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Chairman:

Mr. RAMPHUL

(Mauritius)

Rapporteur:

Mr. SANTIISO GALVEZ

(Guatemala)

- International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space [28] (continued)
- Preparation of an international treaty concerning the Moon: report of the Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space [29] (continued)
- Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting [37] (continued)

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## AGENDA ITEMS 23, 29 AND 37 (continued)

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (A/8720, A/C.1/L.606/Rev.1 and L.608)

PREPARATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY CONCERNING THE MOON: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE (A/8720; A/C.1/L.608)

PREPARATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE USE BY STATES OF ARTIFICIAL EARTH SATELLITES FOR DIRECT TELEVISION BROADCASTING (A/8771, A/C.1/L.605 and L.607)

Mr. LARGUI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, may I add the congratulations of the delegation of Tunisia to those that have already been expressed to you on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. We also congratulate the other officers of the Committee, our two Vice-Chairmen and our Rapporteur.

Taking up the question before us today, my delegation would like to thank Ambassador Peter Jankowitsch for the excellent introduction he made on Thursday last of the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. We took note with satisfaction of the significant progress achieved by the Legal Sub-Committee towards the conclusion of an international treaty on the moon and also on the draft treaty on the registration of objects launched into outer space. However, it is clear from the report of the Outer Space Committee that a number of matters of both a legal and technical nature are still pending. We trust that the Committee will find adequate and mutually acceptable solutions to those problems in the course of its forthcoming meetings.

The discovery of outer space and knowledge of it and its exploration which daily advance so greatly have opened new and perhaps as yet unsuspected prospects for mankind. We hope that these discoveries will be advantageous and profitable to all mankind and to all the countries of the world.

(Mr. Largui, Tunisia)

The Tunisian delegation wishes to pay a well-earned tribute to the United States of America and the Soviet Union for their pioneering work in this field.

Turning now to the Soviet proposal concerning the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting, the Tunisian delegation would like to make a few brief comments on the draft resolution which has been submitted. Our position is very close to the views already expressed by a number of delegations, namely, that at this stage it would appear to be somewhat premature to pronounce ourselves on the Soviet draft resolution. In fact, we share the generally expressed view that this draft resolution warrants and deserves careful and thorough consideration at both the legal and the technical levels. Although Tunisia has always been in favour of dissemination of information on as wide a scale as possible, particularly when it is for purposes of education, training, making known technological information, progress and economic, social and cultural development, we nevertheless still share the fears expressed by some here that free and systematic dissemination of information might be used for other purposes.

In saying that, I am thinking of what has been said here about subversive, immoral broadcasts, broadcasts that do not respect the ethics or the values that prevail in the receiving countries; I am thinking of the danger of interference in the internal affairs of States and, in a word, of all the possibilities of infringing their national sovereignty in the widest sense of the term.

It is true that article V of the Soviet proposal provides for the express consent of the receiving country. But, by the same token, in article IX this draft convention also opens up possibilities to that country to use the means at its disposal to counteract illegal television broadcasting of which it is the object. The question lies there specifically and it has been stated in so many words. Have the developing countries -- among them Tunisia -- the technical means to parry these risks and counter such broadcasting at present, or will they have them in the near future?

(Mr. Largui, Tunisia)

For that reason the Tunisian delegation is prepared to support the proposal already made to refer the Soviet draft to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space for a more comprehensive and thorough study and analysis, bearing in mind particularly the technical implications for the developing countries.

In conclusion, my delegation supports and entirely endorses the draft resolution on international action to mitigate the effects of storms, which are all the more in agreement with that proposal because in the very recent past my own country suffered one of the greatest natural cataclysms of its history during the floods that swept Tunisia in autumn 1967.

Mr. FACK (Netherlands): Mr. Chairman, allow me, first of all, to associate myself with previous speakers who have addressed cordial congratulations to you and to the other officers of the Committee on having been elected to their respective posts.

The Netherlands delegation will restrict its comments in this debate to the third item in the package of cosmic topics, namely, the item on the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting.

I should like to say at the outset that the substance of this subject, that is, the use made by States of satellites for broadcasting purposes, retains the greatest attention of my Government. It involves the basic question of man's quest for information in the broadest possible sense of the word, and this question has always been of special interest to the people of the Netherlands.

Five centuries ago the world was rocked by the revolution brought about by the printing press. Today we are still in the middle of a similar historic revolution which started with the application of electromagnetic waves for broadcasting. The current revolution is essentially a technical one, not one posing new moral and legal problems.

The moral and legal aspects of the diffusion of information in written, spoken or visual form -- of which categories television is a composite -- by Governments or individuals have been discussed, defined and refined exhaustively over a long period of time by the international community. International standards, practices and legal instruments have been developed and are so numerous that it is baffling to hear arguments in this debate referring to suspected dangers of television as if this channel in the world-wide flow of information were a frightening challenge to mankind.

(Mr. Fack, Netherlands)

My delegation suggests that this Committee view the next step in the current technical revolution, namely, the possibility of direct television broadcasting via satellites to individual receivers, in a rational perspective. Looming on the horizon is a technical improvement for existing means of dissemination of information: startling new moral implications are not involved. In the legal field, we see the necessity for minor adaptations to the international rules which already exist in the field of the exchange of printed matter and radio broadcasting.

The Netherlands delegation was interested to hear the delegation of Czechoslovakia refer to the Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace, which was concluded at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations on 23 September 1936.

This instrument, more generally known as the Radio Convention, laid down certain rules by which contracting parties undertook not to allow governmental or autonomous broadcasting stations to diffuse programmes which -- and I quote article I of that Convention --

"to the detriment of good international understanding are of such a character as to incite the population of any territory to acts incompatible with the internal order or the security of a territory of a High Contracting Party."

The Netherlands was one of the 23 States which ratified that Convention. The Dutch world broadcasting system abides by these rules. I can assure the numerous delegations which painted an alarming picture of moral decay, polluting the ether and deluging the world that no "obscenities" and no "encouragement to violence" have emanated from our broadcasting organization, a private foundation under national law. It is also interesting to note that the Soviet Union, which sponsors the present agenda item, figures among the States which signed but -- at least as far as my delegation has been able to ascertain -- did not ratify the Radio Convention.

Mr. Fack, Netherlands

In further illustration of my point that we have a wealth of legal texts to ponder in the present context -- as opposed to our restricted knowledge of the technical imminence of direct television broadcasting via satellites -- I refer to the following, non-limitative selection of documents:

1. The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, article 20: prohibition of war propaganda.
2. Resolution 110 (II) of the General Assembly of 1947 -- here again, condemnation of propaganda:

"... designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression,"  
and encouragement of:

"... the dissemination of all information designed to give expression to the undoubted desire of all peoples for peace".

3. The preamble to the Outer Space Treaty of 1966, which confirms the applicability of resolution 110 (II) to outer space, and, among other provisions and principles of the Outer Space Treaty, especially article III, which obliges the Contracting States to:

"carry on activities in the ... use of outer space... in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding."

(Resolution 2222 (XXI), Annex)

4. Finally, I wish to elaborate on some aspects of the UNESCO draft called "Declaration of Guiding Principles on the use of satellite broadcasting for the free flow of information, the spread of education and greater cultural exchange".

Mr. Fack, Netherlands

The members of this Committee are aware how painstakingly this draft has been elaborated, starting from a basis laid by a meeting attended by governmental representatives of 61 countries in 1969, then, via a preliminary text proposed by the distinguished international lawyers, Professor Hilding Eck of Sweden and Professor Fernand Terrou of France, further discussed by a UNESCO working group and several UNESCO meetings of experts taking into account suggestions made by Governments, and finally culminating in the last meeting of experts which unanimously recommended a text to the Director-General of UNESCO.

Inasmuch as future consideration of our agenda item sponsored by the Soviet Union might bring us to the conclusion that further refinement, further development and codification of international law would be appropriate regarding the use of satellites for television broadcasting, my delegation believes that the UNESCO draft declaration would be a better, more balanced and more constructive basis for the elaboration of a new international instrument than the draft submitted by the Soviet Union.

We note that the Soviet draft approaches the subject from a defensive and, therefore, I regret to say, negative angle, while the UNESCO draft has a constructive approach, reflecting a motivation to inform humanity rather than isolate it from information.

Protection from improper information, incidentally, is a legitimate desire, but this aspect is only one side of the medal. Let us look at three instances in which the Soviet draft reflects a one-sided defensive approach:

1. Article IV of the Soviet draft holds that there is a need to protect the sovereignty of States from any external interference. As I have pointed out, the need for such protection is already amply cared for by international law. Indeed, the UNESCO draft repeats the principle of non-interference, but in this case it is counterbalanced by the principle of freedom of information as well as "due regard for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (articles IX and XI).

What is needed, in our view, if further development of international law in this field is deemed necessary, is the regulation of a free flow of information.



(Mr. Fack, Netherlands)

Every freedom in a democratic society is in need of certain regulation; this point is not in dispute. Freedom of expression in a traditional democracy like ours in the Netherlands does not mean licence to slander or incitement to violate the rights of others. But democratic regulation exists only to serve the largest possible measure of freedom; at best it is a necessary evil.

My delegation does not deny that in an imperfect world international law must take into account the tensions between the interests of Governments on the one hand and the interests of individuals, groups and peoples on the other hand. Traditionally, the balance has tipped in favour of respect for the jus inter potentates, that is, the rules between Governments. But the international community should continue to work towards higher levels of civilization, towards the elevation of man, thus diminishing the need for all-pervading supervision and control by Governments.

In this evolutionary process my delegation attaches the greatest importance to the spirit and letter of article 19, paragraph 2, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which codified the right of individuals to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice".

2. Article IX of the Soviet draft provides that a State has the right to stop what it considers to be illegal television broadcasts by all means at its disposal even "beyond the limits of the national jurisdiction of any State". We cannot accept that sweeping formula. The accepted fact that outer space is beyond the limits of national jurisdiction means that no part of it is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of one State, but it means also that the community as a whole bears responsibility to ensure that outer space is used by all States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and with general international law.

If activities are undertaken from installations in outer space which may have undesirable effects on the territory of a State, that State may avail itself of its sovereign right to protect its internal legal order. But, with or without a treaty, countermeasures must be proportionate to the infringement of rights. The carte blanche in the Soviet draft to resort to countermeasures by all and any means is, if those measures would affect an international area, in our view at variance with the primary collective responsibility of the international

(Mr. Fack, Netherlands)

3. Articles IV and VI of the Soviet draft enumerate broadcasts which would be "illegal". This enumeration is too extensive, while the wording in many instances is too vague and equivocal. For instance, who will decide whether a broadcast contains material "which is immoral or instigating in nature"?

We note that the Soviet draft does not provide for an arbitral body for the settlement of disputes concerning the application and interpretation of the Convention.

We much prefer the language in articles VI and IX of the UNESCO draft, which partly meets the Soviet desire that broadcasts should have the approval of the receiving State.

In short, the UNESCO approach may be compared with the Soviet approach as follows. UNESCO says that States have a right and are encouraged to broadcast within the framework of an agreement with the receiving State. The Soviet Union says that States have no right to broadcast and are discouraged from broadcasting except if the receiving State grants a specific licence.

True, the Soviet draft speaks of "equal rights", but this is of academic value in our view because these rights can, according to the text be reduced unilaterally to zero.

I should like to make some comments on the procedure favoured by the Netherlands Government for future consideration of this agenda item.

First, the agenda item should be referred to the Outer Space Committee and the full Committee should decide how to deal with it. It is only after a comprehensive interdisciplinary study of all aspects of satellite broadcasting has been completed that the world community eventually may come to the conclusion that a special convention is needed. It might well be that further deliberations would lead to the conclusion that radio broadcasts via satellites as well as television broadcasts should be covered.

Second, it should be left to UNESCO to decide, taking into account the debates in this Committee and in the Outer Space Committee, how it wishes to proceed with its draft declaration on guiding principles. My Government does not favour any specific recommendation by the Assembly to UNESCO on this matter.

Mrs. BORCIOWSKI (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, taking the floor for the first time my delegation is very pleased to congratulate you on your election and also to extend our congratulations to the other officers of the Committee since we are sure that you will guide the work of the Committee effectively.

When giving its views on the item before the Committee the Cuban delegation feels it appropriate to dwell more specifically on item 37, which was suggested for inclusion in the agenda of the present session by the representative of the Soviet Union: namely, the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting.

The Cuban delegation considers that this international convention would be extremely helpful in protecting the sovereignty of States against any foreign interference since direct television broadcasting by means of artificial earth satellites must serve the endeavours to strengthen international peace and security, to encourage and increase friendly relations among States, and to assist in the technical and cultural development of countries. The international convention on the principles governing the use by States of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting would thus make it impossible for such broadcasts to become means of tendentious and unhealthy propoganda, politically, morally, socially and culturally.

It would also ensure that such direct television broadcasts would not be the source of international tensions and conflicts. Thus the technically more highly developed countries would not be allowed to use these means of communication to impose ideas, customs, habits and so on which, far from contributing to the enrichment of the cultural background of peoples, not only encourage commercial propoganda but constitute incitement to hatred, violence and racial discrimination and the justification of vice, among other present-day ills, and thus violate the most elementary sovereign rights and the national integrity of the under-developed countries, and even of the developed countries which lag behind the more advanced countries in this field.

(Mrs. Borodowski, Cuba)

To the long list of instances of interference in the domestic affairs of my country by the United States we can add North American interference in the radio and television broadcasts of Cuba itself. The Voice of America, a programme that is broadcast from Washington, disseminates false and venomous information throughout Latin America in order to distort the revolutionary process of Cuba. Therefore, in order to guarantee the sovereignty of all States, to protect them from foreign interference of all kinds, it is necessary that measures be adopted to eliminate this type of activity, which is an open violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, undermines and weakens international peace and security.

The Cuban delegation considers that the international convention proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union would undoubtedly be an important step forward in protecting the rights of States as regards the just and equitable use of the incalculable benefits to be derived from direct television broadcasts if these are used in the service of the greater development of countries. May I say that television transmissions in my country are used primarily for educational purposes. The so-called television classes not only are used to ensure a rational distribution of teachers but also serve to educate the population in general, since one of the most important tasks undertaken by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is in the field of education.

Television broadcasts across the territory of Cuba serve as a means of developing and encouraging popular art, and students, workers and parents all participate actively in televised programmes. Television broadcasts are also used as a means of disseminating information and teaching concerning public health. We have frequent and regular remote-control direct television broadcasts to and from the most distant areas of the country.

Thus, it is imperative that we lay it down that every country has the legal right not to allow foreign broadcasts without its total consent. The sacred principles of sovereignty and non-intervention have been included very clearly in the draft international convention proposed by the Soviet Union, and it is for this reason that the Cuban delegation fully supports it without any reservation.

(Mrs. Borodowski, Cuba)

The same applies to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.605 which in its operative paragraph 2 "Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee to commence as soon as possible the preparation of a draft convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting".

To conclude, I wish to state that the draft international convention submitted to this Committee for consideration is, we believe, an indispensable foundation for ensuring that the development and technological perfecting of the present era will be made available to all the countries of the world, with equal rights regarding the advantages to be derived from such techniques and with a view to the welfare and progress of mankind.

Mr. WILLIAMS (Jamaica): I apologize for having to start by contravening our new rules of procedure. But as we all know, new rules take some time to become fashionable.

Mr. Chairman, I take this first opportunity on behalf of the Jamaican delegation to congratulate you on your election to the chairmanship of this important Committee. It is clear evidence of the confidence that your colleagues have in your competence, fearlessness and impartiality, and it augurs well for the success of the work of the First Committee at this session. I also wish to offer our congratulations to Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait and Ambassador Datcu of Romania, our Vice Chairmen, as also Ambassador Santiso-Galvez of Guatemala, our Rapporteur, on their election. My delegation wishes to assure you of its full co-operation with the officers in the interest of the efficient dispatch of the work.

(Mr. Williams, Jamaica)

The report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is enlightening and facilitates the discussion of the items before us. It will prove particularly helpful to countries like my own which are not members of the Committee and have not been in a position to follow its work closely during the year. My delegation is greatly appreciative of the Committee and of its new Chairman, Mr. Jankowitsch, as also the Chairman of the Legal Sub-Committee, Mr. Wyzner, and the Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, Mr. Carver.

We note that considerable work has been done in the drafting of a treaty concerning the moon. This gives cause for hope that a draft treaty will be ready for presentation to the General Assembly not later than at its twenty-eighth session. Note is also taken of the progress achieved on a draft convention on the registration of articles launched into outer space.

My delegation is conscious of the wide vistas that will be opened to mankind as further developments ensue from the exploration of outer space, and we congratulate the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the remarkable progress they have made. The impressive feats achieved by Lunokhod-I in collecting samples from the moon, and the return of Luna-20 to earth are remarkable evidence of the potentialities of unmanned space vehicles. The ERTS programmes of the United States seem to offer great promise for surveys of natural resources and the acquisition of other environmental data that are not now available by conventional means.

We are considerably heartened to learn of agreements between the two major space Powers for co-operation in some areas of exploration. It is of interest to learn of the success of additional countries in placing satellites in orbit. We congratulate Japan and the United Kingdom on their latest achievements in this direction. As space technology proceeds apace, we can expect more and more countries to have the potentiality to launch and make use of their own satellites. It is indeed gratifying that some of those countries are willing to share their knowledge, and in this connexion, may I express appreciation to the Governments of Brazil, France, India, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States for offering fellowships in various fields of space technology.



(Mr. Williams, Jamaica)

Technological achievements in space are not ends in themselves. Rather, their worth rests in the benefits that they can contribute to the advancement of life on earth. The field of meteorology is of vital importance to all States. The statements of the representatives of the World Meteorological Organization and the Foreign Minister of the Philippines are among those which emphasize the urgency which attaches to the need for early forecasting and to finding ways and means to mitigate the harmful effects of weather disturbances and to minimize their destructiveness. My Government will examine with great care the plan of action which has been prepared by the World Meteorological Organization and will co-operate as fully as possible in facilitating the implementation of its proposals. Jamaica, a tropical country, has known the ravages of hurricanes and remains on constant alert during that time of year which brings a number of weather disturbances and attendant fears.

The field of remote sensing is another area of great interest to my country. It holds great potential for identifying natural resources and underground water, among other things, and so its utilization in the interest of our development is self-evident. It is therefore our expectation that its techniques will be applied in all areas of the earth, large and small, so as to facilitate development.

We have heard a number of varying views on the question of direct television broadcasting by satellites during our present debate, and in a very real sense these should not lead to polarization. True, the United States representative has very kindly told us of the developments which have so far been achieved in this field. He advises that it is premature to elaborate a convention at this stage. It is noted that he has not yet given an estimate as to the time when it will be possible for television broadcasts via satellites to be relayed direct to home receivers. On the other hand, a number of delegations are of the view that the time is ripe for a convention to be drawn up to govern conduct in this field.

My delegation has examined the draft convention presented by the Soviet Union. We concur in the view that there should be internationally agreed rules of conduct for direct television broadcasting by satellites.

(Mr. Williams, Jamaica)

My delegation believes that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should begin giving consideration to the issues raised here. In time we should have a convention or some other internationally agreed instrument which would state clearly the kinds of subject matter which will be prohibited from direct broadcasts from earth satellites. I am sure there would be general agreement on those listed in the Soviet document. We should be careful, however, to avoid putting fetters on the free flow of factual information. My delegation could not agree to any arrangement aimed at defeating the purpose of the free flow of information, a purpose which many of us hold dear. The document should emphasize the positive benefits to be derived from this new medium and highlight the opportunities for co-operation among States and for strengthening friendship among peoples.

My delegation believes also that in any international convention provision should be made to help countries lacking resources and by means of concessionary arrangements, to provide them with access to means of direct broadcasting by satellites.

Direct television broadcasting by satellites, when available, will be a medium that could enrich the lives of those who have access to it, bring greater understanding among peoples and be an effective source of education encompassing the globe. I have no doubt that the whole matter will be referred to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and that in due course satisfactory international arrangements will be worked out in the same spirit of co-operation that has characterized the work of the Committee and its Sub-Committees.

It is necessary for me to make a brief comment on the draft treaty concerning the moon, consideration of which I observed earlier has made considerable progress in the Committee.



(Mr. Williams, Jamaica)

My delegation shares the view that the resources of the moon should be the common heritage of mankind and it is expected that this concept will be included in the final treaty. It is also considered that provision should be made for the treaty to apply to any other celestial body to which man might gain access pending the time when specific treaty arrangements are concluded for any other such body.

My delegation believes that, regardless of size, all States have a right to share in the benefits that accrue from space exploration and satellite technology. We believe we have a right to share in the returns from the exploration of any natural resources on extra-terrestrial bodies and to have access to sound and television media via earth satellites, at reasonable cost, without the dangers that have been elaborated by some of our colleagues. We also believe that we have the right to be spared the alluring commercialism that could distort the values of our peoples and create demands that our economies are unable to sustain, and which could impose a false and unacceptable sense of priorities.

These are some of the concerns of my delegation, and we hope that they will find support in the Outer Space Committee and emerge in the principles that will come back to this Committee for consideration at an appropriate time. We shall in due course make known our views on the various draft resolutions on these items which are before the Committee.

Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (interpretation from French): Speaking, Sir, for the first time in the Committee, I may perhaps be allowed to address to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to its chairmanship. I am all the happier to do this since you are a personal friend for whom I have great admiration, and you come from a country with which my own enjoys excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. I am convinced that with your great knowledge and despite the complexity of the questions we shall have to deal with our work must inevitably lead to positive results. However, you can count on the full support and co-operation of my delegation in your endeavours.

May I take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate also the Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur of our Committee, who will doubtless give you the valuable assistance which may be needed to ensure the success of our work.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

Taking up now the consideration of items 26, 29 and 37 of our agenda, my delegation wishes to express its specific thanks and congratulations to Ambassador Jankowitsch of Austria, the Chairman of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, for the excellent report he submitted to us last Thursday. We note that, despite certain divergencies of view, the Committee achieved concrete results in the course of the last session. Thus my delegation wishes to pay tribute to all members of the Committee for the spirit of co-operation which they showed and which allowed them to achieve such results.

My delegation does not intend to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the draft. I should merely like to make a few general comments. First of all, we note with satisfaction that true progress has been achieved on the question of a draft treaty on the moon and a draft convention on the registration of objects launched into outer space. The discussions on this last point were greatly facilitated by the fact that the French and Canadian delegations agreed to merge their respective drafts and submit a joint document.

Regarding the questions that still represent obstacles, namely, the scope of the provisions of the treaty on the moon, my delegation hopes that an agreement will rapidly be arrived at on the subject. However, we should like to say that as we see it this draft convention on the moon should in the first stages also be made applicable also to the other celestial bodies until specific texts are drafted to cover those bodies. We are also in favour of the natural resources of the moon being declared a part of the common heritage of mankind, as were the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. We also feel that, in order to ensure trust and confidence among States those which intend to send missions to celestial bodies should make known their plans in advance.

With regard to scientific and technical activities in the peaceful exploration of outer space, we note with satisfaction the prospects opened up for the developing countries within the framework of the practical applications of space techniques to development. May we express our appreciation in this connexion to all Member States which contribute to these programmes, thus offering the nationals of the developing countries a chance to familiarize themselves with the new techniques that will one day play an important role in the process of development of their own countries.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

With regard to the question of the utilization by States of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting, my delegation took note with interest of the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union. That delegation has submitted a draft international convention to govern the matter. We are convinced that this development in the technique of international telecommunications will be very advantageous as long as such a system contributes to increasing the dissemination of information, spreading knowledge more widely throughout the world and encouraging cultural exchanges among peoples and nations.

Unfortunately, we must admit that the system can just as easily be used for the opposite purposes, those of subversion and propaganda, which might harm both the sovereignty of States and internal public order. Then, far from bringing people together and encouraging understanding among them, the system would become a source of friction and misunderstanding and thus vitiate its very objectives.

Therefore, in the well understood interest of peace, safeguard measures acceptable to all must be adopted in order to overcome the dangers which might be inherent in such a system. If the developed countries can limit technically the scope of the danger, the same is not the case with many of the developing countries, that may once again become the unfortunate victims of this technological progress.

In point of fact, if we refer to the existing situation in the matter of radio distribution and broadcasting, we must take note of the fact that the national radio stations of the developing countries, although very often possessing very powerful broadcasting equipment, are very often inaudible even in the geographical zones where the best receivers exist. Very often they are drowned or jammed by the more powerful stations from more technically advanced nations, which are thus heard everywhere. The basic reasons for this failure of the national radio stations of the developing countries, mostly set up after the Second World War, are related to the unfair distribution of the geostationary orbit and the frequency band. In order to allow the developing nations to enjoy all the aspects of radio broadcasts it is imperative that a more judicious distribution of frequency ranges be made so that the nations will be able, through their air waves, to make known their messages of international peace and concord.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

As far as it is concerned, the Ivory Coast will very soon enter the era of telecommunications and radio communications through satellites, with its earth station of telecommunication by satellite which is being built at Akakro, on the outskirts of Abidjan. This new technique, with large capacity, modern equipment, will enable us, first, to have telegraphic, telephonic, semi-automatic and automatic telex communications with correspondents in Africa, Europe, America and Asia; and, second, to ensure, under the optimum conditions of speed and quality, the automatic dissemination of messages; it will also enable us to be the centre of communications in West Africa.

In matters of television, it is also imperative that we note that the majority of countries will be dependent for many years if we follow all the suggestions made in this proposal. These dangers must also be taken into account in the Soviet draft. Contrary to the great industrialized nations, the developing countries have neither the material nor the technical ways of protecting their populations from subversive or propagandist broadcasts. We all agree that the principle of freedom of information must be respected but that freedom must not degenerate into licence. We have to find the happy medium in order to take into account the different views expressed.

At the moment the Ivory Coast, true to its policies of realism and co-operation, is ready to undertake an experiment. In fact, three quarters of the national territory is covered by a television network and school television, which is already operational in our country, is carrying out programmes of economic, social and cultural development; and in the very near future we shall be using educational television via satellite with direct reception to the community stations for the education of adults, for the dissemination of modern methods of agriculture, industrial development and prophylaxis as regards national health and hygiene.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

The Government of the Ivory Coast would also like, if possible, to extend the benefits of this new educational television via satellites to the neighbouring States which might desire to receive them.

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space is one of the great achievements of our era. The results achieved thus far must be placed to the credit of the States which have set aside their egotism to allow other nations to enjoy the benefits of their experiments, on the one hand, and on the other hand, of those which feel that co-operation can lead to improved conditions of life for mankind. The credit must go, finally, to the United Nations, which created those conditions and provided an adequate framework for a fruitful development of co-operation among nations, regardless of their degree of development, in order to overcome the difficulties encountered in the past 12 years and to give legal instruments to the international community with which to control the activities of States in outer space.

We must also be gratified by the fact that this undertaking is being carried out in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. And, therefore, we believe that all States -- and particularly those which are less advanced -- should be allowed to take an active part in the exploration, use and exploitation of outer space, without discrimination, by means of the material and financial assistance which the developed and wealthy countries can place at the disposal of those which lack them.

We might some day consider setting up within the United Nations a specialized agency with adequate financial means to co-ordinate, encourage and control the activities of States in the peaceful uses of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies. That autonomous agency would maintain close contacts with other specialized agencies, such as ITU, UNESCO, WMO and the associations of radio and television broadcasting.

Before I conclude, my delegation would like to stress that, so far as the draft convention which has been proposed by the Soviet Union is concerned, it would be desirable to refer it to a working group which could examine it, taking into account all the various aspects of the matter.

(Mr. Ake, Ivory Coast)

In this connexion, we support the suggestion made by the representative of Sweden to reactivate the Working Group on Direct Satellite Broadcasting. Member States might also consider the question thoroughly and make concrete proposals which would be referred to the Working Group. The problem being as complex as it is, we believe that enough time should be given to a study in order to produce a text that would be acceptable to the international community.

In conclusion, my delegation has considered the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.606, which has been submitted by the representative of the Philippines, dealing with international action for the mitigation of the harmful effects of storms. We share the concern expressed by the population of the Philippines following the catastrophes that have just afflicted them and will be happy to support that draft resolution. We are also in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.608.

Mr. KROYER (Iceland): Ever since the first artificial earth satellite or sputnik was launched on 4 October 1957 the world has watched with a mixture of awe and admiration the remarkable feats of the conquest of space achieved in turn by the Soviet Union and the United States. The Governments of both countries have been deservedly congratulated on their respective achievements. We have watched with growing satisfaction how the competition in space technology and ventures between the two pioneers in the field has gradually developed into co-operation between them, as well as participation by other countries in various space technology programmes.

The cosmonauts and astronauts who have seen our planet from afar have brought home to us in a graphic manner the realization that we are indeed fellow travellers on a small space-ship, our planet earth, and that we must work earnestly together if we want to be able to continue our common space journey much further. Perhaps they have also helped to bring home this realization to the leaders of our countries and have thus contributed to the promising trend towards détente and co-operation between the great Powers which we have lately experienced and which has encouraged us in our efforts at co-operating with one another within this Organization.



(Mr. Kroyer, Iceland)

The peaceful use of outer space has proved a most proper and fruitful field for international co-operation. This is borne out by the results already achieved through the work of the Outer Space Committee, whose present Chairman, Ambassador Jankwitsch, has carried on with dynamic energy and skill the good work of his predecessors.

I was somewhat hesitant in taking the floor in this debate because I am a newcomer to this senior Committee of our Organization and my knowledge of the subject under discussion is all too limited. However, I felt it to be my duty to place on record my delegation's and my Government's interest in the United Nations work for promoting international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space.

The rapid development of space technology is proof that it was wise for this Organization to apply itself at an early stage to the task of working out new principles and rules for this new sphere of man's activity. The outer space Treaty embodies the principle that the international community should endeavour to ensure that developments in outer space technology and its application be used only for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all mankind. The Minister of State for Home Affairs of India, in his statement yesterday, very appropriately said that we need to remind ourselves of such principles from time to time.

My delegation agrees with the view already expressed by several other delegations that the efforts of the United Nations in the field of international co-operation for the peaceful use of outer space must, furthermore, be directed towards activities that will ensure to all States -- no matter what their level of development -- increased possibilities for benefiting from space technology and its practical application, in particular in the field of development and that of preservation of the environment.

I now turn briefly to the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. During the past year the Committee has made significant progress. Its Legal Sub-Committee has almost completed its consideration of the draft treaty, consisting of the preamble and 21 articles, relating to international co-operation with respect to the moon. My delegation hopes that the remaining differences will be settled soon and the work on the draft treaty completed. We hope also that an agreement will be reached on making the treaty applicable to other celestial bodies.

(Mr. Kroyer, Iceland)

As regards the legal régime over the natural resources of the moon, my delegation would favour the view that the natural resources of the moon should form part of the common heritage of mankind. This would be consistent with the principle which our Organization has decided should be applied in respect of the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

My delegation has noted with interest and appreciation the work already carried out by the first United Nations Expert on Space Applications, Professor Ricciardi of Argentina, during his two-year assignment with the United Nations. We feel confident that his successor, Mr. Murthy, will successfully carry further the work to develop programmes for promoting international co-operation in outer space technology.

A particularly interesting and promising technological achievement was the launching by NASA in July 1972 of the Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS-I), dedicated to surveying the earth's resources and environment. My delegation wishes to congratulate the delegation of the United States not only on this achievement but also on the very generous offer to share with others this new potential.

Iceland enjoys a windy climate, and although our storms are not exactly tropical, they sometimes reach a velocity and furore comparable to that of tropical cyclones. At the same time, Iceland holds a key position in the weather monitoring of the North Atlantic area and our Meteorological Institute co-operates actively with the World Meteorological Organization.

It is only natural therefore that my delegation warmly endorses the recommendation made by the Outer Space Committee to bring to the attention of the General Assembly the plan of action prepared by the Executive Committee Panel of Experts on Tropical Cyclones of the World Meteorological Organization. This plan of action was in response to General Assembly resolution 2735 D (XXV), submitted on the initiative of the delegation of the Philippines.

Now His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines has again taken the initiative in the introduction of a draft resolution, in document A/C.1/L.606 -- which has now become A/C.1/L.606/Rev.1 -- on behalf of seven original co-sponsors, entitled "International action for the mitigation of the harmful effects of storms".

(Mr. Kroyer, Iceland)

This draft resolution is a natural follow-up to General Assembly resolution 2753 D (XXV). Because of the keen interest which my country takes in international co-operation in the field of natural disaster prevention, including efforts to mitigate the harmful effects of storms, my delegation has decided to become a co-sponsor of this draft resolution. We trust it will be adopted unanimously by this Committee.

I now turn to the subject of direct broadcasting from satellites, the draft convention on this subject submitted by the Soviet delegation in document A/3771, and the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.605/Rev.1.

My delegation shares the view of the Soviet delegation and many others that it is desirable and necessary to regulate this use of outer space technology within an appropriate legal framework. My delegation further agrees that the task of elaborating such a framework should not be delayed. The fact that the development of direct television broadcasts from satellites may yet be some years off, does not seem to us to be a valid argument against working out now some general instrument to regulate this future activity.

A free development of this technology before satisfactory rules to regulate it have been devised might well lead us into pitfalls that could be hard to get out of at a later stage. We have an old Icelandic saying that it is better to cover up the well before the child falls into it. As to the form of this instrument -- whether to elaborate a convention now or to agree first on a declaration of principles on which a more comprehensive convention might be built later -- on this my delegation has, at this stage, an open mind.

In our opinion the Soviet draft convention could most usefully be referred to the Outer Space Committee for further study. The Outer Space Committee would then be free to decide in which manner the study would be undertaken -- that is, by its Sub-Committees or the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites or both. It would seem natural that the Working Group, with its multidisciplinary expertise, should have the opportunity to give the draft treaty careful consideration, together with the other reports already elaborated and the UNESCO 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.

(Mr. Kroyer, Iceland)

With regard to the substance of the Soviet draft convention, my delegation has certain hesitations and doubts. We fear that it is too restrictive in its present form.

We must arrive at a delicately balanced set of rules that on the one hand will allow for a free flow of information and knowledge and increasing cultural exchange, and on the other will prevent abuse of this freedom, such as by slander, through subversive propaganda or, for instance, on the kind of commercial advertising that would be contrary to the law of the country at the receiving end.

In concluding these few remarks, Mr. Chairman, I hope you will allow me to offer you my sincere congratulations upon your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. The quiet but efficient manner in which you are steering our deliberations, coupled with your careful and measured approach to the problems at hand, have already given us ample proof that our choice was both fortunate and wise. My delegation's congratulations go also to the other officers of the committee, the Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Iceland for his kind and generous words to the officers of the Committee.

Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, may I at the outset warmly congratulate you on behalf of the Algerian delegation on your unanimous election to preside over the First Committee. Our satisfaction at seeing you preside over this Committee is bolstered by our conviction that thanks to your competence and wisdom you will be able to assist us in carrying out our work successfully. Our congratulations are also addressed to the other officers of the Committee. We are sure they will give you very valuable assistance in your heavy duties.

(Mr. Azzout, Algeria)

of peoples and the originality of our national cultures. It is obvious that the interpenetration of different cultures could serve to bring peoples together, but we must make sure here and now that the circulation of ideas and information will not be in a single direction and that it will not become an instrument of cultural imperialism, particularly when we know that this new technique will for a long time to come still be held solely in the hands of a few, more advanced nations.

Algeria, which immediately upon achieving its independence undertook a vast programme to reassess its cultural heritage in order to safeguard and recover its national identity, feels that although some delegations have mentioned the fact that direct television broadcasting is something that will not occur tomorrow, at least as far as individual receivers are concerned, the rapidity with which events in this field move leads us to feel that we should immediately concern ourselves with regulating the activities of this type of technique in order to avoid an anarchical situation.

It is for that reason that my delegation congratulates the delegation of the Soviet Union on having taken the initiative of raising this important question in the General Assembly, and we shall support the draft resolution circulated in document A/C.1/L.605/Rev.1. We also hope that the draft convention submitted by the Soviet Union will serve as a serious basis for discussion and work in the Legal Sub-Committee.

Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): Mr. Chairman, as this is the first statement by my delegation in this Committee during the current session I should like to join other colleagues in expressing my delegation's profound appreciation of your election as Chairman of our Committee. Your wide diplomatic experience, wisdom and tact will, I am sure, contribute to a fruitful conclusion of the items on our agenda. Already you have demonstrated by your conduct of our proceedings that the trust placed in you is fully justified.

My delegation also extends its warm congratulations to the other officers of the Committee, who will undoubtedly give you all the necessary support. May I also take this opportunity to express my delegation's gratitude to the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Ambassador Peter Yankowitsch of Austria, who so ably and succinctly introduced the report of that Committee, which is contained in document A/8720.

(Mr. Taylor-Kamara, Sierra Leone)

We are now well into the second decade of space exploration. At the beginning of the first decade the two super-Powers led the way. Although they continue to dominate the field, there are today four other States that have joined them in some form of space exploration and research. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the overwhelming majority of Member States do not now possess the financial and technical resources to undertake any significant and productive space research and exploration.

It is in this context that we should all applaud the initial steps taken by our Organization in underlining the common interest of all mankind in space exploration. It remains the objective of us all to make the United Nations a focal point for international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space.

As a developing country we find great satisfaction in the achievements of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Its Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee is providing useful knowledge and information that would otherwise be difficult for many of us here to obtain. In this connexion my delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the work being undertaken by the Secretariat in space applications. We look forward to further contributions from this Sub-Committee.

The Legal Sub-Committee has also performed a useful role, particularly in the preparation of texts of the preamble and nine articles of the draft convention on the registration of objects launched into space.

On the question of the treaty relating to the moon -- subject to what the space Powers might have to say -- it is the opinion of my delegation that the scope of this treaty should also apply to all other celestial bodies.

We hope that the Legal Sub-Committee will continue to make further progress in its work.

One great advantage of space technology is the discovery of the use of observation satellites equipped with remote sensors to survey the surface of the earth in sufficient detail to assist the exploration and management of natural resources. In pursuance of this achievement the United States of America, on 23 July 1972, successfully launched the first experimental satellite dedicated to surveying the earth's resources and environment.



(Mr. Taylor-Kamara, Sierra Leone)

My delegation heartily congratulates the United States of America on its achievement and hopes that in the not too distant future this technological knowledge can be applied to agriculture, extensive farming, education, communication, fishing and mining for all kinds of minerals and oils to the advantage of the peoples of our world body.

Mr. Taylor-Kamara, Sierra Leone

My delegation notes with appreciation that some of the Member States have submitted their reports on their national and international co-operative space programmes for consideration by the Committee. We hope that this very useful practice will continue.

My delegation joins in congratulating the Governments of Brazil, France, India, Italy, Japan, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, which have offered scholarships in various fields of space technology.

While there is no question that in the effective participation in any space application programme, training and education of personnel is involved, there is the real question whether the decision to participate or not can await such training and education.

We, the developing nations, cannot in this space age afford to be passive observers. We must be made to be active and dynamic participants in all scientific and technological space applications.

The international community has been appealing to the two major space Powers to co-operate so that their joint efforts will be of maximum benefit to all of us. While we would have preferred to see much progress in this regard, my delegation approves the efforts of these States to co-operate in the rapid development of space science and technology. In this connexion we welcome the agreement reached in Moscow last May for the joint docking of United States and Soviet spacecraft some time in 1975. We hope that this initial step will be followed by more fruitful co-operation.

Let me turn now to the draft resolution of the Soviet Union. We have studied with keen interest the views already expressed so vividly and at times with much passion regarding the call for the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting.

Coming from a developing nation which has recently emerged from colonial status, my delegation fully appreciates the concerns of the Soviet Union. We know what devastating effect cultural imperialism can have on the customs and traditions of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Therefore we will welcome any legal instrument that will provide guidelines to ensure that such broadcasts will not erode our continuing efforts to gain wider respect and understanding for our customs and traditions.

(Mr. Taylor-Kamara, Sierra Leone)

My Government is dedicated to the free exchange of information among all the peoples of this small planet. We also believe in free speech and freedom of information. We do not believe that it is beyond us in this Committee to work out the necessary arrangements that will both protect freedom of information and also protect States from activities that may prove injurious to their customs and traditions. We stand ready to co-operate with our colleagues in achieving this goal.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize my Government's continuing interest in the work of the United Nations in matters relating to the peaceful uses of outer space. We remain convinced that our Organization should develop legal régimes to govern all activities in outer space in accordance with international law and our own Charter.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for the compliments he paid to the Officers of the Committee.

Mr. ISMAIL (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): Mr. Chairman, I wish to extend my warm congratulations to you and best wishes for success in your term as Chairman of this Committee. You have the confidence of my delegation in general, and myself in particular, and we have full confidence in your abilities. You have proved yourself a leader par excellence in all your previous posts and experience in the various Committees of the United Nations. Be assured of our full co-operation and support. I should also like to commend the other officers for their diligent efforts and efficiency, which are familiar to all of us. My special greetings go to my brothers and colleagues, Ambassador Abdulla Bishara of the State of Kuwait and Ambassador Dactu of Romania who are doing such splendid work as Vice-Chairmen of our First Committee.

I have studied carefully the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This work must receive our compliments and appreciation for its scientific merits.

(Mr. Ismail, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen)

We as developing countries realize our limitations in discussing a scientific topic as complex and vital as the subject of the peaceful uses of outer space.

We lack the skill and expertise to discuss this report in scientific terminology, and to do so would be a waste of our time and effort as well as taking up the time of this Committee.

However, this lack of technological know-how does not minimize our ability to discuss and interest in discussing this question from the point of view of laymen directly concerned and affected by scientific progress. In fact, we are probably in a much better position to evaluate and judge since our viewpoint is that of humanity as a whole. For us, this discussion is one of practical application and not of technological exercise and competition isolated from the needs and responses of the world at large.

It is for these reasons that we hail the draft resolution submitted by the USSR, contained in document A/C.1/L.605, on the preparation of an international convention on Precepts Governing the Use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. It provides a basis for discussion, a basis common to all peoples regardless of their stage of scientific and technological development.

My delegation and I have carefully studied this draft resolution and convention, and we fully acknowledge and appreciate its merits in facilitating such debate. In addition, it serves as a point of comparison with -- or rather contrast to -- opposing points of view. It is our conclusion that these differences are not conflicts of principle but rather are procedural.

My delegation wholeheartedly endorses and supports the Soviet draft resolution. It is our contention and belief that this is the first time that any country has clearly identified and clarified in concrete terms the meaning of the peaceful uses of outer space, and is a positive initiative towards world peace.

(Mr. Ismail, People's Democratic  
Republic of Yemen)

Space is not the private domain of any one country, régime or ideology. On the contrary, space can be compared with the sea-bed and oceans in that it belongs to all mankind. For any one culture or country to claim space as its own is an affront not to any one State but to the community of nations as a whole.

We therefore understand opposing views on the Soviet position not as opposition but rather as expressions of differences in culture and experience and attempts to preserve and perpetuate that specific culture and way of life. Those who oppose this resolution are attempting to isolate themselves from the rest of the world. They consider the concept of television broadcasting from an artificial satellite as a means of domination and control by more highly skilled and scientifically advanced nations. These nations are unjustifiably intimidated by the scientific progress and technology of the world in general and by their specific deficiencies in these areas.

(Mr. Ismail, Democratic Yemen)

They also lack confidence in the ability of their nation and people to adapt and to acquire the thoughts and knowledge necessary for their social and cultural development. Why should there be such fear of exposure to the international community? Is it not one of the aims of the United Nations to foster international collaboration and co-operation and to eradicate provincialism? If we are to live together in harmony we must have faith in our own cultures and not feel threatened by divergent ideas. Differences should not destroy, they should enrich. If we oppose exposure to other cultures we thus oppose the aims of the United Nations.

We, the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, believe that there can be no fundamental opposition to the Soviet draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.605 dated 12 October 1972. We give it our full support, as do the members of the third world and progressive régimes. If the spirit of this proposal is opposed, what do the opposing views offer in its place to promote world understanding and peace? The Soviet Union has offered a positive approach to peace and human enrichment.

My delegation welcomes any draft resolution and/or convention and subsequent revisions offered in the spirit of world progress, and we will continue to champion those who serve the interests of world peace.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In its statement on 12 October the Soviet delegation put forward its viewpoint on the question of the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting, reserving its right to speak at a later stage and on other matters on the agenda relating to space.

Allow me to take advantage of this right and state the views of the Soviet delegation on items 28 and 29 of the agenda. At the same time, in our statement today we would like to some extent to draw up a balance-sheet of consideration of the question of preparing an international convention on the use of artificial earth satellites for television broadcasting which has taken place to date in the First Committee.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

During the past year new achievements have been noted in the study of space. For Soviet space science, 1972 has been marked by many significant achievements in the further study of the far reaches of outer space, the use of space technology to fulfil the needs of mankind and to achieve the boldest dream of mankind: the conquest of outer space. Co-operation between the Soviet Union and other countries in the matter of the conquest of space has been further developed on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Together with other socialist countries the Soviet Union is successfully carrying out a large-scale programme of space research and experiment.

A few weeks ago the agreement on the creation of an international organization on the system of space communications intersputnik came into force. It was signed in November last year pursuant to the initiative of the socialist countries. One of the most important tasks of the new organization of space communications will be the setting up of mutually advantageous co-operation on a world-wide scale. On 19 May this year an agreement was concluded concerning co-operation in the conquest of space between the Soviet Union and India, and providing for the undertaking of a series of joint space experiments.

We are happy to note the successful development of space co-operation with France. This co-operation encompasses the implementation of a large number of joint programmes.

The Soviet-United States agreement on co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, concluded during the visit of President Nixon to the Soviet Union, is of very great international significance. This was in May this year. We hope that the implementation of this agreement will not only make it possible to open up new fields in space science, but also lead to progress in the most varied fields of human life on earth and to further development of international co-operation.

Thus it is with conviction and satisfaction that we can note that international co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes is developing successfully and that wide perspectives in that field are open to us.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Speaking of the achievements of the past year I should like to note the extremely fruitful and constructive work carried out by the Committee on Outer Space. In the course of its existence the Committee has proved to be an effective international body. It has adopted many important instruments of international law. The preparation of the treaty on the moon is a worthy reflection in international law of the remarkable achievements of space science and technology, and as a matter of principle is of very great importance for the further expansion of co-operation among States in the conquest of the moon and the progressive development of space law.

Thanks to the constructive approach of many delegations, most articles of the future treaty were agreed upon and drafted. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the problems still pending in this draft could, have been agreed upon at the previous, fifteenth, session of the Outer Space Committee during consideration of the report of the Legal Sub-Committee. In this manner the Committee would have concluded its work on a draft treaty on the moon, thus effectively discharging the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly, and could have submitted the draft for approval to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

When considering the draft, the Soviet delegation strove to take into account as far as possible the viewpoints of other delegations. In the interest of bringing positions closer together, it did not insist on many provisions and formulas it had proposed, expecting that delegations of other countries would evince the same spirit of co-operation. Such is the internal logic of any international agreement: a reasonable compromise by both sides leads to agreement. On the basis of this logic the Soviet delegation showed considerable flexibility in consideration of matters still pending.

Thus in the matter of the scope of the treaty, that is to say, the question whether this treaty should apply only to activities on the moon or to activities on other celestial bodies also, the Soviet delegation was prepared to study reasonable compromise proposals put forward by other members of the Committee and took the initiative in carrying out the necessary consultations.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

These consultations were then held. Other pending matters were discussed in the course of the consultations, including the problem of the legal régime relating to natural resources of the moon, and the question of whether the treaty should require of States that they present an identification of information about their intention of sending an expedition to any celestial body prior to the time of launching. Concerning the natural resources of the moon, the Soviet delegation stressed that at the time the exploitation of these resources becomes possible in fact, it is indispensable that the Member States, parties to this agreement, in order to achieve economic progress, recognize the importance of setting up an international régime regulating such exploitation.

About the third pending problem, we would like to note that the desire of some delegations to have registration of objects not yet launched into outer space raised many complex problems, including the following: how and in conformity with what criteria, can objects still on earth be considered space objects? The logic of registration apparently must be based on the fact that one cannot consider that any object on earth designed for launching, but not yet launched into outer space, is a space object. For instance, in aeronautical law one does not consider that an object is a plane if it is not flown. And in this connexion, our delegation has expressed its readiness to seek a mutually acceptable solution; but, unfortunately, this proved to be insufficient. We regret to note that despite the efforts made by the Chairman of the Committee and many delegations, the Committee was unable to conclude the preparation of this draft treaty. We hope that next year the Committee and its Legal Sub-Committee will be able to find mutually acceptable compromise decisions and present to the General Assembly a draft treaty on the moon -- on condition, of course, that there be a constructive approach on the part of most delegations. As we often said, we consider that the existing system for registration on a voluntary basis is fully in keeping with the requirements of the present stage of the exploration of space.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

However, taking into account the great interest in the preparation of a special convention on registration shown by several countries, and guided by the principles of co-operation and mutual understanding, the Soviet delegation does not object to having the United Nations Committee on Outer Space consider the draft convention introduced by France and Canada. At the same time, it should be noted that the draft contains many technically complex provisions which require an exhaustive analysis on the part of specialists. Allow me to stress that a successful conquest of space is possible only in conditions of the widest possible international co-operation carried out on a lasting international basis.

Allow me now to refer to another item being considered in the First Committee, namely the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting which, as you know, was inscribed in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly as a separate item upon the proposal of the Soviet Union. The delegation of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that all the delegations which took part in the debate on matters relating to space touched upon the question of the use of satellites for direct television broadcasting. This fact in itself proves that the proposal of the Soviet Union is timely, to the point, and requires exhaustive and deep analysis. The Soviet delegation would like to express its deep gratitude to the delegations of socialist countries, of friendly developing countries, and many other States which supported the Soviet proposal. With the exception, I should say, of only one delegation, all those that took part in the debate stressed in some form the importance and complexity of this problem, and said that it was necessary to work out an international agreement or convention or treaty which would regulate this complex problem. The participants in this discussion were right in pointing out the wide possibilities opened up by the use of the achievements of science and technology in space for fruitful international co-operation. Many delegations stressed their conviction that the development of a new type of communications -- the transmission of television programmes through satellites directly to home receivers of televiewers -- would contribute to further rapprochement between the peoples of the globe, to expanding the exchange of cultural values and the increase

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

in the educational level of the population of various countries. We fully share this conviction. We consider, as we already said in our first statement, that the development of this kind of communication is one of the most promising lines of action in the use of space in the interests of mankind, and the Soviet Union is firmly and categorically in favour of large-scale use of this new progressive type of communications and links between States and peoples. We agree with the views of many delegations -- India, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Zaire, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Liberia, Algeria, Democratic Yemen and many others -- that the use of satellites for direct television broadcasting will similarly assist in carrying out many educational, cultural and other programmes. May I repeat that we are firmly, decisively in favour of having artificial earth satellites used for significant assistance to the developing countries in the transmission of various educational, cultural and other programmes.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

At the same time, we share the concern expressed by representatives of socialist and developing countries here, that this important form of communication can also be used for goals that have nothing to do with the interests of peoples, with the need to maintain and develop their national culture, their way of life and traditions, their moral standards developed over the centuries and sometimes over thousands of years. How right was the representative of Zaire who said a few days ago in this Committee.

"as we have gathered from the bitter experiences of direct radio broadcasting, when a number of pirate or semi-official stations managed deliberately to spread the venom of division, hatred and subversion among our citizens, we, like scalded cats, were too aware of the possible damaging effects of televised programmes coming from artificial satellites, or from other celestial bodies which were beyond our possible control." (185th meeting, pp. 54-55)

The Soviet delegation is very happy to note that the majority of delegations clearly understand the difference between information which serves the interests of international co-operation and peace, and propaganda designed to incite hostility, interference in internal affairs, insulting of national feelings and traditions of peoples. We fully support the appeal of the permanent representative of Brazil, Ambassador Frazao, who, concluding his statement, said:

"we should not confound freedom to inform with freedom to misinform"

(Ibid., p. 42)

Yes, gentlemen, we must not confuse these two opposites. We are for freedom of information and we are determined opponents of freedom of misinformation and slander.

Generally speaking, we consider that the debate we have had in the First Committee on the question of the preparation of an international convention on the Principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for television broadcasting, bears witness to the mature and enlightened approach of many States which quite rightly consider that we must not condone the pollution of outer space, not only by material objects but also by the poisonous weapons of hostile propaganda, undermining the foundations of international peace and security.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

One can also note -- and it is particularly important that the overwhelming majority of those who took part in the debate in the First Committee approved of the idea in principle -- that it was necessary to prepare an international convention on this matter, despite different approaches, despite even divergent interpretations. The common viewpoint was that the preparation of an international convention, an agreement or a treaty on this question, was indispensable. The overwhelming majority of those who took part in the debate also came out in favour of referring this item to the Outer Space Committee so that it could prepare a final text of an international convention. Even at our earlier meeting today, almost everybody said that the Committee on Outer Space should study all these complex problems relating to the preparation of an international convention, study them and report on the results of such study to the General Assembly.

Such, in the opinion of the Soviet delegation, is the main result of our debate. It is true that during this debate we heard the voices of a few sceptics who are prepared to cast doubt on anything proposed by the Soviet delegation, who for some reason see in all these proposals only negative aspects. Allow me to refer to the point of view of those delegations.

In connexion with the view expressed by the delegation of the United States and some other delegations, that direct television broadcasting was something allegedly for the very distant future, the Soviet delegation would like to refer to the report of the Working Group on Space Science and Technology of the Advisory Committee on Science of the President of the United States, entitled "The Next Decade in Space". That report was published on the instructions of the President of the United States of America in 1970, and bears the signature of his Scientific Adviser, Lee A. DuBridge. The report stresses that, despite the fact that the creation and practical implementation of direct television broadcasting would be technically feasible in 1970-1980 international political problems must be examined and resolved before setting up systems of direct television broadcasting. The report clearly points out:

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

"In the light of the possibility of direct and effective communications between the government of one country and the citizens of another, international problems of a political character must be analyzed and solved before" -- and I insist on that -- "before those systems are worked out and before direct television broadcasting has come into being".

The conclusion is obvious, that the solution of international problems of a political nature and therefore the preparation and adoption of a convention, would make it possible, in turn, to liquidate certain obstacles and contribute to technical progress in this field. This is further confirmation of the fact that it is completely illogical to state that our proposal is untimely. This, to speak truly, is a dreamer's approach towards problems of our day, problems of the space era, and it does not redound to anybody's honour. The achievements of science and technology today and their development exceed by far the boldest forecasts made. They do not allow us to reassure ourselves, especially since the problem which we suggest be solved is extremely complex, and this is recognized here.

Why, I ask, is it necessary to act in such a way as to be pressed for time and, to use a chess term -- taken from an activity which has become very popular in this country for reasons well known to all -- why get into "time trouble"? Why, on the one hand, say that it is serious and, on the other, declare that it is untimely, that the time is not ripe to start to dealing with it? We hope that most delegations will not support this negative approach towards the realities of today and of the very near future.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

American representatives are wont to talk about the interdependence of States in the international arena, asking all of us to take this into account; and we consider that they are quite right. As an example, I shall quote only one statement to this effect, that of an Under-Secretary of the United States of America, John Irwin, who, speaking in July of this year before an audience of American businessmen, said the following:

"An awareness of the complexities of interdependence should have a moderating influence on the international behaviour of all countries. The participants should begin to realize that, without a commitment to agreed procedures, to some underlying rules to govern this interaction, the mutually beneficial but highly complex new game we will all be trying to play will not be playable. The players' interest in the long-term stability of these rules should become greater than their interest in winning on the substance of any particular play."

The Soviet draft convention aims at preparing and working out essential rules -- and here I will use Mr. Irwin's words -- regulating the very complex new relations arising from the problem of direct television broadcasting from space. One cannot gainsay the importance of this problem, and it is not mere chance that in his statement the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, at the first meeting of the resumed fifteenth session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, said that the Soviet draft convention and other proposals related to it will no doubt engage the attention of the Committee for months to come.

Let us, therefore, undertake a businesslike consideration of this problem. Let us not fail because of a lackadaisical, nihilistic attitude towards it. Let us see how we can work out one more very important block in the building of space law. The blue screen fed with information coming from space must become the means of the widest possible flow of information which will be in keeping with a code of peace, morality and justice, which all of us must work out together.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Freedom of genuine information will certainly not suffer from this; on the contrary, it will receive from States Members of the United Nations and the whole international community secure and lasting support.

Conditions of anarchy, especially when the means of direct television broadcasting from space will for a long time probably remain monopolistic levers used by the technically most developed countries in their selfish economic and financial interests, will certainly not be a fruitful terrain for the creation of an international climate of co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Soviet delegation can certainly not agree with the representative of Australia and several others who have alleged that the Soviet draft convention gave the impression of a negative attitude and could prevent the development of space technology. All this is, of course, not so. The Soviet draft convention has no direct bearing on space technology; that is obvious to all those who have read it carefully. In no way can it arrest its development.

Further, we are profoundly convinced that the Soviet draft convention is the result of the break-neck pace of development in the possibilities of space television broadcasting by means of earth satellites, it is the child of this process.

The point of view of the representative of Belgium is just as unfounded. He declared that the Soviet draft convention considers this problem from a negative standpoint. The same goes for the statement made today by the representative of the Netherlands, who described the Soviet draft as being of a defensive character. This is indeed a bizarre conclusion reached by these representatives, as it is reached in connexion with a positive document, a document aiming at expanding international co-operation in the field of outer space, in using the very latest, the most recent, achievements of space technology in the interest of the whole of mankind.

In this document -- as was probably seen by those who looked at it and not by those who adopted a prejudiced attitude -- we take into account numerous generally recognized principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. The Belgian and Dutch representatives openly

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

hinted that the Soviet draft completely ignored the sacrosanct - to them - principle of freedom of information. It is true that the representative of Belgium immediately added that the enjoyment of this freedom requires a measure of control in everybody's interest. The representative of the Netherlands spoke in the same vein.

Well, I will say frankly to the Committee that we do not intend to engage in polemics with the representatives of Belgium and the Netherlands, who lectured us at some length on the concept of freedom of information. Let us not forget that we are all mature people here. We not only understand but we also see the horrible, tragic consequences and abuses bordering on anarchy and banditry of certain bourgeois freedoms. But let us not continue any longer on the road travelled by my colleagues from Belgium, the Netherlands and some other countries, rather, let us not speak in a polemical but in a businesslike manner when dealing with matters of direct television broadcasting from space.

We consider that a businesslike approach towards the use of new space communications media requires recognition of the principle of the active participation of the United Nations in the development of space law, including areas which would contribute to the codification, regulation and, finally, improvement of the machinery for informing world public opinion. To consider that all of us should stand aside from the process of setting up a lasting legal basis which would protect the interests of all peoples and States is certainly not reasonable. That would mean that we should turn our backs on principles which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in many important international documents.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Adopting a businesslike approach and being interested in working out an international convention on the use of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting, the Soviet delegation listened with great attention to the remarks and arguments put forward during this debate and during unofficial exchanges of views with other delegations. I should like to say that we not only listened to those statements but also found it possible to reflect many constructive proposals in the new revised draft resolution which will be circulated by the Secretariat -- which is probably being circulated at present -- upon instructions of the delegations of Iraq, Mongolia and the Soviet Union.

The amendments to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.605 are the following:

In the fourth paragraph of the preamble we add the word "information". So that the new wording is as follows:

"Having in mind that direct television broadcasting should help to draw the peoples of the world closer together, to widen the exchange of information and cultural values and to enhance the educational level of people in various countries".

Further, taking into account the wishes of several delegations of developing countries, in the fifth paragraph of the preamble, after the word "satellites" we have inserted the words "should take place under conditions". As revised, it would read:

"Considering at the same time that direct television broadcasting by means of satellites should take place under conditions in which this new form of space technology will serve only the lofty goals of peace and friendship among peoples".

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Further, taking into account the desires expressed by delegations of various developing countries, we add to the seventh paragraph of the preamble a reference to the "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the United Nations Charter". Thus, the paragraph would read as follows:

"Desiring to further the elaboration of specific rules of international law governing the activities of States in this field on the basis of the United Nations Charter, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the United Nations Charter".

Bearing in mind the desires of many delegations of developing and western countries, which made such a request of us, we have deleted from operative paragraph 1 the words "calls upon States to become parties to it". Thus the revised text of operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would read as follows:

"Considers it necessary to conclude a convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting".

The rest would be deleted.

Also, taking into account the exchange of views and the wishes expressed by many delegations of developing and Western countries, operative paragraph 2 in its new version would read as follows:

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

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Finally, the Soviet delegation, as I have had the honour of informing this Committee, was most attentive in listening to the views of delegations which took part in the debate on this question of the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. Despite the fact -- I repeat, this is clear from our statement today -- that we do not agree with some of those statements, we nevertheless consider that this whole discussion was useful, fruitful and the opinions expressed by all must be carefully and exhaustively studied by the Committee on Outer Space when it starts its consideration of this item. In this connexion, together with our co-sponsors, we have deemed it possible to include a third operative paragraph which would read as follows:

"Recommends that all documentation relating to the discussion, at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, of the question of the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting should be transmitted to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space".

The Soviet delegation would like to address a request to the representative of Saudi Arabia and ask him not to insist on a vote on the amendments he submitted.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

The Soviet delegation values at its true worth the participation of the representative of Saudi Arabia in the debate on the question of the "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting", and we should like to express to him our gratitude for supporting the initiative of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the addition into this draft resolution of various matters relating to the future preparation of a draft convention on freedom of information -- work on which has been going on in the United Nations for over 20 years -- would mean that we would tie the preparation of this international convention on direct television broadcasting to the much delayed work on that draft convention.

Further, we know very well that the draft convention on freedom of information is under consideration in another Committee of the General Assembly and is not within the jurisdiction of the First Committee or the Committee on Outer Space.

Finally, mention in the draft resolution of a document not yet adopted -- that is to say, a draft convention -- would be without precedent in the practice of the United Nations.

I repeat: the ideas and the wishes expressed by the representative of Saudi Arabia are most interesting, and we added a further operative paragraph in the draft resolution in order that all materials, documents and statements, including those made by the representative of Saudi Arabia, will most certainly be taken into account in the Committee on Outer Space.

Concluding my statement, I should like to address an appeal to all delegations on behalf of the Soviet delegation and those of Iraq and Mongolia, and ask them carefully to study the revised draft resolution and to support it by voting in favour of its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his statement and for the revised text of the Soviet draft resolution at present contained in document A/C.1/L.605. The Secretariat will arrange for the circulation of the revised version.

I now call on the representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Mr. Laurent, immediately after which I intend to call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

Mr. LAURENT (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations): There is obviously a very promising future for agriculture-related applications of space technology. Some representatives, in particular the representative of Ghana, in their statements have stressed the hopes which are fully reflected in document A/8720 and which are supported by the systematic steps taken by some Member States and the international community in this field.

FAO's interest in remote sensing flows from its recognition of these promises. And, just as it has been a consistent user of plain aerial photography in appraising and managing the "agricultural potential", so FAO is progressively introducing the new technique of remote sensing in its work. The FAO report to the fifty-third session of the Economic and Social Council states, for instance, that remote sensing has already enabled amendments to be made to the FAO/UNESCO soil map of the world, has facilitated improvements in forest inventory procedures, in measurement of sea temperatures, in actual localization of fish schools and in water resources surveys.

While these applications could by themselves justify a substantial amount of confidence, there are, besides, a few recent related developments which took place within FAO. Among those which were conveyed to the ninth session of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, we could point to the technical consultation on the application of remote sensing to the management of food and agricultural resources held in Rome in September 1971 in co-operation with the United Nations. This technical consultation threw much light on the subject and indicated various means of strengthening FAO's capacity to assist developing countries in using this new tool. Moreover, training in space applications, by virtue of General Assembly resolution 2776 (XXVI) has become one of FAO's specific goals.

(Mr. Laurent, FAO)

At the present moment the introduction of remote sensing in the FAO's programme of work for 1972-1973, as recommended by the 1971 FAO Conference, and the emphasis on training are being incidentally facilitated by the co-operation recently established between NASA and FAO on the occasion of the ERTS-1 experiment. It should be noted that FAO's requirements have also been submitted to NASA in relation to the forthcoming SKYLAB programme. It is expected that the Governments of the three countries, namely, Sudan, Colombia and the Philippines, where ground truth facilities already exist and which have accepted to be partners in this venture, will derive from it substantial benefits in the planning of their land and water resources.

May I take this opportunity to stress that an integrated approach to the application of space technology on a national as well as a regional basis prevails in our interventions. As an illustration of this point plans are under preparation to expand such activities as anti-locust research, grassland surveys, our computerized soil data bank and various forestry and fisheries schemes by using remote sensing to blend their requirements with world-wide observation systems.

To conclude, I wish to indicate that the sixteenth session of the FAO Conference has approved a follow up technical consultation on remote sensing and that one of our newly recruited specialists working in this discipline is currently negotiating with NASA and with the University of Purdue, where space technology is applied mainly to agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Mr. BARCODY (Saudi Arabia): It behoves me to draw the attention of the Committee to the revised amendments which have been circulated this afternoon. However, in view of the revision of the Soviet draft resolution, something has to be done to apply my revised amendments to the text. However, I believe that the Soviet Union has done a lot of work in taking into account the views of those who expressed misgivings and apprehensions, rightly or wrongly, concerning the proposed draft convention on international television broadcasting.

He mentioned them not by name but rather by groups. He said that the Western Powers objected, although he criticized certain Western Powers for having made remarks which he considered were deleterious to the thesis of the Soviet Union on that subject. I want to assure the representative of the Soviet Union that we are for a convention. I do not want him to have a shadow of a doubt that our amendments were calculated to do away with the thesis of a convention. I say "thesis" because the whole thing is still in an embryonic stage.

But again I should like to address to him the following question: what if the United States, or any other State for that matter which in the future develops satellites for international television broadcasting, refuse to adhere -- leaving aside participating -- to a convention? We who do not possess the technology of outer space may become the butt of the target between the United States and the Soviet Union which may be at odds with one another on this subject and we would have no guarantee, since at least one of them would not be a party to the convention, that we would not be the victims of salacious programmes that might undermine our culture, our way of life, our traditions, the institutions of our families and other sacred institutions in our own way of life and cultures. This is what impelled me to draw attention to the question of freedom of information.

Yesterday, I spoke to the colleagues of Mr. Issraelyan, as he was not present, about my new version of the amendments so as to dispel any fear that someone in the Outer Space Committee or Legal Sub-Committee might use one of my amendments to put a spoke in the wheel of the proposed convention on international television broadcasting.

Now I stand to be corrected by the United States in what I am going to say. The United States has not ratified many United Nations conventions adopted by the United Nations and it has made its stand clear on this question of international television broadcasts. I do not have to rehash what the representative of the United States said on this subject. Having closely followed United States policy vis-à-vis United Nations conventions for many years, I have no assurance that the United States will be a party to the convention proposed by the Soviet Union. Therefore, if we the small Powers have no other international instruments or what I call United Nations arrangements, what would happen to us? As I said, we would be the target of programmes that emanate from a country where the mass media are privately owned and where we know very well, and I presume the representative of the Soviet Union knows very well, that the Government would say, "I do not interfere with the mass media of information because it would mean that I am interfering with freedom of information." It was in that context that I introduced my amendments.

Of course the Soviet Union can retaliate by broadcasting programmes from the Soviet Union to the United States so that they might be even with the latter. There would be a sort of television broadcasting war between the two and we would be the targets; we would be the people who would have to suffer, we the small countries, because we cannot retaliate even if we wanted to do so.

I want to give my colleagues here a concrete example of what happened in the era of the silent films in the twenties, between 1922 and the end of that decade. Like many other young people of that era, I was a fan of the silent film. I hope that the representative of China will not take what I am going to say as a sort of criticism. On the contrary, I would recall the sagacity of the Chinese even in those days of the twenties when they followed a procedure that stopped the abuse. In those silent films of the twenties, and I remember them, almost every villain was a man who was yellow or Chinese. I as an Asian felt insulted although I did not have to be; we do not happen to be yellow;

it was flagrant; there was no remedy on the part of the Chinese at that time because they did not have a highly developed silent film industry, But finally they did it -- I am not going to say how they retaliated -- and there were a few films shown -- whether they were financed by the Chinese or by some other Asians I will not go into that.



(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

Almost every despicable character, in those films, who happened to be an American, was pictured as a gangster. And then this silent film was stopped. For those who are of my age -- I remember the villain was called Chan. Now I am giving you that as an example. Even the Chinese, who were not highly advanced in the film industry, finally found a way to depict every American on the silent screen as a villain.

But do we have to go into these methods? That is why there should be norms and guidelines, in order to safeguard the rights of small nations who cannot or may not wish to retaliate.

I should now like to ask my colleagues, and particularly the representative of the Soviet Union, if he would compromise. Those revised amendments of mine can be presented as a separate draft resolution, provided that he will accept them, so that he may not think that they impinge on his project of a draft convention. I realize that the title of that draft resolution is as follows: "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting". Now I can very easily either amend the title and say, following the word "convention", "and/or other international instruments or United Nations arrangements". This is one option, and then I will maintain my revised amendment in the recent form so as to apply to the revision that was made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

But I presume that he will not be very happy about it, because he will say again to me -- although I took into account his remarks -- that I am introducing an extraneous element into the draft resolution which has to do with the elaboration of his special convention, notwithstanding the fact that in the Soviet draft resolution there is a reference to resolution 2222 (XXI). But since I am dwelling on freedom of information as it affects television broadcasts, whether they are to be directly broadcast to other countries or whether they are national television broadcasts, this is the second option which I will ask the Soviet representative to consider. Since the hour is late and we are not going to vote tonight and since the revised text of the Soviet draft resolution will have to be circulated, so that the Soviet delegation may ponder this second option I would have another draft resolution of my own,

(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

which would read "Preparation of an international instrument and United Nations arrangements on principles governing the use by States of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting".

The idea is that if the United States or any other State would in future have artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting we would be protected by other arrangements, such as regulatory arrangements and obtaining the consent in advance of a country before television programmes are broadcast to it. I am not going to spell out what those arrangements should be. It is up to the Special Committee to work them out. In that instance I believe that the Special Committee has a Working Group which should look into all the technical points of those United Nations arrangements and consent before broadcasting.

Otherwise, what would be the alternative? There would be a convention which would not be obeyed, and we would be the victims. Either I rewrite or revise my amendments to apply to the new text of the Soviet draft resolution or -- my second option -- I submit a draft resolution with a slight revision -- and will the Secretary kindly take note. I read out what the title of a separate draft resolution would be: "Preparation of an international instrument and United Nations arrangements on principles governing the use by States of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting", and my draft resolution will be a short one.

It will start with only one preambular paragraph which I will take from my revised amendments and which will read as follows: Instead of "Taking into account" it will say "Recalling resolution 2448...", with this correction: the word "that" following the word "and" in the second line will be removed, and following the words "resolution 2222 (XXI)" insert the conjunctive pronoun "which" before the word "stipulates" in the fifth line. This will become the preamble of my draft resolution.

Then there will be only one operative paragraph, which would be my amendment which will read as follows:



(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

"Takes note that the work done on the draft Convention on Freedom of Information and deliberations thereon in the General Assembly may be useful in the discussion and elaboration of a draft convention and/or other international instruments or United Nations arrangements relative to direct television broadcasts".

Now again, to show my willingness to co-operate with my colleagues from the Soviet Union I am prepared to take out the word "Convention" from the single operative paragraph I have just read out lest they think that I am tying to it the other international instruments and/or the United Nations arrangements.

(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

In other words, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, through its Working Group I hope, will be able independently to go on with the elaboration of the proposed convention of the Soviet Union, if I may so call it, if it sees fit, because, I say, it may be useful. How can I be more reasonable? I do not say that it should. I am drawing the attention of the Outer Space Committee and, I hope, its Working Group, to the fact that the work done on the draft convention and the deliberations thereon may be useful. They may decide that they are not useful, and I hope that for the sake of the small countries they will take into consideration our view and the possibility that some States will not be parties to the convention proposed by the Soviet Union and that we should not be left hanging in the air between the Soviet Union and the United States and any Power that might have the use of satellites in the future for international television broadcasting. I do not think that approach is unreasonable.

The hour is late. I am not asking the Secretariat to circulate this text tomorrow morning. I should like my colleagues from the Soviet Union, and my other colleagues, to ponder on my suggestions and find out if they are acceptable in this form, the second form, this option, rather than drafting them again. I can draft them again, in a revised text. I have been here long enough. I can do a little editing, and that will be done. But I want to show my good will towards the Soviet Union and to assure the Soviet Union that we are for the convention, but if the United States does not sign the convention, what do you want us to do, Mr. Issraelyan, between you and the United States? Just watch you retaliate in the future? I may not be here, but our children may be here, or our grandchildren. It may take several years. What are several years? I have been here 27 years, and it seems like yesterday that I came. The years pass.

What are you talking about, Mr. Bush? Is Mr. Bush here? "It is premature". There is nothing premature about it. The Soviet Union has the right to ask for a convention, but if the United States and other States do not adhere to the convention they will not be left as a target, as will the small States.

(Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia)

We want some United Nations arrangements, or some instrument that can apply to our case. That is the whole thing that has been preoccupying me and others with whom I have spoken privately. It is not only myself as representative of a founding State of the United Nations but those of many other, new, States as well. We are all alert to what may happen in this field.

So I request my colleagues from the Soviet Union to let me know tomorrow which they would prefer: the first option, that I should draft revised amendments to their draft, or that they will settle for a separate resolution which will have no reference to the convention, so that they may not have the shadow of a doubt about me or any other person trying to interfere radically with their own text.

There is an Arabic proverb, which I will quote: "If you cannot get what you want, settle for what you can get." We, the small countries, are trying to settle for what we can get for our own protection, neither less nor more, and we appeal to the highly technologized Powers, if I may use that term, to see our point of view and not to subject us in the future to any controversy that might be translated into a sort of television war between them.

Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): I should like to comment in a few words on the provisional draft amendments just distributed to the members of this Committee in the name of the delegations of Austria and Sweden (A/C.1/L.609). Before doing so I should like to call attention to two drafting errors.

Paragraph 2 of the document should read: "Change the operative paragraph to read as follows:". Of course, these are amendments, as is clearly shown by the text.

The second operative paragraph should read as follows:

"Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to undertake the elaboration of such principles as soon as possible."

(Mr. Rydbeck, Sweden)

The present text is, of course, the result of continuous revision.

My main object, however, is to explain in the name of the two delegations which have submitted this document the reasons for doing so. I should like to make it quite clear that it is not in a spirit of confrontation: the very opposite is the case. We have listened, as have others, to conflicting views on the subject-matter, which have also been reflected in conflicting views on the phrasing of the resolution, and we have been conducting consultations throughout the day with a view to trying to see whether there is not a possibility of reaching a consensus, which we think would be vastly preferable to having to vote on texts, when we might have a large number of abstentions and perhaps many negative votes, whichever text might be concerned.

As regards this text, I know that it does not in many important respects correspond to what many delegations would have preferred, but our talks during the day have led us to believe that perhaps it would after all be useful to submit this text, since we found that it might have the approval of members of the Committee who have otherwise expressed widely differing views on how the resolution should be phrased.

I do not think there is any need for me to go further into this matter. The wording of the amendments speaks for itself.

It seems I was not clear enough in the first part of my statement. The first line of paragraph 2 of the document should read -- it is not part of the text, of course -- "Change the operative paragraph to read as follows:". That was the phrasing; and I repeat for the benefit of those who did not get it immediately; that the second operative paragraph should, in our version, read as follows:

"Requests the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to undertake the elaboration of such principles as soon as possible."

(Mr. Rydbeck, Sweden)

I shall not prolong the discussion here. As I said, I think the wording of our document speaks for itself. The debates have amply made clear where the difficulties lie on either side. I conclude by expressing the very sincere hope that we may, after all, reach a consensus on this draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of the United States to exercise his right of reply.

Mr. REIS (United States of America): I must begin with a brief apology to delegations as it is indeed very late. However, I want to make a few observations with regard to some comments by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Issraelyan, who this afternoon, while professing a business-like approach, threw around, as is his wont, adjectives such as "annihilistic", "prejudicial", "bourgeois", "monopolistic", "unfair" and "anti-Soviet". I will say no more about adjectives, but I want to comment on the substance of what he said.

In his usual erudite way he showed considerable familiarity with studies produced in the United States, and for that we are grateful. However, I should like to draw attention to the fact that there is in existence a report of the Outer Space Committee and its Working Group on direct broadcast satellites which states -- and this remains the conclusion of the Working Group, subject to re-examination during the coming year -- that it is foreseen that not until the period 1985 and beyond will the technology that will provide the capacity to broadcast direct from satellite into individual television receivers be available. Of course, that time frame, that prediction, may be wrong after all, and indeed the representative of Sweden and others in the Outer Space Committee have suggested that perhaps it would be useful, since that conclusion is now some three years old, for the Working Group to regroup, take another look at the matter and again state an opinion.

We have only in this sense, I believe, criticized the Soviet initiative as being not really timely. Of course, if it is designed to meet a technology which will develop in 1985, that is all right, but to be told with a sense of immediacy that right here and now the 132 Member States of the United Nations must commit themselves to a treaty on this subject seems to us perhaps a little premature; it seems to us to lack a certain sense of balance, a certain recognition of other priorities which also have importance.

It is particularly with regard to the form of the work product which the Soviet resolution would call for that I need to make one or two observations in reply. I have no doubt that the Soviet Government believes in quite good faith that the optimum form of the work product of this exercise is a treaty. I would have thought, however, that the Government of the Soviet Union would have

(Mr. Reis, United States)

allowed others who think differently their own point of view. What is most important is that we have time between now and 1985 -- and I would suggest that we have a much more reasonable time frame than that -- to take a very close look at the question not only of what the content of such documents might be and not only of what alternative contents might look like, but also of form. Therefore we object very strongly to the Soviet proposition that somehow in the course of seven days of debate in the First Committee and without addressing the question of form in detail we must all commit ourselves to the proposition that a convention is the desirable, and by implication the only desirable, form for our work to take. As I say, some delegations may believe that, but I would have thought that it would have been admitted that other delegations might have different ideas and that still others might not wish to commit themselves as yet, might not be sure in their own minds how best progress might be made in that area.

I should like also to comment with particular pleasure on something Mr. Issraelyan said. He said -- and I quote from the English interpretation of his remarks -- "We are in favour of freedom of information but not of misinformation and slander". It seems that this element of freedom of information which the representative of the Soviet Union says his country favours really should have a proper place in any draft General Assembly resolution on this subject. In fact, in the preamble to the Soviet text we find references to the sovereignty of States, non-interference in internal affairs, and that sort of thing. I would not suggest that those considerations are irrelevant but it is not showing too much temerity, I think, to suggest that other considerations, such as freedom of information, are relevant. In fact, we very much regret that the text does not say anything about freedom of information.

My delegation has already expressed directly to the Soviet delegation its desire to co-operate on this project. We have told them that we do not wish a confrontation on the subject which serves no purpose other than that of polemic and controversy. But we have also expressed the view that we should like our views to be taken into account in a serious manner.

(Mr. Reis, United States)

We have presented to the Soviet delegation the views of our Government. We hope that in due course, when the Soviet Governments sees fit, we shall have the courtesy of a reply.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I too want to apologize to the members of the Committee for speaking once again but I wish to exercise my right of reply and make a few remarks about the statement just made by the representative of the United States.

We asked for a business-like approach; indeed, we cited a few delegations, including those of the United States, Australia, Belgium and the Netherlands, which called our draft negative, nihilistic, defensive, and so on. Those were not my words; those were the words used about the Soviet draft by the representatives of some delegations. We say to the representative of the United States that we ask for a businesslike approach. Let us not characterize, qualify, use any clichés about the Soviet draft. Let us not call it nihilistic, negative, or anything like that. Let us sit down and consider it in a businesslike manner -- but not here, of course; this is no place for such a discussion. We have presented a draft convention. This is our initiative. We have already said, and we repeat, that we shall be happy to consider this draft in a businesslike fashion in the Committee on Outer Space or, even better, in the Legal Sub-Committee -- in a businesslike manner, without any clichés. We ask the representative of the United States to engage in an exchange of views on the substance of the draft and not to say that the Soviet Union does not want freedom of information, or anything else of that kind.

Once again I greatly regret that he did not listen carefully to me. I did not say that we were in favour of freedom of information and against freedom of misinformation. I quoted the representative of Brazil, Mr. Frazao.

Finally, as regards the story put out by somebody that the Soviet Union raised the question of the necessity for the immediate conclusion of such a convention, this is either a misunderstanding or something put about by those who want to postpone this matter ad infinitum.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

We do not insist that there be an immediate consideration of the question. We say that it is necessary to start work on preparing an international convention. And, if I remember correctly, the representative of Brazil, Ambassador Frazao, in his statement said it was necessary to have an "urgent elaboration". That was his viewpoint, we respect that viewpoint. We have never put the question in that manner.

The representative of the United States told us that one can wait until 1985. Of course he was modest enough and said that that was his personal view, but there may be another personal view of some other gentleman who would say that one can wait until 1995. Where is the truth? We do not intend to guess now. The truth is that the space era is the era of space speed; the truth is that there is such a problem; the truth is that we, all States of the world, must agree to work out international "rules of the game" -- I am using Mr. Irwin's words.

I thank the representative of the United States for the compliment he paid me. Yes, we do take great care of our statements and we carefully study the statements of public officials of States Members of the United Nations. Now, using his words, I can say that we must indeed work out the "rules of the game" -- or an international convention, since we do not engage in card games. We must work out an international convention and we consider that the time has come to start that work, and what has just been said by the representative of the United States convinces us that we are right. He has an opinion; he has already expressed some critical views about our draft -- or, at least he said he did have such views -- and therefore there is something to talk about, there is something to discuss, there is something for a businesslike consideration. We ask all delegations here to talk about this, to consider this matter.

The representative of Iceland said very well today that it was better to close the well before the children start to fall into it. I think he is quite right. The time has come to close that well, to board it up, to start work, and we ask the delegation of the United States to do so.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

We are fully prepared to undertake a businesslike consideration of questions related to the preparation of a convention. If the delegation of the United States agrees that one has to work on that, we are ready to start. If the United States delegation intends to delay, to postpone, the beginning of that work until 1985, excuse me but we are not going to help them in that.

As usual, we listened most carefully to the representative of Saudi Arabia. I can tell him that we believe him. We believe him when he says that he is for the convention. He asked the Soviet delegation not to have the shadow of a doubt about that. I say to him: "Ambassador Baroody, so that we may not have a shadow of a doubt, remove the shadow; take away the amendments you have read. We have introduced a third operative paragraph, taking into account your view and a most careful study of the matters you raised. I should like to assure you that many questions raised by you will find their answers in the Soviet draft convention. Take a look at it again and help us all to reach a positive solution."

The CHAIRMAN: Now that the friendly exchanges of views and courtesies have been effected between the delegations of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and belief in the representative of Saudi Arabia has been expressed, members of the Committee may be interested to know that I have been informed, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.606/Rev.1, that the following States have been added to the list of co-sponsors: Fiji, Liberia and Pakistan.

Mr. SOUZA E SILVA (Brazil): I should just like to reserve the position of my Government to intervene in this debate at a later stage due to the fact that our statement has been the subject of some quotations and misquotations, which we should like to clear up at our next meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: The list of 14 or 15 speakers for today has been exhausted. Before adjourning this meeting, I wish to refer to the statement I made yesterday at the end of the afternoon meeting. Members will recall that I suggested that, in accordance with the time-table under which the Committee is operating, we should conclude the consideration of the outer space items on Friday, 20 October, that is, tomorrow, and vote on the draft resolutions and any amendments submitted under these items. Since no delegation has so far objected to the suggestions I made yesterday evening, I take it that the Committee, having concluded the general debate on the items, will in principle be ready to vote tomorrow on the draft resolutions and any amendments, in accordance with the rules of procedure. It would perhaps be useful if at this stage I were to summarize the situation in respect of the existing draft resolutions and amendments.

There are now three draft resolutions before the Committee: the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.605, which has been submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has now been revised and stands in the names of Iraq and the USSR (A/C.1/L.605/Rev.1); the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.606/Rev.1, submitted by Australia, Fiji, Iceland, Indonesia, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and United States of America, and the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.608, which now has 15 co-sponsors. There are also two sets of amendments: first the revised amendments submitted by the representative of Saudi Arabia to the USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.605), which is contained in document A/C.1/L.607/Rev.1, subject to his statement; and second the amendments submitted by Austria and Sweden to the USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.605), which is contained in document A/C.1/L.609.

It is of course not my intention to curtail the discussion of these and any further proposals which might be submitted either in writing or orally before we proceed to the vote. We shall, therefore, schedule two meetings for tomorrow.

Mr. DUGURSUREN (Mongolia): I merely wanted to say that the representative of the Soviet Union, in his statement, announced that Mongolia was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.605/Rev.1.

The CHAIRMAN: Mongolia's name will, of course, be added to the list of sponsors of that draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.