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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 4 December 1962, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. ADEEL (Sudan)
Later: Mr. ENCKELL (Finland)
(Vice-Chairman)

1. International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union; report of the Economic and Social Council, Chapter VII, section IV [27] (continued)
2. Organization of the Committee's work

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AGENDA ITEM 27

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE: REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE, THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (A/5181, 5229, 5237; A/C.1/L.320 and Add.1; REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, CHAPTER VII, SECTION IV: A/5203) (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the first speaker inscribed on the list for this afternoon, I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to a letter dated 4 December 1962 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Chairman of the First Committee (A/C.1/879).

The members of the Committee will recall that at the beginning of this morning's meeting I announced that the list of speakers on this item would be closed at 1 p.m. tomorrow. In order to facilitate the task of the Chairman in planning our future work, and in order for the Committee to finish its business by the target date, I would fervently appeal to all members who wish to speak on this item to inscribe their names on the list as soon as possible.

Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): My delegation is pleased to state that the discussion of the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space takes place at a time when there are indications of an easing of international tensions and when manifestations of mutual understanding taking shape among States hold out hopes of a success for the work of the General Assembly in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space. Such hopes are cherished first of all for a success of the efforts made to create favourable international conditions of space exploration for peaceful purposes.

The epoch-making technical achievements of the past decade have caused space exploration to shift from a purely speculative astronomical footing to a practical basis, bringing the human genius to the threshold of outer space, enabling it to explore and understand its mysteries. My delegation attaches

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extreme importance to the realization that this is not merely a business of technicians, researches and scientists, but in its perspectives it is a problem concerning the relations of mankind with outer space. The future of these mutual relations is being determined now; we are now laying its foundations. These foundations will be of decisive importance for the future, they will determine whether outer space will serve the welfare and prosperity of mankind or whether the results of its exploration and of its uses will be the sources of new tensions, antagonism, dangers and destruction.

The importance of the present debate is enhanced by the circumstance that it is for the first time now that, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI), the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, in its report, gives account of the legal, technical and scientific aspects of concrete international co-operation to be developed in the field of space exploration. Paragraph 2 of resolution A:

"Invites the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to study and report on the legal problems which may arise from the exploration and use of outer space."

Resolutions B, C and D prescribe the scientific, technical and organizational tasks of the Committee.

Considering the order in which the above provisions are given, as well as the actual situation, my delegation thinks it would be reasonable for the Committee to concentrate now, in the first place, upon the legal problems of the exploration of outer space.

The working out of the political and legal norms of the exploration of outer space being a practical task, it must be borne in mind that the universal interests of mankind require the elimination of the existing anarchy and antagonisms and the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding.

(Mr. Csatorday, Hungary)

The legal regulation has to deal with the aims which the different States have to fulfil in the exploration of outer space.

It follows from many stipulations of international law, among others from the Charter and from resolution 1721 (XVI), that, first, the States should not even in outer space do anything that constitutes a threat to peace; and secondly, even in outer space they should strive for peaceful co-operation with one another on the basis of equality and mutual advantages.

I am sorry to state that I can hardly agree with the representative of Peru who, with overwhelming eloquence, tried to convince this Committee this morning that these basic principles are all of a negative character. In the view of my delegation these basic principles are of the most constructive activity and they show us a clear line for future activities.

In the spirit of these principles one can only welcome the statement made yesterday by the representative of the United States:

"The development of law for outer space requires more ... than the formulation of general principles, and it requires more than the conclusion of agreements on specific problems such as liability, and rescue and return ... It requires ... the constructing of adequate assurance that the exploration and use of outer space will be for peaceful purposes." (A/C.1/PV.1289, p.13)

It seems that the United States is not satisfied even with the extent of the proposals submitted until now by the Soviet Union for the Basic Principles, for the rescue and return and for other purposes. How could it then happen that despite these clear views no mention is made in the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.320) of the legal aspects of outer space activities?

The United States apparently wants to avoid concluding binding international agreements that could in any way hamper its dangerous activities aimed at the military uses of outer space. One of these dangerous acts happened on 9 July 1962 when the United States carried out its first nuclear explosion at a high altitude practically extending the nuclear arms race to outer space and hindering the exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes by polluting with harmful radioactivity.

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It constitutes a clear-cut violation of international law for several reasons. First, such experiments not only affect the conditions of outer space, but they imperil the chances of telecommunications between States and thus undoubtedly impair the sovereignty of certain States. Hence the carrying out of those experiments was a gross violation of paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, that action was contrary to the elementary rules of international law which are well known to oblige the States to take into account the legitimate interests of all other States. Finally, that action demonstrates that the Government of the United States, in pursuit of its political and military aims, has also this time passed through the line separating legality from arbitrariness.

The other kind of alarming occurrences is the problem of the satellites that the United States has orbited for the purposes of espionage. The competent United States organs tried to keep these activities secret, so much that they even failed to provide full information on their space vehicles in pursuance of their freely accepted obligations. Still information is leaking out and, as is known, finds its way into the newspapers. Let me quote only one of the latest pieces of such information.

Reviewing the first five years of the exploration of outer space by the United States, the 1 October 1962 issue of U.S. News and World Report wrote the following:

"The United States in those five years scored seventy-seven announced successes in space and up to twenty others that were of a secret military nature." (Vol. LIII, No. 14, p. 69)

The designs pursued by these space vehicles of a secret military nature were unmistakably disclosed by military leaders of the United States whom the 21 August 1961 issue of the same periodical quoted as saying:

"Military reconnaissance is now considered the biggest potential mission by United States planners. A satellite that covers much of the enemy's country every hour or two could provide detailed pictures of what is going on at any time -- an invaluable asset in war time." (Vol. LI, No. 8, p. 39)

(Mr. Csatorday, Hungary)

I think this admission may convince anybody that, by means of its satellites of a secret nature launched into outer space, the Government of the United States is conducting military intelligence over the territories of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other States.

These illegal activities being basically unmasked, the United States representative tried yesterday to justify them by asserting that "any nation may use space satellites for such purposes as observation and information gathering. Observation from space is consistent with international law ...".

It seems to be a strange thing, but the United States, as an "open society" country, believes it has the right to spy upon other States. But this attitude is evidently one-sided. What other explanation can there be for those spy trials which are given such wide publicity in the United States? And if the United States does not acknowledge reciprocity in respect of this spurious right, what is the legal foundation for its launching secret spy satellites into outer space? Are the words of the United States representative convincing enough after considering these aspects of United States outer space activities?

For the solution of different legal outer space problems, well elaborated analogies can already be found. For example, resolution 1721 (XVI) declares:

"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;"

International law has developed a customary right, which is called the principle of freedom of the high seas. And the Antarctic agreement has given the territory of the Antarctic, for the period in which it remains in force, the character of res communis omnium, too. The rules concerning the high seas and the Antarctic alike give a clear expression to the view that the character of res communis omnium cannot mean freedom of arbitrariness, of anarchy. The high seas, like the Antarctic, are free for use by any State only for peaceful purposes, on the basis of the principle of respect for the interests of all States. Strict observance of the agreement by the contracting parties and the research work done in the Antarctic set good examples also for other fields of international co-operation.

Thus, the need for a settlement of the legal problems is especially urgent as a result of the harmful occurrences which prevent international co-operation

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from unfolding and of the very existence of such instruments, which threaten the peace and security of mankind by making this use of outer space.

Experiences gained at the September session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space have revealed that certain delegations think the time is not ripe for a legal settlement of the existing problems, saying that the provisions of the United Nations Charter give sufficient direction to the States in respect of their attitude towards outer space as well.

We can fully agree that the United Nations Charter, its letter and spirit, apply also to this field of human activities; but it is absolutely incorrect to say that all this is sufficient and that there is no need to establish detailed legal regulations. On the one hand, this latter view deliberately leaves out of consideration the danger of the possible use of outer space for military purposes; on the other hand, it neglects the actual requirements of practical international co-operation in outer space.

In this connexion, I should like to point out two facts: First, article 1 of the Antarctic Agreement provides expressly that the Antarctic can be used only for peaceful purposes. The authors and the signatories of the Agreement were certainly aware that the obligation of States to maintain international peace and security applied to the area of the Antarctic as well. Still they deemed it necessary to lay down again that the area could be used only for peaceful purposes. Obviously they were also aware that the already effective rules of international law implied the prohibition of the use of weapons of mass destruction, of nuclear weapons. Still they deemed it desirable expressly to include this prohibition in the Agreement. Secondly, as regards the practice of international co-operation, the use both of the high seas and of air space is regulated by a whole series of international conventions and agreements.

To sum up: considering that the possibility of utilizing outer space for military purposes is fraught with tremendous dangers, we cannot help seeing that the most important problem concerning the use of outer space is the earliest possible conclusion of an international convention, and later even of several conventions, enforcing specific provisions for the peaceful uses of outer space and celestial bodies. This most important requirement has been given a right response by the proposal of the Soviet Government, contained in document A/5181,

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entitled "Draft declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the exploration and use of outer space," annex III to the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. My delegation fully supports the principles set forth in this draft, and is convinced that these principles, if they are accepted, will create firm foundations for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. At the same time, they will make possible a subsequent detailed legal regulation of all major problems of the exploration of outer space.

The Soviet draft properly specifies those rights and responsibilities of States which, in the spirit of the Charter, determine the attitude of States towards the exploration of outer space and the exploitation of its possibilities. The necessity to work out the basic principles governing the activities of States has been recognized, in addition to a large number of States Members of the United Nations, by several international scientific organizations as well. Let me refer to the recent conference of the International Law Association in Brussels, where this realization was voiced by scientists of both Eastern and Western countries. The same view was formulated by the Fifth Symposium of the International Institute of Space Law of the International Astronautical Federation held in September this year in Varna, Bulgaria, with the participation of several hundred scientists and specialists of different nationalities. May I refer here to the positive views voiced at that symposium by such eminent personalities as the Soviet jurist, Korovin, the Italian jurist, Ambrosini, and the French jurist, Pépin, who emphasized expressly, among other things, the necessity and timeliness of working out the legal principles governing the use of outer space.

The acceptance of the basic principles and their implementation by the States participating in space exploration would serve as a basis for political and legal assurances to the effect that such activities of States would really strengthen international peace and security. This is in the common interest of mankind, which the United Nations is called upon to represent and protect.

(Mr. Csatorday, Hungary)

The report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space discusses the situation with regard to international scientific and technical co-operation and makes concrete recommendations. It is very gratifying to see the progress made in this field and the fact that the members of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space have unanimously approved the recommendations of the Sub-Committee concerning the exchange of scientific information and international research programmes. We also appreciate the contribution made so far by the specialized agencies of the United Nations and by other competent organs towards the unfolding of international co-operation in the exploration of outer space. These organizations will in the future have a still more important role to play in co-ordinating and further developing outer space activities along scientific and technical lines.

This co-operation can really last only if it is built upon the firm political and legal foundations of efforts made to maintain international peace and security. And this is a common concern both of the different States and of the family of nations as a whole.

We hope the United States will translate into deeds the solemn declaration of its delegation, in which it stated that United States policy in outer space is:

"... to be guided by the general principles already laid down by the United Nations for the establishment of a regime of law in outer space, and to negotiate an extension of those principles by international agreement."

(A/C.1/PV.1289, p. 32)

Progressive world public opinion expects this great Power and its allies to show the same good intentions and readiness to come to an agreement as has been shown by the other leading great Power conducting outer space activities, the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries.

The exploration of outer space dates back five years. The whole world rightly shows its appreciation for the amazing scientific, technical and human achievements recently so brilliantly displayed by the group flights of cosmonauts Nikolaev and Popovitch and the space laboratories actually heading for Mars and Venus. Mankind regards these achievements as its own, and looks forward confidently to the new successes and discoveries of the coming years.

(Mr. Csatorday, Hungary)

We can safely say that space techniques are the techniques of the future. Therefore, while being engaged in creating the favourable political and legal prerequisites of the exploration of outer space, we have to strive to obtain that space exploration, this new field of human activities, should not divide the States, but should make them combine their efforts, that it should not incite animosity between nations, but should strengthen their willingness to co-operate in the preservation of peace. What is needed now is that not only scientists and technicians but also statesmen, diplomats and jurists should embrace the cause of the exploration of outer space and set about laying firm foundations for this enormous work.

In conclusion, I wish to declare that the Hungarian delegation is ready to co-operate in the fulfillment of this task.

Sir Patrick DEAN (United Kingdom): In the year that has just passed since the subject of outer space was last considered in the General Assembly, we have seen another series of achievements in space which must fire the imagination of all of us with the possibilities which lie before man in this new field of human endeavour. We congratulate both the United States and the Soviet Union on the flights which their cosmonauts have made. The Soviet Union gave us a striking demonstration of its scientific skill and technical ability when it sent two men into orbit simultaneously. The United States has impressed us all by making public the many months of work and study that lie behind each foray into space, and by allowing us to share in the suspense of the launching, flight and landing of a cosmonaut. But these are only the most striking achievements which the past year has seen in space. In the case of both these human projects, we applaud not least the courage and fortitude of the cosmonauts themselves. Far less sensational, but of no less scientific value, is the work which has been carried out, particularly in the United States and the Soviet Union, but also in many other countries of the world in the study of space, either through satellites, sounding rockets or observation.

We in the United Kingdom have always been conscious that international co-operation in outer space is likely to be particularly rewarding. As the Committee is aware we have been among the founders of two European regional organizations for space research: the European Space Research Organisation (or ESRO) and the

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European Launcher Development Organisation (ELDO). This year the preparatory Commission of ESRO reported to member Governments and the convention of the organization was formally signed. Work is at present going ahead on the construction of the sounding rocket range in Northern Sweden, the design of a technological centre for the organization and the provision of scholarships and fellowships for space scientists. The convention setting up the European Launcher Development Organisation was also signed this year, and work on the multi-stage rocket which will be produced by the organization is under way in seven countries.

Also this year, the first Anglo-American satellite "Ariel" was launched from the United States. This satellite has produced more valuable results than we originally expected and we look forward to further launchings in this series. It is only the United States and the Soviet Union who can aspire to the greatest achievements in space. It may be that even these two States will soon have to combine their efforts if mankind is to meet the immense challenges which space exploration will throw out. But there are few States, if any, that can make no significant contribution to space research in an international framework. It is for this reason that we particularly welcome the report of the Technical Sub-Committee of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In the debates of the Outer Space Committee itself last September, representatives from all the countries represented accepted the proposals of this Sub-Committee. The benefits from space research which until recently have seemed to be no more than pipe dreams have in the past few years become solid realities. Weather forecasting through satellites, and the relaying of telephone and television messages, promise great benefits for all countries of the world and perhaps in particular those nations still largely reliant on agriculture and those whose networks of conventional communications are not yet fully developed. We in the United Kingdom were particularly proud this year to have taken part in the "Telstar" experiments which gave such a dramatic foretaste of the promise of satellite communications. The Committee has before it a draft resolution on the report of the Technical Sub-Committee and of the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union. My delegation is favourably disposed towards this draft resolution, which in our view faithfully reflects the proposals of these various bodies. We think that in general it provides a non-controversial and sensible course of action for the General Assembly to follow. We may wish to speak later in the debate on certain detailed provisions.

(Sir Patrick Dean,
United Kingdom)

My delegation regrets that the universal agreement which seems to have marked the proceedings of the Technical Sub-Committee, and of the Outer Space Committee itself in considering the technical report, has not so far been a feature of the report of the Legal Sub-Committee. This is not to say that we consider that the meetings of the Legal Sub-Committee were without value. On the contrary, they provided, as their report has said, a useful opportunity for discussion. But the legal problems arising in connexion with the conquest of outer space are regrettably more intractable than the technical ones.

The British Government takes the view that it would be premature to attempt to deal with some of the legal questions which arise in this field at the present time -- if only because consideration of them is likely to be affected by further scientific and technical advances. Furthermore, there is the problem of separating in this new field those ideas and concepts which are of an essentially legal character from others which are primarily of a political nature. In view of both these considerations, progress in the legal field cannot be expected to be rapid. This does not of course mean that the task of exploring the legal aspects of outer space should be discontinued. It is, however, a task that requires both patience and goodwill.

Here I think that we should take our cue from the scientists. We should avoid polemics and controversial propositions and concentrate on serious discussion in a body suitable for quiet and detailed negotiation. It is obviously not the task of the General Assembly itself to find in the short time available to us the solutions to the many legal problems which arise in the field of outer space.

It is, however, possible to make progress along the path which has been marked out by the proposals which are now before us.

Although the Legal Sub-Committee failed to reach agreement on the two subjects of Assistance to and Return of Space Vehicles and Liability for Space Vehicle Accidents, proposals on the first of these two topics were submitted, first in the Legal Sub-Committee, and then, in September, in the Outer Space Committee itself by the delegations of the United States and of the Soviet Union respectively, and a proposal on the second topic was submitted in both those places by the United States

(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

delegation. These topics are, in the view of my delegation, ones which should offer good prospects of progress on matters of immediate and practical concern, and we believe that further consideration of them by the Legal Sub-Committee could have useful and constructive results. So much is, I think, widely accepted in this Committee.

I now come to the third topic on which we believe some useful progress could be made by referring it, for further study and consideration, to the Legal Sub-Committee. This is the question of the formulation of basic principles governing the exploration and use of outer space, and here there has been a certain amount of controversy.

As was pointed out by the representative of the United Kingdom during the meeting of the Legal Sub-Committee, the United Kingdom Government is not opposed in principle to the elaboration of a set of basic principles governing the use and exploration of outer space. We have always regarded the principles set out in Part A of resolution 1721 (XVI) as only a beginning, although a very important one.

This is a new field and those who enter it are concerned with the making of new laws and of formulating principles applicable to matters which until very recently would have been dismissed as only worthy of consideration by the writers of science fiction. We are not therefore concerned here with the question of whether it is wise to re-state, or elaborate, existing principles of international law which are already embodied in a law-making treaty; what we are concerned with here is the extent to which, at the present time, new principles governing the use and exploration of outer space can be formulated. This is a matter which cannot be decided in a hurry, or without the fullest possible consideration of the legal questions involved.

Our criticism of the draft Declaration of the Basic Principles Governing the Activities of States pertaining to the Exploration and use of Outer Space, which was submitted by the Soviet delegation during the meetings of the Legal Sub-Committee and was reintroduced during the recent meetings of the Outer Space Committee itself, was not therefore directed toward the concept of a set of basic principles as such, but to certain elements in that particular draft Declaration.

(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

We believe that if a Declaration of Principles is to be effective and is to represent any real contribution to the growth and development of international law, the principles embodied in it must have emerged from a consensus of the international community expressed in the practice of States, or in some other way, and so commanding general support and acceptance. We do not believe that the draft Declaration submitted by the Soviet Union is one of these likely to command general acceptance. Some of the new "principles" embodied in it are so closely connected with political questions of a controversial nature that they appear to be quite unsuited to a declaration of basic legal principles.

We believe that, in trying to formulate basic legal principles governing the use of outer space, matters which are essentially political should be strictly avoided. It was no doubt this consideration that led the delegation of the United Arab Republic to submit last September the draft "Code" contained in document A/AC.105/L.6.

My delegation has carefully studied this draft, and we believe that many of the ideas expressed in it could contribute to the formulation of a generally acceptable set of basic principles.

For the purpose of assisting the formulation of a set of basic principles governing the use and exploration of outer space, which would be based on the principles already set out in Part A of resolution 1721 (XVI) but which would seek to develop those principles, my delegation is also submitting a set of draft principles which will be found in document A/C.1/879 of 4 December 1962. The principles we have formulated in this document are, as I have said, an amplification of, and are fully consistent with, the basic principles set out for the guidance of States in Part A of resolution 1721 (XVI). They represent, perhaps, but a modest beginning of a great task, but we believe that they are principles which could even now command the assent of all States. We certainly do not wish to claim that the draft we have submitted is perfect. It is intended as a contribution which the Committee may wish to take into account in the consideration of this subject. We believe that if it is studied together with the other draft declarations of basic principles which have already been submitted, it may assist

(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

in the formulation of a set of basic principles governing the use and exploration of outer space which would command general acceptance and so would contribute materially to the progressive development of the law of outer space.

The draft which we have tabled is, we believe, largely self-explanatory. The first paragraph affirms that outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law and, after specifying what this freedom should include, provides that it should be exercised by all States with due regard to the interests of other States, and to the need for consultation and co-operation. As the Committee will see, this paragraph, as well as being based on the second of the two principles set out in paragraph 1 of Part A of resolution 1721 (XVI) follows the pattern of Article 2 of the 1958 Convention on the High Seas -- that is the Article defining and stating the principles of the freedom of the High Seas.

(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

The second paragraph of the draft declaration we have tabled repeats in substance but amplifies the concept that outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation. This concept is also to be found in the second principle set out in paragraph 1 of Part A of resolution 1721 (XVI). The third paragraph of our draft resolution re-states the first of the two principles of the same resolution, the essence of which is that in the use and exploration of outer space States are governed by international law. The last paragraph declares that States shall have equal rights in the exploration and use of outer space for themselves and their nationals and that these rights shall be governed by law.

For the sake of simplicity, this draft declaration does not, as at present formulated, make any reference to the exploration and use of outer space by international organizations of which States may be Members. This is not, of course, intended to mean that the principles which, under the draft declaration, would govern the conduct of States would not also apply to such international organizations.

Our hope is that the various draft declarations concerning the exploration and use of outer space which have now been tabled will receive detailed study next year by the Legal Sub-Committee of the Outer Space Committee, and that the Legal Sub-Committee will also study further the question of assistance to and return of, space vehicles and liability for space vehicle accidents. It will, of course, be for the Outer Space Committee itself to take a decision as to the reconvening of the Legal Sub-Committee and its terms of reference, but we earnestly hope that such decisions will be taken. In this way, we believe, the progressive development of the law of outer space can be encouraged and facilitated.

It is the task of this Committee to take action on the report of the Outer Space Committee. With that section of the report which concerns the work of the Technical Sub-Committee this is a simple task. We have, I know, all been encouraged by the widespread approval with which the work of the Technical Sub-Committee has been greeted. We naturally regret that the Legal Sub-Committee was not able to reach agreement on the problems which it faced.

(Sir Patrick Dean, United Kingdom)

But we must admit that these problems raised political and juridical issues which were absent from the discussions of the Technical Sub-Committee. So we do not believe that we should be discouraged by the lack of comparable progress in declarations of legal principles, and my own delegation has now tabled a second draft declaration in the form of a working paper. We believe that when the Legal Sub-Committee next meets it will be able to make progress in the light of these and any other papers which may emerge. In the meantime, however, we should not allow any lack of quick progress on legal issues to delay implementation of the technical recommendations of the Outer Space Committee. Where there is agreement, let there be action. For my Government believes that if we can co-operate to implement the recommendations of the Technical Sub-Committee in an atmosphere of trust and confidence, we shall find that agreement on the legal problems which we face is no longer so remote.

The CHAIRMAN: Three specialized agencies of the United Nations: the World Meteorological Organization, the International Telecommunications Union and the United Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, have asked for permission to address the Committee on the present item. If there is no objection I propose to call the representatives of these specialized agencies in the order which I have just indicated.

Mr. LANGLO (World Meteorological Organization): Speaking on behalf of Mr. Davies, the Secretary-General of WMO, I should first like to express his regret at not being able to attend this session himself. Mr. Davies is at present on an official visit to the USSR, a visit which had been previously arranged.

Obviously it will not be possible to outline in a short statement all the steps which the WMO has taken and is planning to take in the implementation of Part C of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI). In fact, the implementation of that resolution could be considered one of the basic functions of the Organization as laid down in its convention, and it is worth noting that the meteorological aspect of outer space activities have already been under study by WMO for several years before the adoption of the General Assembly resolution.

(Mr. Langlo, WMO)

The first WMO report, which is now before the Assembly for consideration, is in itself an example of close international collaboration. As the representatives are aware, it has been prepared with the assistance of American and Russian scientists and with the benefit of the advice and suggestions of other international organizations that are concerned in this matter, in particular the ICSU and UNESCO. In this connexion, I wish to mention that one of the scientists, Dr. Harry Wexler of the United States, has died since this report was prepared and I wish to express on behalf of WMO, our sincere regret at this sad loss. Dr. Wexler was not only a scientist of the highest standing, but he had great personal qualities which did much to foster the spirit of international collaboration upon which the efforts of WMO, and its predecessor, the International Meteorological Organization, have been based for nearly 100 years.

The first draft of the report was considered and improved by a meeting of experts especially convened for the purpose. Finally, the report was approved in June this year by the WMO Executive Committee, comprised of eighteen members from countries all over the world. I think it will be clear to the representatives that time was very short to prepare a report of this nature. Nevertheless, a careful screening process was applied so as to make the third report as authoritative and reliable as possible. Since the report has been in the hands of Member States for some time, it is unnecessary for me to explain it in detail. As I have already mentioned, the terms of the General Assembly resolution are very broad and involve, in effect, a complete reappraisal of the atmospheric sciences and their applications in the light of the new tools now available for exploring the atmosphere, together with the preparation of a plan with organizational and financial details. It is important to bear in mind that these tasks cannot be fully accomplished in six months' time and that the report now presented should therefore be regarded as a preliminary report.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding which could arise because of the preliminary nature of the first report, I will now return to certain matters which could not be treated in any great detail in the first reports for lack of time but which will be given full attention in future reports.

(Mr. Langlo, WMO)

As the representatives are aware, the first report proposes to establish a Committee of high-level scientists to study and advise on all aspects of research in the atmospheric sciences, and proposes that the members of this Committee be nominated by WMO, ICSU and UNESCO, in order to ensure the broadest possible representation of governmental and non-governmental work in this field.

(Mr. Langlo, WMO)

Pending the establishment of this Advisory Committee by the forthcoming WMO Congress in April next year, WMO has established a provisional group of scientists on a similar broad basis, and the first meeting of this provisional committee was held in Geneva last week, as mentioned by the representative of Australia this morning. I take pleasure in reporting that in addition to the many interesting suggestions of this group with regard to various research tasks to be undertaken in the field of the atmospheric sciences, the group also made some valuable proposals concerning the important problem of education and training of meteorological research workers. As examples, I may mention that the group considers that it would be a major step forward if all national meteorological services could engage in full-time research work on a considerable scale; furthermore, the group recommended that WMO should encourage countries to pool their resources by the establishment of international meteorological research institutes of university standing, where their scientists could work together and where meteorologists from different countries could come for post-graduate training and research. The group felt that it would be better to have a small number of large university research groups rather than a large number of small groups.

Based on the results of this first session of the group of scientists, I am confident that this group -- that is, the proposed future Advisory Committee -- will make a very useful contribution to the difficult problem of shortage of man-power.

I now wish to pass on to another important question which has some bearing on the previous one and which may have caused some concern among certain delegations. The question has been asked: Why do all countries in the world, in particular the developing countries, need to be interested in meteorological satellites? Why can we not leave these matters to the larger Powers? The answer is that all countries of the world, and not least the new States, will benefit from advancement in the atmospheric sciences, and at the same time, the full participation of all countries of the world is indispensable in order that the scientists can draw the maximum benefit from satellite observations. There are vast oceans in the Southern Hemisphere and extensive areas of land and ocean in the tropics from which meteorological observations at the surface are

(Mr. Langlo, WMO)

sparse or non-existent. It is a great step forward, but nevertheless not sufficient, to be able to observe these areas from a height of 700 kilometres or more. We also need to have a minimum amount of direct observations at the surface and in the lower atmosphere in order for observations from satellites to be fully utilized. This is a truly international task from which all countries will ultimately benefit. I would in particular address an appeal to the developing countries of the world to join in this inspiring international effort. The atmosphere knows no boundaries and it belongs, in a sense, to everybody. As already mentioned, we shall need to increase the scientific man-power in all countries to capitalize on the recent advances, and it is our hope that an increasing part of this man-power will come from the developing countries. WMO has already made considerable efforts in this direction by use of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, but much more needs to be done.

Therefore, WMO warmly welcomes the proposal in the draft resolution tabled by the United States of America, inviting the United Nations Agencies concerned with the granting of technical and financial assistance to give sympathetic consideration to requests from Member States for technical and financial assistance to supplement their own resources for those activities, including the improvement of meteorological networks.

As indicated in the first WMO report, and based upon past experience, this form of assistance from existing sources alone may not suffice, and the report therefore recommends that consideration be given to the establishment of some special financial arrangements for meeting the objectives of the General Assembly resolution. The creation of a World Weather Fund has tentatively been put forward, a fund which might be used both to cover the development of basic meteorological facilities and for research purposes. It is our hope that in due course careful consideration will be given to these proposals.

Finally, I wish to comment briefly on the question of collaboration between WMO and other governmental and non-governmental organizations interested in the atmospheric sciences.

WMO has, since its establishment, created close relations with such organizations, and in a number of cases, such as those of ICAO, UNESCO and ICSU, formal working arrangements have been concluded. As will be seen from the first

(Mr. Langlo, WMO)

report, WMO has sought, and indeed strongly encouraged, all interested organizations such as ICSU and its subsidiary bodies to collaborate in the preparation of the first report and in all future activities in this field. This has been done in recognition of the well-known historical fact that the important advances in meteorology have always been based on a close collaboration between scientists working on research problems and the meteorologists engaged in the applications of the science, in particular weather-forecasting, and that the advances in the science of meteorology and its applications in many cases as well are due to the same individuals. A classic example of this close collaboration was the discovery, more than forty years ago, of the frontal systems in the atmosphere, that is the border areas between cold and warm air-masses. The father of these theories, Wilhelm Bjerknes, Professor in Theoretical Meteorology, who did not make any weather forecasts himself, very frequently dropped into the forecasting office in the evening, during the pioneer period, and asked the following question of his young and enthusiastic forecasters: "Did you make any new discoveries tonight?"

It is our hope that the future collaboration between the research workers affiliated with the non-governmental organizations and the practising meteorologists will be carried out in this traditional spirit, and that they in fact will sit together around the same table and jointly develop the future programmes for research activities in the field of the atmospheric sciences.

I am confident that the General Assembly, in the interests of economy and efficiency, will give due consideration to these questions when taking action on the first WMO report.

Before concluding, I wish again to express the gratitude of the WMO for the friendly and willing co-operation which has been shown by the various organizations which have assisted in the preparation of the WMO report, and also to express our thanks to the two leading countries in satellite techniques -- the Soviet Union and the United States -- for making available to WMO the services of high-level scientists in this field.

Mr. De WOLF (International Telecommunication Union): As has been mentioned by some of the previous speakers, the International Telecommunication Union submitted a first report on the question of telecommunications and the peaceful uses of outer space. Today I should like to examine just where we stand in the ITU on this question, which of course is of tremendous importance to the Union.

It may be recalled that in 1959 the International Radio Conference suggested that the first Conference to consider the question of frequencies for outer space should be convened sometime in 1963. At its spring session in 1962, the Administrative Council of the ITU recommended to the members of the Union that that conference should meet on 7 October 1963 in Geneva. This proposal of the Council was accepted by the members of the Union and, therefore this conference will take place as scheduled on 7 October 1963.

During the course of its examination of the problem of outer space, the Council at its last session adopted a resolution, which does not figure in the first report of the Union because this resolution was adopted after the transmission of the report to the Economic and Social Council. In this resolution the Council instructed the Secretary-General of the ITU to send an invitation to all members and associate members of the Union so that those who so wish might, by 31 December 1962, if possible, submit information on (1) the technical progress and developments in space telecommunications; (2) subjects which they regard as appropriate for international co-operation in order to achieve the objectives set forth in General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI); and (3) which of those subjects, if any, should be included in the agenda of the proposed 1963 extraordinary administration radio conference. In accordance with the directive of the Council, the Secretary-General sent a circular to the members of the Union drawing their attention to this resolution. The substance of the resolution appears in paragraph 4 of section C of the draft resolution introduced by the delegation of the United States (A/C.1/L.320).

It will be the task of the Council at its meeting in March 1963 to examine the proposals which may be sent to the Secretary-General in order to consider which one of these proposals could appear on the agenda of the 1963 conference and those which the Council considers would not be appropriate for that conference.

(Mr. de Wolf, ITU)

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the members of the Union will respond to the request of the Secretary-General and send their views on the three points which are set forth in this resolution. The task of the Council, when it receives these suggestions, will be somewhat difficult.

I should explain that, of course, a conference of the nature envisaged for 1963 is a technical conference and that the technicians of the various members of the Union who will participate in it will obviously be experts on frequency assignments, which, of course, is the prime object of the conference. There are other numerous aspects of outer space communications which the ITU eventually will have to consider.

I should refer, however, in this case to the words of Mr. Attolico, the representative of Italy during the examination by the Committee on Outer Space of the ITU report:

"Summarizing our point of view on the contents of this report, especially in the light of the statements, I would say that it is difficult to foresee today the future ways and means of international co-operation in the field of space radio-telecommunications since the full impact of progress in space technology is some years away. A major effort should still be concentrated on research activities in the endeavour to develop the best possible global space network for space communications." (A/AC.105/PV.13, Page 52)

As I have said before, there are other aspects of outer space communications which eventually will have to be studied and considered, presumably by ITU. I shall mention a few.

In the past it has been the policy of the various nations of the world to establish networks of communications, usually on a bilateral basis. In other words, we want a radio-telephone circuit between the United States and the United Kingdom. That is the subject of discussion by the General Post Office and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and eventually an arrangement will be concluded between those two entities -- in the case of the United States, with the approval of the Federal Communications Commission.

(Mr. de Wolf, ITU)

On the whole, there have been no regional plans for communications outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. A few years ago, however, the International Radio Consultative Committee -- known as the CCIR -- and the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee -- known as CCITT -- established what was known as a Plan Committee, which has been subdivided into sub-committees, one for Asia, one for Africa and one for Latin America. It is the task of these sub-committees to establish a plan for inter-country communications for the region concerned. In expanding this process it will be possible for the ITU to have a world plan committee, which could then examine the question of where and how we would establish outer space communications. Where would you have the channels of communications? How would they duplicate the existing means of communications? Where would you establish receiving and transmitting stations? That is a very difficult and tremendous task which eventually will have to be undertaken.

There is another question, of course, and that is the question of rates. In the past the ITU has been concerned with the structure of a rate. Let us say, for example, that the rate for an urgent telegram would be twice that of an ordinary telegram; the actual rate of a telegram, let us say, between Paris and Berlin is determined by the administration in Berlin or Paris, or between London or New York and so on. It is a bilateral rate. If we are going to establish a world network of outer space communications, there again we shall have a problem resulting from a world rate for those communications, and this might be the subject of consideration by the ITU.

(Mr. De Wolf, ITU)

There is another problem of great importance. Who will operate this system? What kind of system will it be, and there we are, of course, purely in the conjectural stage at the present time.

We are still having experiments in that particular field and it will not be possible, of course, in the immediate future for the ITU to consider such problems. That will come later on. We are moving forward, first things first. As mentioned incidentally in the United States draft resolution, it considers it of utmost importance that this Conference make allocations of radio frequency bands sufficient to meet expected outer space needs. That is the first task of the Conference in 1963.

When the Council, at its meeting in March 1963, is confronted with proposals by various members of the Union, some of the subjects which I have mentioned, it can, of course, follow various courses. It would have to decide which questions were susceptible of consideration by the 1963 Conference and which subjects were not. It could then decide that some questions could be sent to a telephone and telegraph conference, and that questions of where to establish outer space communication networks should be ones for the CCIR, the plan which I have mentioned. What entity should operate the system and what should be the relationship between the ITU and such a system, that is a subject which could be considered either by the plenipotentiary conference which is to meet in 1965 in Switzerland, at the invitation of the Swiss Government, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the International Telecommunication Union, or it could be decided that these questions could be considered by an ad hoc committee which would meet some time in the future at the suggestion, presumably, of the Council, with the approval of the majority of the members of the Union.

Those are some of the questions which will eventually confront the Union and which, of course, have not been referred to as yet in the first report put out by the Union and addressed to ECOSOC. I thought I would mention these problems because it is difficult to envisage at this time just when and how we will be in a position to discuss them.

(Mr. De Wolf, ITU)

For the time being, the ITU is concentrating on the activities of the CCIR which is examining the technical factors involved in the allocation of frequencies for outer space and there will be a plenary session of the CCIR which will meet in January next and which will submit its recommendations to the 1963 Conference; and secondly, we have the meeting of the Council which will examine the question of the agenda for that 1963 Conference and, finally, we will have the 1963 Conference itself which is to meet in Geneva on October 7, 1963.

That is the position today, as I see it, of the ITU. It is a position, of course, which will develop and which will change and which will go forward with the advance of science in this field.

Mr. GAGLIOTTI (UNESCO): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to place before the Committee information on the steps which have been taken by my organization to implement the recommendations of the resolution 1721 of the sixteenth General Assembly and the recommendations of the Science and Technology Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

The recommendations of the Sub-Committee were addressed to UNESCO among other institutions, with reference to the problems of exchange of information, the encouragement of international programmes and problems of education and training. In the Programme and Budget for 1963/64, which is presently being considered by UNESCO's General Conference, the Director-General has proposed to strengthen the programme on scientific research and geophysics and space, a field in which international co-operation can contribute greatly to the peaceful exploitation of natural resources and to the development of mutual understanding between nations.

The principal objectives of the UNESCO programme in this area are to further international co-operation in basic research and to assist developing countries to make useful scientific contributions to the exploration of outer space through astronomical and geophysical observations. To carry out these

(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

objectives, the Director-General makes rather substantial proposals in UNESCO's Programme and Budget for 1963/64, which I am sure would be of interest to the members of this Committee. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of putting on record a brief summary of these proposals:

"With a view to furthering the international exchange of information and ideas in geophysics and space sciences, and encouraging co-operation between scientists throughout the world in analyzing the result of research and in formulating new research programmes, assistance will be provided to COSPAR, the interested scientific unions and to the International Astronautical Federation, to meet the costs of symposia, study groups and other scientific meetings at which the result of research will be evaluated, integrated and discussed. A regional training course in a selected branch of geophysics for space science will be organized by a Field Science Co-operation Office of UNESCO.

"For the purpose of meeting the demand for technical information on various aspects of space research and exploration, assistance will be provided to COSPAR to prepare and publish a series of manuals on the technical requirements for optical and radio tracking of **artificial** satellites, telemetry reception, sounding rocket launching sites, etc. As a first step, UNESCO has assisted COSPAR in preparing and publishing a World List of Satellite Tracking Stations, which is now ready for distribution.

"Assistance will also be given to competent non-governmental scientific organizations in the planning of international research programmes and in particular that of the International Year of the Quiet Sun. In co-operation with the WMO, the International Council of Scientific Unions and other organizations, pilot studies of the use of photographic and other data from satellites in the study of the earth's atmosphere and hydrosphere will also be undertaken. In consultation with COSPAR, the International Astronautical Federation and appropriate

(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

scientific unions, the theoretical and practical problems of extra-terrestrial biology will be examined.

"In 1963-64, within the framework of the United Nations programme of peaceful uses of outer space, UNESCO will offer assistance to Member States in the establishment and or modernization of a number of suitably located astronomical and geophysical observatories during a period of about seven years, especially in geographical areas of particular scientific interest, such as the equatorial regions of the earth, through short-term missions of experts, through fellowships and, in certain cases, by the supply of special instruments and equipment. These observatories may thus be able to make useful contributions to the study of the earth's magnetic field and ionosphere, of the physics and chemistry of the upper atmosphere, etc. Fellowships for scientific students from less advanced countries will be provided to enable them to participate in training courses in space research techniques to be held at appropriate existing research centres.

"In addition to these proposals, it has been noted that certain of the problems before the Legal Sub-Committee involve further scientific research. In this respect, UNESCO is ready to serve as a meeting place for the exchange of ideas and information between scientists and jurists concerned with these problems."

There is another area of UNESCO's programme to which I should like to call the Committee's attention, which is the promotion of space communication for the free flow of information and ideas and, generally, as a means of further enlightenment and international understanding.

(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

Possibilities offered by new technical advances in communication by means of artificial satellites will be studied in co-operation with the International Telecommunications Union. An expert committee on new methods and techniques in education, held recently at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, recommended that UNESCO should encourage the reservation of those parts and amounts of the broadcast spectrum and related electronic resources necessary to assure for all the transmission and reception of the full range of educational radio and television services, including, at the appropriate time, the eventual use of artificial satellite communication systems.

For the world conference of the International Telecommunications Union, to be held in Geneva in October of next year, UNESCO is preparing a paper which will present the case for the setting aside of frequencies for outer space transmission of news and as a vehicle for educational and cultural exchanges. The final form of the report has not yet been decided, but it is likely to go somewhat beyond the purely telecommunication aspect, and touch upon the organization -- if not the content -- of such space broadcasting. It is hoped that this conference might adopt a resolution or a recommendation which would pledge nations to a co-operative international use of this facility in a way designed to promote the flow of ideas, the hastening of the educational process, and greater mutual understanding among peoples.

UNESCO is also considering the convening of an expert meeting on space communication to define and seek solutions to the many administrative, financial, technical, and even legal problems involved in the effective use of satellites for the diffusion of information and the advancement of education. The results of this meeting would include recommendations to Member States, information enterprises and international organizations.

To summarize briefly, UNESCO's programme is planned to complement the work of other organizations and to extend to fields not related to other organizations. Specific parts of our activities call for co-operative efforts with WMO, ITO, and COSPAR. We shall do our part to make the programme of the International Year of the Quiet Sun as effective as possible; and we are today looking ahead to the uses of outer space for educational purposes.

(Mr. Gagliotti, UNESCO)

Furthermore, as in all other aspects of its work, UNESCO will feature and support assistance and training in this sphere. We shall continue to follow closely the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to ensure the closest possible co-operation.

Finally, I am sure it will interest the Committee to know that the Director-General's proposals, as described here, with reference to UNESCO's future programme in the field of outer space, have been approved by UNESCO's international conference, which is presently in session at UNESCO headquarters.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to make a short statement to the Committee in connexion with the point raised by the representative of the Soviet Union, at the close of yesterday's morning meeting, vis-à-vis the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318, submitted by the Soviet delegation, in regard to the invitation to be extended to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Republic of Korea, to participate in the discussion of the question of withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. He said that the Committee might take a decision on this draft resolution even while it is discussing the outer space question, in the event of our having to cancel a meeting of the Committee for want of speakers.

The Committee will no doubt remember that, at the 1284th meeting, it was decided that I, as Chairman of the Committee, should have consultations with delegations which had expressed different points of view in the matter, to see if an acceptable solution could be found. I am sorry to report to the Committee that, at the present moment, there has not been a complete conciliation of the divergent views on this matter. If the Committee wishes to take a decision on this point now, I may inform them regarding the status of the list of speakers on this item as of now:

For tomorrow we have only one speaker in the morning, and two in the afternoon. For Thursday we have no speakers for the morning meeting; we have only

(The Chairman)

one speaker for the afternoon. On Friday we have four speakers listed for the morning session; no speakers for the afternoon.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): Mr. Chairman, the picture you have given us about the pace of our work does not seem encouraging -- at least, to my delegation. In our view, everything should be done by this Committee to complete its work; and if I am correct, the General Committee has provisionally fixed 21 December as the target date at which the Assembly will have to conclude. In view of this, my own delegation feels very strongly that, apart from any issues of substance, which are bound to come up when we discuss the Korean item, no harm can be done if this Committee takes a day to discuss the invitation which would be sent to the representatives of the two Koreas.

In my view, this is a purely procedural action which can be taken up by the Committee apart from item 28.

I feel very strongly that, unless the Committee does not want to take up this issue in good faith, there is no point in discussing the Korean item. But I am sure that the Committee, by admitting the item, will want to go into it in detail. Therefore, my delegation proposes that this Committee should -- of course, with the permission of those who want to speak tomorrow -- one in the morning and two in the afternoon -- take up the question of the invitation to be sent to the representatives of the two Koreas tomorrow. This is a proposal which my delegation wants to put forward ⁱⁿ so the interests of saving time. We have yet sixteen days, and I feel that, if we are able to take a decision, there will be ample time for those who are to arrive in New York to address this Committee. This is the course I put forward to the Committee.

Mr. MRCZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I thought the representative of the United States had asked for the floor. If he asked for the floor in order to agree to the proposal just made by the representative of Ghana, I will be glad to cede my turn to him.

Mr. RCWAN (United States of America): I would be quite happy to cede my own turn if the representative of the Soviet Union cares to proceed with his statement.

The CHAIRMAN: Inasmuch as the representative of the Soviet Union is inscribed on the list before the representative of the United States, I would now call on him.

Mr. MCROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wanted to free the representatives in this Committee from the need to hear me on this subject. I would like to support the proposal just made by the representative of Ghana and, in order to perhaps facilitate the forthcoming statement of the representative of the United States, to make the following proposal: that there will be no postponement in the discussion of the question of outer space in order to discuss the problem of extending invitations; that tomorrow we start the discussion on the last item on our agenda, because we do not have enough work with regard to this item of the agenda.

There is nothing extraordinary in this procedure. The procedure has been followed in many Committees: in the Sixth Committee, in the Third Committee and in the Second Committee. In quite a few Committees of our Assembly, when there was an interruption in the work of one item on the agenda, they started discussing the next item. Therefore, even from the point of view of those who, like the representative of the United States, thought that one could not discuss the problem of the invitations to be addressed to representatives of Korea to participate in the discussion of the last item of our agenda before we start to discuss that item -- although I am not entitled to speak in the name of the delegation of the United States -- I think that this argument, even from the point of view of those who oppose it, is groundless. We shall just agree that we will now discuss the last item on our agenda. And the more speakers we have on the question of outer space, the less we will have on the last item and limit ourselves to discussing the invitation to be addressed to representatives of the Korean people to participate in the discussion of this problem which is of vital importance to them.

I think that if we eliminate this last and formal objection -- the objection on which those who did not want to discuss this matter earlier was based -- we will show, as the representative of Ghana said, our honest attitude towards the last item on our agenda, and thus in these last hours or days we will enable the representatives of Korea to come here and participate in our work. I support the proposal that was made by the representative of Ghana.

Mr. RCWAN (United States of America): As the Committee will recall, during the last lengthy discussion we had on this item, in my closing remarks I said that my country, in a spirit of compromise, would accept a gentlemen's agreement as long as there was also a gentlemen's understanding that we were not letting ourselves in for a situation where every so often the question would be raised again, as a point of order, to demand of the Chairman what he found out and then the Committee would have to go through another long round of discussion on the same issue.

I see now that the fears I had that day were quite justified. I feel therefore that I ought to chat just a little bit about this procedure which, quite frankly, my delegation finds tiring, and to talk about this issue as it is, to talk about facts as they are, to talk about the situation as it really affects the work of this Committee, and then see where we go from there.

I find it a little bit surprising, for example, that the Soviet representative apparently does not want to discuss this item of outer space in any detail. It is not only surprising but disturbing, because as I listened to the debate in which we set up the order of precedence, it was clear to me that the vast majority of the representatives here regarded this item of outer space as one of great importance to all of mankind. I listened to the debate with interest because I knew that here was an item which indeed might go to the heart of such things as agriculture and weather, and the food supply and education in many nations which aspire to these things. We had expected that indeed this Committee would want to give its fullest and most detailed attention to this area of human endeavour which holds out so much hope to every people represented here, to the children and the children's children in the countries that we represent.

Therefore, I repeat that my delegation finds it extremely disturbing that we are now faced with this apparent reluctance to discuss the matter of outer space. We are doubly disturbed that we again today find these discussions interrupted by the raising of this issue of Korean seating. Let me say quite frankly, as I am sure the representatives know, that there is no real issue of Korean seating here. This Committee, this Assembly, made its position clear last year. It made clear the conditions under which the North Koreans would be welcome. But only in the last few days we had a declaration by Kim Il Sung of the North Korean regime that the United Nations has no authority to discuss this matter

(Mr. Rowan, United States)

whatsoever. We have had a situation where the representatives of the North Korean regime have constantly expressed their contempt for the United Nations. Therefore why this business of pretending that everybody here is desparately concerned as to how quickly we are going to get about the business --

Mr. MCRCZCV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): Point of order.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt the representative of the United States. The representative of the Soviet Union has asked to speak on a point of order.

Mr. MCRCZCV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I object to this abuse by the representative of the United States. Before the Committee had started discussing the substance of the matter concerning the invitation to be addressed to the representatives of the Korean Democratic Republic to participate in the discussion of the problem of the withdrawal of foreign troops in South Korea, he allows himself to make slanderous and intolerable attacks against the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It is "either - or". Either we start to discuss the substance of the matter tomorrow as we agreed, quite reasonably -- and if the representative of the United States is in agreement then he need not make any speeches on the substance now -- or we might agree that we have already begun the discussion on the substance. And then I am prepared to listen, despite all of my indignation at what I have just heard, to any statements of the representative of the United States on the subject without interrupting him. If I interrupted him now, it was in order to stress -- I do not know what my colleagues think of it -- that my delegation is not prepared to listen now to disquisitions on the substance of the matter. We are now discussing the problem of what we are going to do at tomorrow's meeting.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask you to request the speakers, including myself, the representative of the United States and all other speakers, to be kind enough to adhere to the problem that you raised: that is to say, whether we should leave our meetings tomorrow without speakers and without a matter for discussion, or whether we should start discussing the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318.

The CHAIRMAN: In view of what has just been said by the representative of the Soviet Union, I am sure the representative of the United States will confine his remarks to the procedural point under discussion, which is the formal motion moved by the delegation of Ghana that the Committee will devote tomorrow's meeting to the Korean question, for considering the question of invitation.

Mr. ROWAN (United States of America): My remarks were meant solely for the purpose of having the members of this Committee understand fully what it is we are deciding, in order that each of us might make our decision in a world of reality rather than in a world of fantasy, because this is not tomorrow we are talking about. Any one of us who has looked at this procedural discussion in the past, has seen that it always runs for several days and that it has always involved the substance of the Korean question. So what we are doing, in effect, is to say that when we start tomorrow, we have seized the Korean question and to all intents and purposes have gone a long way to reverse a decision that already was taken by this Committee, and that was to dispose of this question of outer space prior to seizing the Korean question. And that is specifically --

The CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, but here I have to interject the decision. The decision taken by the Committee was that the question of outer space would be the fifth item on its agenda. There was no decision that the Korean question would be taken only after the completion of that item. I thought I should make that point clear.

Mr. ROWAN (United States of America): It was not the understanding of my delegation that the Committee had taken a decision to the effect that it would begin the discussion of the item on outer space and might then at any point drop it and proceed with this item of the Korean question. The point I want to make, however, is that in my opinion the motion made by the representative of Ghana does constitute a reversal of a decision already taken by the Committee. And the Committee ought to make a decision on that motion with this understanding in mind. The Committee ought to take this decision with the complete understanding that it is endorsing what my

(Mr. Rowan, United States)

delegation regards as a subterfuge to bring the Korean question before this Committee before this question of outer space is disposed of. I say this making it clear that we have no worries about discussing the Korean question. I doubt that there is any delegation which is more interested in this Korean question than my delegation. We have discussed it at length in the past; we will discuss it at length when it comes up here. But it would be the hope of my delegation that we would not inject this discussion in the middle of the question of outer space.

I would say that if the representatives have grown weary of discussing this matter of outer space, let us get it over forthwith and then proceed to deal in a proper manner with this question of Korea. But let us not resort to tactics of confusion under the guise that we are in a desperate hurry to decide this question of invitations, because I cannot for the life of me see any realistic reason for this Committee supposedly being in such a hurry, to get on with settling this question of invitations, that it has to disrupt its discussions on outer space.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): Mr. Chairman, forgive me for intervening again, but the proposal I made was submitted in good faith and I gave reasons why I made that proposal. You have made very clear to the Committee the difficulties we are facing in regard to the debate on outer space: no speakers. Tomorrow there will be one in the morning and two in the afternoon, you said. On Thursday, I think, we have one or two; on Friday, four. It was against this background that I made my proposal.

There was no question of subterfuge, nor do I want to go against the decision of the Committee which has been taken before about the priority of items. Those of us who are used to the procedures of Committee work here know very well that this can be done. When there is a dearth of speakers on an item, there has been interruption, and in this case the interruption is merely to decide on a procedural issue. If today I am being told that attached to the procedural question of Korea -- the invitation to representatives of Korea -- is the substantial issue, then, of course, a new complexion is being thrown on the case. But I would not go into detail. I am only making the proposal that this Committee, for a procedural action, decides on an invitation to be issued to the representatives of both Koreas to come when the item of Korea is taken up by the Committee. This is the gist of my proposal and I have put it forward against the background of your own intervention to the Committee.

Mr. BLUSZTAN (Poland): The representative of the United States has raised a few issues which call for some comment. First, the attitude of this Committee towards the discussion of the problem of outer space. Let us put the record straight. Yesterday we had the benefit of listening to three very important and interesting statements: the statements of the delegations of the United States, USSR and Austria. Today we have had the benefit of listening to very interesting and important statements by the delegations of Peru, Australia, Canada and Poland in the morning, and this afternoon we heard the statements of the delegations of Hungary and the United Kingdom. We can hardly be accused of having attached little importance to the discussion of this problem. We have also had some discussions going on beyond this room. We know that there are several proposals being circulated and being discussed among delegations. I think that there is hardly any ground for the assertion that this Committee is not attaching the proper importance to the discussion of the problem of outer space. We are as interested as the delegation of the United States. I am sure that everybody around this table is interested in the discussion and is looking forward to the adoption of a resolution which will give new momentum to the work of the Committee on Outer Space and its Sub-Committees: the Technical Sub-Committee and the Legal Sub-Committee.

What is the position for tomorrow? There is one speaker for the morning and there are two speakers for the afternoon. We can assume that at least one meeting tomorrow will be cancelled. I do not know what your intentions are, but I see a great deal of merit in cancelling both meetings and putting the three speakers who are listed for tomorrow, to speak on Thursday. And I think that we might save a great deal of time in doing so. There is no question, therefore, of interrupting the discussion on the problem of the peaceful uses of outer space.

What is at issue is the proper organization of work of this Committee so as to save us time and to put some order in our proceedings. Because what we want to achieve is that when we take up the substantive discussion on the Korean problem, this discussion be held in the best possible conditions, and with the presence in this Committee of the representatives of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the representatives of the Republic of Korea.

(Mr. Blusztan, Poland)

There might be some differences of opinion among delegations as to who should be invited, but I think it is absolutely necessary that we come to a conclusion on whom we are going to invite and when. This is the only issue before this Committee. I think that it should be solved in accordance with the proposals put forward by the representative of Ghana, which my delegation supports whole-heartedly.

The CHAIRMAN: As far as the Chair is concerned there is one point which I should like to make quite clear. If the members of the Committee were prepared to speak on the item of outer space, this situation would not have arisen. The fact is that we do not have speakers and the main concern of the Chair is to expedite the work of the Committee.

Mr. SOULEYMANE (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like to refer to the organization of our work. The Chairman has announced that there is only one speaker on the list for tomorrow morning and two speakers for the afternoon. My delegation would have liked the Chairman to appeal to the two speakers on the list for the afternoon to make an effort to speak in the morning, which might enable us to cancel the afternoon meeting. As members know, there is a plenary meeting of the General Assembly tomorrow afternoon on the question of Angola, which is an extremely important item. I am sure that all delegations would like to attend that meeting.

This is the suggestion that I would like to make.

Sir James PLIMSOLL (Australia): I should like to oppose the suggestion that we take up tomorrow, or before the end of the consideration of the item on outer space, any consideration of inviting any Korean representatives to be present for the discussion of the item on Korea.

This Committee has decided to take the items in the order of outer space and then Korea. It is unusual, unless there is a general consensus, to debate items in the First Committee simultaneously or to take aspects of one item before the whole of the preceding item is completed.

With respect to the Korean item, as we know from past experience, a discussion on who should be invited to participate becomes a discussion on substance. In some past years the debate on who should be invited has spread over a considerably longer period of time than the debate on the substance of the question. I think that is likely to be the case again. We shall have a debate spreading possibly over several meetings going into the substance of the question and getting mixed up with the debate on outer space, with people speaking on outer space when they are available and then switching to the item on Korea. This will be very confusing. A simultaneous discussion of two items is confusing, particularly to the smaller delegations which do not have staff to follow items separately. This is even more confusing when, as the representative of Mauritania has just pointed out, we shall also have plenary meetings simultaneously. We must follow outer space, Angola, the report of the Committee of Seventeen, all going on simultaneously in the First Committee and in the plenary,

(Sir James Plimsoll, Australia)

and in addition are we going to have a running debate on Korea? I find this to be extremely difficult.

We are not under great pressure of time. We do have a time-limit of 21 December, and as we get closer to that date we might have to consider extraordinary measures, but we are not yet at that stage. I suggest that we still have a few days in which to consider the item on outer space. It is true that the Chairman has a limited number of speakers at the moment. However, that may not be so in a day or two when members have had time to inscribe their names. I would suggest that perhaps one reason why we are having delays is that, at the end of the meeting, instead of members being able to get back to their offices to prepare their statements, as they might be doing now, they have to sit here and listen to this debate on a procedural matter. We do not want to have to go through this sort of thing meeting after meeting.

Therefore, I suggest that in the absence of a general consensus, and it is clear that there is not a general consensus, we follow the normal procedure and try to have the discussion on the question of outer space as one continuous discussion, with an effort made to have speakers come forward as rapidly as possible, and then we can take up the Korean item immediately afterwards.

Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): When I spoke on a point of order, I did not present all the objections that could be made to the statement of the representative of the United States, because I wanted to limit myself at that time strictly to a point of order. Now I want to revert to the main argument with which the representative of the United States started his statement today.

He said that he was greatly concerned at seeing the Soviet Union not showing sufficient interest in the discussion on international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, that the Soviet Union does not want to discuss the details of this matter, and so on. I must say that I can think of nothing more intolerable on the part of the representative of the United States during this whole session of the Assembly than that statement by the representative of the United States who now represents his Government and has taken his seat at this table, who sits in a seat that is still warm from another representative of the United States who

(Mr. Morozov, USSR)

participates in the discussion on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space.

I must say to this Committee -- and all the members are my witnesses -- that the statements made yesterday by the representative of the United States and the representative of the Soviet Union showed the deep desire of the Governments of both countries to co-operate in this field. I must say for the information of the present representative of the United States that the delegation of the Soviet Union is engaged in, I hope, very fruitful negotiations with the delegation of the United States on the question of the practical results which should flow from the discussion of the question of the peaceful uses of outer space and the organization of international co-operation in this field.

At this very time when there was an exchange of views yesterday, which was the starting point of a most fruitful activity and co-operation between the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, we see here another representative of the United States, who comes to make intolerable statements on the position of the Soviet Union on this question of the peaceful uses of outer space, and we are compelled to listen to such statements.

We would really like to know who represents the Government of the United States in the First Committee of the General Assembly? Is it Senator Gore, whom we heard yesterday and whom we had the pleasure of seeing today, or the gentleman who has just appeared and who has sat down in the seat of the United States and who speaks on the same item of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space? Who of these two gentlemen is responsible for evaluating what is happening on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space? I think that somebody is ready to give me an answer to the question: who represents the United States on the question of the peaceful uses of outer space?

Mr. ROWAN (United States of America): I hesitate to interrupt, but the representative of the Soviet Union has raised the question of who represents the United States, and I thought that in the likelihood his memory might get short, he ought to have an answer forthwith. I want to let him know that as long as I sit in this chair, I represent the United States.

The Soviet representative has made the point that there are negotiations going on between the United States and the Soviet Union on outer space. I say that is well and good. We welcome these negotiations. We welcome the fullest kind of co-operation. But the point my delegation was making was that these are matters which affect not just the Soviet Union and the United States. This is no bilateral playtoy. This is a matter that affects everybody who sits in this room and the people they represent. The representatives here are entitled to the fullest, the most detailed, the most substantive and the most honest discussion of this issue that they can have. So I want it to be clear to the representatives here as to what I meant when I raised this issue.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to clarify for the Committee what, as I understand it, the proposal of Ghana means. The representative of Ghana proposes that the meetings scheduled for tomorrow should be devoted to a discussion of the Korean question only as relates to the question of invitations. If that proposal is adopted, it would mean in effect that the debate on outer space would be adjourned for only one day and that the Committee would return to it the day after tomorrow.

Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq): On 22 November, this Committee took the following decision:

"The Committee entrusts the Chairman to hold consultations on the question of the date at which the Committee will consider the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318, so that this can be considered not later than at the beginning of the discussion of agenda item 28, the question of Korea."

These are the exact words which you, Mr. Chairman, used when you asked the Committee to take a decision on that proposal, and the Committee, without objection, decided to accept that proposal.

This afternoon, you informed the Committee that so far your consultations had not been entirely successful, and, seizing on that and on the fact that we do not have sufficient speakers for tomorrow on the item now before the Committee, the representative of Ghana, merely in order to help the Committee to proceed with its work as expeditiously as possible, proposed that the two meetings scheduled for tomorrow should be devoted to the consideration of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318.

The acceptance of the proposal made by the representative of Ghana would not in any way reverse any previous decision taken by this Committee, because there is nothing inconsistent with the proposal of Ghana that we should take up this draft resolution tomorrow and the wording of the proposal adopted by the Committee on 22 November, namely that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318 would be considered "not later than the beginning of the discussion on agenda item 28, the question of Korea".

(Mr. Pachachi, Iraq)

The proposal of the Committee was that the draft resolution would be considered "not later than", it did not say that it could not be considered before the beginning of the discussion of agenda item 28.

A little while ago, Mr. Chairman, you interpreted the proposal of Ghana, correctly, I think, that what he had in mind was that we might make use of the two meetings scheduled for tomorrow, in view of the fact that we did not have sufficient speakers, in order to dispose, perhaps, of this draft resolution which is pending before the Committee. I believe this is a good proposal because it might save the time of the Committee and might avoid a protracted and prolonged discussion when we reach item 28, the question of Korea.

The two points I should like to make are, firstly, that there is no inconsistency with or reversal of any previous decision of the Committee. On the contrary, I think the proposal of the representative of Ghana is very much in the spirit of the decision we took on 22 November. I believe it is a useful proposal because it might save time, and, therefore, I do not think there is any reason for anybody to object. Secondly, if we take up the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318 tomorrow, we may be in a position to dispose of it.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): My understanding of the proposal made by the representative of Ghana is that our meetings for tomorrow would be devoted to a consideration of the proposal submitted by the Soviet representative regarding the invitation to the two Koreas, to the extent of taking a decision on that draft resolution. I would like some clarification of this. If at our meetings tomorrow the debate on this particular question was not concluded, would that mean that we would continue our meetings until we had disposed of that draft resolution, or would we devote only the meetings scheduled for tomorrow to that draft resolution and then resume the discussion on the item relating to outer space?

The CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, the proposal of the representative of Ghana, if carried, would amount to an adjournment of the debate on outer space for only one day; it would mean that the Committee would resume its discussion on outer space the day after tomorrow.

Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): I am not making a proposal, but I just want to find out what would be the difficulty, so far as our work is concerned, if we had a meeting of the First Committee for the purpose of continuing our discussion on the item now before us, and if we did not have sufficient speakers to occupy our time, and we opened the meeting with the item under discussion and then, when there were no more speakers, began the discussion on this draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.318. That would make it possible for us not to drop the item under discussion and also not to delay the discussion on this draft resolution.

Suppose that tomorrow there was only one speaker. That speaker would make his statement on outer space, and if there were no further speakers we could then take up the draft resolution. At all the further meetings, priority would be given to the discussion on outer space, and, at the end of that discussion, if there was time, we could continue to discuss the draft resolution. We would then be filling our time quite usefully, but, as I have said, I am not making a suggestion, I am just throwing out the idea.

The CHAIRMAN: If the Committee decides to take up this question relating to Korea tomorrow, there are two ways in which this could be done. One would be to adjourn the meeting on outer space and take up the question of Korea, as suggested by the representative of Ghana, and the other way would be to list the two items together on our agenda, but the latter is not the effect that would flow from the adoption of the proposal of Ghana.

Mr. CAMPEELL (United Kingdom): My delegation does not feel entirely happy with the suggestion just made by the representative of Afghanistan. It seems to us that the difficulty about that suggestion is that when we come to a meeting in the morning or in the afternoon, as the case might be, we should not know for certain which subjects were going to be discussed in the Committee, and that, as the representative of Australia pointed out earlier, does not make for a really orderly conduct of business and is difficult for delegations. We also, I must say, have some difficulty with the earlier suggestion for much the same reasons, the proposal of the representative of Ghana.

On the other hand, we do see that there might very well come a time in this debate on outer space when it would perhaps be generally found convenient in this Committee to take up the last item on our agenda because time is running out. It does not seem to us that that time has come yet because, after all, we have still not even closed the list of speakers; there may well be further speakers that will come forward as you yourself, Mr. Chairman, have pointed out. Now I wonder whether it would not be better to leave this question over for a bit to see how the time-table goes. If we find at the beginning of next week, shall we say, that the debate on outer space is dragging on and that we have still not tackled the question of Korea, at that stage the Chairman might find that the members of this Committee would be very glad to make a start on Korea if there were still not enough speakers on outer space to fill the time available.

I make that suggestion perfectly informally, but it does seem to my delegation that it would be a mistake to embark tomorrow on a discussion of the draft resolution concerning the invitations to other participants over the Korean item.

Mr. SCULEYMANE (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): I would say that the suggestion made by the representative of Afghanistan seem to us to be more in keeping with usage and procedure than the proposal made by the representative of Ghana because the representative of Ghana proposes an adjournment. If my memory serves me correctly, it appears that the Committee has already taken a decision according to which item 28 would not be taken

(Mr. Souleymane, Mauritania)

up until after concluding the discussion on the point before the Committee at present. If we ask for an adjournment, we then run the risk of getting enmeshed in a procedural discussion, but if we go along with the proposal of the representative of Afghanistan, I think we would then be saved from procedural snarls.

Mr. ROSSIIES (Cyprus): It seems to me that we are wasting a great deal of time on a procedural discussion that leads nowhere. I understand that there is only one speaker for tomorrow morning but that we do not know whether by tomorrow morning there will not be more speakers appearing; so it seems to my delegation that the proposal made by the representative of Afghanistan would be practical. If there are no speakers and there seems to be no way of using the time, then this matter might be considered tomorrow in the light of the circumstances existing tomorrow because now we are uncertain. Some people say that there may be speakers tomorrow and probably there may be, in which case all of this discussion now is futile, because supposing two more speakers came forward tomorrow; then the whole morning would be occupied and it would be unfair to prevent the further discussion of outer space in spite of the fact that there are speakers because we have already decided to interrupt it as of tonight. So why not put the matter before the Committee tomorrow after the first speaker has finished, if there are no more speakers and we could adjourn now. I would suggest an adjournment at this moment.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): I do not want to be misunderstood. I think that in my first intervention I even suggested that the taking up of the invitations to the representatives of both Koreas could be tied up with consultations of those listed to speak tomorrow. I think I made it very clear in my first intervention that I was trying to be constructive, to help you, Mr. Chairman, to help the General Committee and all of us here who want to finish the items on our agenda. If it is the feeling of the Committee that we shall be able to do justice to the two items without any delay, especially when we decide to invite the representatives of both Koreas, then my delegation would have no objection at all in abiding by the wishes of the majority.

(Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana)

But the point which I want to emphasize here is that we should not wait until the last moment before we decide to invite the representatives of both Koreas to come here and take part in our proceedings. Of course, it has been suggested that invariably when this Committee takes up a procedural item or subject, there are always substantial problems invoked, but I feel that when the time comes my delegation will have to speak its mind very on this issue because I do not think this should be the thing.

We should be able to isolate procedural questions from questions of substance, and I am serving warning that if the time comes and this confusion takes place, I will have to speak up very boldly and make the position of my delegation very clear on the issue of Korea.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee is now seized of a motion for adjournment presented by the representative of Cyprus, and that takes precedence over other proposals before the Committee.

Mr. BLUSZTAJN (Poland): Point of order. If I understood the representative of Cyprus correctly, he made two proposals. His first proposal was that we decide to take up the matter of the invitations tomorrow after the list of speakers for tomorrow morning's meeting is exhausted, and then he made his proposal for adjournment. I think that we should consider these two proposals in the order they were presented.

The CHAIRMAN: A motion for adjournment takes precedence over the others, and the Committee will vote on that first.

The motion to adjourn was adopted by 45 votes to one, with 27 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.