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Chairman:

Mr. ADEEL

(Sudan)

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)

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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.1/879, 880; A/C.1/L.320 and Add.1; REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, CHAPTER VII, SECTION IV; A/5203) (continued)

Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia): It has been pointed out here several times that mankind has entered the sixth year of the new era of its development -- the cosmic era. This era, in spite of the short span of time, has its history. It is a history full of efforts, work, heroic acts, victories and also sacrifices. It is a history full of dramatic tensions.

As every development, also the development of conquering outer space is a struggle of antagonistic tendencies. Human knowledge, acquiring of new facts, possessing knowledge of new laws of nature has been materialized in the struggle against limitations caused by the gravitational harnessing of man to earth. In the wider sense of the word, development in science and technology must open to mankind not only infinite dimensions of outer space, but, also, a road to liberation from poverty and from dependence upon the problems and contradictions of life on our planet. Science itself must fight against the enslavement of these very problems, against being pushed backed into them; or, against being misused in a way that these problems and contradictions will be projected into outer space and, so to say, fall back to earth in monstrously multiplied weight. The cold war, war preparations, arms race are being also drawn into outer space in order to hit earth in still greater dimensions. There is a growing danger of a tragic solution of the fundamental contradiction, namely, that man should get into outer space only for the purpose of destroying life on earth and earth itself from outside.

On the other hand, the consciousness of this danger calls ever urgently for a positive solution which would be in harmony with life itself and overcome the gravitational limitations of man not only in the field of science and technology but also in the field of social organization to help to ensure a world without wars.

(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

Mankind as a whole has been confronted by tasks of which it is reminded at every step by the successes of its intellect and skill, of science and technology; namely, that it is imperative to join forces, knowledge and experience to achieve further progress in the conquest of outer space, in the utilization of new knowledge for making the life of mankind fuller and richer on our planet; and it is necessary to unite efforts and prevent life on earth from being limited, tied by fears and endangered by mass death and destruction through the spread of war preparations and war acts to this new field.

(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

It is in such a way that our delegation understands the sense and significance of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) and the statements made in the spring of this year by the leading statesmen of the world -- the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States. That is also the substance of the task before the seventeenth session of the General Assembly and from which standpoint we must consider the past activities of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, as well as the future work of the United Nations in this field.

From the point of view of co-operation in research in acquiring facts and discovering the laws of nature, as well as their utilization, certain progress and success in the field of scientific and technical co-operation was achieved in the past year. The recommendation of the Committee in the field of scientific and technical co-operation represents a constructive step forward. Therefore our delegation agrees both with the exchange of information acquired by States in the process of their penetration into outer space and with the international research programme. Our scientists and scientific institutions are willing to participate in these programmes, just as they are interested in many of the problems listed and are working in their way on their solution. Our delegation therefore has no objection to the establishment of international sounding rocket launching facilities under the aegis of the United Nations, on the condition that the sovereignty of States on whose territories such bases are established would be respected.

We can congratulate the Committee on its success in the field of scientific and technological co-operation; but we are not entirely satisfied with the current results in the field of legal regulations. Although in the Legal Sub-Committee very positive proposals -- in particular, the Soviet draft declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the exploration of outer space -- have been submitted, no agreement was reached, certainly through no fault of the socialist and non-aligned delegations. In this respect, the report of the Committee notes briefly that "no agreement was reached on any of the proposals submitted to the Sub-Committee. Four of these proposals were also presented to the

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Committee, but, after an exchange of views, no agreement emerged." So that we are now faced with the problem of overcoming the deadlock in which the Committee has found itself.

From the point of view of the most important task facing the United Nations in this connexion, namely, to secure outer space from being drawn into the cold war and destruction, no concrete measures were taken in the legal field. Such a deplorable lagging behind in the field of legal regulations could have negative consequences for further progress in the scientific and technical conquest of outer space. It risks the slowing down or even total barring of scientific and technical co-operation, and a continuing lack of legal norms regulating obligatory actions of States in outer space could facilitate the changing of outer space into a dangerous arena of the arms race and the cold war. Therefore a great responsibility rests on the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. It must pull negotiations on legal questions from the present deadlock and adopt necessary legal norms or at least entrust the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee with the task of elaborating such norms as soon as possible, and for this give that Committee a clear-cut directive.

What are the most important tasks in the legal field that must be solved expeditiously? I think we can find them in the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The necessity is, therefore, to formulate the fundamental binding principles on the utilization of outer space on the part of States and to regulate gradually, by treaties, the individual significant, topical aspects of activities in outer space, and, in particular, to ensure help to, and rescue of, cosmonauts and cosmic vehicles making emergency landings. If no agreement is achieved within a short period of time, there may be danger of stagnation or even regression in the development of international co-operation in the utilization of outer space and, as I pointed out a few minutes ago, even of changing outer space into an area of feverish armaments race and of the cold war.

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The most important task is the elaboration of a binding declaration of fundamental principles governing the utilization of outer space emanating from the already formulated principles of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI), from the Charter of the United Nations itself and from the universally recognized principles of international law regulating friendly relations among all countries and ensuring international peace and security.

In the Legal Sub-Committee and at the September session of the Committee, the Western Powers, and the United States in particular, expressed their doubts and even a negative attitude concerning the usefulness of the declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States in utilizing outer space. It was maintained, on their part, that the principles contained in General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) were satisfactory. In this connexion, the United States requested that priority be accorded to concrete partial measures such as an agreement on assistance to and return of space vehicles and their personnel or an agreement on the liability of States arising from accidents involving space vehicles.

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However, during the present discussion the United States representative himself admitted the necessity of elaborating the principles contained in resolution 1721 (XVI) and promised to submit his own proposal which we are awaiting with interest. The delegation of the United Kingdom also submitted its own proposal. Our delegation will express its opinion on the merit of the proposal of the United States -- if it is submitted -- and on the proposal of the United Kingdom, if it is submitted -- when these proposals are under our consideration. At present we wish only to note that these steps of the Western Powers, namely the submission of these proposals themselves, even if we do not take their contents into account, confirm in themselves the position of the Socialist countries that the form of a resolution, however solemn it may be, is not sufficient, and is not binding, and these principles should be expressed in a binding form, in the form of obligations of States which would sign the declaration. With regard to the possibility of progress in this programme, we feel hopeful. Also, certain statements of the delegation of the United States in this Committee are promising. The representative of the United States stated:

"The United States believes that nations which conduct activities in outer space should take all reasonable steps to avoid experiments or other activities which seriously threaten to deny or to limit the use of outer space to other nations." (A/C.1/PV.1289, p. 17)

We also note in another connexion that the representative of the United States said:

"... even though it is now feasible, the United States has no intention of placing weapons of mass destruction in orbit unless compelled to do so by actions of the Soviet Union." (Ibid., p. 16)

He also went on to say:

"... it is especially important that we do everything now that can be done to avoid an arms race in outer space -- for certainly it should be easier to agree now not to arm a part of the environment that has never been armed than later to agree to disarm parts that have been armed."

(Ibid., p. 16)

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That is in substance not very different from the main points of the Soviet draft Declaration and we can presuppose that if the United States delegation is proclaiming these ideas here it will not oppose the expression of these principles in the form of legal and binding obligations in a declaration.

The Western Powers have expressed their doubts about and opposition to the Soviet proposal that all activities connected with the penetration into outer space and its uses must be carried out solely and exclusively by States. Without doubt they are guided by their internal ideas on economic and technical enterprise in their opposition and apparently it is their desire to permit activities in outer space to be developed also by private persons and firms, for profit-making purposes.

However, the activities in outer space are of a special character, and are different from other activities of an economic and technical character carried out on the territories of individual States. The launching of satellites, scientific programmes and preparation of cosmonauts are of such a responsible and also, expensive, character that these undertakings concern the security and interests of all other States. It is an activity which is typically one of public interest and it should never be submitted to profit-making, private interests and purposes. It was not by chance that all activities, planning and making of the research related to outer space has been carried out exclusively by Governments and by their organs. How else could the principle of the liability of States for space-vehicle accidents be effectively applied, as proposed even by the United States? Is there not a contradiction here? It is time to put an end to attempts to pull private-property categories and profit-making interests into new, immense cosmic space, which mankind has begun to penetrate only through the joint efforts of States.

Another objection of the Western Powers concerns provisions on the prohibition of espionage activities in outer space by means of cosmic vehicles. They assert that so-called observation activities in outer space are legally permissible, as are the observations activities on the high seas. This assertion, in the view of our delegation, is contrary to the principles of international law and is made to justify before world opinion the launching of United States espionage satellites.

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International law based on the principles of sovereign equality, integrity of State frontiers, non-interference and development of peaceful and friendly relations prohibits espionage aimed against the security and existence of the other members of the international community and the development of peaceful and friendly relations between States wherever it may take place. An act which is a crime on earth or in the atmosphere, an act which is contrary to law in these fields of life and activities, cannot be legalized by being lifted into outer space, and outer space, in this sense, cannot be separated from the other spheres. This was, after all, admitted even by the United States representative, who stated that:

"The things that go on in space are intimately related to the things that go on here on earth. It would be naive to suppose that we can insulate outer space from other aspects of human existence."

(A/C.1/PV.1289, p. 16)

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If we apply this statement in the case of espionage satellites, we must very strongly oppose the idea that the launching of these satellites would be in accordance with international law. It flows, by the way, from the inner logic of the matter, and from common sense itself, that a declaration on the principles of the peaceful uses of outer space would be incomplete if it did not condemn the ways in which the violation of the peaceful uses of outer space could take place. Following the well known U-2 incident, the United States, as we know, abandoned their assertion that they had the right to carry out the so-called observation flights -- which are, in fact, espionage flights -- over the territory of the Soviet Union. They stopped this form of espionage activities and declared that they would not resume them in the future. Why should they not come to the same conclusion in connexion with espionage activities in outer space, or should we wait until another incident similar to the U-2 incident takes place, with, perhaps, more dangerous consequences?

The Czechoslovak delegation harbours, of course, no illusions that in present conditions, when rocket and nuclear weapons are being developed and disseminated, the proclamation of the Declaration alone could definitively prevent the spreading of war preparations and military actions into outer space. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is not only a member of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space but also a member of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, is, therefore, fully aware that military and civilian utilization of outer space are linked and that both fields are a part of a wider problem -- the most important contemporary international question -- namely, the question of general and complete disarmament, and that a definitive separation of these two kinds of activities and a definitive securing of outer space against war preparations, the arms race and ensuing dangers to humanity is possible only within the framework of general and complete disarmament.

During the first part of the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee at Geneva it was clearly and sufficiently proved that an effective safeguarding of outer space from the armaments race could be achieved only under conditions in which all means of atomic weapons delivery were liquidated, perhaps with some strictly limited exceptions. Only in this way can absolute control over launching

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of rockets, transporting satellites and cosmic vehicles to their orbits be made possible. Otherwise such a request has no proper basis.

The United States disarmament proposal, under which 70 per cent of rockets in the first phase and 35 per cent in the second phase would be retained, would not provide us, even six years after the beginning of the process of general and complete disarmament, with a realistic basis for the taking of effective control measures for the peaceful security of outer space, in spite of the fact that the United States proposal contains certain other provisions for securing outer space. These provisions in the context of the United States proposal are not, of course, well founded.

We are pressed for time -- as has been said frequently by many speakers in this Committee -- and the safeguarding of outer space for international scientific and technical co-operation requires the most expeditious possible realization of the first phase of general and complete disarmament, as formulated in the Soviet proposal. Our efforts, which are aimed at the development of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, will not be halted. They will not be postponed until the time when an agreement on general and complete disarmament is reached. We can contribute, by positive measures in the field of outer space, to provisional steps aimed at safeguarding the security of outer space and, at the same time, to the bringing about of general and complete disarmament.

At present the conclusion of a Declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the use of outer space -- as proposed by the Soviet Union -- would be an instrument of binding character and would secure the cosmos for peaceful exploration. It would in fact constitute a great and positive step towards keeping the forces of the cold war -- and all war preparations and the arms race -- from outer space. In the opinion of our delegation, the seventeenth session of the General Assembly should direct its efforts particularly towards achieving the formulation and adoption of this Declaration.

The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes -- as all speakers before me have done -- the agreement reached between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the NASA, and expresses its hopes that, just as the two big Powers and the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the United Nations have succeeded in achieving an agreement on the scientific and technical aspects of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, this General Assembly will also succeed in overcoming the deadlock in the legal field and in formulating the basic principles governing the activities of States in connexion with the exploration and use of outer space.

Mr. ATHAR (Pakistan): We, in this First Committee, are now dealing with a matter which is analogous in a special sense with two subjects that this Committee has recently disposed of. I refer to the question of nuclear testing and disarmament. And I think it can be correctly stated that the absence of genuine and meaningful co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space between the two space Powers is ultimately as dangerous for mankind as the absence of an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests or the lack of an agreement on disarmament.

Two days ago we were happy to learn that the Soviet Union and the United States delegations had come to an agreement on co-operation in the three fields of communications, weather spotting, and mapping of the world's magnetic field. This is an extremely important step in furtherance of a climate of détente, and it is entirely in accord with the spirit pervading the exchange of reassuring messages some weeks ago between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the President of the United States, and we may hope to see further evidence of this spirit in the discussions now going on in Geneva. It is a demonstrable fact of our times that when these two great Powers display a spirit of mutual co-operation, the world feels reassured and relaxed, and when their relations are characterized by tension, the world experiences fear and alarm.

I would like, therefore, before I proceed further, to offer my congratulations to the two delegations and the great countries which they so fittingly represent. This agreement confirms our faith in the efficacy of this Organization, which provides an appropriate forum for bringing about peaceful co-operation between nations and peoples.

Now it is only just and proper that a discussion on this subject should have provided an occasion to the two great space Powers to recount their achievements in the field of space science and technology and to state their views, which must command wide respect on the merits of this subject. These achievements are indeed formidable, and have aroused the wonder and admiration of all mankind. But that is only one side of the picture; even more do they demonstrate the need for continued mutual co-operation in this new field of endeavour, since the absence of real co-operation, or existence of conflict, which is implicit in the

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absence of such co-operation, can undoubtedly have the most awful and far-reaching consequences for mankind.

This is a possibility which we must never allow ourselves to lose sight of, and we believe, therefore, that any effective or constructive intervention by non-space countries, such as mine, should lie in the direction of urging the great Powers to continue their efforts at settling their principal differences as quickly as possible and to co-operate in joint endeavours in this field, in the interest both of themselves and of mankind as a whole. When one really comes to think of it, such co-operation is desirable and necessary for many reasons, not the least among them being common sense, and perhaps also for two other rather special reasons.

Firstly, they and they alone, that is these two super Powers, have the monopoly of the technology to send communication vehicles into space. Discussions between them with a view to achieving co-operation can therefore be carried on unhampered by the complication that other countries' views and interests have to be taken into consideration.

Secondly, collaboration is desirable because space exploration is in our time an organic part of the problem of armament escalation. Therefore, any agreement between the two Powers to co-operate in space technology could well be a logical prelude to an agreement on disarmament itself.

When I think, therefore, of this question of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, of which this Committee is now seized, I see it essentially as a matter that really involves agreement in an important area of the field of general disarmament. If the two super Powers could agree on joint collaboration in the future exploration of outer space, it would, in essence, mean that they would jointly foreswear using space exploration as a field for armament escalation, and could thus achieve a measure of real disarmament.

Let us define the problem, then, clearly and unambiguously as it really exists today. Every spectacular achievement of one party in space exploration spurs on the other party to emulation not in the spirit of the Olympic games -- would that it were so -- but with deadly intent to overtake the other party for actual or potential military reasons.

(Mr. Athar, Pakistan)

Thus we see that, with such serious implications, this question is necessarily one of urgent concern to all the countries represented here in this Committee, who must necessarily worry over a matter of such deadly significance for us all, and indeed, if there is any truth in this view, then we would be justified in regarding with increasing alarm the escalating programmes of the two great Powers in the space race, programmes which are not as yet fully subject to either their joint or to international control.

Now, the United Nations interest in the peaceful uses of outer space began in 1958 when the General Assembly, by its resolution 1348 (XIII) of 13 December 1958, set up an ad hoc Committee consisting of eighteen countries to study this matter. This ad hoc Committee was transformed into a permanent Committee by General Assembly resolution 1472 (XVI) of 12 December 1959, and the membership of the Committee was increased to twenty-four. This was later increased in the following years to twenty-eight members.

It will be of some interest to note that in the three years since the United Nations conceived an interest in this comparatively unknown and incompletely charted field of man's knowledge, progress on this work was understandably somewhat slow. Here was a new field, a new medium, totally outside and beyond ordinary terrestrial experience. To formulate a set of working values for this unfamiliar medium was not only baffling, but offered a difficult challenge to man's ability to subject it to his earthly laws. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the work of the Legal Sub-Committee set up by the Main Committee in March this year has not much progress to report.

It is not surprising, since, in effect, as other speakers have pointed out in the course of this debate, outer space is not as easily susceptible to treatment for purposes of legal interpretation as other terrestrial media, like the seas, or the continental land masses, or even the atmosphere immediately above the earth.

Indeed, it is not hard to see that this new medium into which man has now ventured confronts us with a new and fundamental challenge to all our hitherto accepted standards and values. It is therefore perhaps appropriate that we should pause and take a second look at what we are trying to accomplish and where we seem to be drifting. Is it not perhaps time to take heed of the warning, that to try

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and tackle this problem in terms of the old competitive values is really to head straight for disaster?

In its resolution 1721 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, the General Assembly approached this formidable problem by formulating certain basic principles. I shall quote the two important ones from part A of that resolution.

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"International law, including the Charter of the United Nations, applies to outer space and celestial bodies".

This provision is clearly designed to bring activity in outer space within the confines of law and Charter obligations. I quote again:

"Outer space ... is free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law and is not subject to national appropriation".

This provision is clearly designed to avoid conflict between States in this new field of human activity, designed, shall we say, to avoid a new colonial struggle in outer space to replace the old struggle which had plagued our planet, it will be recalled, for the last two centuries; a struggle whose conclusions we in our generation have witnessed.

These two resolutions are, I think it will be agreed, extremely important, but it would be wrong to regard them as complete and final. By themselves, as statements or formulations of international principles, they will not exclude conflict. The story has to be taken up from there, both in practical terms -- that is to say, in terms of the political relations between the great Powers engaged in space exploration -- and, again, in terms of their expansion into a corpus of law relating exclusively to this vast and, as I said before, rather novel and baffling subject.

In part C of the above-mentioned resolution of 20 December 1961, the General Assembly recommended to Member States, to the World Meteorological Organization and to other specialized agencies, to co-operate in weather research and analysis, for the benefit of mankind. I refer to this particular resolution because I wish to point out that my country, subject as it is in parts to damaging cyclones, feels a strong interest in international co-operation and the exchange of knowledge and information.

My country is, of course, not anywhere near being a space Power, but it is a matter of some interest that in June of this year, specifically on the 7th and the 11th, our scientists were able to launch two weather rockets carrying payloads of eighty pounds of sodium, up to a height of eighty miles into the upper atmosphere.

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With these launchings my country has demonstrated in incipient and token measure its practical interest in the space age, and, in this connexion, I am authorized by my Government to offer facilities available in my country, and specifically the Sonimiani rocket range near Karachi, from where these weather rockets were launched, to this Organization and to the World Meteorological Organization in case they would wish to set up international sounding facilities in my country.

Now, we have noted with considerable interest and a certain amount of gratification that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee has made considerable headway in the matter of international co-operation. They deserve our gratitude. We also wish to thank the representatives of WMO, ITU and UNESCO, who have made statements in this Committee.

Now in regard to the practical matters with which all of them are seized, I would like to suggest that account be kept, both in the Sub-Committee that I have mentioned and in these specialized agencies, of the followingsuggestions that I have to make.

Firstly, I would suggest that provision be made for arranging for more training facilities for technicians from under-developed countries. I need hardly point out how much under-developed countries are handicapped by the absence of technical knowledge.

Secondly, it seems to me that from the point of view of under-developed countries like mine the dissemination of news on technical matters through the medium of newspapers and pamphlets is equal to, if not more important than, an exchange of information on such matters. While an exchange of information benefits the more highly developed countries, dissemination of news will be of great benefit to under-developed countries.

Thirdly, I would like to suggest that the World Health Organization (WHO) should perhaps also consider playing a more active role in studying, analysing and disseminating news about the effect of extra-terrestrial activities on man's health and the hazards that he has to face. If the Committee recalls, this suggestion touches on one of the three points that were mentioned in the exchanges between Chairman Khrushchev and President Kennedy in the earlier part of this year, which exchanges offer, I think we all agree, a solid basis on which the countries of the world, and the two space Powers in particular, can and should build their future co-operation.

(Mr. Athar, Pakistan)

I have already referred to the difficulties that are inherent in the formulation of international legal regulations for the use and exploration of outer space. It is, of course, undeniably necessary that a workable and practical body of law be formulated as soon as possible, but it seems to me that such formulation should be based on a set of new values in keeping with the present age; -- not so much in terms of nation States, as in terms of the world community; not in terms of men organized in narrow, exclusive communities intent on pursuing their exclusive aims, whether military or political or related to their prestige, but in terms of mankind as one large corporate family; not in the old competitive spirit of we and they, but in the co-operative spirit of us all.

In proposing this, one cannot, of course, ignore the existing political realities which make all this extremely hard to achieve. Before a system of world law as distinct from international law is achieved, it follows that there has to be a big and fundamental change in world political inter-relationships. As long as the spirit of conflict prevails in the relations between the great Powers, any such happy consummation is clearly out of the question. Therefore, we have to start by taking first things first, namely, the need for urging co-operation and an end to conflict and competition between the two great Powers.

As is well known, a highly commendable form of co-operation already exists between the great Powers engaged in scientific exploratory work on the Antarctic continent, and proves that co-operation between them is not really as impossible as it sometimes seems.

But clearly something more than negative or passive co-operation as in the Antarctic is necessary in the field of outer space; something that involves a joint approach through joint enterprises. I think that I am right in saying that this is what our Australian colleague perhaps meant when he called for joint collaboration in his speech on Tuesday; and I am sure that this is what the world reads into the intentions of Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy in the messages which they exchanged earlier this year.

Failing this required collaboration, there is a distinct danger to mankind in continued space exploration if the objectives of the Powers descend to the crude one -- and I may be excused for using that expression -- of securing a competitive lead, one over the other, for the purpose of utilizing it to military advantage. That the military significance of developments in space technology is not lost or absent was shown by the Australian representative, who mentioned the statements of important personages in both countries in this regard.

(Mr. Athar, Pakistan)

It is indeed unfortunate that the thermonuclear race, with all its attendant hazards, has entered the field of outer space. It will be recalled that some months ago, one Power, over the protests of the other Power, exploded a high altitude nuclear device, and that was followed by a similar explosion by the other great Power. Thus, though we should give credit to the two space Powers for their dizzy achievements in space technology, for the unexampled heroism of their cosmonauts, for the admirable ingenuity and skill of their engineers, we cannot but deplore the spirit of exclusiveness in which all this extraordinary and wonderful work has been undertaken -- a spirit which is somewhat obsolescent, and which may even be in the last analysis detrimental both to the interests of the peoples of the big Powers themselves as of mankind as a whole, since any thermonuclear conflict will even more surely and swiftly lead to mutual annihilation and will give neither victory, nor even survival, to either the one or the other.

It is therefore necessary to understand clearly that outer space exploration cannot be set apart or abstracted from the daily conflicts and problems on earth. Though it advances the cause of science to unheard of heights, it does so only by playing with the risk of endangering mankind's ultimate survival. Let us not blink at the truth of the matter, that if the cold-war conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union continues into this decade without any genuine détente, without any agreement to live and let live, then it is poor solace to know that man, even as he stands on the threshold of a new age of opportunity, has in reality decided to commit suicide. All of us will recall the genuine sigh of relief that was heaved when the two great Powers came to an agreement in the recent Caribbean crisis. All of us now look hopefully to Geneva, where the disarmament negotiations have been resumed. But while we hope, we also fear, and it is my contention -- I hope with some truth -- that the question of the use of outer space really belongs there too, and that whether an agreement on joint exploration results from an agreement on disarmament, or leads up to such an agreement, it is essentially a matter which requires the urgent consideration of the big Powers in the first instance, and

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of all of us in so far as our limited influence goes, but our joint influence can, I believe, be morally considerable.

We have been told, and we can well believe it, that a great destiny awaits space explorers in this coming decade. We are told that before this decade is out man will have landed on the moon. There would indeed be little doubt about this, provided war or a confrontation between the big Powers does not intervene again. I have been at some pains to establish a clear distinction between conflict between the big Powers, and other conflicts. Only a few days ago there was another conflict of rather large dimensions in Asia, of almost the dimensions of a war between two nations that comprise, in terms of population, a third of the human race. But though we all deplored it, it did not fill us immediately with the same dire forebodings for mankind as the recent Cuban crisis. There is also a kind of conflict that seems to rage spasmodically in various other regions of the globe, but as long as it does not involve a direct confrontation of the two big Powers, we do not tremble for the fate of the world. But outer space is indeed an area where they do directly confront each other, and so we regard that area as a specially sensitive field.

It will be recalled that, in the debate on disarmament, I suggested that the Secretary-General of our Organization should be entrusted with a definite mediatory role between the great Powers on that very important question. I would like to think that the Secretary-General should be available in that role in all those sensitive areas, including the area of outer space where the great Powers confront each other. It has been stated in this Committee, in an earlier debate, and I think rightly so, that the General Assembly and its Committees have a continuing interest and responsibility for the major problems of our time. It will be remembered that in the matter of disarmament we have asked the Disarmament Committee now meeting in Geneva to report back to the Assembly by the month of April next year. Should, unhappily, agreement still elude us on the question of disarmament, then the General Assembly will not in effect be seized of what is really an urgent problem again for approximately a whole year from now. Something, to my mind, needs to be done in the intervening period, if there is a major deadlock, and that is why I suggested the interposition of the Secretary-General. In my view, these bigger and, if I may say, these climactic problems are the essential problems of this decade.

(Mr. Athar, Pakistan)

They overshadow other problems, such as the Congo, or the problem posed by the Palestine refugees, and should be spotlighted by the Secretary-General's intervention to a greater degree than at present.

We know that our Organization has limitations in terms of personnel and finances, and that these limitations are serious, but I do believe that, if necessary, we should consider some gradual disentanglement or disengagement from lesser problems and concentrate more on these major problems.

Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): All of us may recall that, nearly a year ago, upon the recommendations of the First Committee, the General Assembly at its sixteenth session adopted a very important resolution on the question of international co-operation and the peaceful exploration and uses of outer space, which is known as General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI). Now, this Committee is examining -- in the spirit of that resolution -- the work carried out by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space during the year of 1962. We have before us the report of the latter Committee and the reports of the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union, which had been specially asked by the General Assembly to report to the United Nations on their activities in the realm of the peaceful uses of outer space.

I shall be very brief in outlining the position of my Government on the question under discussion. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic has had the honour to participate, together with twenty-seven other Member States, in the first and second sessions of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, as well as in the sessions of its Sub-Committees -- the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and the Legal Sub-Committee -- held last summer in Geneva. Our delegation very attentively followed the work of these sessions and had the opportunity to express the views of its Government on the question of peaceful co-operation of nations in the exploration and use of outer space. This enables me to be brief in my intervention here.

At the very outset, the Mongolian delegation would like to note with satisfaction that, in the scientific and technical field of the peaceful uses of outer space, the two great space Powers -- the Soviet Union and the United States -- have displayed more spirit of co-operation than in any other important international problems.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

The exchange of messages between Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mr. Kennedy, President of the United States, on the prospects of co-operation in the field of exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, has had important bearing on the subsequent steps taken in that direction.

This Committee was pleased to learn the other day from the representatives of the United States and the USSR that an agreement had been reached between NASA and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR on a joint venture in some important fields as co-operation and eventual co-ordination in meteorology with a view to contributing their capabilities towards establishment of a global weather satellite system for the benefit of other nations, mapping the magnetic field of the earth by special satellites and experimental joint endeavour in the development of telecommunications by means of satellites. This is, as the Soviet side puts it, a good beginning for the further development and expansion of co-operation between Soviet and American science and a noble task for the sake of scientific progress and for strengthening peace on earth.

It is the hope of the Mongolian delegation that this laudable and good beginning will further be augmented and enhanced.

Now, coming to the work done by the Committee, I have a few general remarks to make. It should be noted here that commendable progress has been made in the work of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, and the parent committee has been able to work out, on the basis of the report of the Sub-Committee and those of WMO and ITU, important recommendations pertaining to the future activities in the field of peaceful exploration and uses of outer space.

The recommendations contained in the Committee's report cover three important domains; they are: first, the exchange of information provided on a voluntary basis covering national, regional and international programmes of space research and exploration; secondly, the encouragement of international programmes, including the International Year of the Quiet Sun, the world magnetic survey and the programme for international co-operation in the field of space communications and satellite meteorology; thirdly, international bases for sounding rocket programmes. These measures will be of great value for the development of scientific and technical collaboration and all nations, including those States

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

which are still to undertake activity in outer space, may benefit much from their implementation.

My delegation is of the opinion that these recommendations would meet the unanimous approval of this Committee. The Mongolian delegation also expresses its appreciation of the initial steps taken by the World Meteorological Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, COSPAR and other international organizations concerned in the field of exploration and use of outer space. Here I would like to stress that my country, with its specifically irregular and fast-changing continental climate, which often adversely affects economic endeavours, especially agricultural activities, takes great interest in the projects planned by the WMO to improve weather analysis in forecasting capabilities. My delegation has the intention to make suggestions to the authorities concerned in my country that special study be made as to how to co-operate closely with WMO in the field of the World Weather Watch programme so that our country could benefit as well as contribute to the utmost.

Having made these very few remarks on the scientific and technical side of the question under discussion, I would like to turn to another aspect of it. General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) invited 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. It is regrettable that until now no significant step forward has been made on this very important aspect of international co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space.

The General Assembly resolution has laid down two basic principles to be complied with by all States in exploration and uses of outer space; namely, that international law, including the United Nations Charter, be applied to outer space and celestial bodies and that outer space and celestial bodies be free for exploration and use by all nations in conformity with international law and not be subject to national appropriation. I hope that it is amply clear to everyone that these principles, though very important, are extremely general in nature and therefore need further elaboration. We are now called upon to work out a specific set of rules which would govern the conduct of nations in the exploration and use of outer space and which might form the basis for space law.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

It is from this point of view that the proposal made by the Soviet Union that a declaration of basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the exploration and use of outer space should be signed at the earliest possible date is timely and practical. It is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend why the United States has been rejecting until now this proposal, especially if one bears in mind the fact that the United States representatives themselves have come forward with draft proposals on assistance in the return of space vehicles and personnel and liability for space-vehicle accidents which actually constitute part and parcel of the principles contained in the Soviet draft declaration. Taking individual problems out of their general context and pressing for them, while rejecting the whole of a congruous complex is at least illogical.

It would be wrong to presume that the United States representatives do not realize the urgency of working out a comprehensive legal system governing the conduct of nations in the use of outer space. The only reason for the unwillingness of the United States to accept the Soviet proposed draft declaration seems to be its reluctance to become committed to the provisions by the declaration, which is permeated by a sincere desire to secure genuine peaceful exploration in the use of outer space. This was evident from the speech presented in this Committee by Senator Gore on 3 December 1962, in which every sound policy pronouncement was immediately followed up and rendered meaningless by elaborations of poorly veiled, unhealthy intents of the United States Government in the field of exploration and use of outer space.

I am not going to dwell here upon those schemes, for the representatives of Hungary, Poland and others have aptly and thoroughly exposed and criticized them.

(Mr. Dugersuren, Mongolia)

Fortunately, the idea of signing an international declaration or any other document laying down the norms of behaviour, the rights and obligations of nations in relation to outer space, seems to be gaining ground. The delegation of the United States of America promised to introduce a draft declaration which my delegation has not yet received. The representative of the United Kingdom has produced a short draft declaration; my delegation will study this document and, if necessary, will make its observations known later. As to the draft declaration presented by the Soviet Union, my delegation considers it to be a good basis for working out a firm foundation for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and we support the principles contained therein.

It is the opinion of my delegation that the Legal Sub-Committee, basing itself on the Soviet draft declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the exploration and use of outer space, as well as on the documents contained in annex III of the Committee's report (A/5181), could work out a comprehensive international agreement or a convention on the guiding principles in the exploration and use of outer space.

In conclusion, I wish to assure this Committee that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will be most willing to co-operate, to the utmost extent possible for it, in the implementation of the projects and programmes outlined by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in the field of international co-operation in that domain.

Mr. CHAKRAVARTY (India): A year has passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 1721 (XVI) of 20 December 1961. During this period the world has seen great achievements in man's attempts to conquer space. The whole world must take pride in the remarkable flights in space that the Soviet United States cosmonauts made this year, and we extend our warmest congratulations to them. These magnificent scientific and technological advances have also confronted us with many serious problems. Unless we start considering those problems from now on a solution later may become even more difficult.

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space unanimously recommended certain measures of scientific and technical co-operation arising out of the directives of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI). The report makes recommendations for exchange of information and encouragement of international programmes and suggests specific measures on which international co-operation could start. We attach great importance to the dissemination of knowledge and technique and exchange of information in this new field of science since this is of the utmost importance for the less developed countries.

My delegation was very happy that the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee was unanimous. It was gratifying to note that the scientists could come to an agreement which is mutually satisfactory to all. The announcement made by the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union on 5 December that a further agreement had been reached between United States and USSR scientists for co-operation in three fields of space activity must be welcome to us all. These three fields are: first, co-ordinated launchings of meteorological satellites and the exchange of data thus obtained; second, co-ordinated launching of satellites to map the earth's magnetic field; and, third, experiments in space communications; these are of the greatest interest not only to the space powers but also to people all over the world. Let us hope that this spirit of co-operation and agreement would be extended in other fields where there are still some differences.

India is interested in being the host State for the International Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Facility on the terms proposed by the Sub-Committee. As I stated in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, our offer to be the host is, of course, on the basis that this would be a United Nations project in which the principal Powers concerned would co-operate. Detailed proposals in this respect would be made after the General Assembly agrees to accord United Nations sponsorship to the facilities in question.

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

My delegation regrets that we have not so far been equally successful in solving some of the legal problems which have arisen and are likely to arise in the near future as a result of man's penetration into outer space. The Legal Sub-Committee considered the general principles and legal problems very carefully, but, unfortunately, no agreements could be reached quickly on any of the proposals submitted to it. The legal questions are indeed extremely complex and the difficulties of finding satisfactory solutions are numerous. It is, therefore, natural that the problems have to be considered with even more patience and care before a solution can be expected.

When the matter was discussed in the Legal Sub-Committee, there was a feeling in certain quarters that the scientific data so far available are not sufficient to enable a thorough examination of the problem and for drawing up detailed regulations beyond the general principles already laid down in General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI). This view appears to have been somewhat revised as a result of the discussions in the Legal Sub-Committee and in the Outer Space Committee. There is now a greater consensus of opinion that it might be inadvisable to delay the elaboration of legal principles too long. If no regulations are to be attempted until we acquire much greater knowledge, awkward precedents may be established making the problem even more complicated. After all, whatever rules we may make now can always be modified in the light of knowledge acquired later. The broad principles set forth in General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) definitely need elaboration and further clarification. As I pointed out in the Committee on Outer Space, we have to clarify which provisions of international law can apply automatically to outer space and to what extent sovereign States will have to waive their rights as established under international law.

We now have before us not only the USSR draft declaration on basic principles governing activities of States pertaining to exploration and use of outer space but also proposals made by the United Arab Republic and the

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

United Kingdom. It is understood that the United States of America is also contemplating suggesting certain basic principles. I do not propose to enter into a detailed examination of these various proposals; in fact, we do not think that these details can be examined by the General Assembly. These details can fruitfully be examined by a small committee of experts, and the best such committee would be the Legal Sub-Committee already established by the Outer Space Committee.

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

All that we need do now is to give the Outer Space Committee a definite directive to proceed with the examination and formulation of a space law. In doing so, the Committee will no doubt take into account all the proposals submitted so far, those that may be submitted hereafter, as well as other suggestions which may emerge in the course of further discussions.

My delegation has always emphasized that outer space should be reserved for peaceful uses. We would therefore welcome a declaration to this effect. The representative of the United States has stated clearly that:

"It is the view of the United States that outer space should be used only for peaceful -- that is, non-aggressive and beneficial -- purposes." (A/C.1/PV.1289, p. 13)

The representative of the USSR in his statement has said:

"The importance of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space is now generally recognized." (Ibid., p. 42)

It is a matter of regret to my delegation that both the United States and the Soviet Union have, however, qualified these statements by making them conditional on an agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament. Senator Gore has said:

"The question of military activities in space cannot be divorced from the question of military activities on earth. To banish these activities in both environments we must continue our efforts for general and complete disarmament with adequate safeguards." (Ibid., p. 13)

Mr. Morozov has also said:

"The position of the Soviet Union in this field is that in the first stage of general and complete disarmament, all means of delivery of atomic and hydrogen weapons must be prohibited.

"Of course, when these cardinal questions have been solved -- we hope such a solution will be found in the interests of all mankind -- it will be easier to co-operate in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space." (Ibid., p. 61)

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

We do not question the validity of these arguments. Outer space is no doubt potentially of great military value. It is not easy for the space Powers to agree to its de-militarization outside the context of general and complete disarmament. There are also difficulties, as have been pointed out, of distinguishing the peaceful from the military use of outer space. Despite these difficulties, we do however believe that a declaration by the two space Powers that outer space should be kept free from military use would nevertheless constitute a significant step in the development of the rule of law in outer space. So far, the greatest advance in the penetration of space has been restricted to the United States and the Soviet Union. Agreement between two is obviously much easier than an agreement between many. I crave your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, to repeat here what I said on 13 September 1962 in the Outer Space Committee:

"The dangers of carrying earthly conflicts to outer space would be quite unpredictable. The time to act for reserving outer space for peaceful uses is now. In this connexion, it may not be out of place to read out an extract from President Kennedy's speech yesterday: 'I do say that space can be explored and mastered without feeding the fires of war, without repeating the mistakes that man has made in extending his writ around this globe of ours. There is no strife, no prejudice, no national conflict in outer space as yet. Its hazards are hostile to us all. Its conquest deserves the best of all mankind and its opportunity for peaceful co-operation may never come again'."

The co-operation and agreement that have been reached between the Soviet and the American scientists indicate that a great deal of mutual confidence has already been established between them. It is our fervent hope that this mutual confidence would continue to grow and it would be possible for the two space Powers to come to an agreement soon for joint exploration of space. If joint exploration becomes feasible, much of the difficulties of reserving outer space for peaceful purposes would be obviated.

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

The exploration of outer space is proceeding so fast that problems arising therefrom may soon become even more difficult of solution. We must try for all possible co-operation and co-ordination, while there is still time. At a time when the nuclear test ban agreement seems to be in sight it would be tragic indeed if outer space cannot be reserved for peaceful purposes.

While the Legal Sub-Committee will no doubt take some time to formulate detailed legal principles there should not be any delay in reaching an agreement on the two subjects (1) of assistance to and rescue of astronauts and (2) of liability for space-vehicle accidents, on which proposals were separately submitted to the Committee on Outer Space and on which there is already an agreement in principle between the two space Powers. I agree with my colleague from Austria that these two questions are now ripe for the drafting of suitable agreements. We feel that the Committee should give first priority to the drawing up of these agreements. In accordance with the practice followed in similar fields, such as aircraft and vessels in distress, we think that these agreements should take the form of multilateral agreements. A resolution by the General Assembly would not have the same kind of legal obligation on the States. It is also difficult to provide for all matters arising in regard to these subjects, in a General Assembly resolution.

The Committee should also tackle the problem of preventing the use of outer space for experiments that may endanger human lives or change space environment in such a manner as would jeopardize the chances of obtaining important scientific information. There is indeed need for some agreement which will ensure that scientific research in space will not be interfered with by any careless use of space. We would like in this connexion to invite a reference to the initiative of the ICSU and COSPAR in this respect. In a resolution adopted earlier this year, COSPAR had suggested the establishment of a consultative group on potential harmful effects of space experiments. It may be worth while considering the possibility of establishing an international mechanism for attaining this objective.

(Mr. Chakravarty, India)

To sum up, our view is that the Assembly endorse the recommendations, unanimously approved by the Committee on Outer Space based on the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and the reports prepared by the WMO and the ITU; charge the Committee to draw up, on a priority basis, in the form of multilateral agreements, the laws of assistance and liability; and ask the Committee to proceed with the drawing up of legal principles based on the proposals made so far and taking into consideration the discussions in the General Assembly, particularly seeking to reserve outer space for peaceful purposes.

Mr. MATSEIKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)(interpretation from Russian): As has been said in this Committee, since the adoption of resolution 1721 (XVI) concerning the peaceful uses of outer space, man has taken a few more bold steps into space. The exploration of the universe has continued at a very fast pace. In the Soviet Union and the United States new earth satellites have been launched. After the first historic flights of Gagarin and Titov, the American astronauts, Glenn, Carpenter and Schirra made their orbital flights and finally, in August of this year, the first group flight into space was achieved by the Soviet astronauts, Nikolaev and Popovich. This flight was the beginning of joint activity by men in space. It is hard to overstress the importance of this flight, since co-ordination and co-operation between space ships and stations, with men on board, is one of the most important conditions for inter-planetary and long-distance flights in the future.

The achievements in the peaceful exploration of space which were accomplished by man in the past year are only the first steps in the exploration of the limitless reaches of the universe. Ahead of us are flights towards the planets of the solar system, the exploration of unknown worlds and prospects which cannot be conceived of today even by the boldest imaginations of men. Only five years ago mankind crossed the threshold of a new era of great discovery -- the era of the conquest of space. We think we may say without fear of being mistaken that as of now all countries and all peoples of the world are interested in the conquest of space. The difficulties and obstacles which must be overcome in the solution of these complex cosmic problems of the exploration of the universe require united action on the part of mankind. It is indubitably true that the greater the number of countries that contribute their scientific, technological and material resources to the investigation of space, the faster mankind will be able to realize its daring dreams of the conquest of space for the good of all men.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has made a valuable contribution to the peaceful exploration of outer space. The work being done at present by scientific institutions in the Ukraine follows, in general, two directions -- space biology and medicine, and astronomical observations. In the latter field, we should like to stress the fact that the work being done by Ukrainian scientists

gives great emphasis to such tasks as detailed calculations on the size, mass and movements of celestial bodies of the solar system, the study of physical conditions on the surface of the moon and the planets, and investigations of the characteristics of the substance of inter-planetary space, the invention of instruments and methods for use in astronomical exploration from the surface of the moon, and so on. Our scientists were the first to make precise calculations concerning the utilization of the colossal double convex lens formed in effect by the atmosphere of our planet, for focussing and amplifying radiations emitted by space bodies.

The year that has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 1721 (XVI) gives some grounds for optimism for the development of peaceful co-operation in the use of outer space. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has accomplished some work and its report is now under discussion in this Committee. The World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union also studied possible fields for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and have presented their interesting reports to the General Assembly. Of course, the exchange of messages between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, N.S. Khrushchev, and the President of the United States of America, Mr. John Kennedy, on the question of the use of outer space was most important for the establishment of international co-operation. It is well known that as a result of this exchange of messages there have been contacts and most fruitful conversations between Soviet and American representatives.

Members of this Committee also know that in June of this year an agreement was reached concerning co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union in three important fields of space activity -- the creation of a global system of meteorological satellites, joint exploration of the world magnetic field by means of artificial satellites, and finally the creation of a global system of space communications. Our delegation would like to join its voice with those who expressed, in this Committee, their satisfaction about this agreement. We hope that it will be a good starting point for further development and extension of the co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States in this novel task which is being carried out in the name of scientific progress and the consolidation of peace in the world.

Although the agreement between the USSR and the United States has contributed greatly to the successful work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in the field of scientific and technical problems, unfortunately one cannot say the same about the work of the Committee in the field of legal problems. We are compelled to state that the situation today is characterized by the fact that work on legal regulations to govern international co-operation in the use of outer space is far behind the practical -- that is to say, the scientific and technical -- activities of States in their co-operation in this connexion. We should not condone such a discrepancy.

It is quite obvious that to proceed without a sound basis in international law governing the co-operation of States in these scientific and technical problems would be tantamount to building a house without a solid foundation. We cannot agree with those who advocate a slow-paced elaboration of the main legal principles governing space activities. Resolution 1721 (XVI) has already established two very important principles in this connexion -- first, that international law, including the United Nations Charter, is applicable to space and celestial bodies in space, and, secondly, that space and its celestial bodies should be free for exploration by all States and not subject to national appropriation. In this way the first steps have been taken to fill this legal vacuum which exists in regard to space activities, but the rapid pace of the development of space technology requires further advances in the field of law, in the interests of international co-operation. Another step forward would be to work out the general principles, as was proposed in the Legal Sub-Committee by the delegation of the Soviet Union, which submitted a draft Declaration on the main principles which should be established to control the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space. The content and tenor of this document indicate the most favourable conditions for peaceful co-operation in outer space activities.

Today, in the sixth year of the space age, one hears more and more often the words "the conquest of space". The overwhelming majority of men give to this rather frightening phrase a purely peaceful meaning. To them it means that

limitless and uncharted fields have been opened to mankind and that man is beginning his entry into this new world and will put it at his service eventually. But we must not forget that to some the conquest of space means the penetration of space with a sword in hand for the purpose of dictating ultimatums from there. In its Declaration the Soviet Union proposes to prohibit any activities in space which would be incompatible with the noble goals of mankind in the peaceful conquest of outer space. Thus the use of outer space for propagating war, national and racial hatred, or the gathering of intelligence data is inadmissible and prohibited. We have certainly not been convinced by the arguments advanced during the present discussion that many provisions of the Soviet Declaration were not positive in character but were negative.

(Mr. Matseiko, Ukrainian SSR)

We are convinced that the principles of the Soviet document which stipulate what activities in space should be welcome and which should be prohibited or voided, are constructive and fully based on the United Nations Charter and the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) unanimously adopted last year.

It must be noted with regret that the draft declaration of the Soviet Union was rejected by the delegation of the United States at Geneva, and this, with practically cosmic speed. The question thus arises: is such a negative attitude of the United States not dictated by the fact that some military circles in that country wish to spread the cold war to the cold reaches of outer space and wish to continue in space experiments which create serious obstacles to the uses and conquest of space for peaceful purposes?

According to the American press, the United States Government intends to spend in the next decade another \$50,000 million for the space race. Speaking of this expenditure, the American journal The United States News and World Report wrote that if one looks at the source of this matter, this expenditure is designed above all for military purposes and must ensure the domination of the United States in space. This cannot but give rise to our concern. It is obvious that if this armaments race spreads to outer space by the activities of one State, other States will have to react to it. But what good will this bring to the cause of the peaceful uses of outer space?

We heard with interest and great attention a statement made yesterday by the representative of the United Arab Republic. Quite justly, he pointed to the need of ensuring the peaceful uses of outer space, prohibiting its non-peaceful uses. At the same time, quite reasonably, he stressed that the refusal to prohibit the uses of nuclear energy for military uses led to a very difficult situation in the field of disarmament today. We noted with satisfaction that the need to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes is one of the main principles of the most valuable document presented by the delegation of the United Arab Republic, entitled "Draft code of principles for international co-operation for the peaceful uses of outer space".

(Mr. Matseiko, Ukrainian SSR)

Our delegation takes note with satisfaction of the fact that the need to develop progressively international law in the field of principles which should govern activities of States in space was stressed by almost all speakers in this Committee. We are convinced that the resolution of the General Assembly should entrust to the Committee on Outer Space the task of continuing its work in the legal field, drawing its attention to the need to work out the main principles for the activities of States in the exploration and the uses of outer space for peaceful purposes.

One cannot, of course, deny that the scope of international co-operation possible at present is significantly limited by the fact that the most important problem of our times is not yet solved -- that of disarmament. It is only an international agreement on general and complete disarmament which will make it possible to eliminate all obstacles in the path of complete and unlimited co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. But as of now, without any further delay, we should avail ourselves of the highly propitious situation at present, in order to place at the service of all mankind the first achievements in the peaceful uses of outer space. The united efforts of all countries for the solution of the noble and grandiose task of the conquest of outer space in the interests of mankind will serve the cause of peace and will develop mutual understanding and confidence among peoples.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I adjourn the meeting, I should like to inform the Committee that I intend, with the co-operation of the Committee, to complete the general debate on this item on Monday, and to vote on the draft resolutions on Tuesday. I should therefore request speakers on the list to be ready to speak when they are called upon in the order in which they are listed.

I would further request the members of the Committee to co-operate with the Chairman in starting the meetings on time. I have been asked by the President of the General Assembly to make every effort to complete the Committee's work by 13 December so as to leave the last three days of the plenary to cope with the inevitable rush of work before the end of the session.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.