

(The Chairman)

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to inform members of the Committee that, according to our tentative time-table for the work of the Committee, we shall have not more than seven working days for consideration of the items on outer space. Two of these days are already used up. Therefore, I would again urge those delegations wishing to take part in the general debate on this item to inscribe their names with the Secretariat as soon as possible. I also hope that those delegations wishing to submit draft resolutions on these items will do so without delay.

I propose to close the list of speakers in the general debate on Monday, 16 October, at 6 p.m. The Committee may wish to take a decision in that regard on Monday morning.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.



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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 12 October 1972, at 10.30 a.m.Chairman:

Mr. RAMPHUL

(Mauritius)

Rapporteur:

Mr. SANTISO-GALVEZ

(Guatemala)

- Tribute to the memory of Mr. Hassim Jawad, Resident Representative in Beirut of the United Nations Development Programme
- International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [28]
- Preparation of an international treaty concerning the Moon: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [29]
- Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting [31]

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72-71016/A

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MR. HASSIM JAWAD, RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE IN BEIRUT
OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The CHAIRMAN: I recognize the representative of the United Arab Emirates, Mr. Adnan Al-Pachachi, who wishes to make a statement.

Mr. AL-PACHACHI (United Arab Emirates): We have learned this morning with great sorrow and shock of the death in Beirut of Mr. Hassim Jawad, the United Nations Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme, and also a former Foreign Minister of Iraq and permanent representative to the United Nations.

Mr. Jawad was an Arab statesman of the highest calibre. He served this Organization with great devotion, ability and dedication, both in his most recent capacity and as an international civil servant and also as his country's representative and Foreign Minister for many years. I myself had the great honour and privilege of serving under him when he was Foreign Minister of Iraq and I was Iraq's permanent representative to the United Nations.

I am sure my colleagues who are sitting around this table in this Committee room and who have known him, will recall with great admiration his contributions to the cause of peace and understanding. To the people of Iraq he will always be remembered as the first voice to be heard in these halls of the United Nations, the first voice of the Iraqi revolution of 1958.

But I do not speak now as a representative of Iraq; I speak as an Arab who has valued him as a friend and also as a statesman of the highest calibre and stature.

I thought it would be appropriate for me to make these remarks in view of the fact that Mr. Jawad not only was an international civil servant but in fact took part in this very Committee with great distinction and ability for many years. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the floor.

The CHAIRMAN: Members of the Committee have heard the sad news which the representative of the United Arab Emirates has imparted to us. Mr. Hassim Jawad, United Nations Resident Representative of the Secretary-General in Beirut, died this morning in a shocking incident. I think that

(The Chairman)

all members of the Committee will join with me in expressing, on behalf of the members of the First Committee, our deepest sympathy to Mr. Hassim Jawad's family. I would ask the members of the Committee to rise and join me in a minute of silence.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

Mr. YASSEEN (Iraq) (interpretation from French): In expressing my deep sorrow at the tragic death of a statesman and an official of the United Nations, I would also offer my thanks and those of my delegation to the representative of the United Arab Emirates for having been good enough to bring this sad news to the attention of the First Committee. And, Mr. Chairman, may I thank you too, and the First Committee as a whole, for this tribute and expression of sympathy at this sad and tragic event.

May I recall that Mr. Hassim Jawad was one of the most outstanding statesmen of the Arab world. He served his country, Iraq; he served his nation, the Arab nation; and he served the United Nations. He was fully conscious of the noble mission and the noble values that the United Nations stands for and has defended all over the world. He was Foreign Minister, permanent representative, President of the Security Council, and during his entire career he never ceased to work within the framework of the fundamental Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, serving his land, his nation and all mankind. May I express to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the entire First Committee our thanks and gratitude.

AGENDA ITEMS 28, 29 AND 37

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (A/8720)

PREPARATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY CONCERNING THE MOON: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (A/8720)

PREPARATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE USE BY STATES OF ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITES FOR DIRECT TELEVISION BROADCASTING (A/8771)

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the decision taken at the last meeting, the Committee will now begin consideration of the items on outer space.

Before we proceed with our work I should like to request those delegations wishing to take part in the general debate to inscribe their names with the Secretariat without delay. It is my intention to close the list of speakers some time early next week.

I would also appreciate it if those delegations which wish to submit draft proposals would do so as soon as possible.

To begin the general debate I call on the representative of Austria, Ambassador Peter Jankowitsch, Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space who will introduce the report.

Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria), Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: As Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, it is my privilege to present to this Committee the report (A/8720) of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on the work of its fifteenth session.

The deliberations of the Committee were based mainly on the activities of its two subsidiary bodies: the Legal and the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committees.

As far as the legal area of our work is concerned, the area of international legal co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, the report of the Legal Sub-Committee indicated that considerable progress had been achieved on the draft treaty relating to the moon, as well as on the draft convention on the registration of objects launched into space, but that there were a few outstanding issues on which agreement was yet to be reached. In regard to the treaty relating

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

to the moon, one principal unresolved issue pertains to the scope of the treaty, namely, whether the treaty should apply also to other celestial bodies. Another major unresolved issue relates to whether or not the provisions of the draft treaty should also cover the legal régime over natural resources of the moon, and whether the treaty should provide that the resources form part of the common heritage of mankind.

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

A third major unresolved issue concerns the information to be furnished on missions and whether the treaty should call on States to provide notification on the intention to launch missions to a celestial body in advance of launching.

Various efforts were made during the last session of the Committee to reconcile the outstanding differences of opinion in regard to the aforementioned matters concerning the moon treaty, but, although some progress could be registered, no final agreement has yet been reached on the major unresolved issues. The Legal Sub-Committee is expected to make further progress on the remaining part of the draft treaty, as well as on the draft convention on registration with a view to submitting one or both instruments for consideration to the General Assembly at an early date.

In the area of technical and scientific activities in the peaceful exploration of outer space, the Committee considered the various programmes of international co-operation and in particular the United Nations programme designed to promote practical applications of space technology. In this connexion the Committee approved the programme of practical applications submitted to it by its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee for 1973, as well as the guidelines of a programme for 1974. The programme included the holding of United Nations technical panels on practical applications of space technology in various parts of the world for the benefit particularly of the developing countries. Two such panels, held in 1970 in the United States and in 1971 in Brazil, both on remote sensing, have evoked a good response from developing countries. This year two other panels were planned, one to be held jointly with the World Meteorological Organization in Mexico on the use of meteorological data and the other in India on instructional television systems, in both of which more participation from developing countries is expected. The programme of practical applications for 1973 envisages similar technical panels, as well as visits to developing countries with a view to creating more awareness on the part of policy makers of the benefits that can be derived from practical applications of space technology for development.

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

Also in the area of practical application, the Committee has since its session last year been concerned with remote sensing of the earth by satellites and other space platforms. A Working Group to study the matter, established by the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee last year, held its preliminary session in September and will begin its substantive work early next year.

Another area of practical application in which the Committee has pursued its activities is direct broadcasting by satellites. Since 1970, when the Committee's Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites submitted its third report on the potential use of direct broadcast satellites, a number of important new developments have taken place, including the decisions and recommendations adopted by the International Telecommunications Union at the World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications held in Geneva in 1971 and the draft declaration of guiding principles on the use of satellite broadcasting for the free flow of information, the spread of education and greater cultural exchange, prepared for the UNESCO General Conference. In the light of these and other developments specified in the report, the Committee agree that the Working Group should be reconvened to study the new substantial material now available concerning the subject matter under its mandate and to list possibilities for further action by the United Nations and the specialized agencies in their future work.

In other areas of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, I can report that the Committee, recognizing the importance of work carried out by the European Space Research Organization (ESRO) and the European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO) in promoting international co-operation, has decided to grant observer status to the two organizations.

Furthermore, I should like to inform the Committee that the Outer Space Committee considered the reports of the two rocket launching stations which for a number of years have been engaged in international co-operative projects, namely, the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS)

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

in India and the CELPA Mar del Plata Launching Station in Argentina, and recommended that the General Assembly continue sponsorship of the two ranges,

I wish to draw special attention to paragraphs 39 to 44 of the Committee's report, dealing with space technology and the environment. Many members of the Committee felt that the potential of satellites and other space platforms for monitoring the human environment would increasingly become apparent, and therefore I express the hope that the proposed organization for the human environment in its future work will be able to draw on the experience of the Outer Space Committee in this regard. As can be noted from paragraph 43 of the report, the Committee has recommended that its Chairman establish appropriate contact with the proposed organization for the human environment.

These are the main questions dealt with by the Committee during its last session. The discussion showed that members of the Committee were anxious that the United Nations not only should provide co-ordination in the area of international co-operation on the peaceful uses of outer space but should, as a focal point, be increasingly concerned with matters relating to practical applications of space technology and provide the necessary legal foundation for further international co-operation in this field.

The fact that for the past 10 years the Outer Space Committee through its Legal Sub-Committee has prepared three important international treaties -- respectively, on the principles governing international co-operation in outer space, on the rescue and return of astronauts and on international liability for damage caused by space objects -- is an indication that in the legal field, in particular, the Outer Space Committee has done very well in discharging its responsibility.

(Mr. Jankowitsch, Austria)

In the area of international co-operation in the scientific and technical field, however, a great task still lies before the Committee. The United Nations Programme on practical applications, with which the outer-space Committee has been actively concerned since the first United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held in Vienna in 1968, has served as a good beginning in the right direction. So have offers of training and fellowships by Member States in the practical applications of space technology, which the Committee has acknowledged with appreciation.

The Committee's concern with new areas of practical applications, including remote sensing and the use of space technology for monitoring the environment, has brought the Committee a little closer to its objective of serving as a focal point in the areas of practical applications as well.

But increased activity seems to be needed if the General Assembly's objective to provide practical benefits of space technology to all nations, regardless of their stage of economic and social development, is to be fulfilled.

On the work programme of the outer-space Committee for next year, it is perhaps a proof how eager and how keen the membership of the Committee is to fulfil its task that already as many as 65 working days in the first half of next year have been reserved for the work of the Committee to discharge its task with due expediency.

Recommendations of the outer space Committee in the area of practical applications are in a large measure reflective of its concern for such increased activity. Endorsement by the General Assembly of those and other recommendations of the outer-space Committee will provide the outer-space Committee with the necessary support for its future programme and thus help to achieve the objective of the General Assembly of making it a useful focal point in international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

Mr. RUSH (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, allow me to say first of all that what our colleagues from the United Arab Emirates and Iraq said about Mr. Hassim Jawad was most appropriate. I know that I speak for our delegation in expressing our condolences to his family. I am sure that other representatives here join me in paying our respects to this man who did so much for the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, you know from what I have earlier said privately to you in our discussion how warmly we congratulate you on your election as Chairman of the main Political Committee, and I shall here only repeat that the United States delegation intends to the best of its ability to work with you, to the common end that the work of the Committee should be productive and useful to the greatest extent possible. I should also like to pay our delegation's respect to Ambassador Jankowitsch for the leadership that he brings, in the United Nations, to this whole field of space.

The Committee has acted wisely, we think, in beginning its work at this session by considering the items on the agenda of the General Assembly concerning the peaceful uses of outer space. Outer space provides one of the most fertile fields for international co-operation. Certainly, we all recognize that we are fellow passengers on a small planet, and mankind has common need of the benefits that such co-operation can yield. I am especially pleased, therefore, to take this opportunity to comment on some of the ways in which co-operation has developed and expanded between my country and other countries during recent months.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

On 23 July 1972 the United States successfully launched the first experimental satellite dedicated to surveying the earth's resources and environment. The objective of this earth resources technology satellite, which we call ERTS-1, is to determine the usefulness and the operating efficiency of satellite systems in acquiring survey data at regular intervals over broad areas of the earth, including deserts, oceans, rain forests and the Arctic and Antarctic regions, where it is extremely difficult, if not almost impossible to acquire such data by conventional means.

Many representatives here will recall that on 18 September 1969 President Nixon told the General Assembly of the United States programme to develop earth resources survey satellites and of our determination to make this progress "as it proceeds and fulfils its promise" (A/PV.1755, p. 28-30) an example of United States plans to share with other countries the adventures and, in particular, the benefits of space.

We are particularly happy that the President's pledge has been confirmed by intense international participation in this ERTS programme. Proposals by scientists from 38 foreign countries and two international organizations have been accepted for experiments with ERTS-1 data. These experiments were selected on their scientific merits in competition with other United States and foreign investigators, and of the more than 300 proposals accepted, more than one-third are from abroad.

The data being obtained by one of the satellite's imaging experiments -- what is called a multispectral scanner -- are really better than we had hoped they would be. We have placed on the desks of our colleagues an example of the satellite's scanner imagery taken over the San Francisco Bay area in California from an altitude of 915 kilometers or about 570 miles. In this composite picture you can see at the lower left the fog rolling in over San Francisco. If you look carefully, you can see the sediment in the Bay at the lower centre; the city of San Jose at the bottom centre; the Sacramento-Feather River system, which is slightly off to the right of the centre; land-use patterns in the Central Valley, at the upper centre to the lower right; and the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, at the upper right.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

We are keenly looking forward to receiving reports by the experimenters on their use of the data provided by ERTS-1. Both the satellite imagery and the experimenters' reports will be made publicly available to the international community as soon as possible after they are received, in order to ensure the widest possible consideration and benefit. A set of ERTS-1 data catalogues is available in the office of the United Nations Expert on Space Applications.

Thus, at this stage of the ERTS-1 experiment, we have a space craft orbit which is returning earth survey data. The next step is to determine the practical usefulness of these data, and for this we are looking to the experimenters in our own country and those abroad. During the coming year we expect that experimenters will be progressing in their analyses and thus contributing to a shared ability to judge the potential of satellite surveys. In an activity of special interest to the United Nations and this Committee, the Outer Space Committee's Working Group on Remote Sensing will hold its first substantive session in January 1973, basing its work on relevant results from the ERTS-1 experimental flight.

As we near the launch date for the final mission in our Apollo manned moon landing programme, I want to record our appreciation of the encouragement and support which the programme has received from so many other countries. Apollo too has been dedicated to international scientific co-operation. To date 86 principal investigators from 18 foreign countries, plus the European Space Research Organization, have had their proposals accepted for analysis of the lunar materials that have been brought to earth by the United States astronauts. These investigations, together with other international involvement, have added much to what the Apollo programme has accomplished in extending man's knowledge about the moon and, indeed, about our own planet.

Apollo 16 returned to earth on 27 April, having accomplished all its primary objectives. The second Apollo launching of 1972, Apollo 17, which is scheduled for 6 December, will complete the series. This mission will visit a region of varied topography containing both mountain highlands and lowland valleys. We hope that it will add significantly to our knowledge about lunar materials and their origins.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

Apollo 17 will have a completely new international aspect. It gives me particular pleasure to note here that the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration -- we call it NASA -- has invited every Member of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to send a science-oriented young person to visit various scientific facilities in this country and then to attend the launching at Cape Kennedy on 6 December.

We are now looking beyond Apollo to the next major phase of our space programme. Early this year we decided to move forward with the development of the space shuttle, in which some of the representatives have been interested. This is to be a new type of space vehicle which can fly repeatedly into orbit around the earth and back.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

The space shuttle will greatly simplify manned space operations, and will reduce their cost. It will be reusable for many flights instead of being discarded after one launch, as is the case with our current launching system. The capacity of the shuttle will be substantially larger than that of today's spacecraft. Moreover, the shuttle and its crew will be capable of servicing, repairing and recovering other space vehicles, a most important source of economy in both payload design and operating cost. Finally, many scientists and technicians will be able to travel into space with their experiments without the need for the extensive flight training that now goes on beforehand. We expect the shuttle also to be a vehicle for further advancing international space co-operation. We have invited other countries to participate in developing elements of the shuttle system, and as development proceeds we shall keep the international community informed of opportunities in which to take part.

Now I want to call to the attention of this Committee a very significant recent event -- President Nixon's announcement on Monday last, 9 October, of an important policy by which the United States will make available to the nations of the world the launch services developed by NASA over the past 15 years. The United States has decided henceforth to provide these launch services on a reimbursable and non-discriminatory basis for all satellite projects for peaceful purposes that are consistent with international understandings and arrangements. We think the assured availability to all nations of this capability for launching satellites will be a big step toward realizing the principle enunciated in article I of the outer-space Treaty of 1967, that

"The exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic and scientific development, and shall be the province of all mankind".

In addition to these new developments in our post-Apollo programme, we are continuing with a wide range of other activities in outer space, including communications, navigation and exploration of the outer planets. We are undertaking international co-operative arrangements in each of those activities to the greatest extent the possibilities appear to allow.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

I also want to note in particular the United States-USSR agreement on space co-operation of 24 May under which our two countries will develop compatible rendezvous and docking systems for manned spacecraft and conduct an experimental joint flight in 1975 testing the new systems. If the flight is a success, it will mean a significant gain in the possibility of rescuing astronauts in distress, as well as enabling joint activities in space. Beyond the technical promise of the joint test mission, we hope that work toward the goal of rendezvous and shared flight of astronauts and cosmonauts will make an important contribution to the development of mutual confidence not only between the two countries directly involved but throughout the world.

Let me turn now to certain questions involving directly the work of the United Nations in space and space-related fields. I begin with the legal aspects, and want at the outset to share our good news that on 6 October the Senate unanimously gave advice and consent to United States ratification of the Liability Convention by a vote of 67 to none.

Turning to the work of the outer-space Committee, the United States considers that the Committee's Sub-Committee session of April and May last was quite productive. Much progress was recorded in the negotiations in the Sub-Committee on a treaty containing detailed rules and procedures to encourage international co-operation in exploring the moon and other celestial bodies. The United States made a basic contribution to that effort by introducing treaty language designed to make co-operation a reality and not simply a paper promise. A reading of the Legal Sub-Committee's report will demonstrate the wide-ranging character of our proposals. I shall give only a few examples.

We propose that exploring countries should announce 60 days in advance the intended timing, purpose and character of a mission to the moon or some other celestial body; that consideration should be given to establishing international scientific preserves in areas of celestial bodies that may have particular ecological or other scientific interest; that personnel from missions launched by countries engaging in celestial-body activities should be encouraged to exchange personnel. And if I may refer to a detailed proposal on natural resources -- United States Working Paper 12/Revision 1, which we introduced in Geneva on 17 April, it proposes that the natural resources of the moon and other celestial bodies should be considered a part of the common heritage of

(Mr. Bush, United States)

mankind, that the use of celestial bodies for scientific purposes should continue to be unimpeded, and that States should agree in principle to participate in a conference to make arrangements for the international sharing of the benefits of the use of celestial-body resources at such time as utilization may appear to be practicable.

The outer-space Committee's report also shows that a number of important issues remain to be resolved through negotiation. The United States continues to assert that countries exploring celestial bodies should undertake an obligation to notify in advance of launching so that any possible conflict or risk to other countries' space activities may be avoided. We think too that States should be willing to agree to our proposals on the natural resources of celestial bodies, which we consider to be extremely positive. And we think that the treaty's rules and procedures should apply not only to missions to the moon but also to missions to any planet. The exploration of Venus and Mars has already begun; the exploration of Jupiter is under way, and we do not accept that there is any reason why the United Nations should agree to co-operate on lunar missions but undertake missions to other planets in a somewhat less co-operative spirit.

At its spring session, the Legal Sub-Committee gave equal time to negotiating an international agreement, a treaty providing for an orderly and obligatory system of registration of vehicles launched into outer space. We appreciate the initiative taken by Canada and France in introducing a joint proposal on this subject, which we were unable to discuss actively simply due to lack of time. The United States did make it clear, however, that our attitude is positive, that we are prepared to consider the desirability of transforming the existing voluntary United Nations registry maintained by the Secretary-General in accordance with a 1962 General Assembly resolution into an obligatory system by means of an appropriate international agreement. The United States will be making a considerable effort to prepare for the resumption of consideration of registration questions when the Legal Sub-Committee meets on 26 March next year.

I want now to make a few comments concerning the USSR proposal on direct satellite television broadcasting. This proposal raises serious problems. To put the matter briefly, we are concerned that it would seek to create a restrictive

(Mr. Bush, United States)

régime over what promises in due course to become an important new means of making information widely and immediately available to the people of the world. For our part, we would welcome a new technological means of giving our people a wider acquaintance with other cultures and societies and of providing news and other functional information. The perspective repeatedly given us by the astronauts who have viewed the earth from afar points up the need for all nations to share as much information as possible, as well as our broader human experiences on our small space ship earth.

But our enthusiasm should not carry us away. However exciting the prospect of direct broadcasts to home receivers from satellites may be, such broadcasts are, frankly, not a present reality; nor are they likely to be a present reality for many years, because of the limiting economic and technical factors. It may be that the distinction between direct broadcast to individual home receivers, on the one hand, and broadcast to community receivers, on the other, has not been made sufficiently clear.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

Broadcasting to community receivers, although still in an experimental stage, is considerably further advanced. The United States, for example, is planning experimental satellite broadcasts in the near future to community receivers in sparsely populated areas of Colorado and Alaska. We also have entered into joint undertakings with the Governments of India and Canada enabling them to conduct similar experimental broadcasts to community receivers in their own countries. But we believe that at this time there is no adequate basis for trying to draw up definitive international arrangements to govern satellite community broadcasts, let alone direct broadcasts which, as I have said, are still so far in the future.

The approach of the Soviet proposal presents difficult problems because it would affect very fundamental principles to which the United States and many other countries attach cardinal importance. I refer to our strong 200-year old belief in the free exchange of information and in the free exchange of ideas. A primary basis for the maintenance of democratic institutions is the continuing application of this principle, which is also, of course, enshrined in the United Nations Charter. As John Stuart Mill wrote in his "Essay on Liberty":

"... truth has no chance but in proportion as every side of it, every opinion which embodies any fraction of the truth, not only finds advocates, but is so advocated as to be listened to."

And surely truth should be given the chance to be listened to.

We suggest that before the international community tries to establish concrete treaty rules or even guiding principles governing satellite broadcasting, Governments will need to reflect on certain basic questions. Among these is the question whether restrictions on freedom of expression can be reconciled with fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We also have to ask what types of international arrangements might be reached which would not jeopardize the principle of the free flow of ideas and information and which would, at the same time, reflect a proper respect for national, cultural, ethnic and religious sensitivities. And we need to consider, in the light of the facts of developing technology, what would be the best way to meet the interests of all countries, developing and developed, in increasing broadcasting capabilities using the most modern means available.

(Mr. Bush, United States)

These are only some of the complex and important questions deserving our most careful thought.

I should like to conclude by returning to our opening theme -- the encouraging fact of the development and realization of opportunities for international co-operation offered by the exploration and use of outer space. The last 12 months have seen a gratifying expansion of a realistic United Nations role in developing and promoting the shared interests of mankind in this work. I can assure members that the United States will continue to strive to make a substantial contribution to this work.

Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in the First Committee, which has now started its practical work, the consideration of the times on its agenda, I should like first of all to congratulate you on the occasion of your election and on the great trust reposed in you by the General Assembly and the delegations of Member States. I should also like to congratulate your colleagues, the Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur.

Allow me to express one wish. It seems that at the last session the General Assembly decided that there would be two Vice-Chairmen of each Main Committee. That was a reasonable proposal and we voted in favour of it. But, Mr. Chairman, we do not see the Vice-Chairmen next to you. I believe that the table is sufficiently wide to find a place for the Vice-Chairmen. We should like to look at them. We do not want them to get lost in our midst.

Before stating the position of the Soviet Union on the item of outer space which is being considered by this Committee, I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the somewhat unexpected reaction of my friend and colleague Ambassador Bush, even before I had spoken. This reminds me of the old days of the very unpleasant cold war when United States representatives rejected Soviet proposals on the run, without reading them and without hearing any explanations. After all, it would have been better for Mr. Bush to make his critical remarks and state the views of his country on the Soviet proposal after having heard the Soviet delegation, and not before, so as not to have set a certain negative tone.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

In recent times, the experience of sessions of the General Assembly and the work of its bodies has shown that one more country has embarked on the path consisting of rejecting everything Soviet because it is Soviet -- the Dulles policy. But that is not the best way to work in the United Nations. That is the sorry experience of the cold war, when the Dulles policy of rejecting everything Soviet, every Soviet proposal, every Soviet initiative, on the run, without even hearing the Soviet delegation, never led to any good results and was never useful, neither for the United Nations, nor for the cause of peace, nor for the Members of this Organization.

Mr. Bush, I can assure you that we of the Soviet Union are certainly in favour of freedom of information, but freedom of true information, genuine information, as was meant by John Stuart Mill, whom you quoted.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

We are not in favour of the freedom of information such as the one to which the Voice of America resorts in its broadcasts from West Germany. We decisively oppose the imposition of unilateral information by one Power, no matter how great and strong and developed it is, the imposition of such information on all other countries and the whole world so as to achieve a situation where all the countries of the world would think and live according to the tenets prevailing in that one country. No matter how strong and developed it is, I repeat, we are against it imposing its information on the world, we are against arbitrary decisions and actions in this field. We are in favour of order, of law, of new international legal provisions in this very important and promising field of international relations. We are not in favour of limiting or restricting, but in favour of establishing order, of regulating. This is what I would like to ask Mr. Bush to understand.

Why is the establishment of order, why is the fight against anarchy, unilateral decisions and imposed information, why is this considered by Mr. Bush to be a restriction or curtailment or limitation of information? We certainly cannot accept this thesis. Therefore, I underline once again that our proposal has, as its objective, not to restrict but to regulate, so that this new, unheard of, unprecedented and most promising scientific and technical phenomenon, opening up a new era in the history of mankind, be used in the interest of all, be used to strengthen international peace and to develop mutual understanding and friendship among peoples, and not the other way around.

Thus, the basis of the Soviet proposal is made up of democratic principles and not the old-fashioned totalitarian system of one strong Power imposing its information upon the rest of the world. This is the crux, the key, of the matter. This is the ground for our approach, and the other is the position which Mr. Bush presented to us this morning in his first statement.

Passing on now to the matter under consideration in the First Committee, I should like to state the following. The First Committee is starting its consideration of space problems. So as better to understand the great importance

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

of this matter, it suffices to cast a retrospective glance. Let us go back in thought 15 years ago. Let us go back to the year 1957 when an amazed world heard for the first time the Russian word "sputnik", which since then has become known to the whole world when the world for the first time heard the call signals emanating from outer space. I could tell the Committee of an interesting episode in my diplomatic life. On the day when the "Sputnik" was launched, there was a great reception in Buckingham Palace in London. The whole Royal family was playing host, headed by Her Majesty the Queen of England. When the Soviet Ambassador was paying his tribute to Princess Margaret, she asked him: "Mr. Ambassador, what is that word 'sputnik'?" That is the way she pronounced it. The Ambassador replied as follows: "Your Highness, the Russian word 'Spootnik' has two meanings. First, when a group of people travel in the same direction, towards the same objective, they are 'spootniks', they are travelling companions, so to speak. And a second meaning: when a young man, who is young and handsome, follows a young and beautiful girl he is her companion." Princess Margaret laughed rather loudly and said: "Well, I much prefer the second meaning".

The diplomatic corps was informed of this and the dean of the diplomatic corps came up to the Soviet Ambassador and said: "Mr. Ambassador, what is it that you told Princess Margaret that she laughed so loudly?" The Soviet Ambassador replied: "top secret".

I now continue with my statement. I would like to say that the citizens of our socialist country are entitled to be proud of the fact that the greatest achievements of Soviet science and technology, expressed in the launching on 4 October 1957 of the first artificial earth satellite in the history of mankind, ushered in a new and important era in the history of mankind, that of the conquest of outer space. In subsequent years, the genius and work of man made it possible to launch into orbit many hundreds of artificial satellites, send space ships towards the planets of the solar system; made it possible to start using space technology for the practical terrestrial needs of man.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Space flights have already been carried out by dozens of humans. Whole crews went into outer space. Man ventured to leave a space ship and walk in the open space. The far-sighted prophetic words of the great Russian scientist Tsiolkovsky came true: that the earth was the cradle of man and mankind. But man does not for ever remain in his cradle.

The whole world followed with rapt attention the experiments carried out on the moon through the Soviet automatic unit, the "Lunokhod", and followed with enthusiasm the courage and consummate ability of the American astronauts who were the first to tread the surface of the closest neighbour of the earth. The space era started less than 15 years ago, but progress in the conquest of space in these years was so stupendous that it went beyond the boldest scientific forecasts and the most fantastic prophesies. We would be well founded in saying that in future the conquest of outer space would proceed even faster.

It was quite obvious that the use of outer space and of space technology would lead to tremendous progress in the material life of men, in the development of science and technology. At present, space technology is already used for long-term weather forecasting, geodesic photographing of the earth, and the establishment of multi-channel telephone and radio communications.

On the agenda we find questions relating to the use of space technology for the creation of new supersonic means of transport, the study of earth resources through artificial satellites, and transmission of television programmes into the most remote corners of our planet. At a break-neck pace and on a grandiose scale, the achievements in the field of the conquest of space pose ever new problems in the field of international law which must urgently and immediately be settled.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Space law was born and is now developing practically under our very eyes. We already have many international documents regulating the activities of States in space. I have in mind, first of all, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies, signed on 27 January 1967. That document, by dint of its importance and significance, can quite justifiably be called a world space code; it contains the essential rules which must guide States in their space activities.

As an example I could also mention the conclusion in 1968 of an Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space, as well as the conclusion this year of a Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects.

As further success is achieved in the conquest of space the need will arise not only to concretize but also to develop and expand these first agreements. In this connexion I should like to stress the fact that the successful conquest of outer space is possible only in conditions of the widest possible international co-operation, the legal basis of which is to be found in juridical provisions enshrined in the first international agreements on space. There is no doubt, moreover, that the timely elaboration of principles of international space law helped States achieve such significant success in the conquest of space and in the development of general international co-operation in this field.

In this connexion I should like to note the very important and fruitful work carried out by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which for a long time was headed most skilfully and successfully by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. That Committee is now headed by his successor, our colleague the Austrian representative, who was the first to speak in this debate this morning. That Committee was at the very source of the fundamental principles which confirmed space law as an independent branch of international law and created the necessary premises for the development of co-operation among States in this, one of the most recent and promising fields of human endeavour.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

By the way, I see a great contradiction in the arguments adduced by Mr. Bush this morning: on the one hand, he said that direct television broadcasting by satellite was a matter for the remote future; on the other hand, he told the Committee that such broadcasting was already a matter of practical fact, and that there were areas not only in the United States but in other countries as well -- India and Canada, I believe he said -- to which direct television broadcasts would be beamed by artificial satellites. Therefore, the time has come when we must think of principles of international law that would regulate this new phenomenon of international life.

It is in view of all those facts that the Soviet Union has asked the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly to take up the matter of the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. This is a very important and timely problem, the positive solution of which would be in the interests of all States and all peoples.

It is well known that direct television broadcasting from space is one of the most promising fields of scientific and technological progress for the benefit of mankind. This kind of communication can become an important means of mass information, and I think that here we agree with Mr. Bush. The development of this new method of communication can certainly contribute to bringing the peoples of the world closer together, expand the exchange of cultural values, raise the educational level of the populations of many countries, and contribute to the development of international co-operation.

At the same time, as we are all aware, unfortunately in the past as well as at present, the mass information media, including television, have often, and very actively, been used with another objective in mind: that of propagating the ideas of the cold war, militarism, racism, violence and misinformation. In other words, the information media have been used in the past, and often in some places today are used, not at all in the interest of developing friendship and mutual understanding among peoples or for the strengthening of international peace and security.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

It is quite obvious, therefore, that the General Assembly is today confronted with the following problem: the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting must aim not at increasing tensions among peoples and States but at decreasing them; at increasing understanding among peoples, expanding international co-operation and protecting the sovereignty of States from any outside interference.

From the very first days of the conquest of space the Soviet Union has constantly advocated the progressive development of international space law in the interests of all countries and the whole of the world community, considering as we do that the creation of a solid basis in international law for the activities of States in space will serve the cause of peace and contribute to the development of friendly co-operation among States.

For those reasons the Soviet Union considers that steps must now be taken to work out principles of international law to regulate direct television broadcasting by satellites. Such broadcasts pose important legal problems because of the need to ensure conditions in which this new type of space technology will serve exclusively the noble cause of peace and friendship among peoples.

First of all, it is essential to prevent the use of direct television broadcasting as a source of international conflicts or as an instrument for worsening relations among States. This task would certainly be served by the conclusion of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. The Soviet delegation has introduced such a draft convention in the General Assembly (A/8771), and we hope that all delegations in the Assembly have already read it. Of course, we expect other delegations to make their positive contributions to elaborating this document of international law and that a convention on this most important problem will be worked out and adopted by States as soon as possible.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

The essence of the Soviet proposal contained in the draft convention submitted for the attention of this Committee is in brief as follows:

First, it is necessary to work out special principles of international law regulating the activities related to the use of direct television broadcasts through artificial earth satellites.

Secondly, it is necessary to see to it that the co-operation of States in this important field is carried out in the interest of all States and without any discrimination whatever.

Thirdly, measures must be taken to ensure that such broadcasts do not prejudice the lawful rights and interests of peoples desirous of seeing a further relaxation of international tensions.

Fourthly, direct television broadcasting through artificial earth satellites must not create any causes for new disputes or conflicts among States.

The Soviet delegation proposes that in this new sphere, direct television broadcasts through artificial earth satellites, there should be used generally recognized principles and norms of international law including the United Nations Charter and the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, signed on 27 January 1967.

Direct television broadcasting from space must therefore be regulated through international law. It must not fall prey to any arbitrary anarchical actions which would run counter to the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States and which would disturb international peace, undermine the mainstays of the civilization and culture proper to any people or State. If the problem which the Soviet Union proposes to consider and settle at this session of the General Assembly is not solved, who can guarantee that in future these dangerous possibilities which I mentioned will not become a reality? Who will be bold enough to affirm that international relations will not acquire yet another uncontrollable factor which will destabilize international relations, ~~the~~ that yet another channel will not appear for the violation of the sovereign rights of States and peoples?

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Nobody can guarantee that events in this field will not develop in that direction if no timely regulation is approved for the use of this important information medium -- I have in mind television broadcasting from space. In the draft convention proposed by the Soviet Union we find concrete provisions pertaining to the way in which this new type of information, space means of information, such as direct television broadcasts through artificial earth satellites, can be placed at the service of peace and of the peoples of all States.

Of course, at this stage we do not intend to go into the details of every article of our draft. However, we deem it necessary to draw attention to the following. The draft convention we have introduced provides that all States shall have an equal right to carry out direct television broadcasting by means of artificial earth satellites. At the same time, they have an equal right to enjoy the benefits arising from direct television broadcasting without any discrimination whatever. Every sovereign State is entitled to expect that any television broadcasting from space will be carried out on its territory only with its express consent. Direct broadcasting from space without the express consent of the State to which these broadcasts will be beamed would most certainly be illicit and therefore illegal since such acts would be carried out without the express consent of that State. That is why we consider that States at which such illegal broadcasts will be beamed will be fully entitled to take measures to put an end to such activities. Here I should like to underline another factor which is of great importance if one wishes to understand why the Soviet Union has put forward this proposal concerning an international convention at this time. Today even the very first benefits from scientific and technological progress can be enjoyed by only a few States, certainly not by all. In view of the fact that many young developing States were recently subjected to colonial oppression on the part of imperialist Powers which purposely delayed the progressive development of their economy and culture, the scientific and technological level in those countries has not yet reached the necessary stage. Therefore, for many of these countries it would be rather difficult to implement their sovereign right to direct television broadcasting from space.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

This is an obvious and well-known fact and there is no need to prove it -- and anyway one cannot escape from it.

Therefore, we must think about what could happen if the use by more developed States of powerful means of broadcasting from space were not regulated through an international treaty and generally recognized principles of international law. In that case States possessing the possibilities and the scientific and technological means for direct television broadcasting from space would be able to use this most important new channel of information guided exclusively by their national, selfish, political, cultural, economic and many other interests, which often do not coincide with the interests of other sovereign States.

In such a situation direct television broadcasting can become a monopolistic lever used for pressure by some countries against others, for the imposition upon the latter countries of an alien and unacceptable way of life. One cannot exclude the possibility that direct television broadcasting from space can also be used by large monopolies of some countries for their own selfish interests, for commercial advertising, for marketing their production in a manner decidedly prejudicial to the interests of other States.

It is quite likely that if direct television broadcasting from space is not regulated, many States will find it difficult to protect their population from all kinds of amoral broadcasts advocating eroticism, violence, murder, crime, and so forth. This state of affairs should certainly not be condoned. It would be tantamount to international anarchy and chaos in this important and very promising field of international intercourse -- and this certainly would not be freedom of information.

In other words, according to the Soviet delegation, it is necessary to prevent a state of affairs from arising where some States would possess a powerful means of information which they would use in a unilateral fashion and only for their selfish aims. Of course, in this field many countries can take care of themselves, protect their interests and devise counter-measures.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

At the same time it is quite obvious that not all States have the necessary facilities and technical means to oppose such illicit television broadcasting which could be beamed at them without the agreement and consent of their Governments. In that case many small and medium-sized States would become the object of foreign propaganda which -- and this must not be forgotten -- could also be a means of incitement and could be used for interference in the internal affairs of other States and their foreign policies. Such a state of affairs undoubtedly would be in violation of the sovereign rights of those States and would threaten their national independence.

Here we should like to draw attention to article IX of the Soviet draft convention, which clearly states that any State party to that convention may employ the means at its disposal to counteract illegal television broadcasting of which it is the object, not only in its own territory but also in outer space and other areas beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction of any State. We consider that delegations should also devote some thought to the following. In conditions of completely boundless and unregulated direct television broadcasting from space, the most powerful States in the economic and scientific and technical fields would acquire completely new and unprecedented privileges and possibilities for advocating and propagating their commercial and financial interests and for consolidating their position in the international markets and in various countries. Therefore what we are facing is certainly not an academic problem but a concrete and practical international problem containing a potential danger, a very important danger, which could befall a State or group of States unless by the common, concerted efforts of all the Members of the United Nations conditions are created for putting an end to illicit, illegal direct television broadcasting from space and unless such broadcasting is regulated through principles of international law.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Article VI of the draft convention proposed by the Soviet Union contains a very clear provision determining the illegal nature of such transmissions, for which States must be held liable in international law. The contents of this article and all other articles of the convention clearly show that the proposal of the Soviet Union which the First Committee of the General Assembly is now taking up, far from being directed against the interests of any State, has, on the contrary, a common objective: to protect the interests of all States without exception, to contribute to the further development of international relations in the interests of peace, progress, mutual understanding and friendship among peoples, and not to foster antagonism, confrontations or conflicts among them.

The delegation of the Soviet Union believes that the General Assembly, as a result of consideration of this matter, could take note of the need to conclude a convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting and ask all States to become parties to such a convention. We believe that the draft convention should be considered in the United Nations Committee on Outer Space, where it should receive the necessary priority. The delegation of the Soviet Union, to this end, would like to introduce the following draft resolution. The draft is entitled, "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting", and it reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 2222 (XXI) of 19 December 1966, stressing the importance of international co-operation in the field of activities in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space and the importance of developing the rule of law in this new sphere of human endeavour,

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

"Referring to its resolution 2453 B (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, emphasizing that the benefits of space exploration for peaceful purposes can be extended to States at all stages of economic and scientific development,

"Reaffirming once again the common interest of all mankind in furthering the peaceful exploration and use of outer space for the benefit of all States and the development of friendly relations and mutual understanding among them,

"Taking into account that direct television broadcasting would draw the peoples of the world still closer together, widen the exchange of cultural values and enhance the educational level of people in various countries,

"Considering at the same time that the introduction of direct television broadcasting by means of satellites will raise serious legal problems connected with the need to establish conditions under which this new form of space technology will serve only the noble goals of peace and friendship among peoples,

"Considering the need to prevent the conversion of direct television broadcasting into a source of international conflicts and of aggravation of relations among States and the need to protect the sovereignty of States from any external interference,

"Seeking to further the elaboration of specific rules of international law governing the activities of States in this sphere on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space,

"Considering that the activities of States in this field must be based on principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality, co-operation and mutual benefit,

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

"1. Considers it necessary to conclude a convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting and calls upon States to become parties to this convention;

"2. Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee to consider as soon as possible the question of the elaboration of a draft convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting."

The delegation of the Soviet Union ventures the hope that all delegations taking part in the work of the First Committee will carefully study this very important problem, will devote sufficient attention to it, will closely scrutinize the draft convention and the draft resolution and will support this proposal, whose indispensable character is obvious to all. The delegation of the Soviet Union at the same time would like to reserve its right to speak further on the other aspects of the matters of outer space and the moon now being considered by the First Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further speakers inscribed for this meeting and so far there are none inscribed for this afternoon's meeting. Unless any delegation wishes to be inscribed now for this afternoon's meeting, that meeting will be cancelled and the Committee will meet again at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow. I would urge delegations to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible. I envisage that the list of speakers will be closed some time early next week, as I have already indicated.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.