United States representative that those bases were established with the consent of the countries concerned. In November 1955, 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 Khrushchev had written, the United States did not need intercontinental missiles as long as it maintained its alliances and, consequently, its military presence in the territories of other countries. 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 1955 (A/3413 and Corr.1) and the original draft resolution submitted by the first 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 warheads. Moreover, they opened the way to broad international co-operation in the study of outer 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/Add.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 statements alleged 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

CONTENTS

Agenda Item 60
Question of the peaceful use of outer space (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 (continued)
(b) Programme for international co-operation in the field of outer space

General debate (continued)........... 223

Chairman: Mr. Miguel Rafael URRUTIA (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. SUSA 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 could 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 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 left to international organizations, namely, the reorganized Disarmament Commission.

3. Although Venezuela believed that the United States military bases on foreign territory were purely defensive, it understood the doctrine of the USER 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 USER, taking into account the views of other members of 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/Add.1) augured well for unanimous agreement on the question of outer space. The United Nations should not miss the opportunity it offered to take effective action from the outset.

6. Mr. MICHALOWSKI (Poland) regretted the failure of some spokesmen 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 these 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 Astro- nautics. The American representatives, United States House of Representatives. They showed that the problem of cosmic space in the United States had become one of the most important questions of state and that the United States was primarily interested in the military use of outer space and in the conquest of the stars. The United States was very much concerned about the general problem of disarmament, closely related to the question of cosmic space.20 The use of outer space for military purposes could be used for sending atomic warheads by intercontinental or interplanetary rockets.

6. Military bases on earth already constituted a threat to the security of Poland and other countries in the state of international tension. For example, the existence of such bases in 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, and so forth.

7. Military bases, whether on foreign territory or in outer space, were equally dangerous. They were links in the same chain of aggression. Moreover, as in all disarmament questions, the method of the gradual and balanced reduction of the military potential of both sides, and in the first place, Poland and the United States was to be taken into consideration, the use of outer space was an issue of utmost importance, both in international tension and to the military use of cosmic space. The injection of that effect to the original Advisory Panel (A/C/L.219/Rev.1) 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 utmost extent which was possible at the present stage. The co-operation which would be the necessary accompaniment of the international journey to the stars. Geophysical Year should be consolidated and improved, and the United Nations should play a key role in that endeavours. The United States represented in the U.S.S.R. by the Secretary-General, Mr. Molotov, also supported the move to establish an international committee for cooperative purposes to the General Assembly, The Committee of Cosmic Space for peaceful purposes (A/C/L.219/Rev.1). Such a committee would also facilitate cooperation in political and military matters, and in the economic connections, in the principle that the military uses of cosmic space should be totally prohibited, was prepared to support those countries in the future.

11. Mr. WALDHIEM (Australia) said that his delegation had already emphasized (in their meeting) the importance of reaching international agreement on the peaceful use of outer space in order to avoid the situation that would emerge from the use of outer space for military purposes. It therefore welcomed the Committee's present discussion of the question of the peaceful use of outer 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 embodying the principle of the peaceful use of outer space, and that such an agreement should exist on the subject, one basic principle had gained recognition by most jurists: that a State's sovereignty over the moon could not be claimed and that the moon and other celestial bodies remained a space above that State's territory. His delegation, shared the view that the Committee should pursue the idea that a space area beyond the atmosphere was a common concern. All mankind. This approach was of a legalist and institutional character, clearly and unambiguously in the interests of international cooperation 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—become for reference to a competent committee of representatives of Governments. His delegation believed that the Secretary-General's machinery should be developed for collecting, classifying and publishing scientific information on outer space, and that the idea he gave careful study to the problem of outer space under international control. It was gratifying to note that in the meantime international practice had corroborated the principle of the peaceful use of cosmic space for neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had obtained any data by means other than that provided by their artificial satellites and not a single State had raised objections in that connexion. That fact 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 comprehensive settlement of non-military uses of outer space. Let us hope that the great opportunity for agreement thus offered would be seized. At present, attempts to inject 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 topic of disarmament and reduction of tensions. The United States had submitted a draft resolution (A/C/L.219/Rev.1) which stated the view that the Committee might achieve unanimity on the principles of a draft convention, and his delegation was happy to note that the Soviet delegation had now deleted any reference to bases on the moon. However, although the revised draft showed a commendable willingness to reach agreement, the present step in the right direction, some of its recommendations still appeared less advantageous to the community of nations than the United States had hoped for.

15. The fact that mankind might declare the origin of the challenging problem now before the Committee. That should be realized by all, and especially by the two great Powers, whose agreements had pointed mankind's way into the universe.

16. Mr. KENAWI (United Arab Republic) said that his delegation adhered to the views expressed by the United States on the theme of the legal regime 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 commitment 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 regime only to be achieved by both sides in the exploration of outer space would convince all countries that neither had any technical or economic advantage that international agreement was consequently the best safeguard against attacks from space.

20. Portugal recognized that the questions of disarmament and outer space were related; it believed, however, that no particular aspect of the disarmament programme should be included in the discussion of outer space without reopening the entire question of disarmament which already seemed to be the main task that lay ahead. Portugal believed that such conditions concerning defensive Western military bases into the issue would only have obscured the primary purpose of the Committee, that is, to decide on the direction of the two draft resolutions to try to work out a common text acceptable to all.

21. The fact that mankind might declare the origin of the challenging problem now before the Committee. That should be realized by all, and especially by the two great Powers, whose agreements had pointed mankind's way into the universe.
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records

CONTENTS

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 cooperation in the study of cosmic space.

(b) Programme for international cooperation in the field of outer space.

AGENDA ITEM 61


2. 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 cooperation 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.

3. He was prepared to accept the doctrine that outer space should be considered as a common heritage of all peoples, provided that its use was restricted to purposes 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 peaceful 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 delegates of Brazil (96th meeting) and Argentina (97th meeting) regarding 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.

4. 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 not to impede the hope that the Conference could reach unanimous agreement on a single solution of the space question.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.