3. Of the two draft resolutions which had been submitted to the Committee, the Soviet draft (A/C.1/L.219) could not be regarded as embodying a sincere desire for peace because it emanated from States which were responsible for starting all the wars of recent years. Moreover, some of its provisions were not closely related to the matter under discussion. His delegation felt that it would be sound procedural practice to vote separately on the references to foreign military bases in the fourth paragraph and in subparagraph (2) of that paragraph and then on the remaining parts of the draft resolution. It could not vote in favour of the elimination of those bases, not only because to do so would amount to interference in the domestic affairs of the States concerned, but also because it was convinced that those bases had served to avert aggression against the free nations of the world. It would, however, be preferable, as the Brazilian representative had suggested (886th meeting), to refer the entire draft resolution to the Disarmament Commission.

4. His delegation did not regard the twenty-power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) as perfect, but would vote in favour of it because it did represent a first step in the field, submitted in good faith and fully consonant with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. Sir Pierson Dixon (United Kingdom) said that the space exploration programmes of the United States and the Soviet Union, while they had an obvious bearing on military technology, had been primarily motivated by the desire for scientific knowledge. The United States representative had already outlined the benefits which might accrue to mankind from the study and exploitation of outer space (963rd meeting). However, although those peaceful uses were still largely a matter of theory, it was clear that they would raise problems which could be solved only by international action. They were thus obviously a matter for the United Nations.

6. As the Peruvian representative had pointed out (963rd meeting), the subject of outer space raised many entirely new legal problems, which could not be settled until their general scope and nature were determined. That was an aspect of the question which required international study.

7. The question of the military uses of outer space must also be clearly studied sooner or later by an international body; in particular, it would be necessary to determine the practicability of a control system adequate to ensure that outer space was used solely for peaceful purposes. A ban on the military use of outer space such as the one proposed by the Soviet Union (A/C.1/L.219), would be valueless unless enforced by means of such effective international control.

8. The use of outer space for military purposes was, however, a different question from the one now before the Committee.
the Committee, and should be dealt with in its proper context—that of disarmament. In the delegation's opinion, the Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219), because it sought to confine the two issues, was not the most expeditious way in which the use of outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only. More rapid progress would be made towards that aim by concentrating on the practical uses of outer space.

Moreover, the references to "foreign" bases in the Soviet draft resolution were misleading, for, in the Western view, they were but a part of a system of collective self-defence and existed by the free consent of concerned countries. United Nations Charter, all countries had a right to such collective arrangements for self-defence, although Soviet spokesmen constantly sought to obscure and distort the fact.

Apart from the ban proposed by the Soviet Union, there was a feeling that the Committee was really deeply divided on the practical measures to be taken immediately. All parties agreed that international machinery should be established to deal with the peaceful uses of outer space. The difference of view lay only in that the machinery proposed in the Soviet draft seemed too ambitious in the present initial stages of the problem. What was needed first was surely a start by a competent committee of what the United Nations had done and could do in connection with the peaceful uses of outer space, and of the legal problems which might arise in the future. The Committee should, however, stray into the field of disarmament, if only because to do so would introduce a highly controversial element into its work.

His delegation considered that the proposed committee would function best if it were kept small. Too much emphasis on the idea of giving a geographical representation, although that factor must of course be taken into account. On the whole, the general criterion should be that of scientific qualification, as measured, perhaps, by the extent and value of a country's contribution to the work done during the International Geophysical Year.

11. The considerations so far mentioned were relevant to both draft resolutions (A/C.1/L.250), which his delegation had to consider. In considering the Committee, he expressed the hope that mankind, a number of countries and the use of atomic energy, let slip the great opportunity for peaceful cooperation presented by the emergence of a new field for cooperation.

12. Mr. HIJARRATE (Guatemala) said that the legal problems involved in the question of the peaceful use of outer space should be approached in such a way as to ensure effective international cooperation in that field and give all States access to outer space. On the basis of the experience of international cooperation in the use of outer space should be discussed separately, with the view to ensuring that the complex problems of disarmament, the result would merely be to place obstacles in the way of agreement and hinder further discussions, and other benefits which could be derived from exploration and experimentation in outer space. The proper place for the discussion of the disarmament problems was the Disarmament Commission. Once disarmament was linked with a question like that of the peaceful use of outer space, it would be difficult to dissociate it from other various other problems. Questions like international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space, might have to be shelved until the dangers of bacteriological warfare had been discussed.

13. A body like the one proposed in the twenty-power Draft resolution (A/C.1/L.250), would put his delegation was a sponsor, would be needed to study the various problems which were involved in the use of outer space and to find any solutions which might be proposed. He hoped that the members of the Committee would submerge political considerations and support the draft resolution by a large majority.

14. Mr. ARDOH (Irans) expressed the hope that agreement would soon be reached on the use of outer space for military purposes; he had been hearth out of the United States representative's statement that a new committee was to be formed to explore the use of outer space, while he did not stress the idea of establishing a United Nations Committee for the exploration of outer space. While he did not stress the idea of establishing a United Nations Committee for the exploration of outer space, his delegation feared that discussion would be held in the Disarmament Commission for the present, the Committee should limit itself to developing programmes of international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space.

15. He had a number of reasons for taking that position. First, although some aspects of the question of outer space were bound up with problems of security and disarmament, a ban on the military use of outer space was not, in his view, the key preliminary to international cooperation in that field; moreover, the question of outer space was potentially new, more far-reaching than its immediate security applications. Secondly, he was of the opinion that the question of banning the use of outer space for military purposes was an integral part of the disarmament and should be discussed within that framework; to discuss it in the Committee rather than in the General Assembly was to betray the disarmament movement to the Committee. Thirdly, progress could be achieved towards international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space while attempts were being made to solve the more difficult problem of obtaining a ban on the use of outer space for military purposes.

16. The Committee should not prejudge the legal problems which might arise in connection with the peaceful use of outer space in connection with the exploration of outer space. However, he shared the opinion of the representative of Italy (8352nd meeting) that, in the Disarmament Committee, where he was employed by all, it should be regarded as belonging in its entirety to the whole world and not be subject to various national sovereignties. He noted with satisfaction that the second paragraph of the preamble of the Committee's resolution was intended to take into account the foreign equality of all United Nations Members and that operative paragraph 1 requested the proposed ad hoc committee of twenty powers to consider the peaceful use of outer space which could be undertaken to the best of its knowledge and experience of the stage of their economic or scientific development.

17. The delegation hoped that a generally acceptable compromise would be reached, but failing such a compromise, it would vote for the twenty-power Draft resolution.

18. Mr. SHAHI (Nepal) said that since his delegation had co-sponsored the twenty-power Draft resolution because that draft was intended to ensure that outer space would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, it had given that resolution, and it was not of a nature to offend the susceptibilities of any State. Although the question of the use of outer space was related remotely to disarmament, its discussion was from the point of view of an international disarmament deadlock any attempt to link it to that problem might hinder the achievement of peaceful purposes in the early stage. The twenty-power Draft resolution adversely had omitted reference to the disarmament deadline. The twenty-power Draft did not do the continuation and expansion of that type of cooperation under United Nations auspices, international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space would serve to promote scientific progress through combined efforts, to prevent the arms race and the duplication of work, such cooperation would achieve, for them the present time when only two States had as yet succeeded in using outer space and no national claims had been made.

16. Although the Soviet Draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219) dealt with some aspects of disarmament and the twenty-power Draft resolution did not, the two drafts had a common denominator in that both called for the international machinery to be used to promote the peaceful use of outer space. While he did not stress the idea of establishing a United Nations Committee for the exploration of outer space, his delegation feared that discussion would be held in the Disarmament Committee for the present, the Committee should limit itself to developing programmes of international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space.

19. The twenty-power Draft resolution thus appeared to embody a more practical approach for the time being. Since the effectiveness of any prospective ad hoc committee would be seriously impaired if the United States did not participate in its work, he hoped that the sponsors of the Soviet and twenty-power Draft resolutions would reconcile their views on the basis of the common ground which existed in the two documents.

20. Turning to the legal aspect of the problem of outer space, he expressed agreement with the view of the representative of Italy (8352nd meeting) that, in the Disarmament Committee, where he was employed by all, it should be regarded as belonging in its entirety to the whole world and not be subject to various national sovereignties. He noted with satisfaction that the second paragraph of the preamble of the Committee's resolution was intended to take into account the foreign equality of all United Nations Members and that operative paragraph 1 requested the proposed ad hoc committee of twenty powers to consider the peaceful use of outer space which could be undertaken to the best of its knowledge and experience of the stage of their economic or scientific development.

21. Several delegations, in particular those of Peru (83rd meeting) and the Netherlands (97th meeting), had pointed to the implications for international law of the exploitation of outer space, hoping that their ideas would be given full weight. The urgency of further consideration of the legal problems which might arise had been clearly demonstrated. Only when that was understood could principles of law applicable to the exploitation of outer space be developed. The legal problems could be developed. The choice between the possible legal arrangements would have to be a political decision.

22. It appeared to be agreed that one basic objective was to ensure that the exploration and exploitation of outer space would not become the cause of national rivalries and international disputes. If that were not done, all the organizational problems which then arose would have to be dealt with in order to maintain and strengthen the co-operation established during the two previous International Geophysical Years and to study further the work of organizations already engaged in space research within and outside the United Nations, especially international intergovernmental organizations (which was the full and free dissemination of scientific information). It would be necessary for the United Nations, which would have a major role in organizing and stimulating international co-operation, could most easily influence the development of the peaceful use of outer space. New Zealand believed that the committee provided in the twenty-power Draft resolution, which was not co-sponsored by the United Nations, must insist that outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219), however, demanded the
banning of the use of space for military purposes and the elimination of foreign military bases on the condition that they be used only for peaceful purposes. Such bases increased suspicion of aggressive 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 real disarmament.

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 production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, he urged that the United Nations should immediately establish machinery which would similarly be directed towards achieving two objectives. On the one hand, it would be the use of outer space for peaceful purposes; on the other, 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 types 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 machinery, leaving the legal aspects to be dealt with by qualified experts.

27. The question of the peaceful use of outer space was not merely a technical challenge; it was also a question of the disarming of the disarmament problem. The United Nations should work on both aspects of the question simultaneously.

28. The relation between the elimination of military bases and the peaceful 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 aggressive 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 real disarmament.

29. Mr. SASTROMIDJOJO (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 had merit: on the one hand, it had been suggested that the disarmament aspect of the question of outer space should be kept separate from the question 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 the solution of the disarmament problem. The United Nations should work on both aspects of the question simultaneously.

30. The relation between the elimination of military bases and the peaceful 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 aggressive 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 real disarmament.

31. Mr. SCHRUMANN (Netherlands) said that it would be absurd to apply to outer space terrestrial notions which could prove unsuited to deal with situations still largely unknown. Law made a distinction between matters of international concern and matters of national concern, and the same was true of the safeguarding of the outer space environment. The proposed Draft Regulations of the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space contained a provision for the establishment of a Committee of Experts to consider the establishment of an international tribunal, court or commission to deal with matters arising in the outer space environment which might not be resolved by peaceful means and which might not be resolved by means of the United Nations or the International Court of Justice.

32. Mr. JOHDAN (United Kingdom) introduced a draft resolution which would provide for the establishment of a Committee of Experts to consider the establishment of a Committee of Experts to consider the establishment of an international tribunal, court or commission to deal with matters arising in the outer space environment which might not be resolved by peaceful means and which might not be resolved by means of the United Nations or the International Court of Justice.

33. Mr. JORDAN (United States) said that it was the first time in the history of the United Nations that the Organization had been called upon to plan for the future instead of taking remedial action in respect of past unfortunate occurrences. Outer space offered unlimited opportunities for international co-operation.

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35. As far as the question of disarmament was concerned, the feature of the draft resolution could not be isolated from the rest. Moreover, it was desirable to keep the question of disarmament separate from matters which had no real connection with it and concerning which States were still far from agreement. In his statement (第122nd meeting), the Soviet