banning of the use of space for military purposes and the
elimination of foreign military bases as conditions for
international co-operation toward that end. Those
questions should be solved in the context of balanced
disarmament measures to be initiated under adequate
international controls, and since the Soviet draft resolu-
tion gave no such assurances, his delegation could not
support it. The New Zealand delegation hoped that
all States would join it in support of the twenty-Power
draft resolution, which suggested measures to be
taken immediately to establish and confirm inter-
national co-operation in the field of outer space, with-
out prejudice to the security of any State.

24. Mr. SASTROAMOYO (Indonesia) emphasized the
need to reverse the tendency to think of outer space
in terms of its military potentialities. Both approaches
to the problem suggested in the Committee's draft had
merit: on the one hand, it had been suggested that the dis-
armament aspect of the question of outer space should be
kept separate from the questions of international co-
operation, so that progress could be made pending
agreement on disarmament; on the other hand, it had
been urged that both the disarmament aspect and the
question of the peaceful use of outer space should be
resolved in order to establish a basis for international
co-operation. In the view of the Indonesian delegation,
while the disarmament aspect could not be completely
divorced from that of international co-operation, the
latter should not be made contingent upon a solution of
the disarmament problem. The United Nations should
work on both aspects of the question simultaneously.

25. The relation between the elimination of military
bases and the actual use of outer space could not be
ignored. In a divided world in which both sides were
constantly striving for equality, it was small comfort
to know that military bases were intended for defensive
purposes only. Such bases increased suspicion of aggres-
sionary intentions, tended to accelerate the arms race
in nuclear weapons and prevented the establishment
of an atmosphere of confidence between East and West
without which no progress could be made towards dis-
armament.

26. After recalling the Indonesian position on the use
of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and on a cessation
of nuclear weapons tests pending a ban on the
use of nuclear weapons by the United Nations, he said
that the United Nations should immediately establish
machinery which would similarly be directed toward
achieving two objectives. On the one hand, it was
necessary to ensure the outer space for peaceful
purposes; on the other hand, it would promote international
co-operation for the peaceful use of outer space. The
first objective should be implemented by establishing
through agreement, controls on the sending of all
kinds of rocket weapons and missiles through outer
space. It should be discussed as a matter of urgency
in the reconstituted Disarmament Commission. The
second objective should be carried out by initiating
steps to establish the necessary international machin-
ery, leaving the legal aspects to be dealt with by
qualified experts.

27. The question of the peaceful use of outer space was
not merely an academic subject, but was a practical
problem confronting all States. The United Nations
should work on both aspects of the question simultane-
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Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafaello URIAQ (El Salvador)

AGENDA ITEM 60


(a) The banning of the use of cosmic space for military purposes, the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries and international co-operation in the study of cosmic space

(b) Programme for international co-operation in the field of outer space

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. BRUCAN (Romania), challenging a statement made by the United States representative at the 862nd meeting on the nature of the relationship between the socialist countries in so far as it alleged military bases on their territories, pointed out that under an agreement concluded between the Romanian and Soviet Union Governments, forces of the other signatories of the Warsaw Treaty, all Soviet forces had been withdrawn from Romania by 15 August 1958. The United States maintained bases in many countries. It asserted that its forces in foreign territory would leave at the request of the Government concerned, that its forces in Okinawa had not been withdrawn and that the base had not been liquidated, although that request had been made by the population of Okinawa in elections held in 1959 and again in 1968.

2. The master of outer-space missions had added a new and important dimension to the threat of all-out war and the problem for the United Nations was to eliminate the possibility that destruction might come from or through outer space. The aspect of the use of space was of paramount importance and should therefore be aimed at conducting a problem under discussion. The U.S. SSTT draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219) adopted that approach and presented a comprehensive and constructive basis for international scientific co-operation based on experience in other scientific fields. It held, quite rightly, that only if the danger of the use of outer space for military purposes were removed could such co-operation benefit mankind.

3. The Western position on the use of outer space appeared to have undergone a significant change. During the twentieth session of the General Assembly the Western Powers had shown great interest in the military aspect of outer space, an interest clearly expressed in the United States memorandum dated 26 January 1957 (A/C.1/783). They now appeared, however, to have lost that interest, though they were continuing to spend huge sums on rockets and other space missiles and on related research and experiments. Their apparent loss of interest could be explained only by their realization that they could not deal with the question of outer space in disarmament negotiations from their former position of strength. Indeed, the United States representative had stated (982nd meeting) that his Government maintained the position it had taken in the Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission at London in 1957; it would detach intercontinental ballistic missiles from the complexes of disarmament questions and conclude a separate agreement unconditionally banning such missiles. He was puzzled, especially as the West attached conditions to agreement on all other aspects of disarmament, including the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. Yet the real danger to mankind was not rockets or missiles, but nuclear warheads with their tremendous destructive power. The West would maintain nuclear weapons on the ground, that they acted as a deterrent to war, yet he would not consider outer-space weapons as a deterrent to war. That attitude could be explained by the fact that the United States had not until recently—until that is, until the first artificial earth satellite was sent to orbit in space—understood the magnitude of new space developments.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.