



Sixteenth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWELVE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH MEETING

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on Thursday, 7 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. AMADEO

(Argentina)

Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [21]
(continued)

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AGENDA ITEM 21

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (A/4987; A/C.1/857; A/C.1/L.301) (continued)

Mr. KULESHEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): At the end of the First World War, having experienced the extremes of poverty and injustice, the workers and peasants of one-sixth of our globe took power into their hands to put an end once and for all to poverty, injustice and war. In the first years of the revolution, our country was visited by the English writer, H. G. Wells, who had a talk with Lenin. Wells did not understand Lenin at the time and called his plans for transforming backward, hungry and poverty-stricken Russia utopian. Even the author of novels of fantasy that were known to the whole world could not imagine that our country would soon become a progressive industrial country. Forty years had barely elapsed when the hard-working Soviet people not only fulfilled the prophecy of Lenin, which H. G. Wells had not believed, but even fulfilled the dreams of man about flight to the stars. On 4 October 1957, the Soviet Union launched into orbit the first artificial satellite of Earth, and this day has entered history as the day which opened the era of the conquest of outer space. Since then, outer space is being conquered with ever increasing intensity.

The whole world knows of the great conquests of the USSR, the country building Communism, in the field of outer space: the launching of heavy artificial satellites of the earth, the photographing of the hidden side of the moon, and, finally, the flights around the earth of the Soviet cosmonauts, Gagarin and Titov, which gave rise to universal enthusiasm. The front seat occupied by the Soviet Union in the conquest of space is a clear demonstration of the advantages of socialism, which opens unlimited possibilities for the development of science and technology. We Soviet people are proud that our country, the first socialist State of workers and peasants in the world, has become a pioneer in the conquest of space. At the same time, we consider that this performance is a remarkable achievement for our whole earth for all peoples and all cultures.

(Mr. Kuleshev, Byelorussian SSR)

Speaking on 16 September 1959 at the National Press Club in Washington, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, said:

"We consider that the launching of a rocket into space and the landing of a rocket on the moon should be considered as our conquest. But, by 'our', we mean the countries of the whole world. That is to say, this is your achievement -- the achievement of all people living on the earth." The conquest of outer space by the USSR has a peaceful objective, which goes to show that man has entered outer space as a humanitarian, a discoverer, a creator. In outer space the human mind looks for new victories, and this leads us to think that it is necessary to create propitious conditions for the victory of common sense in the world.

Commenting on the space flight of Major Gagarin, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, on 12 April of this year, stated in an interview with a Tass correspondent:

"This triumph must be considered as a victory for the cause of peace and must compel us to think once again, and even more, of the madness of war on our small earth. Let us once and for all renounce the very idea of war on earth, and let us make peaceful discoveries, scientific discoveries, for the well-being of all."

(Mr. Kuleshev, Byelorussian SSR)

These wise words of the Prime Minister of India confirm once again our deep conviction that the beginning of the space era in the history of humanity stresses the need for all States to recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet space ships, according to Mr. Khrushchev, went into space as messengers of peace and for the friendship of peoples. What is needed is not mere words on the desire to use outer space for peaceful ends, but concrete deeds on earth every day; that is necessary to establish real co-operation in outer space.

We know of and we evaluate highly many important scientific achievements of the United States of America in the field of outer space. There is no doubt that the united efforts of the scientists of the Soviet Union and the United States and other States, as well as the international exchange of scientific information, will accelerate progress in this field. The representative of the United States, Mr. Stevenson, speaking in the First Committee on 4 December noted the following:

"In outer space we start with a clean slate -- an area yet unmarred by the accumulated conflicts and prejudices of our earthly past." (A/C.1/PV.1213 page 3-5)

We also consider that the organization of peaceful collaboration in space should be made easier by the characteristics of outer space. All States should take this into account. Many delegations, in their statements, have already stressed the intolerable character of the experiment of the Air Force of the United States which has launched and placed into space hundreds of million of copper needles. This was done despite numerous protests of world public opinion and this measure of the Pentagon does not contribute to maintaining the purity of space as mentioned by the representative of the United States.

We would like to stress that in the American space programme an important part is played by military projects. All those who more or less read regularly the American Press know that any new success of the USSR in the field of conquest of space is envisaged in the United States through the prism of its possible utilization for military ends, and conclusions are made as to so-called threats to the United States from these achievements. The victories of the USSR in space are interpreted as a challenge to the so-called free world on the part of communists.

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If this challenge were considered as an appeal to peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism in the field of the conquest and exploration of outer space, there would be nothing bad in that. However, the Press of the United States, obediently implementing the desires of the monopolies which derive the profits from the armaments race, want to present the peaceful space exploration of the Soviet Union as an attempt to establish domination over space and the world. These are not new fantasies, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that such calumnies contribute to develop in the West a psychosis and hysteria.

Even at the Press conference of the second Soviet cosmonaut, German Titov, on 11 August of this year, one of the American correspondents asked him the following question:

"You said that you could have landed the Vostok II on any point on earth. Does this mean that you could have also sent a bomb to any point on earth?"

Major Titov then answered as follows:

"The ship Vostok II is not so constructed as to be able to transport bombs."

In trying to discredit the peaceful exploration of space made by the scientists of the USSR, the United States has developed activities in the use of space for military and intelligence ends, which was caused by the failure of the policy of air espionage through the U-2 planes. Under the well-known meteorological cover and without any smokescreens, the United States has sent out many sputniks, which are but spies in the sky. Among them we should mention the well-known satellites of the Midas and Samos type, and those of the Discoverer type. Even during the present discussions in the United Nations on the question of peaceful uses of outer space, the United States has secretly launched another spying satellite.

On 23 November 1961, The New York Times wrote that from one of the bases in California a secret launching and going into orbit of a spy satellite of the Samos type had been undertaken. The newspaper wrote that the Air Force indicated that they were very sensitive to news on the Samos and Midas satellites because of their spying character. However, one of the tasks when they are perfected,

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according to the newspaper, will be to transmit by radio, or to return in capsules, photographs of various objectives on the territory of socialist countries. The flights of American spying satellites, of course, will not frighten anyone. But they are not consonant with the statements of the United States Government that it sincerely desires to contribute to the development of the exploration of space only for peaceful uses.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that up to now the main obstacle to the organization of the collaboration of countries, in condition of full equality, in the field of peaceful uses of outer space, was the unrealistic policy of the United States of America. We have taken cognizance of the reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/4987). We also know the history of the creation of that Committee and the subsequent events which led to its inactivity. It is well known that in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1472 (XIV) on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, that Committee was entrusted with the task of organizing international co-operation in this important field and also to undertake investigations of various legal problems which might arise as a consequence of space exploration.

My delegation voted in favour of that resolution in the hope that it would lead to good results. It is well known that we, and many other States, have from the very beginning spoken out in favour of all measures that would contribute to the establishment of peaceful co-operation in space. Unfortunately our hopes were not fulfilled. Who is responsible for the fact that the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was sabotaged? We consider that full responsibility belongs to the Western Powers and above all to the United States of America, because they have not renounced their unrealistic policy of exclusive rights in international affairs.

To this very day important explorations of space have been made only by two Powers, the USSR and the United States. This means in fact that only with the agreement of these States can there be any acceptable decisions. The United States wishes to impose its will on the Soviet Union through an obedient majority of votes. The unrealistic character of this policy is obvious.

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The other day the representative of the Soviet Union stressed in his statement that co-operation in space can only be carried out under conditions of full equality of all parties. International co-operation is indispensable and desirable in any field of science. In the field of the conquest of space it is also essential because any investigation there is linked to huge capital expenditures and the mobilization of many scientific institutions. Every new step into the depths of space gives rise to not smaller but greater difficulties. Under these conditions wider international co-operation on space problems becomes a vital necessity.

The well-known Soviet scientific academician Sedor, stressing the essential need of an exchange of information and the organization of international co-operation in such an important field, wrote the following:

"In this very noble task, that of the study of outer space, it is impossible to lock oneself up within narrow national boundaries and divide the fields of outer space into what is ours and what is yours. The means of science must concentrate the efforts of the best minds of humanity to conquer the secrets of the universe for the well-being of the whole earth."

(Mr. Kuleshev, Eyelorrussian SSR)

In the Soviet Union wide scientific investigations are linked with the conquest of space. The scope of such investigations is so huge that it does not seem possible to enumerate all the directions of scientific investigation, the character of all discoveries and achievements. In fact, there is no field which has not participated more or less, in the solution of the grandiose problems of the exploration of space.

In this connexion, I should like to stress that we cannot agree with the point of view expressed here on 5 December by the representative of Australia, in whose statement was apparent the ill-hidden desire to underestimate the scientific successes of the cosmonauts who flew in orbit around the earth, and of other Soviet space experiments as well. Such a point of view can only cause surprise. It is well-known that the flights of the Soviet cosmonauts made huge scientific contributions to the solution of the problems surrounding the possibility of the flight of man in space. It was proven that man could, normally, bear conditions of flight in orbit, and return to the earth. The Soviet cosmonauts proved in practice that they were able to continue working, to co-ordinate movement and to think clearly, under conditions of weightlessness. The time is not far off when, thanks to those flights, future cosmonauts will be able not only to orbit the earth but leave the field of gravity.

The Soviet scientific experiments have already verified methods of getting space ships and rockets into interplanetary space, and have contributed to the perfecting of long-range radio communications and the guidance of space stations in flight. Important work has been done on the study of radiation near the earth and in outer space. Arcs with a greater intensity of Rontgen X-rays have been investigated; and many other studies have been made, for instance on the magnetic fields near the moon. Soviet scientists have made huge contributions to the study of the higher layers of the atmosphere. For the first time, data has been received on the density, temperature, concentration of electrons and positive ions, and other physical parameters at various heights. Important biological investigations have been made in space with animals and plant life.

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These are some of the very great achievements made by Soviet investigations in space. We have always been in favour -- we are still in favour -- of co-operation with other countries in the field of the application of science for peaceful uses, but we have always noted that international co-operation, especially in this field of the conquest of outer space is delayed by the constant armaments race. Military and armaments races have always acted as a brake on the development of scientific projects which would bring untold benefits to the whole of humanity. That is why we have always felt that the fullest development of international co-operation, especially in the field of space, will ensue from general and complete disarmament. My delegation expresses the hope that the decision of the present session will contribute to the creation of conditions for the development of co-operation by all States in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space. A Committee of the United Nations must reflect the situation existing in the world. Fruitful work by the Committee will be ensured only under conditions of respect for the principle of equality and unanimity between parties. Where there is no unanimity there is no real co-operation. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space must study all problems with a view to the general development of international contacts in the field of such peaceful uses.

The Secretariat of the United Nations must create the conditions necessary for the fruitful work of the Committee. The grandiose prospects for knowledge that have been opened to humanity must serve as a stimulus to the fostering of international co-operation. Humanity now enters a period of its history which will be marked by the most grandiose discoveries. Outer space is a great undiscovered ocean, full of new mysteries, new secrets.

Man must open up for himself a way into interplanetary fields -- but not for military uses or conquests, not for selfish interests. The first cosmonauts of the earth must not seek treasures for themselves, but rather answers for the whole of humanity, in the depths of space. However far the proud conqueror of space may go he must still return to earth, because earth is his cradle and humanity is his family. Even when, from the windows of interspace ships, the earth seems to him but a small star, its greatness -- the greatest of its cultural achievements -- will not diminish in his eyes

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because this greatness, this achievement, resides in, is symbolized by, the cosmonaut in his ship, entering into unknown spaces of the universe. All delegations must do everything they can to ensure that future discoveries will bring, not suffering but happiness to the whole of mankind. My delegation will contribute all its efforts to ensuring a development in this direction

Mr. VAKIL (Iran): The amazing achievements in the realm of outer space exploration, justifiably a source of pride to man, have presented the world with a number of urgent and complex problems. How is this vast area to be used? Will it be regulated by the rule of law and for the benefit of mankind? Or will it be left to develop in a haphazard and chaotic way, to become another and most ominous source of contention between nations? Clearly the answers to these questions lie primarily with the major Powers, as do most matters pertaining to war and peace.

After the launching into space of the first satellite almost four years ago, no attempt has been made on an international scale to foster co-operation in this field. Indeed, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space fell into abeyance because of procedural and institutional divergences which have also obstructed the organizing of a scientific conference on this subject.

Although there has been no positive action through international co-operation in outer space, the fact remains however that the great Powers have refrained from taking a nationalistic approach. This in itself is an encouraging sign for further developments in this field. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has claimed a privileged position for any part of outer space.

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Furthermore, lack of objection by any State to the free orbiting of satellites seems to be a tacit acknowledgement that territorial sovereignty does not extend beyond any State's own air space. These developments point towards the possibility of abiding by the rule of "res communis omnium" in outer space and the free use of outer space for all States. Certain analogies may be drawn from the law of the sea, air law and the law of the Polar regions. Such analogies may be useful only in that they provide a general pattern for action; it would, of course, be a mistake to push them too far in their technicalities.

There is some justification for the assertions that progress in developing a legal code for outer space would be hampered if detailed space laws were formulated at such an early stage. The American Bar Association even goes so far as to suggest that such efforts would: "produce an unworkable regime that would be all the more dangerous for giving the temporary illusion of certainty". But the United Nations should not be deterred by such arguments from weighing the legal problems involved in outer space and determining those that are more general and less complicated for early codification. Other more intricate issues could be covered as time goes on. Past experience should alert us to the difficulties which arise from undue delay in establishing a code of law in matters of international concern. My delegation would therefore like to stress the importance of not deferring the formulation of space-law in toto, on the pretext that outer space is a new and unexplored field. The proceedings of the American Society of International Law, at a meeting in April of this year, have provided us with a long list of legal issues relating to outer space, a number of which, it would seem, could be selected for early discussion and possible codification. Some measure of agreement on the legal aspects of the problem may well give impetus to action in the scientific utilization of outer space, for it is clear that the greater the attention directed towards peaceful uses of outer space, the less likely it is to be used for other purposes. Some recent statements in this Committee have provided us with an insight into some of the great benefits that mankind could derive from the rational development of space technology. Such exciting potentialities can only yield practical and positive results through international co-operation. This brings me to the aims of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space whose meeting on 27 November, after such a

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long period of inactivity, was a source of much gratification. Admittedly the meeting was mostly of a procedural nature, but it raised the hope that it would prove to be the breakthrough of the long stalemate, leading to the co-operation that is the avowed aim of resolution 1348 (XIII). On the other hand, discussions in the First Committee again indicate that the old contentions, with which we are only too familiar, are still with us. My delegation believes that the Ad Hoc Committee should be extended and its membership enlarged to assure adequate representation for the African States. Other changes, such as those which have been proposed, which are based on new criteria for the composition of the Committee, would be contrary to the United Nations principle of geographical representation. As far as the mandate of the Committee is concerned, we believe that it should be reaffirmed by the General Assembly, with such modifications as may seem appropriate. Any formal change in the voting procedure would, however, be a retrogressive step and reminiscent of the League era. We trust that the present discussions in the Committee will lead to the resolution of these nagging differences so that the Ad Hoc Committee will be able to start functioning early in the new year.

The draft resolution sponsored by the United States and other Powers touches upon different aspects of international co-operation in outer space. Its diversity of purpose raises the hope that we may regain some of the ground lost over recent years. Yet the attainment of these goals does not dictate a rigid formula nor does it impose undue strains on United Nations resources. The appropriate specialized agencies already exist whose operations would be strengthened and revitalized by the carrying out of work in fields such as advanced weather prediction and space communications.

For the reasons given above, and in the hope that it will usher in a new era marked by a true spirit of international co-operation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. de LEQUERICA (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): When the thirteenth General Assembly in 1958 allocated to this Committee for the first time the question of the peaceful uses of outer space, the Members of the United Nations unanimously and in a very broad manner stressed the importance for the future of mankind that this new field constituted, a field that was opening up before our very eyes, and perhaps this produced a statement which I think I am entitled to cite at this moment, that when this continent that was opened up and discovered by Spanish ships, the same feeling was felt in Europe. Then too in the fifteenth century a revolution which we are still going through was embodied in the entry of man into this as yet unknown world. The same thing occurred with man's entry into cosmic space which will constitute, without doubt, one of the best reasons for the progress of humanity in our times and for future generations provided that the progress made in other branches of science, in the infinitely small realm of the atom, to cite the words of Mr. Belaunde, allow us the opportunity of enjoying such progress.

May I recall here the verses of a great Spanish poet of the seventeenth century when he said:

"The lies of the stars are true lies since none can go and ask them for the truth."

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

I am afraid that the writer was wrong. The day has come when even the stars will have to account for what they say. Their secrets will now be discovered.

All the aspects of the problem from a practical view point must lead us to these short flights of imagination or, if I may be permitted a pun, to these exorbitant ideas, ideas in which mankind is at last able to launch themselves into outer space. These things have been so generally recognized that I do not think I need dwell upon them.

The rapid succession of exploits since 1958, among which we must count the arrival of a rocket on the moon, photographs of the other side of the moon, the launching of artificial satellites with increasingly perfect machinery and the natural appearance of man in space by virtue of the admirable Soviet cosmonauts -- and in this regard my delegation wishes to pay a most human tribute -- all of this is indicative of the progress which has been achieved thus far and of the accelerated pace with which these adventures are proceeding. But this is also proof of the urgent need for the international community to regulate that which is being performed by man which will in the long run greatly modify living conditions on earth.

Today it is obvious that activities in outer space can greatly benefit mankind in such fields as meteorology, the artificial changing of time and weather and the relaying of broadcasts. A few days ago the representatives of the United States and Australia told us of the advantages being obtained from weather forecasts based on photographic information of clouds transmitted by Tiros and from the transmission through an experimental satellite of broadcasts across the Atlantic of the opening days of this session of the General Assembly. There are many scientific advantages which can be obtained by means of geodesic and cartographic satellites, sounding rockets and travel into outer space with manned vehicles, etc. Much of this is as yet unknown and unperfected. But we know that it will be of interest to all mankind. If we wish these discoveries and scientific advances to become a new pretext for disorder among nations, we can then isolate ourselves; but if we wish these things to be used for the benefit of mankind, we must co-operate.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

In 1958 I had the honour of saying the following to this Committee:

"Man, when breaking into the so far unknown space, must do so with a spirit full of goodwill, leaving aside the heavy load of ambition and envy which in the past has unfortunately caused so many quarrels and wars on our planet. This desire, which no doubt is universal, requires that this new dimension be used only for peaceful purposes, to promote the progress and improvement of humanity as a whole. It must be taken advantage of to unite the people of the world, although paradoxically, to unite the world we may have to leave it behind." (A/C.1/PV.992, page 13)

Now, what centre of coordination can be set up? My delegation, which has seriously studied this matter, feels that this must be carried out in an organ which truly represents the interests of mankind. Although it is true that so far only two countries have achieved the great exploits involved in this prodigious adventure, others have more modest programmes and are able to co-operate in certain giant programmes. In the final analysis, the consequences of the activities in outer space will fall upon all of us.

The Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space reflected the conclusion of the Technical Committee that we have been able to set up an appropriate and adequate centre, linked to the United Nations, which can serve as an axis for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The report further suggested that these functions should be left to the Secretariat. This is also contained in the draft resolution which was submitted jointly by the delegations of Australia, Canada, Italy and the United States of America.

My delegation sees no objection to adopting this sort of central co-operation in the most universal of all international Organizations presently existing in the world.

One of the most important aspects of the draft resolution before us is this. Since this draft sets forth the juridical basis upon which future regulations of travel in outer space is to be embodied -- and this is set forth specifically in part A -- we cannot, I must say, at present absolutely identify all of the many juridical problems that will arise in the use of outer space. It would be too much to even dream of doing so. Activities dealing with this

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

matter are characteristic because of certain idiosyncracies which perhaps are not known to us today. They do have a unique character and will require a unique jurisdiction.

That is why my delegation feels that it is most felicitous for the draft resolution to limit itself today, without going into premature detail, to recommending to States to bear in mind, in the exploration and use of outer space, the principle that "International law, including the United Nations Charter, applies to outer space and celestial bodies". (A/C.1/L.301)

The Ad Hoc Committee can gradually study and report to the Assembly on the juridical problems arising from such exploration and utilization and, ergo, on the form that international law will take, whether it is to be applied specifically to the solution of concrete problems.

However, I feel that it is wise here to reaffirm the fact that international law applies, especially since we include those aspects which are recognized by all civilized nations and which are contained in article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Let us recall that Article 2 of the Charter sets forth the legal equality of all States. Resolution 1348 was the first resolution to be adopted by the Assembly on this matter, and it sets forth this same contention.

We feel that this is a good draft resolution because it mentions the principle that:

"Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law, and are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty or otherwise." (Ibid.)

This principle is generally accepted today, as we have gathered from the debates which have been held in this Committee and from the report of the Special Committee to which I referred earlier. Furthermore, it has at least been applied de facto, if only partially, since during the International Geophysical Year -- 1957-58 -- these principles were also reflected and embodied. Countries all over the world acted in accordance with this principle. This principle permitted space vehicles to be launched regardless of the territory over which they travelled in their voyages through outer space.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

Although we are entering into a field which is not too well known and whose technical and juridical aspects are in constant evolution, my delegation feels it wise to continue the mandate of the Committee set up in accordance with resolution 1472 (XIV), asking that the Committee perform certain duties and submit reports as it may consider appropriate in keeping with its terms of reference. Furthermore, we feel that we should add to the membership of that Committee Nigeria and Chad. This would properly reflect the changes which have occurred in the membership of our Organization.

(Mr. de Lequerica, Spain)

Finally, my delegation wishes to stress the fact that with regard to the difference of views expressed here on the way in which the special committee can work, we nevertheless see no reason to change the method of voting from that which is set forth in rule 162 of the rules of procedure for voting in the Committees. For practical purposes, we trust that the work will be carried out in such a way that there will be agreements, with no need to resort to voting. The general atmosphere surrounding these problems leads to the belief that there will be agreements.

In this matter as in few others, we must set aside the impassioned approach. My delegation has attempted to synthesize the problem and since I certainly am not in favour of discord, I have tried to limit myself to the juridical aspects. On this point, I wish to say that my secretary, Mr. Perez Ruiz, who has always been present in the meetings of the Committee, has constantly stressed the need to keep within the juridical limits of our discussion.

As you know, my country has launched nothing into space, as have not the majority of the countries of the world, except balloons which children fly in the parks, and certainly these do not go to outer space. But we have here the human hope for the realization of achievement, of progress and adventure and this hope is not absent from the hearts of my people, as it was not absent at the end of the fifteenth century. I am happy that in this field of co-operation and concord we are in such good company.

Mr. TSEVEGMID (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The First Committee has, for several days, discussed the question of the peaceful uses of outer space; we have heard many interesting statements by speakers who stressed the importance of large-scale international co-operation in this field. There is no doubt that if an agreed decision is taken on this matter, it will be an important contribution to the further development of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space.

The advancement of science and technology has made possible the conquest of outer space. In the past four or five years the genius of Soviet scientists has solved the complex problems of the conquest of space. Clear proof of this is contained in the launching of a whole series of heavy satellites which have made various orbits around the earth and the solar system, the study of the higher layers

(Mr. Tsevegmid, Mongolia)

of the atmosphere and the photographing of the other side of the moon. The flights of the brave sons of the Soviet people, Yuri Gagarin and Gherman Titov into space, their successful landing in the prescribed area, had huge scientific and practical significance in the conquest of space by man. Much success has also been achieved by American science. All of this proves that the time is not far distant when man will reach the moon, Mars and the other planets of our solar system. Thus, at the present time of the high development of science and technology, the conquest of space is no longer mankind's fancy but has become a reality.

Under these conditions, the development of international co-operation in the field of space conquest is of the utmost importance. The Mongolian People's Republic is a small country. We have neither satellites nor space ships. However, we are prepared to make our modest contribution in this noble task, providing it is directed at the well-being of humanity. I fully concur with the representative of the Soviet Union in thinking that co-operation in the field of outer space investigation is particularly important for under-developed countries which are not as yet able to make their own investigations in the field of space. The countries that possess no rockets or other equipment necessary for the study of space can participate through the organization of investigating stations and other scientific installations on earth. The scientists of my country have participated in the International Geophysical Year. Their investigations of the upper layers of the atmosphere have yielded many good results for the general benefit of science. Our Academy of Sciences has undertaken wide co-operation with the academies and scientific institutions of many countries in various fields of science, particularly in physics, chemistry, biology, geography, agronomy, and so on. Mongolian scientists participated in the conferences of the International Geophysical Year, examining the results of space, meteorological and astronomical investigations. The Mongolian Academy of Science, founded forty years ago in the first year of the People's power is the real centre of scientific work in our country. It has many scientific institutes of research, such as institutes of biological, medical, agricultural and historical research, as well as institutes of languages and literature, with many sections, laboratories, work studies and experimental stations.

(Mr. Tsevegmid, Mongolia)

Our scientists from the astronomical observatory at Oulan Bator, the seismic and meteorological station, have in recent years made many important observations in the study of the corona of the sun, as well as cosmic rays, and made many meteorological observations which have been published in the various publications of our Academy of Sciences and which have been studied by the scientists of other countries. From our experience, we see that in difficult and complex work of a scientific nature, for example in investigations contained in the programme of the International Geophysical Year, meteorological observation, study of cosmic rays, and so on, the co-operation of States and the common work of the scientists of various countries is tremendously important.

International co-operation can be achieved in varied fields of science in the peaceful uses of outer space. However, co-operation is only beneficial when it is based on equal rights. If any State uses this noble idea for its own selfish interests or for the narrow interests of a group of States, no real co-operation is possible. This is why the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic expresses the hope that the First Committee will successfully solve the question of the peaceful uses of outer space in the interests of all people and adopt an agreed decision on the composition of the Committee on Outer Space.

Mr. JHA (India): On this item concerning the peaceful uses of outer space, I speak with some hesitation and humility, in the knowledge that the exploration of outer space has only begun and the potential of man's conquest of space and the consequences of this great spurt in human knowledge are yet to be fully grasped by most of us here, including my delegation. Nevertheless we are deeply conscious of the fact that a great new dimension has been added to man's knowledge, and it is our earnest hope that the conquest of outer space will be for the good of man.

If one may recall an earthly parallel, the achievements in outer space call to mind man's discovery of the New World on this planet at the end of the fifteenth century. That discovery, followed by others in the early sixteenth century, was, as Toynbee has observed, a result of a great increase in man's knowledge of our planet and of material power over physical nature. In that case, as Toynbee added, it was the result of a great technological discovery: how to navigate an ocean instead of having to hug the coasts of the inland seas of the Old World. But those discoveries had also a great effect on man's power, since he appropriated the resources of the Americas which he had now at his disposal for domination and conquest. In retrospect, historians think that much of the use of the discoveries of 500 years ago was for purposes not altogether worthy. Additional potential was provided for wars between local States of the Western world which were mainly within Western Europe and were just emerging from the Middle Ages. At the same time, Western man exported to the New World discovered by him two of his most "villainous and tragic institutions", to quote Dr. Toynbee -- the institution of war and the institution of slavery.

Now that man has succeeded in his probe of the universe and has begun his journey into this new, mysterious and limitless world of outer space, one cannot help contemplating whether the mistakes of the past will be repeated or use will be made of this new and exciting prospect for the benefit of mankind. Will cosmic space be used, on the basis of international co-operation, for the welfare of mankind or will it become a new field for competitive conflict and "cold war" rivalries, a new additional medium for manoeuvring and carrying the diabolical

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weapons of war to hurtle death and destruction on peoples and continents of this planet? Contrariwise, one wonders whether jealousies, prejudices, conflicts and wars of this planet will be carried to the world of outer space.

It is a curious and tragic factor of history that great inventions have often been the cause of conflict among nations and have been used for military purposes rather than for improving conditions of life. Sometimes nations and States have undertaken the application of scientific and technological achievements in secrecy, each going his own way and without co-ordination with others, causing confusion, duplication and waste of effort; and it has taken many years and much effort to straighten resulting difficulties and to arrive at agreements and understandings based on international co-operation, for harnessing the fruits of such achievements for the benefit of the international community.

Fortunately in the field of outer space there is hope for international co-operation from the very start. In the first place, the two great Powers which have pioneered the achievements in outer space, namely, the USSR and the United States, recognized from the very beginning the need for international co-operation for the peaceful uses of outer space. On 29 August 1957 the Western Powers made a specific proposal in the Disarmament Commission that a scientific committee be established to study

"an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure that the sending of objects through outer space will be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes".

On 30 September 1957 the United States representative on the Disarmament Commission, Mr. Lodge, said:

"We propose as our next objective that means be designed to assure that the sending of objects through outer space will be for exclusively scientific and peaceful purposes." (DC/PV.63, page 11)

During the twelfth session of the General Assembly, the Western draft resolution on disarmament introduced in the Political Committee called inter alia for

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"The joint study of an inspection system designed to ensure that the sending of objects through outer space shall be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes". (Resolution 1148 (XII))

This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on 14 November 1957.

During the early part of 1958 both the United States and the Soviet Union expressed a desire to limit the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. This was brought out in the exchange of correspondence between President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin. On 15 March 1958, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the item "The banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic subjects" was included in the provisional agenda of the thirteenth session of the Assembly, and on 2 September 1958, on the initiative of the United States, the question of the "Programme for international co-operation in the field of outer space" was also placed on the agenda of the thirteenth session.

The narration of this sequence clearly shows the awareness of the United States and the Soviet Union to the urgent need for international co-operation in the field of outer space, from the very beginning of the spectacular achievements which shook and thrilled the world.

It has often happened in the past that great scientific discoveries and inventions have been made during war-time, with the result that the use of these has been ab initio for war purposes. Subsequently it has proved extremely difficult to secure international co-operation for the diversion of their use from military to peaceful and beneficial purposes. The use of nuclear power is a striking example in this connexion. It is a fortunate circumstance that the discovery of outer space has come about at a time of peace. This makes peaceful international co-operation possible and practicable. The more this aspect of international co-operation is emphasized, the more avenues will be opened up for peaceful purposes, and the less will be the danger of the use of outer space for military purposes.

(Mr. Jha, India)

It seems to us that there are very favourable conditions for effecting international co-operation for the peaceful and scientific uses of outer space. But it must be said at the same time that, for reasons which I do not wish to discuss at this stage, four years have been lost since the first sputnik hurtled into space and began its orbital journey around the earth. There is urgency to the problem of organizing international co-operation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

In view of the great significance of the uses of outer space, it is only right that the United Nations, as the best forum for co-operative human activity, should be brought fully into the picture. We believe that the United Nations can do much to promote co-operation in this particular field. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that my delegation viewed the adoption of resolution 1348 (XIII) in December 1958, and it was with optimistic hope that we co-sponsored and gave our support to resolution 1402 (XIV) and agreed to serve on the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which was set up under that resolution to devise international co-operation and to organize the holding of an international scientific conference.

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It is a matter of disappointment to my delegation that for want of agreement on the various organizational aspects of the work of the Committee between the two principal Powers, it was not possible for the Committee to meet and carry forward the work initiated in 1959 and the promise of international co-operation provided by the fruitful co-operation during the period of eighteen months covered by the International Geophysical Year. We were happy, therefore, that at last the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space met a few days ago to prepare a brief report for the Assembly which would enable the discussion of the matter to take place and a further step to be taken.

We agree with many Members who have spoken before us that outer space is not a matter of concern only to great Powers. The exploration of outer space and the availability and application of knowledge and of the facilities derived from such exploration can greatly serve humanity in all parts of the globe. It is good to see that both of the great Powers most advanced in the field of outer-space exploration recognize and appreciate this. The potentialities of the use of outer space in the fields of weather prediction, radio communications and perhaps even weather control have been graphically described in the excellent statements by the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union. We have actually nothing to add in that connexion. We generally agree with the hopeful picture presented to us by those two delegations.

The fact remains, however, that for the time being only two great Powers are capable of reaching and exploring the farthest limits of outer space and of harnessing their knowledge for the benefit of man. International co-operation in this field means at this stage, therefore, primarily agreement and co-operation between those two great countries. We regard it as a token of faith, and we wish to pay tribute to them therefor, that they are willing to share their knowledge with others and to extend to nations and peoples everywhere the benefits of their discoveries and experiments.

Having said this, my delegation would like to say that we cannot ignore the possible dangers from the use of outer space for military purposes. There have been from time to time statements made by leaders in both the Soviet Union and the United States which indicate the stark reality of such dangers. Opinions,

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sometimes irresponsibly expressed in military and political circles, have even advocated the use of outer space for increasing military power. My delegation deprecates any such tendencies and intentions. We feel that outer space should be kept free from any kind of military use or adventure. We would welcome a declaration by all Powers, principally the two great Powers concerned, to keep outer space free from any military use. We have a splendid example of this in the Treaty of Antarctica, whereby twelve Powers, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have agreed to keep Antarctica free from military bases, nuclear experiments, etc. If Antarctica should be kept free from military use, there is every reason in the world why outer space should be the subject of similar declarations or agreements. It would be a thousand pities if the deadly conflicts of the world were carried beyond earthly gravity into outer space. We think that this is dictated not merely by practical necessity and the need for survival; it is also a challenge to the international conscience. Here I might refer, with all respect, to the statement of the representative of the United States:

"The military questions of space are closely entangled with the military questions of earth. We believe that they require urgent study as part of comprehensive negotiations for general and complete disarmament."

(A/C.1/PV.121C, page 16)

We cannot quite see the connexion between military questions on earth and military questions in outer space. The arsenals of destruction on earth are already saturated. One does not need to go into outer space. There is nothing, in our opinion, which need prevent the big Powers and others from declaring outer space to be free from all military considerations or use, even without waiting for a treaty on general and complete disarmament. In fact, in our view, any such declaration, to the extent that it eliminates the area of outer space, might make an agreement on general and complete disarmament easier. Furthermore, such a declaration would greatly facilitate and make possible the concentration of efforts on the task of international co-operation for the peaceful use of outer space.

I come now to the four-Power draft resolution A/C.1/L.301 placed before the Committee by the delegations of Canada, Australia, Italy and the United States. In the view of my delegation, this draft resolution contains many valuable suggestions. Indeed, we see nothing in this draft resolution to which one can take

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serious objection. We would, however, have preferred to see an agreed draft resolution co-sponsored among others, by the two great Powers which at present possess a virtual monopoly of knowledge and facilities in the exploration of outer space. At the same time, this is a field in which we feel that even contemplated principles cannot be defined, far less implemented, without a thorough study. All the details of international co-operation suggested in Parts C and D of the draft resolution are welcome, but even with respect to these, careful thought as regards organization and preparation of a suitable programme of co-operation may be necessary and might require a much more detailed study of technical, scientific and political aspects, in consultation with various organizations and specialized agencies concerned, than is possible in this Committee during the short time available to it. One point that strikes us is that the outer space Committee should be made the focus and the mainspring for activities in international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

Having made these observations, we would like to add that if this draft resolution or any variant of it is generally agreed to in the Committee, particularly by the two principal Powers concerned in this matter, we shall vote for it.

The keynote of this whole question is agreement. That has been the view of my delegation in the past and we think that no effort should be spared to secure agreement all around.

May I here take the liberty of making a few observations on Part A of the draft resolution. Paragraph 1 of Part A commends to States for their guidance in the exploration and use of outer space the following principles:

"(a) International law, including the United Nations Charter, applies to outer space and celestial bodies;

"(b) Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law, and are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty or otherwise."

Both these parts are, of course, welcome particularly the second part of this paragraph. We entirely agree that the principles of the United Nations Charter,

which are the highest expression of moral principles and truths, are universal and should appropriately be applicable to outer space. But are we sure that extension of international law, as we know it on earth, to outer space has not a somewhat limitative connotation? International law is based on the concept of the sovereignty of States and concepts of nationality. Are these the right concepts for outer space? When the day comes that men of various nations, through international co-operative efforts journey into outer space and to the other planets, the concepts of nationality, territorial affiliations, etc., should perhaps be forgotten and will indeed be out of place in outer space. There should be only one governing concept, that of humanity. One might feel, therefore, that to transpose the whole of international law, as we know it here, and not merely certain principles, to celestial space might not be enough and not wholly suitable. International law may indeed need radical adaptation, conceptual or otherwise for application to outer space.

I should like to make it clear that I am not against paragraph 1 (a) of Part A of the draft resolution, but these are a few observations that I would like to share, on behalf of my delegation, with the Committee.

As I said earlier, we have already lost valuable time. It is therefore most urgent to ensure that the consideration of this matter is not further delayed. It is essential that a committee on outer space be formed which should begin its studies as early as possible. We understand that negotiations are in progress between the principal Powers and we trust that an agreed composition for the committee on outer space will emerge, so that the Assembly can take an agreed decision as to the constitution of a committee on outer space for future work.

We also feel that in view of the fact that action in regard to international co-operation will have to be taken principally by two or three Powers, and that this is a new field, the organization of the work of the committee should be such that its decisions and recommendations will command the acceptance of all concerned.

It is obvious that resolutions adopted in the usual way, by majority vote, are not going to take us very far. At the same time, it does not seem practical to apply strictly the principle of unanimity, which means, in effect, a right of veto to every member of the Committee. We feel that there should be a new approach to this question of voting and other organizational aspects of the Committee on Outer Space. It does not seem to us necessary to have any voting at all. Decisions should be taken on the basis of consensus of opinion or views among members. It is the experience of all of us who have sat in Assembly Committees that it does not require a vote to find out whether a consensus of opinion exists or not. If there is a consensus, it should be possible for the Chairman to sum it up. If there is none, and there are important differences of views, then, in any report to the General Assembly, these should be adequately reflected. In the final resort, decisions can only be taken in the General Assembly and not by the Committee.

Mr. DEMETROPOULOS (Greece) (interpretation from French): Although Jules Verne is not as much in favour as he was a few years ago with the youth of the world, since he has been outstripped by events, the discussion of this item could have given the impression that all delegations did not attach the same urgency to the problem of international co-operation caused by outer space exploration. Happily, further debate has proved that we are all agreed on the need to determine the legal norms and to establish the methods of international co-operation without which the great space adventure, instead of representing a new step for humanity, would only bring nearer our annihilation. Thus, there do not seem to be any serious divergencies on the objectives.

The various clauses of the draft resolution of which we are seized have not been contested. There are controversies only on the working organ and methods to be followed. We have been told that the principle of equality of the various nations must be fully respected, and we can only agree wholeheartedly. But from that the conclusion has been drawn that all decisions of the Committee should be taken by general agreement, that is to say, unanimously. We cannot agree with this reasoning. Unanimity is certainly something that one should hope for, and delegations make laudable efforts to reach unanimity by private talks, amendments,

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compromise, avoiding a vote on important resolutions before an acceptable formula has been found. But to require unanimity a priori would impede the work of the Committee and the possibility of any progress. The principle of unanimity goes against the principle of equality, since one State could have greater importance than all the others.

Finally, one should recall that all activities of Committees of the United Nations are subject to decision by the General Assembly, which is sovereign.

It has been said that unanimity is necessary because it alone can ensure the useful implementation of resolutions. This, of course, depends on the respect which one has for resolutions taken by overwhelming majorities on important questions. This being so, it would seem that what is important, first of all, is that we should all agree on the main principles which should govern all activities in outer space -- that is to say, first, that principles of international law, which are to be completed, should apply to space and spatial bodies, and, secondly, that space and spatial bodies should be freely used by all States and are not susceptible of appropriation. It seems to me that if a general agreement were to occur on these principles -- and this does not seem impossible, since they have not been rejected in this debate -- the task of the Committee on Outer Space could be very precisely defined, and it could work harmoniously with purely scientific criteria.

There remains the question of the composition of the Committee. We think that once the fundamental principles are established, this question should not give rise to any insuperable difficulties. The proposal to add Nigeria and Chad to the existing Committee seems to be in conformity with the desire to see the new African Members adequately represented in the Committee. On the other hand, the suggestion made yesterday by the representative of Sweden that the countries most likely to make a valuable contribution to the Committee should work in that Committee is an idea which is certainly worthy of note. I am thinking of the countries which, through their technical achievements, their scientific potential, the wealth of their legal experience, and also through their need of scientific achievements for their own economic development, are those that would best contribute to the work of the Committee.

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It is possible as of now to foresee a future in which the control of weather and communications through waves and space ships will change the life of under-developed countries to a greater extent than that of the developed countries. Thus, the under-developed countries should also have their say in this.

If a small country had to justify its active interest in questions of outer space, I could in all humility mention Prometheus and Icarus. These mythological heroes are the intellectual creation of a people which, from earliest antiquity, wanted to penetrate the secrets of nature and place them at the disposal of man, so that he might free himself from his physical weakness. But this justification is no longer needed. Questions of outer space are of extreme interest and of vital interest to all of us.

I should like to conclude by expressing the ardent wish that unanimous agreement on the principles I have mentioned will be possible, so that the Committee on Outer Space will be revitalized and reactivated, this being a goal which has been stressed by all the speakers who regretted the inactivity of the Committee up to this point. It is in this spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of the Four-Power draft resolution.

Mr. IARABANOV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): The impetuous progress of science and technology in recent years is particularly remarkable in a realm which, for centuries, has been the object of the most ardent and daring dreams of mankind, and it came to a head in October 1957, in the launching of the first satellite made by man. Since then, the successes of science in the field of the conquest of outer space have multiplied in a fashion that permits us today to go beyond the visions of the great Russian scientist Tziolkovski, who said that man would not reconcile himself to the idea of living forever on the earth.

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The impressive successes of Soviet science and technology which the entire world has witnessed even this year in the flights of the first astronauts Gagarin and Titov, have proved in practice the rapid progress achieved in the scientific use of outer space. The importance of this progress is unchallengeable and we have heard both from the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States the general line of the perspectives offered mankind. In view of the fact that success in this field requires the participation of practically all branches of science and technology and that the fulfillment of scientific programmes would be greatly facilitated by a programme of joint financing, international co-operation in outer space -- co-operation which should include all nations -- is absolutely imperative.

However, in the field of the conquest of outer space, as well as in many other fields, scientific accomplishments can be used for ends that have little or nothing to do with the struggle of man against the forces of nature. Therefore, the most tightly linked international co-operation must be assured in order to provide for mankind the peaceful uses of outer space. For this reason, my delegation welcomes the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly wherein it was suggested that under the auspices of the United Nations an international scientific conference be held for exchange of information as regards surveys and studies of outer space. We also rejoiced at the setting up of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in 1959.

My country has always been ready, as far as its possibilities allowed, to strengthen and encourage international co-operation in that Committee. However, we must deplore the fact that for two years the United Nations has not been able to make a contribution in this particularly important field of man's endeavours, despite the indisputable role that the Organization could play in this field. The only reason given for the lack of co-operation has been that certain countries, by outmoded means -- because they possessed the majority -- have tried in this Committee to set their egotistical interests before those of mankind. In this field, where man must act in a coordinated and organized

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fashion if he wishes to score new successes, both in exploration and in conquest of space, he must act in the interests of all mankind and not only in the narrow egotistical interests of one country or another.

The desires and efforts of certain Powers to impose their own decisions in order to settle problems of outer space on a unilateral basis, basing themselves upon majorities ensured by existing blocs -- in one word, to act in accordance with outmoded manoeuvres -- will certainly not redound to the benefit of mankind. Yet we are once again confronted by these efforts. This appears not only in the statement of the representative of the United States and in the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.301) submitted by the delegations of the United States and other countries, but in the statements heard from the representatives of other countries, made in full agreement with the position of the United States.

If there could be any doubt regarding the aims of certain States in this field, the statement made by the representative of Australia would suffice to edify us. From that statement and many others, it becomes increasingly obvious, of course, that the Western Powers are once again endeavouring to use their old tactics and stratagems of unilateral decisions to impose their solutions and decisions on all parties. But life itself has thrown out this type of procedure in all international relations. It all the more inadmissible in the case of outer space where, as everyone agrees, there are at present only two Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which are in a position to take any fruitful and constructive decisions and initiatives.

Therefore, in the field of outer space, international co-operation of the closest nature and mutual agreement are an absolute sine qua non. This will ensure even more remarkable successes in the future. Thus, the work of the Committee must be organized on the basis of the absolute equality of all States represented in order to ensure true and close co-operation in the Committee. The decisions of the Committee must be taken by common agreement among all members. It is not too difficult to realize how destructive it would be for the work of the Committee to introduce ancient methods of decisions on the basis of majorities of groups of States. Such a procedure could not be applicable in a field where

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man has to act in a way that would be for the benefit for all mankind, and not to transplant into outer space the divisions that exist between men and States on earth. The delegation of the United States will have to go back on its position regarding the principles and methods of the work of the Committee of the Peaceful uses of Outer Space, and perhaps thus the delegation of the United States may find an acceptable solution regarding the composition of that Committee a composition which should adequately and correctly reflect the profound changes that have taken place in international life.

At the present stage of the discussion we do not wish to dwell on the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.301) submitted by the delegations of the United States and other countries, but we should like to take advantage of this opportunity to draw the attention of the Committee to an essential flaw and lacuna in the draft resolution. As far as we can see it, there is no justification for the Secretary-General, or whatever body may be set up to gather the information, to be instructed, in accordance with part B, paragraph 2 (a) of the draft resolution, not to communicate this information to Members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. This type of restriction, as well as the one contained in part C, paragraph 1, of the draft resolution, which would limit the number of States that might benefit from the activities of the United Nations and its organs in the field of outer space, is completely unjustified and destructive. In limiting the participation and the contributions of Member States and of specialized agencies of the United Nations, it would exclude the participation of one of the greatest countries of the world, the People's Republic of China.

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This is another, repetitious use of the policy followed for many years of excluding from our Organization, and even disbarring from the international community, a great country -- though this is in flagrant contradiction to even the very principles contained in the draft resolution submitted before us, which provides that it is in the common interest of mankind to further the peaceful uses of outer space,

"Believing that the exploration and use of outer space should be only for the betterment of mankind and to the benefit of States irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development."

My delegation is ready to support any proposal based on the principles which

I have just mentioned. We sincerely hope that this sixteenth session of the General Assembly will be able to reach a decision on this matter which will ensure the closest co-operation of all States in the question of the exploration of outer space, for the benefit of all mankind. The imposing accomplishments of science must be multiplied by the efforts of mankind as a whole.

Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My delegation considers the subject matter of the item under discussion as one of great significance. Co-operation and regulated endeavour in outer space exploration would yield immeasurable benefits to mankind in various fields of material progress but, in our view, its paramount importance lies in its effect on the mental and moral adjustment of mankind to a completely new world, conditioned by the suddenness of technological achievement. It would, in our belief, thus prove instrumental in bringing a new spirit to human relations, and to the diminution of cold war differences and tensions, and of all the dangers involved. This is the particular effect with which we are concerned, and on which we want to say a few words.

As the earth, viewed in the perspective from the vastness of space and the unity of the cosmos, shrinks in size, so the interdependence of all men on this globe is brought out in strong emphasis. As the inevitability of the common destiny of all peoples on this planet is realistically seen, so the separating lines between nations and continents would tend to lose their divisive meaning; and so, indeed, would the sharp divisions and conflicts springing from different political and economic systems and interests be dwarfed. By the exploration of

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outer space man is helped to move out of his narrow concepts and prejudices of the past. New and broader vistas are opened to the human mind, new outlooks more in line with the realistic consciousness of space and cosmic harmony, outlooks which necessarily turn humanity away from the negativeness of antagonism and strife and lead it to co-operation and peace. The present growing threat to the very existence of human life on this globe has come from the achievement of technology in terms of force, through the splitting of the atom. The survival of humanity may come from another achievement of technology, in terms of speed and travel into outer space.

These two great scientific achievements, though interrelated, as forming parts of one universe, are basically and fundamentally different in their origin and their direction. The one, the nuclear weapon stemming from the atomic splitting, carries the imprint of division and war into the human mind, notwithstanding any supposed deterrent effect from the well-known catastrophic consequences. The psychological effect still remains one of split, division and warfare. The exact opposite is the other great scientific achievement of speed and space travel which, in directing the mind to the vastness and unity of the cosmos leads to the brotherhood of man. The gap between scientific progress and moral lagging-- behind which, through the nuclear weapon, has assumed threatening dimensions, and is a danger to the very survival of mankind, will be reduced and bridged through the new outlook from space exploration. It will thus help humanity in its sorely needed adjustment to a new and totally different world -- an adjustment which will lead to peace and co-operation. In fact, the debate on this item has shown the greatest possible degree of co-operation. It is the item on which there has not been the same aspects of warfare as appear on other topics, and this is a good augury.

This spirit of co-operation should be enhanced and strengthened. This should not be difficult on this subject matter, which is one that lends itself eminently to, and promotes, close co-operation and understanding.

The exploration of outer space has, so far, been carried out by the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. We wish on this occasion to express our profound admiration for the skill, courage and daring of the astronauts,

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of both great countries, and their signal achievements in the service of mankind. I would like on this occasion to mention the names of those precursors in space exploration -- Gagarin, Shepard, Titov and Grissom. There has been a healthy spirit of peaceful co-operation, and peaceful competition, in this sphere so far. We look forward to this spirit continuing, and would wish to see a unanimous resolution adopted -- that which has been brought forward, and to which we have no objection because we feel that it deals fully with the various aspects, at the present stage of this important matter. It deals with the necessity of law and order and, of course, law and order would be an imperative in a venture which went into space -- this space, a part of the universe, which is itself based upon the system of law and order, upon a system of natural and universal law and order.

Therefore, it would be inconceivable in its catastrophic effect if it were for a moment believed or thought that we could, in venturing into this space, bring into it our conflicts and the petty differences of this little globe. Therefore the very effect of man getting into space brings to him, necessarily and unavoidably, the spirit of the cosmos and the spirit of unity, which is so important and so necessary in our world of today.

So we may look to this item as the way leading to broader co-operation in all aspects -- in that spirit of broadness which comes from outer space -- and therefore we may hope for survival through the adjustment of humanity to new outlooks, to which this great exploration will be helpful. I reserve my right to deal more specifically with the resolutions and aspects which are presented later.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I give the floor to the representative of India on a point of order.

Mr. JHA (India): I believe that we have four more speakers, Mr. Chairman, and possibly, according to the schedule, they will speak this evening. I am not making a formal proposal for adjournment, or anything like that, but would like to say that these four countries are the big Powers. They have been negotiating about an agreed resolution. Although on this subject the statements indicate a very large measure of agreement and goodwill, it is very important that any resolution we vote upon should also reflect, as far as possible -- or at any rate, earnest efforts should be made to that end -- the general consensus and agreement and goodwill that have characterized discussions on this subject in the Committee.

(Mr. Jha, India)

I do not know myself what is the stage of those discussions, whether agreement has been reached. If agreement has been reached, then of course it might be possible to vote on this subject this evening, but if not we feel that it would be better to give a little more time to it so that the discussions are continued. Also, the many delegations who would like to get instructions on any changes that might be made, and so on, should be in a position to do so.

We have emphasized in our statement that the keynote in this question should be agreement, and we feel therefore that it might be more appropriate, and certainly it would be more productive and fruitful, if we lay this matter over until perhaps Monday morning when -- after the statements of these delegations, France, the United Kingdom, the USSR, and the United States, who I believe are listed now--- we could go to the question of a vote.

As I said, I do not formally wish to propose this. I will request the Chairman to take a consensus of the Committee, and perhaps if both he and the Committee agree, we could dispense with a night meeting tonight and take this matter up again on Monday morning. I think that that would be a wise decision under the circumstances because, although as I have said there is great measure of agreement on the substance, I think that the draft resolution itself, which is a very important and detailed one, does require some further consideration and discussion among the principal countries.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee has heard the suggestion of the representative of India, not as a formal motion but, as I said, a suggestion, that the vote on the single draft resolution at present before the Committee on this subject be deferred until Monday and that therefore there be no meeting of the Committee tonight as provided for in the Journal.

(The Chairman)

Since I have no formal proposal before me -- but as the representative of India has pointed out, we are now seized with a suggestion -- I should like to sound out the Committee on this matter and find out whether any representative wishes to comment on what the representative of India has just said.

Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): I agree with the representative of India that we should not hasten the vote on this matter -- at least not until we know exactly what possibilities there exist on agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union -- especially since this is a matter which, although it is of interest to all of mankind, falls directly within their responsibilities.

Unless we have speakers for the night meeting, I would suggest that we do not hold it. Might I also suggest that the morning meeting should continue because if the representatives of the United States, France, the USSR and the United Kingdom speak during the course of the morning meeting, we shall then know, by the tenor of the speeches and perhaps by the progress of this afternoon conversations, whether or not we will be able to vote on the draft resolution on Friday. In other words, let us not take a decision to defer the vote now, but take that decision tomorrow, if necessary, after we have heard the speeches of the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and France and perhaps other countries that might wish to speak. I would thus cordially suggest a change in the suggestion of the representative of India. Instead of suspending both tonight's meeting and tomorrow morning's meeting, cancel only tonight's meeting and hear some speakers tomorrow. We will know whether or not there is agreement by the tenor of the speeches made. If so, we will then be able to vote on Friday. Thus we will have saved time, and we can take advantage of that time to study the question of Korea for Monday. If there is no agreement, then we will have to resign ourselves to having lost one day. This is the slight change that I would suggest to the remarks of the representative of India, which I believe to be well founded.

Mr. JHA (India): I thank the representative of Peru, and I certainly defer to his suggestion. I would agree with him that at present we merely decide not to have the meeting this evening. There will be a meeting tomorrow morning and we could take a final decision as to whether there should be a vote at that very meeting or whether voting should be postponed until later. Therefore, I am very glad to agree with the representative of Peru.

Mr. SIDKY (United Arab Republic) (interpretation from French): The suggestion just made by the representative of India, rounded out by the representative of Peru, seems to be a very wise one.

In the course of its participation in the debate my delegation reserved its right to deal with and discuss the resolution later. I have the impression that many other delegations are also not in a position to vote on this draft resolution this evening. That is why I am more than happy to support the suggestion of the representative of India.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): May I inquire whether the suggestion made by the representative of India, as modified by the representative of Peru, which in due course was accepted by the representative of India, is acceptable to members of the Committee? If that be the case, I will make it the suggestion of the Committee. The suggestion can be boiled down to the following: to cancel tonight's meeting and to continue tomorrow morning with the debate and with the list of speakers until the Committee decides to take a decision on the matter before us. If there is agreement in the Committee, we will so declare it as a decision of the Committee. There are no objections and it is therefore decided that the Committee will have its next meeting tomorrow at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.