of outer space for military purposes and the elimination of foreign bases, actually met the interests of the United States just as much as those of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the United States proposals were simply designed to prohibit or put under inspection intercontinental ballistic missiles, which the USSR was at present the only country to possess, without at the same time giving up those bases which would enable the United States to strike at the most important centres in the socialist countries.

4. Those bases were distributed over thirty-five countries and territories, not counting those countries in which the United States maintained so-called advisory or training missions. The weekly magazine U.S. News & World Report in its issue of 14 November 1958, reported that the United States and its allies had more than 400 air or missile bases ringing the socialist countries, apart from the mobile bases at sea. Those bases, which were thousands of miles away from the United States, could not be for defensive purposes. Their real function had emerged during the intervention by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Middle East. Bases in the Azores, Spain, France, Italy and Turkey had served as staging points for transporting troops and equipment, while the first reinforcements had come from bases situated in West Germany.

5. However, the countries concerned were more and more demanding the liquidation of these bases; that had been recognized by Mr. Hoopes, until very recently a consultant to the White House on matters relating to overseas bases, in an article published in the October issue of Foreign Affairs, in which he had said that the bases generated friction and created acute difficulties between the United States and the host countries, and that it was becoming more and more difficult to persuade those countries that their security was bound up with the physical presence of United States air forces.

6. In trying to bring about the prohibition of intercontinental ballistic missiles, the United States was seeking to secure a military advantage by eliminating the Soviet Union’s power of retaliation.

7. In accordance with its custom, the United States delegation, having no arguments to justify its opposition to the Soviet proposals, had turned to attacking the presence of USSR forces in Eastern Europe. It should be noted that since the end of 1945 there had been no Soviet unit or Soviet bases in Czechoslovakia, whereas just next door the Federal Republic of Germany harboured a large number of United States bases which contributed much to espionage activities and propaganda of the “balloon campaign” type. In point of fact, the United States constantly sought to interfere
in the domestic affairs of the Eastern European countries. On the other hand, the relations between Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary were based upon sovereignty, equality, non-interference, mutual respect, co-operation and brotherly assistance.

8. The proposals in the Soviet Union draft resolution (A/C.1/L.230), (1949) were based upon the principle of international co-operation for international co-operation in the study of cosmic space. Moreover, the proposal to set up a permanent body for international co-operation in the study of cosmic space, as well as the adoption of the proposal to set up a permanent body for international co-operation in the study of cosmic space, was proposed. The adoption of the proposal to set up a permanent body for international co-operation in the study of cosmic space, would be of great help in the solution of the problems of disarmament, particularly in regard to rockets and atomic weapons. It would also be of great help to the scientists and engineers of all countries who would help greatly in the exploration and harnessing of the secrets of the universe, to the greater good of all mankind.

9. Mr. Lodge (United States of America) thought that man's exploration of outer space was one of the most important events in the history of mankind. However, effective steps must be taken to find methods which would ensure that outer space was used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and preparations must be made for international co-operation in that field.

10. As early as January 1957, the United States had urged that study should be begun of the disarmament aspects of the problem of outer space (A.C.1/L.785). In the view of the Secretary-General, the United States and the United Kingdom had suggested to the Sub-Committee on the Disarmament of the International Committee on a technical committee to be established to study an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes (DC/113, annex 5, sect. VI). At its twelfth session, the General Assembly had endorsed that approach in its resolution 1148 (XII), and the United States had declared itself willing to participate in such a committee. It was necessary to establish a permanent body for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, and if the countries which wished to participate in space programmes so desired, it might be possible to establish a technical committee to that effect. The technical committee could be established to study such an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes.

11. It was essential that the United States should be studied as soon as possible, despite the difficulties which it faced. However, since the agreement on the matter was still to be arrived at, the United States had declared itself willing to participate in such a committee. It was necessary to establish a permanent body for international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, and if the countries which wished to participate in space programmes so desired, it might be possible to establish a technical committee to that effect. The technical committee could be established to study such an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes.

12. The study of outer space might well lead to far-reaching results in the fields in which co-operation should be undertaken. It would be of great help in the solution of the problems of disarmament, particularly in regard to rockets and atomic weapons. It would also be of great help to the scientists and engineers of all countries who would help greatly in the exploration and harnessing of the secrets of the universe. However, if the conquest of cosmic space were offered to the nations, it might be possible to establish a technical committee to that effect. The technical committee could be established to study such an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes.

13. In the view of the United States, the United States, in association with eighteen other countries, had prepared a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.230) providing for the establishment of an ad hoc committee which would enable the General Assembly to obtain the information necessary to solve the whole field in which co-operation should be undertaken. In the view of the United States, the United States, the committee should consist of representatives of governments, who could be assisted by experts and specialists in the field. It would be of great help to the scientists and engineers of all countries who would help greatly in the exploration and harnessing of the secrets of the universe. However, if the conquest of cosmic space were offered to the nations, it might be possible to establish a technical committee to that effect. The technical committee could be established to study such an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes.

14. The proposed ad hoc committee could undoubtedly help to promote co-operation between nations which would enable the United States to proceed with its research and would inspire statesmen to take new steps for the settlement of the question of international co-operation. The proposition of the United States was supported by the better idea of the actual problems and their possible solutions.

15. The Chairman said that, in view of the scientific importance of the debate, the three of the specialized agencies, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization, were represented on the First Committee by observers.

16. Mr. Belaunde (Peru), referring to the nature and role of the United Nations, said that, while the Organization was not a supranational entity, it was, as it were, an association of sovereigns.

17. In recent years there had been a tendency to regard the United Nations as a centre for collective co-operation. But the United Nations was more than that: it was an institution, a legal entity with powers, jurisdiction and authority. The United Nations was able to use the utmost in solving current problems and in exercising respect and complete obedience from all its Members, especially in matters pertaining to their legal obligations. It was the culmination of a process of international evolution which was identified with the concept of OUTER-SPACE. The United Nations was a Charter which was not only of curbing all acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace, but also of taking effective collective measures to prevent and avert threats to peace.

18. Moreover, under the Charter of the United Nations, States had given the Organization the responsibility of maintaining international peace on the basis of collective security, a principle which, in its international legal framework, was complemented by the concept of "space局限于". It could thus be said that international law did not give States the possibility of placing the atmosphere in a position that was not only of curbing all acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace, but also of taking effective collective measures to prevent and avert threats to peace.

19. Unlike the question of atomic energy, which arose out of a wartime tragedy, the problem of outer space resulted from peaceful enterprise and research by scientists eager to prove the secrets of the universe. However, if the conquest of cosmic space were offered to the nations, it might be possible to establish a technical committee to that effect. The technical committee could be established to study such an inspection system which would make it possible to ensure the peaceful use of outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes.

20. Unless there was a change for the better in the moral outlook of mankind, that change could aggravate the struggle for supremacy and thereby increase international tension. Obviously, the conquest of cosmic space would give control of the earth to the Power which triumphed in the race. Stations that might be set up in space as a result of scientific progress could cause untold harm if used for warlike purposes. Extremely harmful physical, climatic and biological changes could be brought about on earth by means of such stations or artificial satellites.

21. The United Nations could not therefore let cosmic space become, like the earth, the scene of struggles for supremacy and of conflicting interests. It must internationalize cosmic space in order to prevent anything that threatened international peace and security.

22. The Organization should at least be granted the right, at the 29th Session of the Conference of the United Nations, to accept the Chicago convention with a view to laying down rules for the use of cosmic space.

23. In the view of the Peruvian delegation, national sovereignty could not override the concept of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The right to place a satellite or a space station in orbit was not a guarantee of the right to use the station in a way that would affect the peace and security of other States. Indeed, it was the duty of the States to ensure that the peaceful use of outer space was not affected by the activities of other States.

24. Before the conclusion in 1919 of the Paris Convention for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, the principle of freedom of the air and free navigation through the air had been recognized by allStates. World War had obliged countries to defend their air space. The Chicago Convention had taken from the Paris Convention the term "aerial traffic," thus substituting the concept of the expression "espaces aériens." It could thus be said that international law did not give States the possibility of placing the atmosphere in a position that was not only of curbing all acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace, but also of taking effective collective measures to prevent and avert threats to peace.

25. According to those who believed that gravity should be taken into account, there was a territorial space and a contiguous zone, as in the case of the sea, but that delimitation was surely arbitrary. According to another theory, the concept of "outer space" was replaced by the concept of "ight space," but the theory, which corresponded with the theory which assessed jurisdiction according to power, was alien to the juridical ideas which should prevail in the United Nations.

26. There was none the less one fact which seemed to have established a tacit precedent in the matter. The Soviet Union and the United States had launched artificial satellites to circle the earth without soliciting a protest anywhere in the world. No State therefore seemed to have claimed sovereignty over outer space.

27. A convention was discussed by John Cooper in "The United States' Committee for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation," where he deduced that the United States could participate in the international legal framework. The question of the progressive internationalization of outer space was not a question of juridical, but also political and humanitarian.

28. While the problem of outer space, despite its special features, was of concern to the maintenance of international law and to the security of the world, it was also a matter of general security and consequently with that of disarmament as a whole, it could not be arbitrarily tied to any aspect of the general problem of the maintenance of international law and security, such as that of the maintenance of international law and security, such as that of military bases, in isolation from all other aspects.

29. In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the significance of the problem of the area in the context of the peace and security of the world, it was also a matter of general security and consequently with that of disarmament as a whole, it could not be arbitrarily tied to any aspect of the general problem of the maintenance of international law and security, such as that of military bases, in isolation from all other aspects.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

Footnotes: