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CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 27:

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union (continued)

General debate (concluded) 251
Consideration of the draft resolution 254

Chairman: Mr. Omar Abdel Hamid ADEEL
(Sudan).

AGENDA ITEM 27

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: reports of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union (A/5181; A/5203, chap. VII, sect. IV; A/5229; A/5237; A/C.1/879; A/C.1/880; A/C.1/881; A/C.1/L.320/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (concluded)

1. Mr. THAJEB (Indonesia), citing the preamble of General Assembly resolution 1721 A (XVI), said that the peaceful development of outer space activities was not the exclusive responsibility of the two nations which led the world in space research. All nations were equally involved and all should contribute as far as they were able; that included developing countries such as his own, even though they necessarily had a different scale of priorities from that of the advanced countries. His delegation was grateful for the encouragement given by the Soviet representative, in his statement at the 1289th meeting, to efforts by nations with limited resources to participate in the conquest of space. The need for co-operation on a global scale was stressed in the various reports before the Committee, and had provided the keynote for the whole debate. But international co-operation was not necessary for technical reasons alone; it was also desirable as an alternative to competition. It might be true that the first steps in outer space exploration had had to be taken by nations working individually, and it might be natural for such nations to take pride in their achievements. But unfortunately the contest was also motivated by cold war considerations, each side seeking to gain a military advantage. Such misuse of outer space was closely related to the failure to secure general and complete disarmament on earth, although the precise nature of that relation was a subject of controversy between the two main parties. His delegation would confine itself to expressing the view that the world could

not afford, in any sense of the word, continued competition in space.

2. It was encouraging to find that the United States and the Soviet Union were apparently aware of the dangers inherent in unbridled rivalry and that they were making attempts to bring about greater collaboration in the peaceful uses of space. Thus, at the 1292nd meeting on 5 December the heads of the two delegations had informed the Committee of an agreement for co-operation in three fields of space activity (A/C.1/880). Such co-operation on specific projects could go a considerable way towards reducing competition, and it might well bring the two great Powers closer to an agreement on the principles of space law. The early adoption of such principles and of a binding code governing space activities was essential, for only thus would it be possible to ensure that outer space was reserved solely for peaceful uses. The failure of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to produce specific recommendations was regrettable, and the Sub-Committee should be urged to renew its efforts as soon as possible. There was probably sufficient common ground between the various proposals on basic principles submitted by the USSR, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom and the United States to enable the Sub-Committee to prepare a generally acceptable draft declaration. It would also be valuable if the Sub-Committee could agree on a recommendation on the least controversial issue, that of liability for space vehicle accidents, since an agreement on one aspect of space law would serve as a great psychological stimulus to further progress.

3. His delegation was grateful to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union for outlining in their reports a comprehensive programme of international collaboration from which the whole of mankind could derive great benefit. Indonesia would be proud to participate in such efforts: it was situated in an area where, as the report of WMO (A/5229) showed, weather information was sparse, and it would be ready to co-operate in establishing a world-wide weather reporting system under United Nations sponsorship. Such programmes might well initiate a new epoch in relations between States in which, as the United States representative had said, science would "batter down" the political obstacles to international co-operation.

4. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that recent achievements in outer space had inaugurated a new era. There could be no doubt that in the years ahead still greater scientific feats would be achieved; but however remarkable future successes might be, it would always be remembered that the first artificial satellite had been launched by the Soviet Union. The achievements of the Soviet Union were familiar to all, and the leading role it had played in

the conquest of space was clear evidence of the advantages of socialism. As the Head of the Soviet Government had stated, however, the Soviet Union had conquered outer space in the interests of peace and of mankind as a whole.

5. In voting at the previous session for the text which had become General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI), his delegation had hoped that the Western members of the Committee would prove willing to put its provisions into effect in deeds, and not merely in words. That hope had been disappointed, despite the constructive proposals for international co-operation put forward by various countries, particularly the Soviet Union. On 20 March 1962, the Head of the Soviet Government had sent a message to the President of the United States in which he had proposed co-operation on six important projects: a world weather service, a joint programme to study the moon and the planets, an international agreement on aid in locating space vehicles making emergency landings, the mapping of the earth's magnetic field, exchanges of information on space medicine and the study of space law. It was gratifying to note that, after further efforts, agreement had been reached between Soviet and United States scientists on co-operation in certain specific fields of space research. His delegation looked forward to further co-operation between the USSR and the United States and between all countries.

6. Considerable efforts had been made by the sub-committees of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, although the labours of the Legal Sub-Committee had proved sterile because of the negative attitude of the Western Powers. Of course, international co-operation in that as in other fields was made difficult by the absence of an agreement on disarmament, the fundamental problem of the present day. The Soviet Union, for its part, had during the year put forward various constructive proposals, including a draft declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of States pertaining to the exploration and use of outer space (A/5181, annex III, sect. A) and a draft international agreement on the rescue of astronauts and spaceships making emergency landings (*ibid.*, sect. B). Western jurists, on the other hand, had often shown themselves to be far removed from reality: there was little point in formulating rules to govern the occupation of vacant and ownerless planets or to apply to animate beings on other planets. Some wanted to extend the principle of unlimited national sovereignty, as expressed in the international conventions on air traffic, to outer space; but the constant movement and infinite extent of the universe deprived their arguments of any foundation. What was essential was a binding international agreement to ensure the peaceful use of outer space. The Soviet representative, speaking in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on 20 March 1962, had rightly stated that the legal problems of space research must be settled in accordance with generally recognized principles such as those of peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and equal rights. For example, legal provisions should be drawn up prohibiting the use of satellites to spread war propaganda, racial hatred and enmity between countries. It was distressing, therefore, to note that the statements of the representatives of the Western Powers in the First Committee had been of a very abstract nature.

7. The representative of Peru, in his statement at the 1290th meeting, had rightly stressed the need to

establish the rule of law in outer space; however, he had misunderstood the Soviet draft declaration of basic principles, which contained much more detailed provisions on sovereignty than he had implied. He was wrong, also, in thinking that radical measures would be possible in space in the absence of disarmament on earth. Since both he and the Australian representative had recognized that the question of outer space was part of the disarmament question, they should both realize that a settlement of the more general question was necessary if the partial problem was to be solved fully. That did not mean, however, that the United Kingdom representative had been right in asserting that no satisfactory progress could be expected in the legal field. An agreement on basic principles would smooth the path for practical co-operation, as it had done in the case of disarmament itself. His delegation could not agree, either, with the French representative, who had said that it was too early to establish the rule of law in outer space; on the contrary, legal progress must not lag behind the achievements of science and technology. As the Iranian representative had said, a gradual evolution of space law was not enough.

8. The conquest of outer space had opened up unlimited possibilities, and the scale of future research would be so vast that co-operation was essential. Space research was thus a task for mankind as a whole. His delegation was glad to note that the reports before the First Committee reflected a desire for such co-operation and attempted to define the fields in which it was currently feasible. Fruitful co-operation in the interests of peace would be possible only in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, which would not be achieved if aggressive circles in the West succeeded in extending the arms race to outer space. Scientific work was going on in many countries besides the Soviet Union and the United States. In particular, plans were well advanced for making Western Europe the third space Power; in June 1962, eleven European countries had signed a Convention for the Establishment of a European Organisation for Space Research, which had drawn up an extensive programme covering the next nine years. The opportunities and the need for international co-operation would increase constantly, but any efforts in that direction would be thwarted if space were to be militarized. If the cold war required the militarization of space, then clearly the cold war must be ended. For those reasons, his delegation welcomed the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, the United States and a number of other countries (A/C.1/L.320/Rev.1, and Rev.1/Add.1), which set forth various tasks that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space could carry out at the present time. The adoption of the draft resolution would help to lay the basis for the peaceful exploration and study of space in the interests of all mankind.

9. Mr. SULEIMAN (Sudan) was happy to note that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had unanimously adopted the recommendations of its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee (A/581, paras. 13-22 on the exchange of information, the encouragement of international programmes, and international equatorial sounding rocket launching facilities; that would unquestionably serve to promote co-operation among both big and small nations. It was regrettable that the Committee had been unable to reach agreement on the legal aspects of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. However, the broad principles laid down in General Assembly

resolution 1721 (XVI) provided the basis for future negotiations, and it was to be noted that the major Powers had submitted draft declarations of principles which, while differing widely in certain areas, aimed at the same goal. His delegation felt that agreement could be reached if States confined their space activities to those of a peaceful nature; he noted in that connexion that both the United States and the Soviet Union had stated that they would seek to avoid the use of satellites for military purposes. His delegation also hoped that the recent agreement between those two Powers on co-operation in meteorology, geomagnetic surveys and satellite telecommunications would be extended to other fields and would help to reduce world tension.

10. The report of WMO (A/5229) underscored the importance of international co-operation, for as the WMO representative had pointed out at the 1291st meeting, it had been prepared with the assistance of United States and Soviet scientists and of various international organizations. As one of the developing countries to which the WMO representative had appealed for co-operation, the Sudan was prepared to assist, with the limited means at its disposal, in any international scientific programme. Since the economic gap between the advanced and the developing countries was an obstacle to fruitful scientific co-operation, his delegation welcomed the suggestions made by several of the specialized agencies for helping the developing countries to master the techniques of data collection. It was also glad to note, from the ITU representative's statement at the 1291st meeting, that the International Radio Consultative Committee and the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee had decided to draw up plans for inter-country communications in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

11. He concluded by expressing the hope that the First Committee would reaffirm the principle laid down in General Assembly resolution 1721 A (XVI) that the exploration and use of outer space should be only for the betterment of mankind and to the benefit of States irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development.

12. Mr. DE LEQUERICA (Spain) said that close international co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space was an urgent necessity if duplication of effort was to be avoided and if outer space was to be kept free of the quarrels existing on earth. A system of space law must be developed as soon as possible to settle the problems resulting from advances in technology.

13. The recommendations of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space concerning exchange of information, encouragement of international programmes and international equatorial sounding rocket launching facilities constituted a first step towards international co-operation embracing not only States Members of the United Nations but also many specialized agencies; the first reports received from WMO and ITU were evidence of the useful work that could be done by those agencies. The United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to co-operate in such space activities as meteorological and geomagnetic research and experiments in satellite telecommunications. Other examples of international co-operation could be seen in the launching of the Alouette and Ariel satellites and in the activities of the European Space Research Organisation and the European Launcher Development Organisation. Small nations as well as large ones were

trying to contribute to the work of space research; he briefly reviewed the space research work being done in Spain, which was described in his Government's reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry (A/AC.105/7).

14. It was regrettable that the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had not reached any agreement; however, the law was a field in which advances were necessarily slower than in science, and he agreed with the French representative that the problems of space law must be dealt with in an atmosphere of calm and reflection. Nevertheless, while the rapid advance of science and technology made the formulation of space law difficult, and while care had to be taken to avoid creating a system of theoretical law which would be rapidly overtaken by events, outer space must not be left a prey to disorder and anarchy. The draft declarations of principles submitted by the Soviet Union (A/5181, annex III, sect. A), the United Kingdom (A/C.1/879) and the United States (A/C.1/881), the draft code submitted by the United Arab Republic (A/5181, annex III, sect. E) and the drafts on assistance to space vehicles and personnel (*ibid.*, sect. C) and on liability for space vehicle accidents (*ibid.*, sect. D) submitted by the United States gave grounds for hope that a positive report on the legal problems of outer space would be presented at the next session of the General Assembly.

15. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) expressed satisfaction that a joint draft resolution (A/C.1/L.320/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1) had been submitted on the item under discussion; that draft resolution had the full support of his delegation.

16. It was essential that there should be co-operation in space science and, particularly, in the elaboration of space law. Since there was agreement on the principle that outer space should be utilized for peaceful purposes only, it was regrettable and disheartening that no agreement had been reached on legal rules for implementing that principle. Until the gap between space technology and space law was narrowed, it would be well to refrain from any further scientific advances which might have military applications.

17. His delegation was grateful for the valuable reports submitted by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/5181), WMO (A/5229) and ITU (A/5237). The failure of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to report any agreement was, however, disappointing. As the Peruvian representative had pointed out, it was essential not only to formulate legal principles governing outer space activities but also to establish a body to ensure the application of those principles. If law and order could be established in outer space, they might eventually be extended to earth, where anarchy and disorder now reigned.

CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/C.1/L.320/REV.1 AND REV.1/ADD.1)

18. Mr. BOTHA (South Africa) said that his delegation supported draft resolution A/C.1/L.320/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 and hoped that the spirit of compromise and co-operation that had resulted in its sponsorship by the Soviet Union and the United States would characterize future efforts to deal with outstanding political issues.

19. He welcomed the inclusion in the revised draft resolution of a new section I which gave special atten-

tion to the legal problems of outer space. He was grateful to the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and the United Arab Republic for the legal proposals they had submitted, which should be of great assistance to the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

20. His delegation also supported section II of the draft resolution, since effective international co-operation was impossible without the free exchange of information. He noted in that connexion that his country provided COSPAR with full details on its space research activities and had submitted a report to the Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1721 B (XVI). It was taking an extensive part, mainly in co-operation with the United States, in such international research activities as the tracking of artificial earth satellites, the reporting of telemetric signals and the tracking of space research vehicles.

21. His delegation fully endorsed the expression of appreciation in section III of the draft resolution for the comprehensive and interesting report submitted by WMO (A/5229), and looked forward to the subsequent reports of that body. With regard to paragraph 5 of section III, dealing with technical and financial assistance, he wished to stress the need for establishing priorities in order to make maximum use of the limited resources available to States and international organizations.

22. His delegation also supported section IV, by which the Assembly would express appreciation for the interesting and useful report of ITU (A/5237) and stress the importance of international co-operation in establishing effective satellite communications on a worldwide basis. It welcomed the preparations made by ITU for holding an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference in October 1963 to deal with the allocation of frequencies for space telecommunication services.

23. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that the draft resolution, which was of a very general nature, was related to the General Assembly's previous resolutions 1348 (XIII), 1472 (XIV) and 1721 (XVI), the terms of which he briefly reviewed.

24. He welcomed the agreement reached between the United States and the Soviet Union (A/C.1/880) on co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space. He expected international collaboration during the International Year of the Quiet Sun to be highly productive. His Government was giving serious consideration to taking an active part in the project for international equatorial sounding rocket launching facilities.

25. The activities of WMO, UNESCO, ITU and other specialized agencies could be expected to increase;

they might then overlap those of non-governmental scientific organizations. The Assembly should therefore take up the problem of ensuring adequate co-ordination in order to prevent any duplication of effort and to avoid any disorder in the vital field of outer space. It could assign the task of co-ordination either to the Economic and Social Council, directing it to establish a special committee for the purpose, or to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space; what was essential was that the responsibility must not be left divided and undefined, since that would inevitably result in chaos.

26. The majority of Member States now seemed to agree with the view the Mexican delegation had always held: that it was essential to approve a set of general principles of law to govern outer space. He hoped therefore that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space would be able to draft a declaration of principles on the basis of the proposals already made. It was particularly important to keep national rivalries from spreading to outer space.

27. The voluntary co-operation of the great Powers was essential for the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which was becoming one of the most important bodies of the General Assembly. The United Nations was not a super-State; there was good reason for the continued existence of individual nations, and the complete internationalization of space efforts was not yet possible. His Government had set up a National Outer Space Commission to organize the Mexican contribution to international space activities and to utilize their results to promote Mexico's own development.

28. All efforts to develop outer space activities must have peaceful aims; they must be above the limitations of national sovereignty and must be governed by rules which bound the space Powers to act as representatives of all mankind. Those rules were clearly set forth in the draft resolution before the Committee, and would be respected by Mexico.

29. Mr. THACHER (United States of America) said that, at the request of several delegations, he wished, as one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.320/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, to clarify one aspect of section II of the draft resolution. The recommendation for the establishment of sounding rocket launching facilities in the equatorial region under United Nations sponsorship had been made at the specific urging of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. It did not preclude the establishment of similar facilities in other regions if scientific justification for them was found to exist.

The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.