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FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERRATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH MEETING

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on Tuesday, 17 October 1972, at 11 a.m.

Chairman:
Mr. Rampul (Mauritius)

Reporteur:
Mr. Santiso-Galvez (Guatemala)

- International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space; report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (297) (continued)
- Preparation of an international treaty concerning the Moon; report of The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (287) (continued)
- Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting (37) (continued)

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The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.
Mr. Barood (Saudi Arabia): If I have asked to speak this morning, it is in conformity with what I mentioned in my last two interventions. I spoke favourably of the draft resolution submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but at the same time I mentioned that it may have overlooked the fact that the preamble of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies contains a reference to freedom of information. At the same time, to recapitulate, I mentioned that we have been seized of the draft convention, as it was submitted to the General Assembly, even since 1962, although it had been started in 1947 in Geneva under the auspices of General Bonalo of the Philippines. I thought it was important to mention the reference to freedom of information because, after all, the preamble has incorporated it. It was not to weaken any provisions of the draft resolution of the Soviet Union, but to bolster the idea that there should be no abuse within the framework of freedom of information.

Therefore, I am taking the liberty of submitting an amendment to fill the gap and to make the draft resolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics more comprehensive. That amendment is to insert the following paragraph as the second paragraph of the preamble to the Soviet draft resolution:

"Taking into account that the preamble to the 'Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies', which was adopted by General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI), stipulates that General Assembly resolution 110 (11) of 3 November 1947, dealing with freedom of information, is applicable to outer space."

That is taken from the preamble to the outer space Treaty.

It is a reminder that that preamble contains a distinct reference to freedom of information.

Of course, somebody might say that freedom of information has not yet been defined. I would retort that there is a draft convention on freedom of information which has engaged the attention of many sessions of the General Assembly -- I would say 22 sessions -- and which has been given priority.

Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that four articles were approved by the General Assembly -- there were about three or four articles that were just as important, the others were articles of protocol -- work on that draft convention was stymied, and I shall not repeat the reasons for that. However, we are all conscious of the fact that, not the United Nations, but persons everywhere, in their individual capacity, are in need of protection, not from freedom of information but from the license of information and from the abuse of information. As I have stated, this does not in any way mean that governments should be allowed to censor or interfere with the free flow of information. This is very important. I do not need to elaborate on this, because we are now talking about a specific question, international television broadcasts by satellites. I think I have explained my first amendment sufficiently.
I come now to my second amendment, which applies to the operative part of the Soviet draft resolution. Let me make it clear to my Soviet colleagues that my amendments are not in contravention of the letter or the spirit of the Soviet draft resolution. The purpose of my amendments, as I have said and request, is to fill the gap and draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that we cannot go on in this world subjected to abuse — and not necessarily in the field of political information. Nowadays there are other means for States to disseminate propaganda and tendentious publicity, not through satellites, but through radio, the printed word and many other means. I believe we have reached the cross-roads and we should not -- the peoples of the world mentioned in the Charter -- continue to be subjected to abuse when the dissemination of news and television programmes will one day, perhaps in two or three years, become so prevalent as to affect every individual even if he lives in the jungles of Africa, the deserts of Asia, the depths of the Amazon or even in the highly developed countries, where, I submit, the impact of misinformation or the abuse of information and the license of pornography are having a deleterious effect on the moral values and the social fabric of society. This is not to censor, but to regulate. I recall that when I lived in England 30 years ago there were quiet regulatory norms that were used in the BBC, and the BBC is noted for its objectivity. That does not mean that the Government is interfering; it means that these norms are dictated by good taste, by those who would see to it that society is not unduly subjected to abuse.

The amendment would insert a new paragraph in the operative part, as paragraph 1. Here I should like to draw it to the attention of the members of the draft resolution that I am not in any way interfering with the substance of the operative part. What I am doing is adding language in consonance with the paragraph I have suggested be inserted in the preamble. I only wish in a mild manner to prod the United Nations into doing something about freedom of information in the context of future broadcasting by satellites. I shall now read out what would be, under my amendment, paragraph 1 of the operative part:

"Expresses the hope that speedy action will be taken to finalise the draft convention on freedom of information, taking into account at the same time the need to widen its scope to cover the problems arising from the advent of space communications for information purposes."

I have a final amendment. It applies to operative paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution, which by the new numbering would become paragraph 3. If my colleagues of the Soviet Union will bear with me, they will see that I am supplementing that paragraph in such a way as to take freedom of information into account without in any way trying to shove what they are proposing, that the Outer Space Committee and its Legal Sub-Committee should consider as soon as possible their work on a draft convention. Now, instead of trying to amend by insertion or subtraction, I think it would be more efficient to read out my amendment. It would replace the present paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft resolution without in any way reshaping the invention of the Soviet Union to have a draft convention studied by the Outer Space Committee and its Legal Sub-Committee. I shall now read out my amendment, which, with the acceptance of the new numbering, would be operative paragraph 3:

"Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee to consider the new wording of paragraph 2 of the Soviet draft so as to take into account as soon as possible the provisions of the present draft convention on freedom of information in preparation of a draft convention on any other international instrument based on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting."
How does this tally with my second amendment, for the insertion of a new paragraph 1 in the operative part of the draft resolution? I say: "Expresses the hope that action will be taken to finalize the draft convention..."

Supposing no action is taken to finalize the draft convention, someone in the Legal Sub-Committee might say to the Soviet Union -- if this amendment is adopted -- "We have first to finalize the draft convention on freedom of information, before we embark on the elaboration of a convention on outer space." That would be putting a spoke in the wheel, and I am not putting a spoke in the wheel. That is why I say that we should take into account the provisions of the present draft convention, even if it is not finalized. First we express the hope that it will be finalized.

someone in the Legal Sub-Committee might say: "First, we cannot embark on drafting the convention because we are tied to the reference to the finalization of the draft convention on freedom of information, which we have not been able to do in 25 years". So this would constitute an obstruction if I did not say: "...to take into account...the provisions of the present draft convention on freedom of information", regardless of whether or not it is finalized. And in order to give leeway to others who may think that abuse can perhaps be prevented by means other than a draft convention, I have added: "...or any other international instrument".

What would this international instrument be? It would be tantamount to the purposes and principles that would be embodied in the draft convention. But it may take another form because, let me tell my colleagues from the Soviet Union, there are many conventions which have been finalized and voted upon but to which nobody has adhered. If one country, such as the United States, does not adhere or accede to a convention, what is the use of having it? But we have left an escape clause so as to enable the members of the Legal Sub-Committee, if there should be heated debate about the draft convention, at least to compromise and work out some other international instrument -- call it norms, call it guidelines, call it regulatory principles or measures, or by whatever name. I am not a member of that Sub-Committee so I am not going to say how it should be called. We shall leave it to their learned minds to devise ways and means in the event that the draft convention is not decided upon unanimously, or even if it is decided upon, that it is not adhered to by some States which have highly developed mass media, including television, that will be accessible to every nook and corner in the world. If those States do not adhere, then what is the use of a draft convention?

In all means, let the Legal Sub-Committee work on a draft convention and even finalize it, but let us tell that Sub-Committee to try to give us another alternative so that States that do not want to adhere to the draft convention will at least have an excuse not to adhere to the guidelines. We shall then be able to say: "All right, you do not want a draft convention..."
what do you say about the other guidelines or norms that have been studied and finalized by the Legal Sub-Committee. It is for the protection of peoples, not Governments but peoples everywhere. Let me emphasize this; that is why I have taken the trouble during these three or four days to do my best to find not only a compromise, but a solution so that this whole question may not be hanging in the air for two or three years longer but that, as of now, the Legal Sub-Committee may be seized of it.

Now, one last word and I shall be through. I know, Sir, that there are five names on the list of speakers— you have alerted me to that by a kind note—and I do not want to monopolize the time of the Committee. But I have participated in the elaboration of many draft conventions and found that although they were adopted by the General Assembly, they are still crying for signatures in order to become effective. I mentioned yesterday a most able Frenchman— I have forgotten his name and have not had time to look up the records— who participated in the Committee of Fifteen in elaborating the draft convention on freedom of information. He was the Editor of L'Illustration. No doubt my French colleague would be able to confirm that he was one of the leading newspaper men in France. Mr. Binder was the Chief Editor of one of the most respected newspapers in this country and he collaborated with us in the Committee of Fifteen at Lake Success. And we should not forget my good friend Mr. Tauranin. He also contributed in a most able and efficacious manner.

I believe that he is now in Bonn; he used to be in the Committee on Disarmament. He is my own age: we compared ages once— we were both born in 1905. He is an old-timer. He worked hard in that Committee. You will be surprised to hear who was with us too: the Chief of the Outer Space Affairs Division, who changed professions and took to outer space— none other than Mr. Abdel-Ghani. There is he? He sits here somewhere. I mentioned Father de Bruxelles; I was in his most illustrious and able company. We were dedicated in those days— not that we are not dedicated now, although I do not know how deep the dedication is when all of a sudden there are five speakers although the Chairman was crying for speakers yesterday.

This draft convention on freedom of information was not something which was randomly written; it was judiciously thought out and elaborated.

M hunting, Sir, that you want the Committee to proceed with its work, I have asked the Secretariat to be kind enough to circulate as soon as possible the amendments that I have submitted, and if anyone wishes to bring to my attention anything that will improve my amendments—not just by sub-amendments, but by suggestions—I shall be happy to take into consideration any remarks that may be made in that direction.

Thank you, Sir, for the time you have given me.

The CHAIRMEN: The amendments which have been proposed by the representative of Saudi Arabia will be circulated as requested.

I should like to express my appreciation for the co-operation which we have received from the representative of Romania, allowing Mr. Baroudy to be the first speaker this morning.

[Mr. DAMCHI (Romania)(interpretation from French): The problems of the exploration and use of outer space are of interest nowadays to an ever increasing number of countries, whether large or small, because of the promising possibilities which scientific and technological progress in this field would open for peaceful uses in the economic and social development of all States in the world. Our Organization, through the Outer Space Committee, has done fruitful work and obtained positive results in the preparation of a programme for promoting international co-operation in this field. The activities of specialists in the use of space techniques are most useful in this connexion. However, we consider that the activities of the Committee must be guided to a greater extent towards practical problems, to the actual needs of the developing countries in order more widely to use the new space techniques in the development process.

We consider that the efforts of the Outer Space Committee, and especially of its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, must be oriented ever more towards activities which would ensure to all States, no matter what their level of economic and scientific development, increased possibilities for exercising from the technical and scientific achievements in this new field of human endeavour.
The Committee could undertake particularly important activities by contributing to the widest possible dissemination, on the international level, of scientific and technical knowledge already acquired; results of experiments which have been or are being carried out, information of the Governments of all States, by summarizing the existing experience in the field and potential uses of space techniques for economic and social development and for raising the standard of living of their peoples.

The programme envisaged in the report presented to us by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space provides for meetings of the two Working Groups of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, the one on direct broadcast satellites and the other on the study of earth resources. We express the hope that these two meetings will make new progress, in the interest of all mankind, in the use of these remarkable technical achievements and encourage international co-operation in various fields.

The conquest of science and technology, in our day, in the field of research and the peaceful uses of space and the accelerated and spectacular pace of progress in this important field, define the concerns of the United Nations at a higher level by conferring upon them an increased degree of urgency and responsibility. The United Nations, through the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, has tried to keep pace with progress by striving to establish, first of all, general norms and principles of behaviour, to define the responsibilities, rights and duties of States in order to ensure that any activities in space are undertaken in the spirit of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter and in full respect of unanimously recognized principles of international law.

Thus, together with the desire to promote international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space, the Committee devoted much of its work to strengthening international legality by its activities in the field of codification, thereby laying the Foundation for space law.

General Assembly resolutions and the three international legal instruments concluded in this field -- the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies; the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space; and the Convention on International Liability for Damages Caused by Space Objects -- together set out principles and rules whose final objective is to ensure that international co-operation in the field of the exploration and use of outer space will contribute to the development of mutual understanding and the strengthening of friendly relations between States and peoples.

In our view, the task of codification of space law undertaken by the United Nations must be constantly pursued and expanded as new scientific discoveries concerning the uses of space increase, because normally it is easier for States to work out general principles governing behaviour for activities of interest to the international community as a whole when those activities are just beginning. The foundation for this task must be sought in principles governing international relations: principles governing the behaviour of States as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and many decisions and international instruments adopted by the General Assembly, that is to say, equal rights, national independence and sovereignty; non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, non-resort to the use of force or the threat of force and the right of peoples to determine their own fate.

It was for those reasons that Romania supported the proposal that an international treaty concerning the moon be framed, a proposal which was presented last year to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union. Thanks to the sustained work and spirit of cooperation and understanding which were prevalent during this year's session of the Legal Sub-Committee, it was possible to reach agreement on the majority of the provisions of the draft treaty. Agreement could not be reached on some articles of the proposed treaty, but the drafting of these articles, in the view of the Romanian delegation, does not present any insuperable difficulties.

Without going into the various aspects of the draft treaty which are still to be resolved -- and the delegation of Romania made its views known during the September 1972 session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space -- we would like, however, to express the conviction that the Committee, given a spirit of cooperation and a sincere desire to reach agreement, will be able to submit to the General Assembly at its session next year for approval the draft treaty concerning the moon.
With reference to direct television broadcasting by means of satellites, I should like to stress from the beginning that we are entirely in favour of a large-scale exchange of information of spiritual value among all States — and this is a position of principle which my country holds — so as to contribute to better mutual understanding and rapprochement among peoples and greater respect for the national cultures and spiritual values of every country. But such an exchange imposes upon the Governments of Member States, as was stressed by other speakers who preceded me in this debate, a special responsibility for the content, ideas and information thus disseminated.

Without a doubt, programmes praising the use of force in international relations, inciting to war propaganda, racial hatred or the maintenance of various forms of colonial exploitation and other activities of this kind which contravene the most basic elements of international morality, not only should not be allowed to circulate freely but, on the contrary, must be completely forbidden.

In the view of the Romanian delegation, it is necessary seriously to study the complex legal problems raised by the use of satellites for the use of direct radio or television broadcasting and, therefore, to create an adequate legal framework to ensure that these techniques are used exclusively in the interest of human welfare, for promoting ideas of peace, strengthening friendly relations and co-operation among peoples. It was without saying that this activity must be pursued in full consonance with the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and with strict respect for the sovereignty of each State and non-interference in each other's affairs.

On the basis of those considerations, the Romanian delegation is of the view that the proposals of the Soviet Union relating to the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting is in line with a timely and important concern which is shared by many States. A country is ready actively to take part in the study of this problem and to make its contribution to the preparation of the proposed draft convention.

We have always followed with great interest the various views, opinions and suggestions put forward in this Committee, including those advanced this morning, and we shall do all in our power to find a formula likely to achieve consensus.

Before I conclude, I should like to reaffirm the special interest of Romania in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its desire to co-operate with other States so as to give to that Committee — led with great energy and competence by Ambassador Peter Jakovitch — a central role in the field of international co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space.
Mr. KOUYEDA (Iran) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman,

privately I have already congratulated you on your election, and now I should like to echo what my predecessors have said in order to state on behalf of my delegation how happy we are to see you occupying the post of Chairman in this Committee.

May I also tender my congratulations to the ambassador of Austria, who so competently presided over the work of the Committee, and again I should like to recall the years during which our present Secretary-General also very wisely led the work of the Committee on Outer Space.

When we glance at the stage of progress of the problems dealing with outer space we have a right to be happy. Here is a choice area where true progress is constant and real, a field where the members of the Organization are jointly endeavouring to avoid problems that may arise. This is one of those rare regions where, to take up the words of the Ambassador of France, "facts do not precede the law". Here we are dealing with a question where international co-operation is intensified both as a result of the decisions of the United Nations and of the specific initiatives undertaken by States which are leading in space technology.

I am very happy here to take up the comment of the representative of the United States regarding ERTS A and Apollo 17, as well as the decision of President Nixon, which was made public at the beginning of this month, to place the NASA launching services at the disposal of all nations for the launching of satellites for peaceful purposes. This is also an event of great significance.

I would also stress that the representative of France told us the other day regarding the training fellowships in this field.

And finally I am very gratified also at the insistence shown by the representative of the Soviet Union on the need for international co-operation being increased and redoubled in this field. I was very happy to hear from him the other day of the two meanings of the word "sputnik". So far as I am concerned, I could not really make a choice between the two meanings. However, I feel that I, myself, am a sputnik in both senses he gave us, although in the second definition the agreement of the party of the second part... that is, the young lady's agreement... is not so easy to obtain.

It is obvious that the exploration of outer space, despite its overwhelming speed and rapidity and despite its beneficial effects in many fields, is but at its very threshold. That is why my delegation expresses the firm hope that the present co-operation will continue in the United Nations and will be extended to all aspects of the utilization of outer space. I say in the United Nations because we believe that it constitutes the natural area for this co-operation to develop. In point of fact, the nations of our planet, as we unfortunately know, are not at the same level of economic, technical and scientific development.

Since I have brought up this aspect of the question I must take issue with the pessimists who challenge the practical value of space experiments and technology. Surely outer space exploration allows us to acquire a greater knowledge of the earth itself, and outer space is the best observatory from which we can study the universe.

However, our interest in outer space should not blind us to the existence of the earth on which we live. May I here recall the words of an economist which I quoted the other day when I spoke in the Second Committee. This economist stated that if we had devoted to the race for the moon as much money, imagination and methodology as we devote today to the development of the countries of the third world the first cosmonaut would not have set foot on the moon until the year 2000.

Since I have mentioned the moon I must add that my delegation takes note with satisfaction of the two draft conventions on the moon and on the registration of objects launched into outer space.

Some provisions of these drafts are still moot questions. With the leave of the Committee I should very briefly like to make known the views of my delegation concerning two of these provisions.

With regard to the scope of the treaty concerning the moon, we believe that it should cover other celestial bodies as well. It is true that the knowledge that we have leaves much to be desired, but the general principles of the draft seem applicable to all celestial bodies. We believe that the convention should contain the principle of the common heritage of mankind.
With regard to the registration of objects launched into outer space, my delegation wishes to congratulate the delegations of Canada and France which were able to submit a joint text. But we believe that with the constant redoubling of operations in outer space it is imperative that objects launched into outer space should be identified. It is also essential to establish some sort of relationship between the proposed treaty and other treaties, either existing or about to be concluded. Here the voluntary notification provided for in General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI) does not seem adequate to our eyes. We believe that a new system of registration should be co-ordinated and binding. We believe here that some form of registry will be established and kept up to date in the United Nations and made acceptable to all nations.

My delegation has already expressed its views on the problems which were discussed in the course of the last session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and I shall not dwell on those matters by repeating them and thus abusing the time of the Committee. But in view of the latest developments regarding the use of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting I should like to make a few additional comments.

Although at the outset this new field of space technique opens up important prospects for cultural exchange, the development of education and the dissemination of information, nevertheless as is the case in the application of any scientific discoveries there are two sides to the question. In fact the fears that are expressed on many sides relate to the usual criticisms that are levelled against the more unfortunate aspects of television. There are political and legal aspects to it, but as the representative of Saudi Arabia pointed out a few moments ago, there are many other aspects as well.

I may sum them up in a single sentence. The basic fear is that by turning a knob the man of today ceases to think for himself and takes up a type of collective thinking. The specialists are unable to hide their fear at the possibility of an infinite multiplication of satellites in turn giving rise to the multiplication of broadcasts. But there really is nothing very new in all this, because in the dialectic of human progress the instant dissemination of information must always raise the question of the preservation of the originality of national cultures, as also other matters. Those cultures are part of the heritage of mankind as a whole, and must therefore be safeguarded. But the dovetailing of those cultures leads to the rapprochement of nations. If television broadcasts by satellite can assist in that dovetailing, so much the better.

But dissemination cannot be in one direction alone, and it is in that respect that voices are raised — voices coming primarily from the developing countries. In substance, they say the following. Space techniques are, and for a long time will be, held in the hands of a small number of more advanced nations, and therefore satellite broadcasting may well disturb the present balance among the national cultures. To this must be added the general increase of violent scenes on the small screen and the mediocrity of programmes so loudly decried by specialists.

I myself raised certain aspects of these problems when we were doing preparatory work for the environment Conference, when I drew the attention of my colleagues to what, lacking any better expression, I then called mind pollution.

But regardless of the reasons for disquiet, we must recall that they have already been the subject of very serious study elsewhere. Thus, for example, UNESCO has for some years dealt with the problem. We are very grateful to that organization for the efforts it has made, and we are following its work very carefully. The draft declaration prepared by UNESCO is a first step of great value for the future of our work.

The problem might well be summed up as follows: to establish a balance between, on the one hand, the principle of the originality of cultures and, on the other, the freedom of dissemination of information. We believe — and I must hasten to say this — that there can and must be no contradiction between
those two principles, since both are stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Nor do we believe it is possible automatically to establish a balance of that nature. We must anticipate it, and co-operate.

That is why my delegation congratulates the Soviet delegation on having taken the initiative of raising this very important question in the General Assembly of the United Nations. However, we find it rather difficult at this stage to pronounce ourselves on the draft treaty submitted to us. I think the few comments I have made highlight the difficulties confronting us. Furthermore, as the representative of the United States said the other day, satellite broadcasting is not as yet a fact and will probably not be so for a number of years because of limiting economic and technical factors that have yet to be cleared up. Like the delegation of Romania, we attach great importance to the notion of the responsibility of government and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States.

There are still a number of queries in the technical and cultural fields. The only thing that seems clear today is that we must avoid rigid and over-hasty decisions. While we must safeguard the originality of our cultures, we must try not to enclose ourselves in hermetically sealed fortresses and thereby end the dovetailing and interaction of cultures. A very delicate balance must be found.

But we should not become Cassandras. McNamara tells us that we shall finally become a tribe similar to a primitive village. But modern man is not a primitive, and the specialists have told us that, with the passing of generations, however pervasive information may be it will nevertheless refine the critical spirit of man. And if some are afraid of the fact that television has become what may be termed the true baby-sitter of our time, it is no less true that in the long term it may well be that quantitatively it will be the spearhead of a new and prodigious qualitative improvement in the culture of man, and in turn in the very existence of man.

All this stresses the need for very thorough and comprehensive studies of all aspects of the question. That is why my delegation supports the approach suggested by the representative of Sweden — namely, the reconvening of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. I am sure that with true and sincere co-operation we shall in this field, as in many others, be able to prepare general rules. The text submitted by the Soviet delegation and other documents that have been put before us can well serve as a basis for study by that Working Group.

As far as my delegation is concerned, we are still optimistic. We believe that satellite broadcasting will serve mankind and help it to progress. It may not be useless to add here that my country is extremely interested in the practical application of space technology to ensure our economic and social development. We have been taking measures along these lines for three years now. In the field of communications, we have built a land station for satellite broadcasting in Assabahad, and 75 per cent of our international communications are by satellites.

We have also applied satellite broadcasting to education. A UNESCO mission came to Iran in March to study and assess our projects. Taking into account the fact that the utilization of satellites for education will allow us to reach more than 7 million students, the annual per capita cost of education will be $3, whereas at present it is $29.

To conclude, I shall return to what I said at the beginning of this statement. We would desire a redoubling of international co-operation in the field of outer space, as in all other fields. It is pursuant to that line of reasoning that my delegation supports the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and the report of the Committee on Outer Space itself.

Mr. KRASSAO (Brasil): Mr. Chairman, since this is the first time I have spoken in this Committee, allow me to extend to you and the other officers of the Committee my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election. The Brazilian delegation is confident that you will preside over our meetings with firm and wise guidance.

Space activities in Brazil have in recent years been experiencing a considerable expansion, particularly in the field of space applications. As a developing country we are primarily interested in maximizing the possibilities of placing space techniques at the service of our objectives of economic, social and cultural development.
At the multilateral level, Brazil has been taking an active part in the efforts undertaken particularly in the United Nations towards not only the spreading of the benefits of space co-operation and assistance, but also towards the elaboration of a corpus juris spatialis. Both these areas are covered by the activities of the Outer Space Committee through its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and its Legal Sub-Committee, which have been carrying out a quite satisfactory job and of which the Brazilian delegation takes pride in being a member.

This year's report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is fairly substantive and my delegation commends it to endorsement by the General Assembly.

In connexion with the report, my delegation would like to make some brief comments, first regarding scientific and technical matters. Brazil welcomes the trend, which is now gaining momentum among delegations in the Committee, to the effect that its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee should be increasingly concerned with space applications, particularly as they apply to the national development of developing countries.

We have witnessed with gratification the expansion of the United Nations programme on space applications, through the pioneer efforts of the first expert, Professor Humberto Ricciardi of Argentina, to whom, once again, I wish to place on record my delegation's deep appreciation. We are confident that the next expert to be appointed by the Secretary-General will be able to further expand the United Nations programme on space applications, a task to the successful accomplishment of which the Brazilian Government is prepared to co-operate to the extent of its capabilities.

The report of the Committee bears witness to our disposition in this regard, for it registers my country's willingness to host the workshop or special seminar on space applications envisaged in the United Nations programme for 1974, as well as our offer of fellowships in the area of space applications.

We also look forward to the initiation next year of the substantive work of the Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites, on the basis of the documentation which is being prepared, including data from experiments testing the feasibility of remote sensing of the earth from space platforms.
Finally, the Brazilian delegation welcomes the reconvening of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. We hope that the Working Group, in view of its interdisciplinary character and co-ordinating functions, will be in a position to make further progress in assessing the new material available under its terms of reference.

Let me turn now to the legal questions under consideration in the Outer Space Committee. As the First Committee is well aware, the Legal Sub-Committee has on its agenda a fair amount of legal issues still unresolved. It has been the consensus of the Committee, nevertheless, to allocate a sort of joint first priority to the study of questions relating to the moon and to matters concerning the registration of objects launched into outer space.

The debate on questions relating to the moon is being held on the basis of the draft proposed by the Soviet Union, and of the draft agreement on principles governing activities in the use of the natural resources of the moon and other celestial bodies, put forward by the delegation of Argentina at the ninth session of the Legal Sub-Committee. My delegation has already expressed in the Committee its views on the text proposed by the Soviet Union. We believe that the original text, in some cases, restrictive and, generally speaking, does not go much beyond the reiteration of principles already stated, and in some cases restated, in the international instruments relating to outer space now in force. Even the few advances that have already been approved in the course of the deliberations of the Legal Sub-Committee are rather of a technical or procedural nature and, in the view of my delegation, would not seem so far to justify the conclusion of a treaty.

At the last session of the Committee, my delegation proposed that consideration should thus be given to the possibility of deleting from the text those provisions which duplicate the Outer Space Treaty and other international instruments related thereto, and of redrafting the text so that it takes the form of a complementary agreement or an additional protocol to the Outer Space Treaty. But in any event, it should not be labelled as a treaty, which should mean something of a much larger purpose and normative scope as far as international law is concerned.

Since it seems, however, that there is a strong trend within the Outer Space Committee to draft a text along the lines of the Soviet proposal, my delegation will not object to this course of action, as long as the draft eventually embodies some provisions which may constitute true advances. In this case, what concerns us most is that the time of the Committee, and of its Legal Sub-Committee, is being mainly devoted to the consideration of matters already disposed of in principle and of very restricted or, should I say, two-sided interest, while many important issues which have a bearing on the international community as a whole remain untackled.

It is, therefore, our firm opinion that the Legal Sub-Committee of the Outer Space Committee should apply itself as soon as possible to the substantive consideration of the other items on its agenda. Among these, my delegation attaches particular importance to matters relating to the registration of space objects, to the question of the definition and/or delimitation of outer space and to the various implications of space communications.

As to registration questions, my delegation wishes to reiterate its appreciation to the delegations of Canada and France for having submitted a joint text for a draft convention. We believe that, aside from the benefits to be derived in terms of a more orderly exploration of outer space, a registration convention is indispensable for the full implementation of the Convention on Liability and of the Agreement on astronauts. It would, in addition, very much contribute to check the growing concern that space powers may be on the threshold of, or actually utilizing, outer space for some military purposes.

Although the questions relating to the moon and to registration enjoy an equal degree of priority in the Legal Sub-Committee agenda, the truth of the matter is that the former is being tackled with far greater determination. We hope that developments next year will be more positive and that those delegations which have so far been reluctant in dealing with registration matters will present a more co-operative spirit, in order that the Legal Sub-Committee may make real progress in the consideration of the draft.
I turn now to item 37 of the agenda, concerning the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasts.

For some years, the Brazilian delegation has been advocating in the Outer Space Committee the need for urgent consideration of all matters relating to space communications. It has been my Government's consistent opinion that the use of communication satellites, either for direct radio or television broadcast, should be the object of strict and effective international regulation. In emphasizing this need, Brazil is perfectly conscious of the fact that outer space, as agreed upon in the Outer Space Treaty of 1967, is the province of all mankind. Activities in outer space should, therefore, contribute to promote international understanding and co-operation, on a basis of equality among States, regardless of their technological advancement or of their degree of social and economic development.

For that reason, the Brazilian delegation welcomes, in principle, the submission by the Soviet Union of a draft convention on direct television broadcasting.

It is not my delegation's intention to embark upon an analysis of the draft convention in the First Committee. This task should be entrusted to the Outer Space Committee, on a basis of priority. At the appropriate moment, in the proper forum, my delegation will present its views in a detailed manner.

I wish, nevertheless, to stress the fact that, in our view, there is clearly no contradiction between the principle of freedom of information, which should be the main assumption governing our deliberations, and a convention of the kind the Assembly is now called upon to consider. It is, however, clear to us that this principle may in no way whatsoever prevent States from taking measures to protect their national security and their fundamental social, political and cultural values, as well as their economic interests.

The flow of information must be free and unimpeded, as long as it conforms itself to international law and the principles of friendly co-operation among States in order to enhance the objectives of international peace and security.

In this sense, direct broadcasting from satellites should constitute a new instrument for the economic and social development of all countries, without discrimination, but never a new source of friction in relations among States nor an element of disruption of their political and cultural identity. Even those who theoretically uphold the principle of freedom of information as one of the cornerstones of a modern society, as has been said here, do admit restrictions to its practical implementation.

It is the usual practice to inscribe in national constitutions or in domestic legislation some precise sanctions on incitement to war or to hostilities against another country; or on propaganda in favour of discrimination based on race, religion or sex; or on illegal or unfair commercial advertising; or on misleading information, whatever its subject matter might be.

If individual States deem fit to adopt and enforce certain rules on the internal flow of information with the purpose of maintaining a pattern of behaviour compatible with their institutional and social structure, the very same reasoning should apply to the international community. And it is incumbent upon
Mr. VENCI (Italy): Mr. Chairman, since this is the first time I am speaking in this Committee, I wish first of all to extend to you our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee, the main Political Committee of the United Nations. Your election is a well-deserved recognition of the constructive and skilful part you have played in the work of the United Nations since you joined us in New York. You can rely, Sir, on our full co-operation in your task of guiding our deliberations, which I am sure you will perform most successfully and with full satisfaction to all of us.

I likewise wish to offer the congratulations of my delegation to the other members of the Bureau, who will certainly enjoy, together with you, the assistance of the Under-Secretary-General and all the other members of the Secretariat, whose dedication to the work of the United Nations, and especially the work of this Committee, has always been most highly appreciated by me and, I am sure, by all of our colleagues around the table in this room.

Before commenting on the items inscribed in our agenda and relating to the peaceful uses of outer space, I should like, with the Chairman's permission, to offer on behalf of my delegation some considerations on the wider issues of the United Nations interest and responsibilities in the matter of space activities.

Our qualifications, I submit, to speak very candidly on these matters spring from the stand taken by the Italian delegation since the very inception of the space age. We have shown, we believe, by words and deeds — as have delegations of other countries — that Italy too is a firm believer in the common interest of all peoples in space activities and in the essential role that the United Nations can play in the orderly development of this new venture of man: by words, as appears from the records of this main Committee of the General Assembly and of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its subsidiary organs, which reflect the contribution made by the Italian delegation to their work during the last 14 years; by deeds, as our scientists and technicians out in the field have also shown with their contribution to the cause of space by launching five satellites into orbit in the past eight years and by participating actively in many bilateral, multilateral and fully international endeavours in the area of space science and its applications.

At this very moment, our San Marco range is on the verge of launching another satellite, with an American scientific payload, as a follow-up of the one christened with the name Uhuru to honour a friendly country, the Republic of Kenya. The Uhuru satellite, following in the steps of Copernicus and Galileo, has opened new avenues in astronomy by discovering a number of mysterious sources of X-ray radiations in the depths of the universe.

Consistent with these words and deeds, my delegation is anxious to see the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space — established more than 12 years ago and recently confirmed as the focal point of the space interests and activities of the entire United Nations family — always in the position of fulfilling its mandate in the most efficient and expeditious manner.

My delegation is firmly convinced that the Committee must consistently look forward to the assessment of new, emerging space developments, and (a) provide the General Assembly and the United Nations bodies with a reasonable forecast of things to come, and (b) submit suggestions and recommendations, whenever possible, about the steps that should be taken to protect the interests of all member States and to guide the specialized agencies in their planning for the future, taking into account the potential benefits of new space applications and technologies.
In other words, in order to perform its task successfully the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space must not confine itself to an assessment of what has been accomplished up to date in the realm of space exploration and applications, it must also lend itself to a little crystal-ball-gazing into possible future space achievements.

It is for that reason that my delegation circulated last month the working paper in document A/AC.105/108, listing areas of possible interest for the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its subsidiary bodies. We hope that that document will stimulate some constructive thinking in future meetings of that Committee and that it will also contribute to guiding the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in deciding on the institution and functioning of its subsidiary bodies. It is the belief of my delegation that with the further development of space applications of many kinds, the need for specialized groups with the task of assessing in depth some specific applications having widespread implications across the variety of interests of the United Nations family will arise from time to time; this would be in addition to the two fundamental subgroups, namely, the two Sub-Committees of the parent Committee.

In the past there has been the need to set up a Working Group on Navigation Satellites; another one on Direct Broadcast Satellites and, more recently, the Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellite, not to mention the Working Group for the Preparation of the Vienna Space Conference and other minor groups established during the early days of space activities.

My delegation concurs with the opinion stated last year in this Committee by the representative of the Soviet Union that such sub-bodies should not become permanent and that they should not be convened unless there is a well-recognized reason to do so.

Hence, my delegation would agree to the calling of a meeting of any such working groups when there is a clear requirement to study in depth some specific question or group of questions which fit into their recognized competence. Of course, a decision to entrust a working group with a particular problem should not imply any bypassing of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space or its two Sub-Committees. It should mean, rather, that the findings of a working group will always be taken as a basis and as background for the suggestions and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee. My delegation believes, furthermore, that it would be wise in principle for the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space not to take any action on the reports of any working group without the benefit of the pertinent comments of its two Sub-Committees.

Finally, I should like on this subject to comment briefly on the composition of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In our view, the size of the Committee is the proper one, being large enough to allow widespread geographic and political representation, and small enough to allow business-like and constructive discussions.

Unfortunately, with the present composition, some United Nations Members having a direct and substantial interest in space activities do not belong to the Committee. The absence of the People’s Republic of China is the major case in point. If and when the question of updating the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is brought under consideration, my delegation would envisage a composition based on a mixed system, which would ensure the active co-operation of all space Powers and the alternating presence of all other Member States. In other words, we could provide permanent seats for those countries which perform orbital activities, such as launching and operating satellites and space vehicles in earth orbit and beyond, or which operate United Nations-sponsored ranges. The number of permanent seats and of rotating seats together could remain substantially the same as at present.

To have as permanent members the space-advanced States would ensure the permanent availability of the highest existing expertise on space matters. On the other hand, the fact of having also a rotating membership would give all United Nations Member States a chance to update their space knowledge and would give the Committee a chance to benefit from new points of view and from suggestions of potential new space users.

I turn now to the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. My delegation, having participated in the preparation of the report, is glad to endorse the suggestions and recommendations contained in the text, including the pertinent part originating from the reports of the Legal Sub-Committee and of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee.
All I can add to that expression of my delegation's support is deep appreciation on behalf of my Italian colleagues, and on my own behalf, for the dedication and high skill with which Ambassador Jankowitsch conducted the work of the Committee, and Mr. Wiesner and Mr. Carver the work of their respective Sub-Committees. A special tribute should go also to the Secretariat's Outer Space Affairs Division, and in particular to its Director, Mr. Abdel-Ghani, for the excellent work they have performed in assisting these United Nations bodies and in co-ordinating the space activities within the Secretariat. I wish also to salute the Expert on Space Applications, Professor Ricciardi, who has returned to his native Argentina, but whose dynamic and successful initiative will not be easily forgotten and will represent for his successor a difficult standard to match.

Finally, I wish to touch upon some matters of substance which will concern this Committee in the forthcoming year. These are the questions of broadcasting by satellites, the satellite for the remote sensing of the earth, and the orbital positions.

My delegation has listened with some concern to the conflicting views put forward on the question of broadcasting by satellites. We have studied the text of the Soviet proposal as well as of the UNESCO resolution, the report of the International Telecommunication Union on the technical aspects of the problem and the considerations expressed on the subject by the representative of the United States of America.

My delegation feels, much along the lines followed in their statements by the representatives of France, Australia, the United Kingdom, Iran and Belgium, that this is a very complex subject which raises many points of principle and of other natures. And since the close interrelationship of the technical, political, economic and social aspects of the subject has not been sufficiently explored, there is, in our view, a real need for an exhaustive and unbiased assessment by a group of experts, before judgment is passed on any of the pending proposals. This is precisely an appropriate case for convening the pertinent existing group of experts, namely, the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites.
(Mr. Vinci, Italy)

On the subject of the remote sensing of the earth by satellites, I wish, first of all, to congratulate the delegation of the United States on the successful results of its ERTS-I satellite. Our experimenters are very pleased about the high quality of the imagery transmitted by ERTS-I and about the amount of data produced that can be used for very practical peaceful purposes.

Last year, at the meeting of this Committee, a score of speakers expressed their concern about the problem of national sovereignty raised by the satellite surveys of national territories. We understand that, as of today, nearly all the surface of our planet has been surveyed by ERTS-I, and the resulting imagery is available to anyone who requests it at the Earth Research Center of the United States Ministry of the Interior at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Despite the fact that ERTS-I is an experimental satellite, such imagery is very real and it is not very different from the imagery that might be produced in the future by an operational system. This seems to put the problem of national sovereignty, with respect to the natural resources identifiable in such imagery, into a new perspective and represents an example of how technical progress can be so rapid as to change the emphasis of legal and political problems on a specific subject.

In any case, my delegation is looking forward to the February meeting of the Working Group on the Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites and it is ready to lend to it all the assistance that might be required to achieve a constructive debate and successful results.

Lastly, on the problem of the orbital positions, whose study has been advocated by my delegation in many previous instances, I was very pleased to note that the International Telecommunications Union has conducted a preliminary study of the matter, which has disclosed that the question is more complex than had been anticipated. In this instance too, further study of the subject by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should be seriously considered, taking into account the fact that this matter has a bearing not only on the planning of communications and broadcasting satellites but also on that of synchronous meteorological, earth resource, energy-producing and other unforeseen types of satellites in the not too distant future.

Let me conclude by reiterating that my delegation believes that space will exert a very important and perhaps decisive influence on the future of mankind and that the United Nations, which best reflects the common interests of humanity, should do everything in its power to keep up to date on space developments and to direct them, whenever possible, to the benefit of all people throughout the world.

In this connection, I wish to close my statement by giving the full support of my delegation to the draft resolution on the Plan of Action on Tropical Cyclones so eloquently introduced by one of the founding fathers of our world Organization, the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Mr. Romulo. The Plan is indeed a typical example of the practical use of advanced space knowledge for the prevention of human suffering from natural disasters and well deserves the attention and full co-operation of the entire United Nations family.

(Interpretation from French)

Mr. Chairman, since you come from a country that has very close and friendly relations with mine, it is obvious that on taking the floor for the first time in the Committee I should congratulate you on your election to preside over this First Committee. The delegation of Zaire knows full well that the results of the work of the Committee will live up to the hopes of its members, thanks to your ability and your experience. I also wish to congratulate the other officers of the Committee on their election, and I am sure they will give you great assistance, allowing our Committee to proceed in an orderly fashion.

The report submitted by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space mentions the progress achieved in the course of 1972 both by the Committee itself and by the Scientific and Technical and Legal Sub-Committees. The delegation of Zaire hopes that the same spirit of conciliation, concern and co-operation as has prevailed so far in the discussions of the Committee and its Sub-Committees will prevail and ensure the success of our work.
The delegation of Zaire notes with satisfaction the possibility being opened up to all nations, particularly those that are technically less advanced, of deriving benefits from revolutionary technology in earth sensing satellites.

We note with satisfaction also the invitation addressed by the delegation of the United States to every Member of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to send a science student to the United States to visit scientific installations and in December to go to Cape Kennedy to watch the launching to the moon of Apollo 17. We also wish to thank the Governments of Brazil, France, India, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States for the scholarships they have offered for studies in different branches of space techniques.

At first sight it might seem to be somewhat bold for the delegation of Zaire to express any interest in the draft international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting, a draft presented by the delegation of the Soviet Union in document A/6771 and also the draft resolution dealing with the same subject circulated in document A/C.1/L.605. It may be paradoxical, but there is a reason for it. First of all, the delegation of Zaire wishes to address its sincere congratulations to the delegation of the Soviet Union on the very felicitous initiative it has taken, its realistic approach and the very wise manner in which it has tackled the problem and the balance of interests that is being established.

The interest of Zaire in this matter is primarily a national one, although this aspect of the question does not immediately appear obvious for an under-equipped nation such as mine. However, the question of direct broadcasting is capital for Zaire, because daily there are radical revolutionary transformations in all fields of national life. In our efforts at development, Zaire has obtained a telecommunications satellite and a very modern station. From Kinshasa, the capital, anyone who owns a telephone can call Brussels or any other capital of the world without having to go through the central exchange. This is done through satellites. We achieved this through heavy sacrifices.

in order to modernize our means of mass communication. We did so also to make our people more receptive to knowledge of the techniques of the present day. We wanted to make available to all our citizens the wealth of science, culture and education; in a word, it is for the welfare and happiness of the population of Zaire. However, as we have gathered from the bitter experiences of direct radio broadcasting, when a number of pirate or semi-official stations managed deliberately to spread the venom of division, hatred and subversion among our citizens, we, like scalded cats, were too aware of the possible damaging effects of televised programmes coming from artificial satellites or from other celestial bodies which were beyond our possible control. These broadcasts might very well be for political propaganda purposes or used for subversion or interference; they might be used for undermining the customs and morality of our people and the public order. The question is to choose between the principle of the free broadcasting of programmes and that of regulated freedom.
He knows that individual means of prevention belong only to the technologically
developed Powers because, through their jamming, they alone can stop the
broadcasting of those programmes with which they do not agree. But the
underdeveloped nations are completely vulnerable to this type of broadcasting.
We would have to suffer, without any possible defence, the broadcasting of any
programmes that might be dangerous to our populations.

Another difficulty confronting us is that in the light of the degree of
the development of each country the acceptable margin of tolerance would have
to be defined. That is tolerated in one country may be excessive in another,
since we do lack a common denominator.

The last question which the delegation of Zaire would ask concerns the
question of sanctions. We have stressed the difficulties confronting the
underdeveloped nations that may be showered with television programmes broadcast
from satellites, but what will be used, and how, effectively to oppose the
dissemination of programmes considered by them to be harmful?

Confronted by a fait accompli, the injured countries might turn to the
International Court of Justice, for example. But this would take a long
time before any effect could be felt. A somewhat more rapid procedure would be
to appear before the Security Council with a complaint, but again, here the
complaint would either be considered in silence or with dilatory tactics or
diffidence, or even a possible veto. That is why the draft convention and
the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union, as
amended by the delegation of Saudi Arabia, seem to us to call for urgent
discussion, but also prudent consideration.

In the light of the extreme complexity of the problem, the delegation
of Zaire feels that some reasonable time should be given to delegations to
allow them to assess the problems from all angles. The Republic of Zaire
would wish, as far as possible, to control the information that is disseminated
in our territory.