hermetically sealed space, along with the investigation of micro-organisms, noncellular organisms, spineless bodies, mushrooms and other organisms. These investigations will certainly be extremely important for the future when humanity will undertake further space travel.

The Ukrainian doctors and biologists also devote much attention to the study of the question of the functioning of the human organism in conditions of weightlessness and overburdening, which is linked to acceleration and breaking during space travel.

The scientists of the Ukraine who are working in the field of the study of outer space, just as all Soviet scientists, are prepared to undertake in a spirit of sincere scientific co-operation the exchange of information and experience with their foreign colleagues. In the opinion of my delegation, such an exchange of scientific information would certainly be a very valuable contribution to the development of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses and the conquest of outer space.

Many delegations in their statements have dwelt on the practical significance of the results of space investigations for the life of man on this earth. The Ukraine is one of the areas of the world with the highest development in agriculture, is most interested in the possibilities of developing meteorology through the
Mr. KIZYA (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Our era, more than any previous one, is rich in scientific discoveries and technical successes. The speedy progress of science and technology have completely transformed the life of mankind and has opened up new and unlimited vistas which were not available previously. Jet airliners transport people from one continent to another within a few hours of time. Powerful radio and television installations have girdled the globe with their invisible waves. Chemistry has armed man with sufficient knowledge so that he may create the materials which meet all the necessary specifications. Robots and electronic installations are replacing man to an ever-increasing degree not only in the production of material goods, but also in the domain of the mind. Finally, man has discovered and conquered the most powerful of all known sources of energy by the splitting of the atomic nucleus.

However, none of these great successes can be compared to the penetration of space. For the first time in history space ships, with men aboard, have gone beyond the frontiers of unlimited space and returned to earth for the first time. A new era has begun in the history of mankind. Scientists will live for millions of years as a symbol of constructive human endeavor and of the human mind.

We have entered a new era. That reasoning creature of the earth, man, has become a space being. Up to now only the two greatest Powers in the world, the United States and the Soviet Union, have launched satellites and other installations into space. It is possible that in the near future we shall witness the entry into space of other States. Even when flights to other planets have become quite ordinary occurrences, people will still remember that the way was opened for the whole of humanity into this new space era by a country building communism and that the first man who went beyond the frontiers of the earth was a citizen of that country. The victories of the Soviet Union over space are a symbol and a symptom of the powerful creative forces of man which were fully opened in conditions of a social system based on justice and humanitarianism.

The Soviet Union is not secretive about its scientific discoveries in space and is prepared to co-operate with all countries both in the peaceful exploration and use of space. It is difficult to overestimate the important contribution brought to the peaceful conquest of space by Soviet science, and we are proud of the fact that a not unimportant part of that contribution belongs to scientists of the Ukrainian SSR. In recent years scientific installations of the Ukrainian SSR have dealt ever more with the question of the study of outer space and the solution of the practical problems raised by the conquest of space. Scientists, engineers, technicians and workers of the Ukrainian SSR have brought their contribution to the creation of powerful space ships. Ukrainian astronomers, working in observatories in many universities and in other institutes of higher learning, do extremely interesting and important research work in the field of the physics of the sun, in solar activity and planetary astronomy and meteorology. In particular, many observatories have undertaken regular research in the photosphere and the chromosphere of the sun and have initiated statistical spectral and photometric investigations of various solar manifestations, such as, for instance, sun spots, protuberations and chromospheric explosions. These investigations are of a very great scientific and practical importance since it has been established that there is an inextricable link between processes taking place on the sun and many geophysical phenomena.
exploration of space. There should be no doubt that the scientists of the Ukraine are prepared to participate actively in the conquest of space for peaceful uses.

The Committee has before it a draft resolution submitted by four countries in document A/C.1/4212. It should be noted that this draft resolution contains some positive elements which might serve to develop international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, within the framework of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to make some remarks with respect to this draft resolution. The representative of the Soviet Union and the representative of the United States have expressed the hope in their statements that international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space would develop in the future. The representative of the United States has expressed the hope that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space will be revitalized.

But how should that be brought about? We think that the best way this could be done would be to transform the Committee into a real organ for co-operation, with well-defined terms of reference.

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, not the Secretariat of the United Nations, should be entrusted with the task of ensuring international co-operation in the use of space mentioned in resolution B and in some other sections of the four-power draft resolutions. In its present form this draft resolution stipulates that the Secretariat of the United Nations would be entrusted with new tasks, tasks which it has not been able to discharge up to now and which from an organizational point of view it cannot undertake at present. Thus, these measures mentioned in resolution B would require many financial and organizational changes in the Secretariat of the United Nations.

At the same time, in our opinion, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, with the technical assistance of the Secretariat of the United Nations, might be able to discharge these functions successfully. This would enhance the significance of the Committee as an organ for co-operation and would make it more active. This would, as the representative of the United States said, revitalize it.

In his speech the United States representative stressed the need for the fullest possible participation of all countries in the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is of the same opinion. This is why we consider it insufficient to add only two new countries to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, as is proposed in the four-power draft resolution.

We disagree with the argument which has been advanced here that an increase in the membership of the Committee would make it less active. The work of the Committee will not depend upon the number of its members, but rather on their desire to undertake a real and active co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space while taking into account the views of all interested parties. We consider that it would be appropriate to significantly increase the number of members of the Committee, and take into account those countries that would be prepared to participate in the Committee's work, thus making their contribution to the development of co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.
However, the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space will not determine its success of failure. What will be most important is the procedure that the Committee will adopt in organizing its work. An example of this would be the way in which it will take decisions. This organ certainly should not be a machine by which a mechanical voting majority would rubber-stamp decisions acceptable to some members and unacceptable to others. If one is realistic, if one wishes to have wide international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, in the interest of all mankind, one must recognize that the Committee must solve various problems through a reasonable, patient and unceasing search for solutions that would be acceptable to all.

In this connexion, the procedure which has been suggested by the representative of the Soviet Union seems most appropriate. It is based upon the principle of unanimity. It would be especially important to apply that principle when drafting the legal problems surrounding outer space.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR should like to express the hope that at this session of the General Assembly it will be possible to reach agreed decisions that will open the door to wide international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space on the basis of full equality for all States.

As we are on the threshold of space, the peoples of the world must remember that we are all children of one planet -- the earth -- which is but a grain of sand in the universe. But up to now this planet has been the only home for man. Mankind has entered the space age, and our generation is responsible for seeing to it that this era will become one of peace and happiness on earth.

The establishment of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space would be a step in that direction. However, one must recall that it is only under conditions of peaceful coexistence that such co-operation will be possible in the interest of the whole of humanity.

Mrs. ROSEN (Sweden): When the question of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space was discussed here in December 1959 our deliberations concluded with a unanimous decision to establish a Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This Committee was given a reasonable and rather limited mandate. It was asked to review the area of international co-operation and to study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space which would be appropriately undertaken through United Nations auspices. The Committee was also requested to study the nature of the legal problems which might arise in the exploration of outer space. The Committee was requested to submit reports on its activities to subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

We have now placed the following item on our agenda: "Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space". The report in question contains an account of the one and only meeting held by the Committee, a meeting of a purely procedural nature.

Because of differences of opinion regarding the organization of the Committee's work, it has not been possible for the Committee to take up the tasks with which it was entrusted. During these two years, when scientists and technicians made truly fantastic achievements in outer space research and exploration, the Committee reached only one decision: it agreed on the election of its officers.
The main controversy which has prevented substantive discussion pertains to the order of voting. The main Powers in space technology, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, have not been able to agree on this issue. The Soviet Union considers that decisions in the Committee should be made by agreement among its members and without voting. The United States maintains that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply; in other words, that important decisions may be taken by a two-thirds majority. At the same time, the hope is expressed that the deliberations of the Committee will result in agreed conclusions not requiring formal votes.

My delegation would like to venture the observation that the order of voting will not be a very important matter for those decisions which we expect the Committee to take. The Committee is to decide on matters of international co-operation and it follows logically that such co-operation is impossible without the active support of both of the main Powers. We therefore trust that the solution of the problem which is created by the voting order will soon be found. The Swedish Government hopes that the General Assembly will at this session renew the mandate of the Committee on Outer Space. As to the composition of the Committee, we feel that the principle of wide geographical distribution should be observed and that it is of primary importance for the work of the Committee that, among the countries selected, there be those who are in a position to make the most valuable contributions to the work of the Committee.

We cannot accept the view that the work of the Committee concerns only the present space Powers. The experiments which are being conducted in space may have consequences for all mankind. All countries have an interest in sharing the benefits of international co-operation on space research and space exploration. My delegation deems it especially important that the Committee on Outer Space be able to start as soon as possible to study the legal problems which arise out of space activities. The need for legal studies increases with the amount of activity in space. At the same time, these activities provide the material on which the legal studies must be based. Even if it is considered too early, at the present stage of scientific and technological development, to establish a comprehensive legal code for outer space, there are certain studies which could and should be undertaken without delay.

The area of these studies was very well defined in the report of the ad hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, document A/1161. In connexion with these legal questions, I note with satisfaction that although rockets from our planet can now reach the moon and other celestial bodies, there has so far been no denial of the thesis that the celestial bodies must not become subject to national appropriation. The legal aspects of international co-operation in outer space seem to be amply covered in part A of the four-Power resolution in document A/C.1/L.301, which is now before the Committee.

My delegation would also welcome a decision at this session of the Assembly to establish a system for the registration of space launchings. We have noticed with great interest that a proposal to this effect is also contained in the draft resolution I just mentioned. We found it gratifying also to hear the representative of the Soviet Union confirm in his speech yesterday that the Soviet Union adheres to the principle of openness in connexion with space launchings.

While welcoming parts A and B of the four-Power draft resolution, which in a very realistic and adequate manner define the tasks facing the United Nations in the light of a rapid development in the field of outer space, my delegation, on the other hand, has certain reservations, which were also voiced recently by the representative of Belgium, concerning parts C and D of the draft resolution. These parts call for efforts under the aegis of the United Nations to utilize satellites for meteorology and communication. We are not convinced that such measures, as envisaged, are absolutely necessary or called for and we would like to make sure that they do not in any way interfere with or duplicate activities planned by the specialized agencies.
It also seems to my delegation that, considering the present financial
difficulties of our Organization, we should be rather restrictive in assuming
new financial obligations. However, we hope that the very interesting proposals
which have been made will stimulate discussion and lead us to realistic and
practical decisions. The speeches which have so far been made give us
nourishment for this hope and have amply supplied a variety of fields in which
the Committee would and should be engaged.

Mr. LORINC (Hungary): Since the historic date of 4 October 1957,
the launching of the first Sputnik by the Soviet Union, discussions regarding
outer space in international organizations are no longer utopian. This historic
date has opened the way for an unprecedented development which has resulted
not only in the exploration of faraway regions of the universe but also in a
better knowledge of our own planet.

The world is proud of the achievements of the Soviet astronauts,
Gagarin and Titov, and of the successes achieved by American astronauts.
Four years ago one could say, with good reason, that our debates were linked
to the surface of our planet. Today, however, thanks to the experiments of
the two great Powers, our discussions can justly comprise real, existing
problems of outer space.

The very notion of outer space means the unlimited, the universal. It
is thus only natural that the problems related to it should represent a most
proper field for international exploration. In fact, the very character
of the problem facing humanity demands combined efforts, true
international co-operation. In speaking of international co-operation, it is
only proper to add that the United Nations has, of course, an important role to
play in its realization and development.

The exploration of outer space poses a number of complex problems from a
scientific point of view, as well as from a political and legal one. For the
time being, the exploration of outer space is extremely expensive. Without
international co-operation we would soon arrive at a point of anarchy
and, no doubt, of a waste of human and material resources.

The chief reason, however, why my delegation is fully in favour of
international co-operation in this field is the following: the most important
question of the present international situation concerning the exploration of
outer space is -- as practically all speakers before me have justly underlined --
the question of what aims the immense achievements of human genius in this field
are going to serve. Are they going to serve the welfare of humanity or those
of its destruction?

Our race has already succeeded in transforming the earth into a huge
theatre of war. Will we do the same with outer space, or will we succeed
in transforming it into a place of co-operation among scientists and
Governments?

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has followed with close
attention the development of the peaceful exploration of outer space. Our
scientists have participated, in accordance with our modest means, in this
work. We consider it an honour to be elected a member of the Outer Space
Committee. We were badly disappointed to note the absence of real work in the
Committee's short history.
The Outer Space Committee has a record of two years of existence. It is no secret to the First Committee, especially since the publication of the reply of the Soviet Union to the question of the Secretary-General on the convening of the Outer Space Committee, that these two years have not passed without any contact or exchange of opinion between different Member States. There are thus a few lessons one can draw from them, just as there are certain conclusions to be drawn from the discussions of the First Committee so far: first, that there is an absolute need for the peaceful use of outer space and that the final realization of this end will come only through general and complete disarmament; secondly, that the peaceful use of outer space can be achieved only on the basis of frank and straightforward international co-operation. I wish to dwell on these two points for a short while.

Concerning the first one, we have been told both here and in the Outer Space Committee, as well as by President Kennedy in his speech to the Assembly, that the purpose of the Western countries and especially of the United States in raising this whole question was and is to ensure that outer space is used only and exclusively for peaceful aims. The representative of the United States, said, in his speech to this Committee on 4 December:

"We have sought, in good faith and so far as possible, to present a programme which is above the clash of partisan politics or the cold war .... The resolution deals exclusively with the peaceful uses of outer space."

(A/C.1/PV.1210, page 16)

It is a fact that the resolution presented by the United States and certain other countries deals with the problem of the peaceful use of outer space. As such, there are a number of points in it with which my delegation is genuinely pleased to express its agreement. There are, however, some with which we are either not in agreement or do not see the reason for putting them the way they are put at present. Let me be more specific:

Section B, paragraph 2, of resolution A/C.1/L.361 requests the Secretary-General to act as registrar, co-ordinator, etc., of launchings and other space activities. Section C, paragraph 3, requests the Secretary-General, who, in the minds of the sponsors, has already become, apparently through his activities in section B, an expert in outer space matters, to submit a report to the Economic and Social Council on meteorological aspects of outer space activities. Section E, paragraph 5, requests that we do the same in connexion with telecommunication.

My delegation is in full agreement with the concept that the Secretary-General should have an important role to play in the outer space work of the United Nations, just as in any and every other field of United Nations activities. The question arises, however: What is the Outer Space Committee going to do in the future? Are we going to elect them for, if not to do the work in this field? Or are the co-sponsors afraid that the Secretary-General does not have enough to do within the atmosphere of our planet?

My delegation is of the opinion that the co-ordination of the work in this field should belong to the Outer Space Committee, especially elected for this purpose. Otherwise, the whole work, as task number "3(h) hundred" of the Secretary-General, would18272 willynilly degenerate into a bureaucratic problem sent from one mission to another, from one agency to another. As the proverb says, the child would get lost among the many midwives. For all these reasons, my delegation could not support a resolution leaving the Outer Space Committee unemployed, for reasons we judge it better at present not to analyse.

My delegation has a number of other remarks on this resolution, some of which I may raise at a later date, and with certain others of which I will deal at a later part of this intervention.

Before coming to that part, however, I wish to raise a point the importance of which cannot and should not be overlooked by any of us. It is indeed very heartening to see that there is quite an impressive degree of agreement in this Committee on the approach to and the modalities of the peaceful uses of outer space. My delegation, for one, pledges to do its utmost to contribute to the success of this joint effort.

This, however, should not make us forget other aspects of this very same question. As I have already pointed out, the United States has repeatedly emphasized that it was and is strongly for the peaceful use of outer space and that, according to Ambassador Stevenson:

"In outer space we start with a clean slate -- an area yet unmarred by the accumulated conflicts and prejudices of our earthly past." (Ibid., page 35)
MR/Lorinc, Hungary)

Well, perhaps everybody knows, even without being an expert either in
mythology or in the techniques of modern warfare, that Midas, for instance, in
addition to having been an avaricious King of Phrygia, whose Apollo caused to grow
donkey's ears as a reward for his unbecoming exploits, is also a military spy
satellite of the United States; that Samos, in addition to being a Greek island,
is another spy satellite of the United States; that Project "Vest Ford" is a
military project of the United States Air Force, and that this, as well as the
two previously mentioned projects, were carried out regardless of the opinions
and interests of anybody except what they call in the United States the "high brass".

English is not my mother tongue, nor am I a linguistic expert. But I must
say that, if the mythologically-named examples enumerated above can be called
a "clean slate", then I am afraid that the mistake is neither in mythology nor in
the English language. It is equally clear, I am sure, who has already started to
accumulate reasons for "conflicts" similar to those of our "earthly past".

I think the obvious conclusion we can draw from this is that, if one party
does not want the other to do something, he should not do it, either. As the
saying goes, one cannot eat his cake and have it too.

As to the final achievement in outliving the use of outer space for military
purposes, it is possible only through the realization of general and complete
disarmament -- and here I wish to express my delegation's full agreement with
the preocupations expressed by the representative of Japan, speaking before me
today. This is true not only because of the interrelation between outer
space and terrestrial spaces, but also for another no less important reason.

The rockets launching satellites for the peaceful exploration of outer space --
and this is common knowledge -- are, to all intents and purposes, capable of
launching a nuclear or thermonuclear warhead as well.

MR/Lorinc, Hungary

Therefore, until general and complete disarmament makes it useless as well
as impossible to launch a warhead, because there will be none left, there is
no absolute guarantee against the use of outer space for military purposes.

Coming to the second conclusion, the need of straightforward international
co-operation, may I be permitted to make a remark of a somewhat unpleasant
nature. Before making it, however, I wish to point out that, being a
representative of a small country, this remark is made solely to make
the state of affairs precise, and it is not for reasons of boasting of
achievements that I am making this point. Ever since the historic date of
4 October 1957, the launching of the first sputnik, it is abundantly clear
that the Soviet Union is the leading Power in the exploration of outer space.

It has been corroborated time and again by the flights of the Soviet cosmonauts
Gagarin and Titov, to mention only the most outstanding successes. It is
true that, as its latest achievements in this field, the United States the
other day successfully launched and recovered a chimpanzee from flight around
the earth. But, as is known not only in the evolution of the human race but
also in the development of space exploration, the era of the ape precedes
that of the homo sapiens, the latter being a higher stage of evolution. This is
an obvious truth. In the statement of Mr. Stevenson we can read the
following:

"Already, in four short years, scientific instruments, then animals, then
men, have been hurled into space..." (A/C.1/PV.1210, page 2)

Thus the different steps were enumerated by the representative of the United
States in his statement of 4 December, which I had already quoted.

No one could deny the fact that there can be no agreement, or rather
result, against the will of one of the two Powers as regards possessing the
means and know-how of exploring outer space. Not only does the Soviet Union
know this fact, but it takes it into account also in dealing with the problem.
I cannot, however, unfortunately see the same thing about the United States.
The two year history of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space bears
out my statement and to refer to a more recent example, the method of calling the
Committee's meeting itself is proof of this.

If the United States is really in favour of international co-operation
in outer space, it has to realize that without the Soviet Union, or against
the Soviet Union, they can get nowhere. While the Soviet Union, as is known,
does have the lion's share in the achievements in this field, it does not say, with Aescul's lion, that "the first share is mine because I am the lion". The representative of the United States, then the representative of Canada, and then the representative of the United Kingdom, as well as the representative of Australia, all said -- and they did so emphatically -- that in approaching the field of outer space all selfish nationalistic groups and bloc notions should disappear from our minds. If this is to be so with our minds, why should it not be so with theirs? And if under the word "our" they include themselves too, they should act accordingly.

According to this reasoning, if we insist on equality in both composition and rights in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, it is rude, unkindly and sticking to the past, while the attempt of the United States to maintain a majority and use it for unequal gains is forward-looking, selfish and proper. Our group has already been called many names in this building. It is however the first time that the socialist countries have been called die-hard conservatives because they do not agree with maintaining a status quo which is outgrown by world reality.

To make a long story short, things do not change by being merely called differently from what they are. Therefore, real equality is expressed in unanimously-reached agreements and not by painting them black with the word "veto". The Charter of the United Nations, when speaking of unanimity, in the case of the Security Council for instance, calls the procedure "concurring votes" and does not use the expression "veto". Why? Because -- and it is good to recall it from time to time -- this word is a product of propaganda efforts with the purpose of increasing one of the great Powers which, having use of its constitutional rights in the Organization, could not be coerced by others. On the other hand, it is a historical fact that, given concurring votes in the United Nations, the success of the undertaking was always ensured.

In conclusion, it is the firm conviction of my delegation that Sputnik I has brought us potentially to the beginning of the brightest chapter in the history of our race. We have every reason to believe -- and the proceedings of the Committee so far corroborate this conviction -- that we can and will, through joint effort, succeed in these common efforts of ours.

Mr. UYS (South Africa): South Africa has right from the start taken a lively interest in the question of the peaceful use of outer space.
It was one of the twenty States which sponsored resolution 1348 (XIII) adopted by the General Assembly on 13 December 1958, and which provided for the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space.

The Committee was requested to report to the General Assembly at its fourteenth session on certain specific questions. These need not be recapitulated here. A report (A/1414) was duly rendered although certain countries elected to the Committee did not find it possible to co-operate in the work of the Committee. The reasons for not doing so are known to this Committee. At the fourteenth session, by General Assembly resolution 1478 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, the membership of the Committee was increased from eighteen to twenty-four. But for reasons upon which my delegation does not wish to comment, the Committee never met. So that at the start of the current session of the General Assembly it was feared that this particular item -- the question of the peaceful uses of outer space -- might not be discussed at all.

Happily, the ball has been set in motion again, and my delegation wishes to record its appreciation of the initiative taken by the acting Secretary-General of the United Nations in this matter.
Happily, the ball has been set in motion again, and my delegation wishes to record its appreciation of the initiative taken by the acting Secretary-General of the United Nations in this matter.

The Committee held its first meeting on 27 November 1963, nearly two years after its formation; but, as all good things come slowly, my delegation is confident that the old saying that a failure is often a stepping-stone to success, will also be true in this case. But before I go any further, I should like to extend an unselfish offer my delegation, and on my behalf, hearty congratulations to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Frans Matach of Austria, the Vice-Chairman, Professor Mihail Hasegawa of Romania, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Geraldo de Carvalho Silveira of Brazil, on their election as Executive Officers of the Committee. We have great confidence in their ability to serve the Committee well.

My delegation has read with much interest the report of the Committee's first meeting as published in document A/861/PV.105/Rev.1. Judging from the statements made on that occasion, and also by the statements made by representatives in this Committee during the past few days, there can be little doubt about the genuine desire of nations to co-operate with a view to ensuring that man's conquest of outer space will be utilized in the interest of all mankind.

South Africa, too, will be happy to play its part in this important venture and has, in fact, already given evidence of its desire and its capability to do so.

When the International Council of Scientific Unions established the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) in 1958, ten countries were invited to join on the strength of their technical record in this field. Eight accepted and were present at the second meeting; South Africa was one of the eight. The membership of COSPAR was later considerably increased.

There are at present no less than six space and satellite tracking stations in South Africa which are playing a vital role in the implementation of the United States space programme. One of the latest of these is the South African space research station at Krugersdorp, forty miles west of Pretoria. It is a deep-space telescope built as a joint United States-South African effort. One part of the station, in co-operation with stations in California and Australia, will provide tracking and communications facilities for the lunar inter-planetary program and the deep-space programs of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of the United States. Even in its early operations it will be capable of tracking research vehicles as far away as 30 million miles and receiving from them a wealth of scientific data and information.

The other part of the station, in co-operation with some sixteen states throughout the world, will provide the facilities for tracking artificial earth satellites which are used for the study of the earth and its immediate environment in space. This station is thus an important link in the chain which has been forged to enhance man's knowledge of outer space. As such, it will benefit international science.

Other tracking stations are: a minitrack elementary earth satellite tracking station, a precision optical station operated by the Smithsonian Institution, and a recently built radio telescope missile tracking station.

South Africa's geographical position in the southern hemisphere and at the southern tip of the great African continent, and my country's advanced facilities for scientific research enable it to play an important part in international research programmes. The desire to co-operate in these matters --- as also shown by the part which South Africa played in the International Geophysical Year --- remains as keen as ever. My delegation is particularly pleased, therefore, to take note of the draft resolution in document A/861/PV.301 of 2 December, sponsored by Australia, Canada, Italy, and the United States, the main purpose of which is to pave the way for co-operation instead of mistrust among nations in the matter of the use of outer space.

Broadly speaking, my delegation is in agreement with the general terms of the various proposals contained in the draft resolution, but would give careful consideration to any further views advanced in the course of our debate. It is the fervent wish of my delegation that there will be a happy and speedy meeting of minds so that the First Committee will be able to make an important contribution towards the fostering of co-operation among nations in a field which has now become so vitally important to all mankind. If the desired co-operation can be attained, it will be a useful step forward in ensuring that the conquest of space will be a blessing and not a curse to mankind.
Mr. Lulo (Albania) (interpretation from French): a new era has opened before mankind since the Soviet scientists first inaugurated the exploration of outer space by man. The launching, on 4 October 1957, of the first artificial satellite into orbit around the earth and the other successes which have followed in this field—especially the journeys into space by the two Soviet cosmonauts Gagarin and Titov—have translated into reality the dream of man to penetrate the secrets of the cosmos and have thus opened up perspectives of incredible knowledge to be placed at the disposal of all mankind.

All the peoples of the world, the scientists of every country without distinction, have greeted with enthusiasm the outstanding victories achieved by Soviet men of science in this field. Obviously, tremendous tasks are still before the technicians and scientists in the exploration of outer space, tasks which are of interest to all peoples and to all countries. This field which, by its very nature, is of an international character, requires close co-operation and concerted action on the part of all States—in the first place, of those which are able to carry out such studies. The fruitful results obtained through the collaboration of the scientists of many countries in the course of the International Geophysical Year have given us proof of the possibilities and the usefulness of international co-operation in science.

The creation at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly—thanks to the constructive efforts of the Soviet Union—of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was considered by everyone as a very important first step towards international co-operation in the field of outer space. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which attaches great importance to the setting up of a wide international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, unreservedly supported the establishment of the Committee. The People's Republic of Albania, which has the honour of being a Member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, is prepared to make its modest contribution to that Committee.

However, we must note with regret that, despite the fact that a long time has elapsed—practically two years—since that Committee was set up, it has not been able thus far to function. Only one meeting has been held, last month, which was called together merely for the purpose of arranging for a report to be presented to the General Assembly.
The United States has also tried to impose its views on the Committee and turn that Committee into an instrument of its own policy, bearing in mind the numerical superiority enjoyed by the Western Powers in the Committee, and has therefore insisted that the decisions once adopted, must be arrived at by a mechanical vote and not on the basis of common agreement as the Soviet Union proposed. Thus, we must recognize the fact that the Western Powers must bear the entire responsibility for the paralysis that the Committee has suffered since it was first set up.

Co-operation in outer space cannot be successful except on the basis of the equality of the participating States. It is indeed inadmissible, it is inconceivable that the United States should try to achieve an advantage over the rest, and especially over the Soviet Union who, as everyone knows, occupies the first place in the exploration of outer space. In these circumstances, the tendency of the United States and of its allies to dictate their will on the Committee must be deemed unacceptable to the other members of the Committee. Furthermore, it is contrary to the possibility of fruitful co-operation in the Committee to the benefit of all mankind.

My delegation believes that the Committee cannot do its work in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1472 (XIV) until an agreement is arrived at on the basis of the principles that had been suggested for the functioning of the Committee and its composition; this agreement must be arrived at between the Soviet Union and the United States since they are the only countries that are able deeply to explore outer space.

Other delegations have stressed the fact here that outer space can be used for the benefit of mankind, but might also be used for the destruction of mankind. The Soviet delegation has given us an example of the peaceful uses of outer space, whereas the United States has used it for purposes contrary to the welfare of the world. The American Press has constantly referred to the American military project, that is, of turning the moon into an American military base for setting outer space satellites to serve espionage purposes etc. We believe that outer space must be used only for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all peoples and all States regardless of their state of scientific or economic development.

The interests of humanity, therefore, require an agreement to be arrived at, bearing in mind the principles of equality and equity of States, and that this be applied and implemented in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The United Nations must contribute along these lines so that under the aegis of our Organization international co-operation can be ensured in the peaceful uses of outer space.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next meeting of this Committee will take place tomorrow morning at 10:30.

The meeting rose at 12:55 p.m.