

United States representative that those bases were established with the consent of the countries concerned. In any case, the United States leaders believed that their system of foreign bases ensured the invulnerability of the United States.

35. That was why, when the Soviet Union had acquired intercontinental missiles capable of reaching any point on the globe, the United States had, on the pretext of ensuring the peaceful use of outer space, called for the prohibition of rockets which required the use of outer space. The question of ballistic missiles and outer space was therefore closely linked with the question of military bases in foreign countries. As the American commentator William Frye had written, the United States did not need intercontinental missiles as long as it maintained its alliances and, consequently, its military bases on foreign territories. The prohibition of such missiles would therefore be of enormous advantage to the United States. It was obvious that such a request was unacceptable to the countries concerned and dangerous to peace, since its purpose was to deprive the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of an important means of defence while the United States would retain the use, from its foreign bases, of short- and medium-range rockets, which were just as dangerous to the peoples of the world.

36. It was essential that any action to neutralize outer space should be accompanied by equal guarantees for the security of all States. The proposals made by the Soviet Union on 15 March 1958 (A/3818 and Corr. 1) and the original draft resolution submitted by the Soviet

delegation (A/C.1/L.219) fully satisfied that requirement. While meeting the views of the United States on the prohibition of intercontinental missiles, the Soviet proposals went further and were more realistic, for they made it possible to prevent missile warfare. Moreover, they opened the way to broad international co-operation in the study of cosmic space. Their adoption would constitute a very great contribution to the cause of international peace and security. However, because of the negative attitude of the United States delegation, the Soviet Union had had to submit a revised draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) which limited itself to proposing measures of international co-operation in the field of cosmic space. The Albanian delegation hoped that, in view of the spirit of compromise shown by the Soviet delegation, that draft resolution would be adopted unanimously, especially as it represented an important step, touching as it did on the substance of the problem by providing for the establishment of an international committee for co-operation in the study of outer space.

37. With regard to the statements made by the United States representative at the 982nd and later meetings, he noted that the slanders uttered against socialist countries were contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. They were a proof of the difficulty the United States representatives experienced in defending the so-called policy of "positions of strength" which their Government practised.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE 990th
MEETING

Wednesday, 19 November 1958,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

AGENDA ITEM 60

Question of the peaceful use of outer space (A/3818 and Corr. 1, A/3902, A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1, A/C.1/L.220) (continued):

- (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. SOSA RODRIGUEZ (Venezuela) said that the problem of the use of outer space placed a tremendous responsibility on all States, great and small. The mistrust and misunderstanding which characterized international relations must not be allowed to extend to that problem, which the United Nations was competent to consider within the framework of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. At that initial stage in the exploration of space, the United Nations had an unprecedented opportunity to establish its competence as paramount.

2. No solutions for the new problems arising from man's penetration of outer space should be offered until a thorough preliminary study had been carried out by experts of the legal, scientific-technical and political-military aspects. A new body of law would have to be developed to govern the ownership and use of outer space. Venezuela was opposed to the extension of national sovereignty to space and believed in collective ownership and use of space. From the scientific-technical point of view, the collective investigation of space through the close co-operation of scientists of many countries would prove more fruitful than work by individual States. The success of the International Geophysical Year pointed the way to such co-operation. Finally, the political-military aspects should be kept quite separate from the legal and scientific aspects of the space question, and the differences between States should not be permitted to hinder the international co-operation between scientists and

jurists for the greatest good of all. The political-military aspects should be studied by the competent international organization, namely, the reorganized Disarmament Commission.

3. Although Venezuela believed that the United States military bases on foreign territory were purely defensive, it understood the desire of the USSR to link the question of the use of space for military purposes with that of the elimination of those bases. The problem of the military use of space should be considered separately, and the USSR, taking into account the views of other members in the Committee, had quite properly separated that question of disarmament from the question of international co-operation.

4. Venezuela had co-sponsored the twenty-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) because that draft reflected the desire of all peoples that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only, set aside the question of the use of outer space for military purposes for study and solution in the Disarmament Commission, and would facilitate progress in the study of the legal and scientific aspects of the problem of outer space. The ad hoc committee for which it provided would operate within the framework of the United Nations, and its composition would take account of the levels of scientific development of various countries and of the factor of geographical distribution.

5. The Soviet initiative in presenting a revised draft of its proposal (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) augured well for unanimous agreement on the question of outer space. The United Nations should not miss the opportunity offered it to take effective action from the outset.

6. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland) regretted the failure of some speakers to recognize the natural link between the scientific-technical aspects of the question of cosmic space and its political-military aspects. It was unrealistic to attempt to avoid discussion of the latter factor, since it was clear that rockets intended primarily for military use had been the basis of the break-through into outer space and that the military use of space was part of the complex of disarmament problems. For those reasons, the Polish delegation considered the problem of cosmic space to be primarily political and military, even with regard to its use for peaceful purposes. A basis of international co-operation for the peaceful use of cosmic space had to be established; to do that, its use for military purposes had to be banned. Unless space was demilitarized, scientific co-operation in the necessary atmosphere of mutual confidence could not be developed. To that extent, the Committee's debate was necessarily a continuation of its discussion on disarmament.

7. The twenty-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) was too general and too weak; it did not deal with the core of the problem. It appeared to imply that the

United States was interested only in the peaceful use of outer space. A very different impression emerged from the records of the Select Committee on Astronautics and Space Exploration of the United States House of Representatives. They showed that the problem of cosmic space in the United States had become the domain of generals, not of scientists or statesmen and that the United States was primarily interested in the military use of outer space and in its "conquest". The problem was therefore only part of the general problem of disarmament, closely related to the question of atomic weapons because military bases in outer space could be used for sending atomic warheads by intercontinental or interplanetary rockets.

8. Military bases on earth already constituted a threat to many countries and perpetuated an acute state of international tension. For example, the existence of such bases in West Germany and the growth of the German military potential were a serious threat to the security of Poland, especially as the German bases were becoming increasingly aggressive and there were indications that the West German Government planned to use the weapons placed at its disposal for revenge. The West German leaders were attempting to obstruct all efforts to reduce international tension; the recent condemnation by the West German Minister of Defence of the Polish proposal for the creation in Central Europe of a zone free of nuclear weapons was significant in that regard.

9. Military bases, whether on foreign territory or in outer space, were equally dangerous. They were links in the chain of the armaments race. Moreover, as in all disarmament questions, the method of the gradual and balanced reduction of the military potential of both sides should be applied both to military bases on earth and to the military use of cosmic space. The injunction to that effect in the original Soviet proposal (A/C.1/L.219) was therefore sound from a political point of view.

10. Clearly, the logical course open to all nations was to make every effort to develop international co-operation in the question of the use of cosmic space to the extent which was possible at the present stage. The co-operation which had characterized the International Geophysical Year should be consolidated and improved, and the United Nations should play a key role in that endeavour. Accordingly, Poland supported the USSR move to establish an international committee for co-operation in the study of cosmic space for peaceful purposes (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1). Such co-operation would also facilitate agreement on political and military matters. Poland, despite its continuing conviction that the military uses of cosmic space should be totally prohibited, was prepared to support that concrete proposal for a partial and gradual solution of the new problem.

11. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria) said that his delegation had already emphasized (960th meeting) the importance of reaching international agreement on the peaceful use of outer space in order to avoid the kind of situation that had arisen in the case of atomic energy. It therefore welcomed the Committee's present discussion of the question and hoped that the equal technical progress achieved by both sides in the exploration of outer space would convince all countries that neither side had a technological advantage and that international agreement was consequently the best safeguard against attacks from space.

12. So far as the juridical aspect of the problem was concerned, it seemed clear that the most urgent task of the United Nations was to work out an international agreement on outer space. Although a juridical vacuum existed on the subject, one basic principle had gained recognition by most jurists: that a State's sovereignty could not possibly extend beyond the limits of the air space above that State's territory. His delegation shared the view that space beyond the earth's atmosphere was a *res communis omnium* which all States might use freely and without interference, and that the ultimate goal should be the free use of outer space under international control. It was gratifying to note that in the meantime international practice had corroborated the principle of the free use of cosmic space, for neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had obtained any authorization for the use of outer space by their artificial satellites and not a single State had raised objections in that connexion. That tacit recognition of the principle involved should justify the hope that the conclusion of a formal convention would encounter no major obstacles.

13. Even if outer space were internationalized, the possibility of its use for military purposes would remain, and that question too must therefore receive careful consideration. Fortunately for humanity, all States were aware of the tremendous dangers involved, and the big Powers directly concerned were striving for a contractual settlement of the question. Austria hoped that the great opportunity for agreement thus offered would be taken, and believed that the use of outer space for military purposes should be prohibited.

14. His delegation was glad to note that there had been a *rapprochement* between the two opposing points of view on the question and felt that the revised Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1) gave reason to hope that the Committee might achieve unanimity on the problem. It now seemed mandatory for the sponsors of the two draft resolutions to try to work out a common text acceptable to all.

15. The fate of humanity would depend on the solution of the challenging problem now before the Committee. That should be realized by all, and especially by the two great Powers whose achievements had pointed mankind's way into the universe.

16. Mr. KENAWI (United Arab Republic) said that his delegation advocated the establishment of an international régime aimed at ensuring that outer space would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It was gratifying that both the Soviet Union and the United States had expressed their desire and intention to bring that consummation about.

17. His delegation considered that the new resources which might be provided by outer space should be used for the welfare of all mankind and that the interest of the under-developed countries should be recognized from the very beginning as a basic principle of the international regulation of space. The United Arab Republic believed that the legal problems which might arise immediately in connexion with the exploration of space—for example, such problems as the regulation of satellite launchings and traffic in space—should be dealt with promptly, by the establishment of a co-ordinated international programme for the formulation and supervision of such regulations. Legal problems which might arise in the long run—such as the legal

status of outer space and the question of sovereignty—could be referred for consideration to a competent committee of representatives of Governments. His delegation also agreed that permanent and adequate machinery should be established for collecting, classifying and publishing scientific information on outer space, and urged that the idea be given careful study.

18. His delegation welcomed the revised draft resolution submitted by the Soviet delegation, which had greatly narrowed the gap between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers, and hoped that a unanimous solution would soon be reached on the question before the Committee.

19. Mr. GARIN (Portugal) said that the great challenge to mankind inherent in the opening up of outer space to human exploration should not be curbed by political obstacles or conditioned by the rules of a private club. For that reason, his delegation had been pleased to note that the sponsors of the twenty-Power draft resolution accepted the principle that outer space should be used for the benefit of all States, irrespective of their degree of economic or scientific development, and the principle of the absolute equality of States in the use of outer space.

20. Portugal recognized that the questions of disarmament and outer space were related; it believed, however, that no particular aspect of the disarmament question could be included in the discussion of outer space without reopening the entire question of disarmament. For that reason, the Soviet attempt to inject conditions concerning defensive Western military bases into the issue would only have obscured the primary goal of the draft resolutions under consideration, and his delegation was happy to note that the Soviet delegation had now deleted any reference to bases from its revised draft resolution. However, although the revised draft showed a commendable willingness to compromise and was a step in the right direction, some of its recommendations still appeared less advantageous to the community of nations than the corresponding provisions of the twenty-Power draft resolution. The Soviet recommendation that a specific international committee be established seemed somewhat premature, for if preparatory work was needed before any permanent organ was established—as both the Soviet and twenty-Power draft resolutions assumed—it would appear logical to proceed from the preparatory work to the permanent organ rather than *vice versa*. His delegation also considered that the omission of any reference in the revised Soviet draft to the vitally important principles that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only and that States should be absolutely equal in its use, as well as of provisions for the study of the legal aspects of the subject, was too serious to be overlooked.

21. Lastly, his delegation had serious doubts as to the fairness of the Soviet proposals regarding the composition of the preparatory group. If it was to fulfil the task for which it was intended, such a group should be chosen on the basis of geographic and technical, rather than political, considerations and should have a more diversified outlook than would the group proposed in the Soviet draft.

22. Recalling his country's absorption in the task of exploring the new world discovered at the close of the Middle Ages, he said that, if all the nations of the

world took up the great challenge of outer space in a spirit of earnest co-operation, much of the bitterness now dividing the world might gradually disappear.

23. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) said that, whereas the twenty-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.220) sought to isolate the question of the peaceful use of cosmic space from that of its military use, the original Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219) had called for the study of the problem as a whole in order to find a definitive solution. The United States approach was unrealistic and did not serve the cause of peace. Although aware of the dangers inherent in the military use of cosmic space, the United States had ignored the problem in the Committee because it wished to avoid any discussion of a related question, i.e., that of United States military bases on foreign territories, which were clearly directed against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries and were designed so that any retaliatory measures against future aggression would be diverted from United States territory to the countries in which the bases were situated. In that connexion, he pointed out that, according to *The New York Times* of 19 November 1958, the United States Department of State had replied to Morocco's request for the immediate evacuation of the American bases in that country by stating that it was necessary for the United States troops to remain there for seven more years.

24. By referring to the socialist countries as "satellites" of the Soviet Union (989th meeting), the United States representative had shown that he could not conceive of relations between countries which did not rest on a master-and-slave or a purely mercenary basis. Certain circles in the United States had long been hostile to the social and political order in the socialist countries and were seeking to restore capitalism in those countries; the proposal by the President of the United States, in his letter of 15 February 1958 to the Prime Minister of the USSR, that the political system in the Eastern European countries should be discussed at a future summit conference, was an example of United States interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. With the aid of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria had won its freedom and independence and in fifteen years had transformed itself from a backward, agrarian country into an industrial State; when the United States representative had called it a satellite, he had evidently had in mind the countries which were dominated by foreign monopoly capital.

25. The United States representative's attack on the socialist countries could not obscure the reality of the problem of United States military bases on foreign territories. Indeed, the President of the United States, in his letter of 17 February 1958 to the Prime Minister of the USSR, had cited the need to deal with the danger that cosmic space would be used for military purposes. Yet the United States now wanted the Committee to examine only the question of the peaceful use of outer space; the United States representative had stated at the 989th meeting that his Government was prepared to negotiate with the Soviet Union, but he had been alluding to negotiations which concerned merely the technical details of supervising the peaceful use of outer space, not the banning of its military uses and the elimination of United States bases on foreign territories. The United States was merely pretending to be interested in international co-operation in the study

of outer space; it was actually attempting to gain military advantage by banning certain weapons which it did not possess while retaining its own weapons and its military bases.

26. In its new draft resolution (A/C.1/L.219/Rev.1), the Soviet Union had proposed the establishment of an international committee for co-operation in the study of cosmic space for peaceful purposes. However, the United Nations must ultimately turn its attention to the military as well as the peaceful aspects of the problem of outer space, for its main function was to take action to remove threats to the peace.

27. Mr. ERALP (Turkey) said that the question of the elimination of foreign military bases on the territories of other countries should be discussed under the heading of disarmament, not in connexion with the peaceful use of outer space. The opportunity for genuine peaceful scientific co-operation in the field of outer space might otherwise be lost amid frustrating wrangling over general disarmament.

28. There were no "foreign military bases" in Turkey in the sense implied in the wording of the agenda item before the Committee. In the exercise of the right of collective defence proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, Turkey had freely joined a defensive alliance in order to provide for the security of its people. The so-called "bases" in Turkey had been set up by agreement between the members of that alliance and with Turkey's consent; they would disappear as soon as the fear of external aggression had been dispelled.

29. He urged adoption of the twenty-Power draft resolution; the *ad hoc* committee proposed in that document was needed to study the various aspects of the question of outer space and the possibilities of international co-operation in its peaceful use, including the possibility of ultimately drawing up a legal code for outer space.

30. He was gratified to note that the new Soviet draft resolution had eliminated the reference to foreign bases contained in the original draft, thus bringing the Committee nearer to unanimity on the question before it. While his delegation felt that the twenty-Power draft resolution, of which it was a sponsor, was more in keeping with the practical requirements of the problem, it would carefully study the new Soviet draft resolution.

31. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru), replying to the earlier remarks of the representative of Hungary (989th meeting), said that obedience to the international community

did not apply in all cases. There were, however, juridical obligations incumbent on all Member States under the Charter, which, quite apart from the moral authority of the United Nations—which should influence their decisions and their actions—had to be fulfilled. Those obligations weighed equally on all States regardless of their ideological or economic differences, and whenever they were recalled in recommendations of a juridical nature by the Security Council or the General Assembly, they demanded compliance.

32. The Charter itself required that all nations should share in what might be called the moral "capital" or assets built up by the United Nations. That capital comprised the ideas of collective security, of the maintenance of peace as a primary responsibility, and of international co-operation for the common good. The competence of the United Nations to deal with matters of security was also an integral part of the Organization's moral "capital", and it had been expressly conferred upon the Organization by the Charter.

33. He was prepared to accept the doctrine that outer space should be considered *res communis*, provided that its use was subject to a system imposed by the international community. For that reason, it was important to recognize that the international community was something above and beyond the ideological and political structures of States. In the absence of a multilateral convention on the use of outer space by which all parties would voluntarily be bound, the jurisdiction of the international community would prevail. The question of the use of outer space was clearly a matter of international concern; that concern was that space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Consequently, Peru welcomed the principle of absolute equality defined by the delegations of Brazil (986th meeting) and Argentina (985th meeting) with respect to the position of all nations regarding the use and ownership of outer space, as well as the recognition of the overriding competence of the international community.

34. It had been gratifying to learn that the people and Government of the United States were strongly united on the question of the peaceful use of outer space and that the USSR had modified its original proposal in such a way as to foster the hope that the Committee could reach unanimous agreement on a single solution of the space question.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**
THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE 989th
MEETING

Tuesday, 18 November 1958,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

AGENDA ITEM 60

Question of the peaceful use of outer space (A/3818 and Corr.1, A/3902, A/C.1/L.219, A/C.1/L.220) (continued):

- (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. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that everyone was in agreement on the need to use cosmic space for purely peaceful purposes. His Government was prepared to conclude an agreement to that effect forthwith. The co-operation of all countries, great and small, was essential if such an agreement, which would have to take into account the views of all parties concerned, was to be worked out.

2. One hard fact had to be borne in mind: inter-continental missiles were not the only ones capable of carrying atomic and hydrogen weapons. Consequently, any decision to ban them which was not accompanied by a solution of the problem of military bases would be detrimental to the interests of the Soviet Union.

3. It was evident from the statements made by the delegation of the United States that that country, which in 1957 had been the first to raise the question of banning the use of cosmic space for military purposes, was no longer prepared to give immediate consideration to the specific problems which that question presented. It was significant that the United States' change of attitude dated from the day when the Soviet Union had linked that problem with the question of eliminating military bases on the territories of other countries, for those bases were one of the chief instruments of United States policy.

4. The arguments advanced by the United States representative to justify the existence of his country's

foreign bases could convince no one. Senator James W. Fulbright, in a statement made in the United States Senate on 20 June 1958, had acknowledged that United States bases constituted a threat to the Soviet Union. As for the consent given by the countries on whose territories the bases were situated, examination of the actual situation showed that the United States had been able to obtain it only by resorting to various means of pressure—in most instances, by taking advantage of the economic and financial difficulties of the countries concerned. Thus, according to *The New York Times* of 5 July 1958, the \$1,000 million in economic and military aid extended to Spain was the price paid for the right to establish military bases in that country. According to the same newspaper, the Philippines had received \$280 million for leasing land to be used for launching sites for guided missiles and runways for bombers. Moreover, in a great many countries, such as Morocco, Iceland and Japan, the people were protesting against the maintenance of such bases. According to the Tunisian newspaper *L'Action*, the Prime Minister of Morocco had stated in July 1958 that the United States bases had been established without the consent or participation of Morocco, which did not recognize them. Meanwhile, *The New York Times* had been writing that United States diplomacy should be directed towards maintaining and modernizing the foreign bases.

5. Quite apart from the question of bases, the United States did not want an agreement on the purely peaceful use of outer space and international control of rockets. It was waiting first until it possessed inter-continental ballistic missiles, as evidenced by the statement by Mr. Roy Johnson William published in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the views expressed by Mr. Neil H. McElroy Secretary of Defense, at his press conference on 13 November 1958, and an article by Mr. Thomas J. Hamilton in *The New York Times* of 16 November.

6. At the 986th meeting, the United States representative, Mr. Johnson, had stated that his country's aim was to guarantee peace and unity in cosmic space. That aim was affirmed in the resolution adopted on the subject by the United States House of Representatives. How, then, was one to explain the fact that the United States intended to limit itself to considering the question of a programme of international scientific co-operation, which, however important it might be, was not the basic question? While still convinced that the General Assembly should examine in detail and resolve the problem of banning the use of cosmic space for military purposes, his delegation was compelled to note that the Western Powers were not prepared to follow it in that course of action.

7. Desiring to achieve a reconciliation of views and to facilitate the conclusion of an agreement, his delegation was therefore prepared to examine the aspect of the problem relating to international co-operation in