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CONTENTS

Chairman: Mr. Agha SHAHI (Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 31

Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.502) *(concluded)*:*

***(a)* Implementation of the results of the Conference: report of the Secretary-General (A/7677 and Corr.1 and Add.1-2);**

***(c)* Contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries: report of the Secretary-General (A/7568 and A/7743)**

1. The CHAIRMAN: Before proceeding to the item on the agenda for this afternoon, the representative of Iran wishes to raise a point of order, and I now call on him.

2. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): I am not quite sure whether the point I am going to raise is a point of order or a point of clarification.

3. At the 1718th meeting of the First Committee a resolution *[A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1]* was adopted on agenda item 31 *(a)* and *(c)*. Agenda item 31 *(a)* reads "Implementation of the results of the Conference on Non-Nuclear-Weapon States". However, in resolution 2456 (XXIII) adopted last year by the General Assembly, which recommended the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session, there was another part concerning the question of the convening of an early meeting of the Disarmament Commission.

4. As the resolution in question was adopted under agenda item 31 *(a)*, and in its last paragraph the Secretary-General was requested to place on the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly the question of the implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, I assume that the part which was omitted—inadvertently, I presume or for the sake of brevity—from the wording of resolution 2456 (XXIII) will be included in the future consideration of that item.

5. If you will refer to the original resolution *[2456 (XXIII)]*, which last year asked the Secretary-General to place this item on the agenda of the present session, you will see that the wording incorporates the phrase "after the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States", but for some reason—I presume for the sake of brevity—it has been deleted from the wording on the agenda.

6. As this resolution has been adopted under agenda item 31 *(a)*, I assume that the item will be included in the agenda of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly as it was originally intended that it should have been included in the agenda of this session. This means that there is a possibility that the General Assembly will consider at its next session the convening of a meeting of the Disarmament Commission.

7. Am I correct?

8. The CHAIRMAN: At the 1718th meeting of the First Committee, a similar question was raised by the representative of Iran. I stated at that time that, as Chairman, I would not rule on this point, but that it would be the prerogative of each delegation to interpret the situation.

9. However, as the representative of Iran has raised substantially the same point again today, I would invite the Committee to consider resolution 2456 A (XXIII) which

* Resumed from the 1718th meeting.

was adopted by the General Assembly at its last session. In paragraph 7, the resolution states:

"*Further requests* the Secretary-General to place on the provisional agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly the question of the implementation, taking into account the reports of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the International Atomic Energy Agency, of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, including:

"*(a)* The question of convening early in 1970 a meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to consider disarmament and the related question of the security of nations;

"*(b)* The question of further international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy with particular regard to the special needs and interests of developing countries."

10. At this session, when the First Committee considered agenda item 31, part *(a)* on which was "Implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States", this Committee had before it a relevant draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1, which was adopted on 10 December 1969 by a vote of 87 in favour, none against, and 11 abstentions.

11. Paragraph 9 of that draft resolution reads as follows:

"*Further requests* the Secretary-General to place on the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly the question of the implementation of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States."

That paragraph is couched in general terms; it omits any particularization; it does not refer to what was put as clauses *(a)* and *(b)* of paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2456 A (XXIII).

12. Regarding the question put by the representative of Iran whether that includes consideration by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly of the convening of the Disarmament Commission, the question would obviously have to be the convening of the Disarmament Commission in early 1971.

13. That is a matter now before the Committee, and I should have liked the Legal Counsel to be present in order to give his opinion on the interpretation. It is a matter entirely for the Committee to decide but, considering the lateness of the hour, I should like to ask the Committee to decide whether the general wording of paragraph 9 of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1 which has already been adopted should not also include the consideration by the General Assembly next year of the question of convening a session of the Disarmament Commission early in 1971.

14. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) *(translated from Russian):* The Committee has already examined this agenda item, and I do not think it can revert to it now.

15. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): That draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1]* was submitted under agenda item 31 *(a)*, "Implementation of the results of the Conference: report of the Secretary-General". It should have included the part that you were kind enough to quote from last year's resolution *[resolution 2456 A (XXIII)]*. I do not think that there is need to add anything to it, but, as it comes under agenda item 31 *(a)* and the Secretariat did not deem it necessary to include that part in the agenda this year, it is therefore automatically included in the wording of the present draft resolution.

16. I am not reopening any question. Those who submitted that draft resolution did so under agenda item 31 *(a)*, and the exact wording of agenda item 31 *(a)* is that which you read out, Mr. Chairman.

17. The question is not whether to add anything to the present draft resolution; it is to ensure that, since those words did not appear in the agenda item this year, it is nevertheless understood that the question was before the Committee, and, although you have not said so, Mr. Chairman, that the question will be before the twenty-fifth session. There is no question of "reopening", "re-examining", or anything of that kind. The agenda item under which that draft resolution was submitted is agenda item 31 *(a)*.

18. The CHAIRMAN: I should like to remind the Committee that the statements I made in answer to the questions put to me by the representative of Iran at the 1718th meeting were in my capacity as Chairman of this Committee. I stand by those statements.

19. If the representative of Iran has raised a question of legal interpretation, it is not the function of the Chairman to proffer such an explanation. But I suggest that, at this last moment and in order that we may conclude our business today, we agree that inasmuch as it is within the competence of any delegation to put on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly the question of convening the Disarmament Commission early in 1971 and that it is open to a member of the Disarmament Commission to request such a meeting—which can be adopted by a majority—in order to cut this procedural discussion short, I take it that we can conclude that paragraph 9 of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1, which was adopted on 10 December, is sufficiently wide in scope to embrace the interpretation given by the representative of Iran.

20. I hope that the Committee can agree to that proposition, so that we can pass, at this very late stage, to consideration of the other items of the agenda. It is essentially a procedural point and I sincerely feel that there is no need to expend the time of our Committee debating this matter.

21. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) *(translated from Russian):* I believe that the agenda item which we have decided to postpone until the next session in connexion with the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States can be interpreted differently.

22. The CHAIRMAN: I was trying to be helpful and make a suggestion to the Committee in order to carry its

deliberations to a conclusion. But, if representatives insist on different interpretations, I shall have no option but to request an opinion from the Legal Counsel.

23. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: Mr. Chairman, your remarks on this matter at the preceding meeting and your remarks today seem to us to give a clear and correct picture of the situation. The USSR consequently fully supports your position.

24. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. Chairman, I completely agree with the statement just made by the representative of the USSR. I feel that your statement was completely accurate and fully covered the situation with which we have been faced. It will provide us with a perfectly accurate guide when the General Assembly next meets.

25. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to take up the Committee's time, but at one stage it did seem to me that you were ready to put your interpretation of the Iranian proposal to the vote. I think that we have now moved away from that and that you are suggesting that the Iranian delegation, like any other delegation, can bring this matter up at the next session of the General Assembly if it so wishes.

26. If that is so, a set of circumstances arises. I should like to know exactly what your final ruling is.

27. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of India. I should like to clarify the fact that it was not my intention to put the proposition I had formulated to a vote. I have already quoted paragraph 9 of the draft resolution adopted on 10 December, contained in document A/C.1/L.497 and Add.1. It is a general formulation which includes the specific matters spelled out in paragraph 7 of resolution 2456 (XXIII) A and B and it will be for the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly to consider the question of convening the Disarmament Commission early in 1971, if it so pleases. If this is acceptable to the representative of India, I would appeal to the Committee to accept this proposal so that we may proceed to the next item.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 28

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/7621 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.509) *(continued)*

28. Mr. VAKIL (Iran): There has been much scientific and technological progress in the peaceful uses of outer space since the Assembly last discussed it. The world has witnessed the successes of Apollo 11 and Apollo 12 in their moon missions. Much has been learned about Mars and Venus and their characteristics. With a view to the future establishment of space stations, experiments in the docking of space craft have been undertaken with success.

29. There has also been much progress in orbits nearer our daily concerns for purposes of communication, weather prediction and navigation. The number of nations involved in this aspect of the peaceful utilization of outer space is growing. My own country is among them. The first Iranian earth station for satellite communication was established on 5 October 1969. It has a capacity of seventeen channels for direct communication with Europe and the United States and for simultaneous reception and transmission of television programmes. These are great achievements.

30. Within our own Organization, there is progress in clearing the ground for co-operation in this field. The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on outer space has, through its working group, made gains in the study of the problems of direct broadcasting via satellite. A tribute is due to the delegations of Sweden and Canada for their initiatives, and to the Working Group for its two enlightening and helpful reports *[A/7621/Add.1, annexes III and IV]*.

31. I need not dwell on that part of the first report of the Working Group which touches upon the technical and economic feasibility of future direct broadcasts via satellite. The Working Group's observations on a system of community satellites merits special notice, however. Such a system, which could come into being in the not too distant future, offers encouraging prospects, especially to those developing countries which lack an infrastructure of telecommunications by land. A community satellite system would make it possible to link isolated communities, with especially valuable results in the field of education and the training of teachers, as well as in matters of health and agriculture. Not least important is its promise of having unifying effects upon societies which are culturally and socially diverse. The experiments along this line envisaged in India and Brazil should have our particular attention.

32. In view of the contribution already made by the Working Group, my delegation is eager that its mandate be prolonged so that it may assist the Committee on outer space in examining other questions which the General Assembly decides to study.

33. For the last three years, my delegation has been stressing its view that the United Nations must be enabled to keep pace with the swift progress of space science and technology in order to make its benefits available more widely. To that end, we have more than once suggested strengthening the Secretariat's Outer Space Affairs Division. We believe it to be important to increase Secretariat expertise so that requests for assistance may be co-ordinated and information on the application of space techniques may be better channelled.

34. Two questions need further study: first, how to co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies with respect to outer space, and, secondly, whether it would be useful and feasible to establish an inter-governmental organization to deal with outer space.

35. I turn now to the unresolved problems outlined in the report of the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on outer space *[A/7621, annex III]*.

36. The vitally urgent task of drafting a convention on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space still eludes the efforts of the Sub-Committee, despite the earnest and businesslike approach of all delegations to which the report bears witness.

37. The concluding statement by the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space *[A/7621/Add.1, para. 18]* to whom I pay a tribute here, sets out the four issues on which negotiations remain outstanding. Looking deeper into them it is evident that basically there is really only one problem, how to avoid a cleavage between States with major space capabilities and those without them. From the beginning of the discussions we have taken the position that it was essential to strike a proper balance between the interests and responsibilities of these two groups and that the elements of that balance were implicit in the two conventions which the Sub-Committee was charged to draft. It is in no self-serving sense that I affirm that the failure to strike the necessary balance has not been caused by unreasonable or excessive demands of the States without space capabilities. Their ready recognition of the interests of the space Powers and acceptance of the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space *[resolution 2345 (XXII)]* which served those interests predominantly needs no demonstration.

38. This acquiescence was given in the faith that the space Powers, too, would approach the question of satisfying the claims of the rest of us in the same spirit of fair-minded reciprocity. Those claims are not unreasonable; we wish to be protected against the hazards of the space experiments and enterprises which multiply on every hand and to be made whole against the injuries they may cause us. The convention on liability is the *quid pro quo* owing to us for the Convention on rescue and return. These modest expectations have been disappointed.

39. The simple issue of liability for damage to the innocent victims of injuries caused by the space activities of others, a liability which can only be absolute, has become entangled in a web of political, legal and economic objections to acceptance of the necessary consequences of that principle of liability. The objections are compatible neither with the requirements of elementary justice to the victims of the technological exploits of others nor with the rule of international law governing reparation for damage.

40. I shall review rapidly our position on the four questions in dispute. First, on the question of how disputes over claims are to be settled, we take some comfort from the partial agreement on procedures that appears to be in sight. We continue to believe, however, that a convention on liability cannot be satisfactory without provision for effective machinery of compulsory settlement. Remedies must be prompt, precise and certain if friction between disputants is to be avoided. My delegation does not understand and cannot share the apprehension of certain delegations that a provision for compulsory and binding arbitration in a convention of the kind under consideration harbours hidden political dangers. We can see no political risk in acknowledging that the relation between the launching of a space object and the damage caused by it is a straightforward matter of cause and effect and that the ensuing assessment of the amount of compensation to be paid is an equally non-political question of fact.

41. Second, the report of the Committee makes it clear that the Committee may be nearing agreement on some of the fundamentals underlying the question of applicable law. In principle that law is international law. It is not easy to determine the relevant rule of international law, however, and we are remitted in our search for guidance to the general principles of law. The uncertainties and divergences of doctrine and international jurisprudence on the content, scope and role of the general principles of law are such that it is hard to believe that the interests of victims of damage by space objects would be well protected by appeal solely to them.

42. My delegation shares the view of many others that in accordance with international law, the law of the place where the damage occurred must govern. This is the rule widely applied in international disputes relating to the question of damage. We know no reason of law or equity to support application of the law of the respondent State as some have suggested. It seems hard indeed to require application of a law with which the victim has not the remotest contact. Moreover, where the liability involved is that of an international organization, the only law to which appeal is possible is that of the claimant State. Of no little importance as a reason for rejecting the law of the respondent State on principle is the fact that its application in the territory of the State where the damage was suffered involves necessarily an infringement of that State's sovereignty.

43. Third, the object being to make the victim whole and restore the *status quo ante* as nearly as possible, compensation must be full. Hence, liability should be without limit. In the case of non-nuclear damage we should be prepared to see in a sufficiently high ceiling an equivalence with such unlimited liability. The case is quite different for nuclear damage where we are not prepared to share any part of the burden of risk involved in the space enterprises of others.

44. Fourth, our position on the liability of international organizations is not appreciably different from that stated by the Chairman of the space committee in his concluding statement. My delegation clings to the belief that in view of the close connexion between these remaining points of difference, a solution must be a balanced one. For this reason, we agree that the Indian draft offers the best ground on which to build an agreed structure in which all of us can find satisfaction.

45. Mr. BADAWI (United Arab Republic): May I, at the outset, express my delegation's warm congratulations to the United States on the outstanding contribution to man's exploration of outer space. The year 1969 is indeed a turning point in the history of mankind. Man's landing on the moon will, in the future history of science and technology, undoubtedly be a landmark.

46. I should also like to extend warm congratulations to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the success of the Soviet space programmes. As the first nation to conduct successful experiments in the space age, the Soviet Union has opened a new chapter in the field of modern science and contemporary technology.

47. Having started with this pleasant duty, allow me to express briefly my delegation's views on the progress of the work done by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. General Assembly resolution 2453 A (XXIII)

> "*Welcomes* the decision of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to consider in detail all aspects of the proposals made by India that a small advisory group be constituted and that action be taken to arrange panel meetings, fellowships, surveys and technical assistance;
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> "*Further welcomes* the decision of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to examine the proposal made by Sierra Leone that arrangements should be made for the use of expert services through a United Nations centre for information and consultation in the field of practical application of space technology".

48. The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee took up this matter and recommended that the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Development Programme, provide information regarding past, present and planned activities by these bodies, relative to their efforts to assist in the promotion of the application of space technology *[A/7621, annex II, para. 23]*.

49. The Sub-Committee further recommended the early appointment by the Secretary-General to the Outer Space Affairs Division of a qualified individual whose full-time task would be to promote the practical application of space technology through contacts with all the members of the United Nations family and render assistance to Member States for the purpose of making information available *[ibid., para. 24]*. This recommendation, which we support, should at this stage receive endorsement by the Assembly. We feel that it falls short of the scope of the original purpose of the Indian proposal to expand United Nations activities in the field of the peaceful uses of outer space by various measures to promote the application of space technology with particular reference to nations not advanced in space research.

50. The Sub-Committee dwelt on the question entrusted to it by the Assembly in resolution 2453 B (XXIII), which:

> "*Welcomes* the decision of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to take up at its next session serious consideration of suggestions and views regarding education and training in the field of exploration and peaceful uses of outer space that were expressed in the General Assembly and in the Committee as requested by the Assembly in paragraph 11 of resolution 2260 (XXII)."

51. My delegation has consistently stressed the importance of this question and several other delegations from the developing countries have joined in the efforts to include this question in the aforementioned resolution. We note with satisfaction the statement of the representative of the International Labour Organisation concerning the willingness of that organization to consider the establishment of programmes for education and training in space science and technology, if member states of the ILO expressed their interest in such programmes. The Sub-Committee's recommendation "that the Secretary-General, making full use of the facilities at his disposal, and in the manner he deems most appropriate, provide prompt and full implementation of the tasks entrusted to the Secretariat with reference to the dissemination of information concerning the opportunities available to the Member States in the field of education and training" *[ibid., para. 45]* ought to be endorsed by this Assembly and specifically reflected in the draft resolution to be adopted.

52. My delegation notes with particular satisfaction, the Secretary-General's statement in the introduction to his annual report, which reads as follows:

> "Increasing attention is being given to the provision of educational and training facilities, particularly for the developing countries, through bilateral and multilateral arrangements."[1]

In accordance with General Assembly resolution 2453 B (XXIII)

> " . . the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Chairman of the Committee, should appoint a small group of scientists, drawn from States which are members of the Committee and are familiar with space research and facilities, to visit the station in Argentina and report to the Committee on its eligibility for United Nations sponsorship, in accordance with the basic principles endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 1802 (XVII) of 14 December 1962".

We are now in a position to support this sponsorship. We likewise support

> ". . . the continuing sponsorship by the United Nations of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station [and recommend] that Member States should give consideration to the use of these facilities for appropriate space research activities".

53. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to congratulate the Governments of Argentina and India on their contribution which is indeed a manifestation of the achievement which can usefully be realized through international co-operation.

54. The report of the outer space Committee is submitted to the General Assembly once more without a draft convention on liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space. This is a most regrettable and disappointing fact. At the eighth session of the Legal Sub-Committee and further during the meeting of the Committee itself agreement on this very important aspect was not reached.

55. A statement made by the Chairman of the Committee *[A/7621/Add.1, para. 8]* and agreed upon by its members in reporting on the second part of its twelfth session gives a clear picture of the situation, vis-à-vis the liability convention.

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1 *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, para. 50.

56. We cannot congratulate ourselves on the work done in that regard, and the mere fact that very useful and extensive exchange of views has taken place and that the question has been thoroughly explored, does not take us far enough. I do not intend to go through the details of that complex issue as the reports before us and the statements made so far in this Committee clarify the intensive difficulties with which we are confronted. I will, however, state briefly my delegation's position on the two questions of applicable law and the settlement of claims. My delegation finds the Indian proposal on applicable law *[ibid.]* both reasonable and likely to stimulate a favourable reaction. We support this proposal and recommend its general acceptance. We also find the latest Belgian proposal on this specific question *[ibid.]* which was included in the statement of the Chairman of the outer space Committee, to which I have just referred, worthy of very serious consideration.

57. Turning now to the question of the settlement of claims, there is by now agreement in the outer space Committee on a first phase of diplomatic negotiations and on a second phase in which the claimant and the respondent at the request of either would establish an inquiry commission on the basis of parity, and further that both phases should be of a specified duration.

58. The unsettled question is related to the nature of the conclusions of a claims commission as the third and final stage. We entertain the hope that during the next session of the outer space Committee this question will be finally settled to the satisfaction of all. In this regard we proceed from the premise that respect for international conventions and good faith in carrying out their provisions is a fundamental assumption. It furthermore recognizes a generally acknowledged principle of law applied to analogous situations. It is therefore uncontested that the damage inflicted must be duly compensated. Going on from there it is admitted that the launching State is liable to make a just and fair compensation for any damage caused to a third party as a result of outer space activity. The concern of small and developing countries is to ensure that if and when victimized through those activities they should be duly and fairly compensated. In drafting the liability convention, we must see to it that satisfaction be given to those legitimate concerns and at the same time all countries can rest assured that international co-operation in outer space will continue to be strengthened and, foremost, that the national interests of all States will be safeguarded.

59. Another question dealt with by the Legal Sub-Committee at its eighth session is that of the definition of outer space. The United Arab Republic, like other delegations from developing countries, attaches special importance to that question.

60. A precise definition of that environment weighs heavily on the two most important issues: that of the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and that of the sovereignty of States.

61. We hope that the decision of the outer space Committee, as mentioned in paragraph 22 of its report, inviting the Secretary-General "... to prepare ... a background paper ... on the question of the definition ..." will assist the Committee in reaching a satisfactory and early solution.

62. The Legal Sub-Committee considered a French proposal on registration of objects launched into space for the exploration and use of outer space *[see A/7621, annex III, appendix I]*. The United Arab Republic delegation during the meetings of the Sub-Committee gave support to the French initiative. We continue to do so and hope that this initiative will be consummated at an early date. Another proposal by Czechoslovakia concerning that usefulness and feasibility of establishing an intergovernmental international organization received the support of the United Arab Republic *[ibid.]*. Historically, this idea can be traced back to the conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in 1961.[2]

63. In conclusion, may I be allowed to express my delegation's appreciation for the outstanding leadership of the Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Mr. Haymerle of Austria.

64. My delegation also wishes to express thanks to the Secretariat for the very useful documentation made available to us.

65. The CHAIRMAN: There are no other speakers on my list in the general debate on the item "International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space".

66. It was my intention to give the floor to the sponsors of the draft resolutions on outer space to present those draft resolutions, but I have been given to understand that certain delegations require a little more time to consider the text of those draft resolutions, and, therefore, if there is no objection I would invite the Committee to suspend consideration of item 28 and resume consideration of item 103 "The strengthening of international security".

AGENDA ITEM 103

The strengthening of international security (A/7654, A/C.1/L.468, A/C.1/L.505, L.506, L.507 and L.508) *(continued)**

67. The CHAIRMAN: I give the floor to the representative of Barbados to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.511 on "The strengthening of international security".

68. Mr. JACKMAN (Barbados): I had the honour yesterday of introducing to this Committee for its consideration draft resolution A/C.1/L.506, on the same subject. I beg the indulgence of the Committee for coming to it again with another draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.511]* but I believe this draft resolution has now been distributed and the members of the Committee will be able to see that it bears among its co-sponsors the names of Austria and Finland, and also that in substance it is somewhat different from draft resolution A/C.1/L.506. I will not weary the members of this Committee with a recital of the precise differences, because I believe that the process of negotiation and discussion which has been undertaken within the past

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2 Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961.

* Resumed from the 1720th meeting.

twenty-four hours on the text has taken in the very widest spectrum of the membership and the nuances of the change and difference have been discussed and explained and negotiated fully enough so that everyone here will now be seized of their importance and of their intent.

69. Speaking on behalf of the sponsors, I would like to say that we have taken very seriously indeed the amendments *[A/C.1/L.507 and A/C.1/L.508]* introduced yesterday to both the Finnish draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.505]*, and the Latin American draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.506]*, amendments which we assume will be valid in so far as this present Austro-Finno-Latin American text is concerned.

70. Although their language differs, the substance of these two amendments has to do with the essential question of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. I should like to say to the representative of Kuwait, and the co-sponsors who joined him in these amendments, that I am authorized to state categorically on behalf of the members of the Latin American group and the Austrian and Finnish delegations, that this principle which the amendments seek to include in our draft resolution meets with not the slightest difficulty from our side. The principle is one which the Latin American group as a group has defended in this assembly and elsewhere, which forms part of the basic juridical background of all Latin American international relations, and which is neither new nor unacceptable.

71. However, as we have attempted to say in our private discussions, the draft resolution which we have the honour to introduce, while not setting aside any of the principles which are at the heart of the Charter of this Organization, is essentially concerned with procedure. It does not wish to pick and choose among principles of this Organization and it does not preclude the consideration, in the context of the operative paragraph which invites Member States to study the proposals and statements made during the consideration of the item, and the paragraph which requests Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their views, and the one which decides to include in the provisional agenda of the twenty-fifth session an item entitled "Consideration of measures for the strengthening of international security"—it does not seek to preclude from this process the due consideration of the importance of the principle and of its most equitable application.

72. Having said this, I would respectfully ask the sponsors of the amendments, taking into account the context in which this draft resolution is presented, not to press their amendments to the vote.

73. My delegation spoke on the one hand on behalf of certain Latin American countries, and on the other hand the Finnish delegation spoke on its own behalf yesterday, at a little length, on the substance of its draft resolution. It would therefore be inopportune and wasteful of the time of this Committee for me to repeat those considerations which I brought to the attention of the Committee yesterday *[1720th meeting]*. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 is self-evident. It represents, we believe, common ground among many delegations and groups in this Committee and we hope, and would ask this Committee to assist us in realizing this hope, that it will be adopted by acclamation.

74. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): I am happy to endorse what has been said by Mr. Jackman in introducing the new draft resolution on the question of the strengthening of international security, now sponsored by several Latin American delegations as well as the delegations of Austria and Finland. The draft resolution is a result of wide consultations not only between the sponsors of the two original drafts of this subject, but also with other groups of delegations, and I believe it represents a broad consensus of views within the Committee.

75. The purpose of this draft is simple; it is to provide governments with the opportunity of considering the various statements and proposals made during the extensive and constructive debate we have had on this question with a view to preparing the ground for consideration, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, of appropriate recommendations on the strengthening of international security.

76. In view of the character of the draft resolution, the sponsors have decided not to incorporate in it any statements of the principles on which international security must rest. Some of these principles are self-evident, such as the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible under the Charter, a principle stated in the amendments submitted by the delegations of Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia *[A/C.1/L.507 and L.508]*.

77. It is a principle of universal validity, and by tabling their amendments the three sponsoring delegations have made sure that the attention of governments will be drawn to this principle, in accordance with our draft resolution, as an essential element of any lasting and just structure of international security. I hope, therefore, and here I join with what Mr. Jackman has already said, that the sponsors will recognize the procedural character of our draft resolution and not consider it necessary to press their amendments to a vote. In fact, I am confident that the draft resolution commands general support in the Committee and that it could be adopted without any objection.

78. Mr. VINCI (Italy): I should like first of all to congratulate the co-sponsors of the draft resolution which was presented yesterday for their success in their endeavours in introducing this married text which is now contained in document A/C.1/L.511. We will support and vote in favour of this draft resolution despite the fact that here and there we would have liked a different wording.

79. For their part, the delegations of Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia have introduced amendments which I should like to say, with all candour, would change the nature of the draft resolution which I believe, as the representative of Finland has said, commands general support.

80. We certainly have no quarrel with these amendments, and I fully share the views expressed by Mr. Jakobson, and Mr. Jackman before him, that these are principles which we fully share. Nevertheless, I repeat that to have these amendments introduced into the draft resolution would change the nature of the draft resolution we have in front of us and would in some way diminish the united front that we think we should all take on this question which concerns all countries.

81. We believe that if we could conclude our work on this, our last day, on a note of solidarity and with a united front, it would be for the good of everyone.

82. I would add one more thing. Besides changing the nature of the draft resolution, putting these amendments to the vote would offer an opening to some who might be interested in seeing the vote construed and interpreted in a way that other delegations, which take a certain position, would not like. We would like to keep this draft resolution as it is because, I repeat, I think we would be doing a great service to our work at this moment if we keep this solidarity and united front.

83. Therefore, I would associate myself with the appeal made by the representatives of Barbados and Finland, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, to the sponsors of the amendments not to press it to a vote.

84. The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of Barbados on a point of order.

85. Mr. JACKMAN (Barbados): I simply want to say that the delegation of Honduras wishes to be associated as a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.511.

86. The CHAIRMAN: The Secretariat will take note of that.

87. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): I would just like to add my voice to the appeals made to the delegations of Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia by the delegations of Barbados, Italy and Finland so that they may feel they do not have to press their amendments to the vote. I wish to say, on behalf of the Brazilian delegation, that we fully support the concepts outlined in the amendments, and in this respect I wish only to reiterate what was stated by the delegation of Brazil on 13 October:

> "The most fundamental principle is of course the one contained in paragraph 4, which demands that all Members shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. This is the principle upon which, to a large extent, all other principles depend. The uniform observance, by large and small States alike, of this simple but all-important principle of renunciation of the threat or use of force would have the magical effect of removing fear and anxiety from the tense world situation, of restoring faith and mutual confidence, of paving the way for disarmament and, consequently, for progress and development The uniform observance of this principle would make naked power useless, senseless and purposeless; swords would finally be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks; youth would no longer learn the trades of war. The basic question before us is therefore: 'Are nations prepared or not prepared to forsake the threat or use of force for the furtherance of their political aims and objectives? ' There is no circumventing that question, which is the really important one and the question to be addressed not only to the super-Powers of today but to all the nations of the world. The situation is as simple as that: if all nations do not exclude the possibility of recourse to the threat or use of force, the hope for progress in international relations is a waste of energy and a waste of time." *[1653rd meeting, para. 12.]*

88. I have quoted extensively from our previous statement to show that we take a very firm stand on this issue, and that the principles incorporated in the amendments are certainly included in the principles of the United Nations, and I think this is the view of the sponsors of the draft resolution.

89. However, I would appeal to the representatives of Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia not to press their amendments to the vote because we wish to keep this draft resolution as procedural as possible. They should realize that if they do not press their amendments to the vote they will not be abandoning the defence of a principle which is vital to international relations and peace and security among nations. I reiterate that appeal to the representatives of Kuwait, Morocco and Tunisia with this understanding and with this interpretation of our position on the matter.

90. Mr. DEJAMMET (France) *(translated from French):* While the French delegation understands the principles motivating the sponsors of the amendment, it associates itself with the appeal made to them for reasons explained by previous speakers.

91. Mr. MAURTUA (Peru) *(translated from Spanish):* The Peruvian delegation wishes to state that in its view there are many factors which help to strengthen peace. All of them merit equal consideration.

92. We agree that the acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable, but this is only one of the factors involved in any discussion of a draft resolution on the subject. There are, in addition, other factors which are so pressing for some States that they cannot be ignored. I refer, for example—and if it were a question of including some we would have to include all—to due respect for the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, reaffirmation of the principle of non-intervention, the principle of the legal equality of States, and so on.

93. We note that, with the amendments that have been proposed, it may be felt that some political aggressiveness is being introduced into the procedural draft submitted by the Latin American countries. Of course, we do not deny that the representatives who have proposed amendments concerning the occupation of territory have the right to do so—indeed, we respect that right and agree with the principle. However, the principle is inappropriate from the point of view of the procedure for handling the matter under consideration at this time.

94. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) *(translated from French):* My delegation has listened with interest to the preceding speakers and was moved by the appeals addressed both to it and to the delegations of Morocco and Tunisia which had kindly co-sponsored the amendments I had the honour and pleasure of introducing in this Committee at yesterday's afternoon meeting *[A/C.1/L.507 and A/C.1/L.508]*.

95. As I said yesterday, my delegation wishes to co-operate both with the authors of the two draft resolutions

before the Committee *[A/C.1/L.505 and A/C.1/L.506]* and with regional groups or with any other delegation which would consult it with a view to agreeing on a text capable of commanding the unanimous support of this Committee. My delegation maintains this attitude and will continue to act in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, especially as regards adoption of stronger measures to ensure the protection and maintenance of international peace and security.

96. It may be superfluous to stress the importance of the principles set out in the two amendments I have submitted; I would merely say that, in my delegation's view, they constitute a starting point for any action by the United Nations to promote the maintenance and protection of international peace and security.

97. In appealing to us to withdraw our amendment, the representatives of Barbados, Finland, Italy, Brazil and France reaffirmed that their appeal should not be interpreted as in any way prejudging the value of the principles in question as enunciated in the United Nations Charter. They also emphasized that the reason they proposed that the entire question should be deferred until next year was that they wished to enable the United Nations to examine it more carefully and thoroughly and permit Governments to give it all the attention it deserves.

98. We are convinced that the principles that conquest or acquisition of territory by force are inadmissible, that military occupation is inadmissible, and that all foreign domination, of any kind whatever, against the will of sovereign peoples or against the will of peoples which do not as yet enjoy the blessing of freedom, is inadmissible are already universally recognized. For these reasons, because of the assurances we have had, and in order to demonstrate our desire to co-operate with the Committee and heed the appeals addressed to us by friendly delegations for which we have the deepest respect—appeals by which both my delegation and its co-sponsors, the delegations of Morocco and Tunisia, have been deeply moved—I now declare that the three delegations concerned do not insist that their amendments be put to the vote. They merely ask that the amendments should be transmitted, as being part of the documents relating to this agenda item, and together with those documents, to the competent organs of the United Nations and to the Governments of Member States.

99. On behalf of the delegations of Morocco and Tunisia as well as of my own, I wish to express our sincerest gratitude and appreciation to the delegations of Barbados, Finland, Italy, Brazil and France and to assure them that it is a pleasure and an honour for us to close ranks with them and to respond to their sincere and friendly appeal.

100. The CHAIRMAN: As there is no other speaker on my list, I now invite the Committee to proceed to act in the following manner. We have three draft resolutions before us on the subject of the strengthening of international security: one by Finland in document A/C.1/L.505, the second by Argentina, Barbados and a number of others in document A/C.1/L.506 and a third, in document A/C.1/L.511, by Argentina, Austria, Barbados and a number of others. There is also before us document A/C.1/L.468, dated 8 October 1969 on the strengthening of international security by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: draft appeal to all States of the world.

101. In view of the statements made by the representatives of Barbados, Finland and by other delegations and in the last intervention of the representative of Kuwait, I invite the Committee to adopt the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.511 by acclamation.

102. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): My delegation has already had occasion to state its views *[1720th meeting]* on the two draft resolutions *[A/C.1/L.505 and A/C.1/L.506]* that were put before us yesterday and we made a few points—three points, if I remember correctly—which we considered of importance and we suggested that they be included in the draft resolution what was supposed to be a combination of the two draft resolutions. I have read this new draft resolution, which is co-sponsored by the two parties, and I cannot see that any of those points were taken into account. As a matter of fact, two of those three points were the points which we thought most important for inclusion in the draft resolution of Finland. If it is the wish of the delegation of Finland not to insist on those two important points—one of them was the question of periodic meetings of the Security Council at a high level and the other, the emphasis on intensifying regional co-operation, and also the question of the committees and organizations connected and concerned with peace-keeping and the strengthening of peace—it is up to the delegation of Finland not to insist on them. But we do not think the offspring of the two resolutions is a very happy one and this is why my delegation finds it difficult to support this draft resolution.

103. Another point which we thought most important, was the question that we raised concerning the duties of the Secretary-General. My delegation made the request that the Secretary-General be put into the picture not, if you will permit the expression, to make a sort of postman out of him. What we had in mind was that the Secretary-General would be fulfilling his duties according to the Charter and, being the most important element in the United Nations, should be asked to comment on the state of affairs and also, in general, on the communications that he will be receiving from different governments. But to ask the Secretary-General as stated in operative paragraph 5 "to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received pursuant to operative paragraph 3 of this resolution", would downgrade, so to speak, the duties of the Secretary-General.

104. My delegation would therefore like to propose formally that we add to operative paragraph 5 the words "with his comments" so that it would then read:

> "*Requests* the Secretary-General to report with his comments to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications . . .".

105. The reason I say this is not only because of the duties of the Secretary-General but also because, in due course, things might happen between now and then, and the Secretary-General might then be willing to make some comments on the situation and also on some of the communications in general. This is also in line with what has been done throughout the years. Every time there is a

question of receiving communications from member Governments, the Secretary-General–especially with regard to such an important question–is requested to comment. If this is accepted by the Committee, I think it would be an improvement of the draft resolution and it would give the Secretary-General the responsibilities needed.

106. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Iraq. With reference to his formal proposal, to add to operative paragraph 5 the words "with his comments" between the word "report" and the words "to the General Assembly", it seems to me, if I may be permitted to say so, that the Secretary-General has wide latitude and discretion to offer such comments as he considers appropriate and within the terms of his competence as Secretary-General, taking into account the fact that the views that have been transmitted to him are the views of sovereign governments. Therefore, I would think that the suggestion made by the representative of Iraq could be well taken into account by the Secretary-General at his discretion. I wonder whether, at this late hour, considering the consultations that have taken place and the difficulties that have been surmounted of evolving a text which would be adopted unanimously–or with near unanimity–perhaps the representative of Iraq may be satisfied with this explanation and not formally press his proposal.

107. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): Mr. Chairman, as much as I should like to follow the Chair's concern for a quick conclusion to our deliberations here, and as much as I know that there have been consultations concerning these two draft resolutions, as far as we are concerned, the Iraqi delegation would like to state again that we are not requesting the Secretary-General to comment on the communications of governments. In this draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.511]* there is mention of the state of affairs of international security in the world today. There is mention of being "Deeply concerned at the continuance of the arms race, which diverts substantial human and material resources from the urgent social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind . . .".

108. There are all sorts of questions on which the Secretary-General has already commented in his different reports and it would not be out of place if we specifically requested the Secretary-General to comment on those things. If you read those paragraphs, in every one of them there is latitude and scope for the Secretary-General to comment. I am not suggesting that the Secretary-General comment on responses from governments.

109. If, Mr. Chairman, you say that it is taken for granted that the Secretary-General will do that then there is no harm, whatsoever, to say "with his comments" and we are not adding a very difficult, complicated or detailed amendment. It is very clear and straightforward; what we are asking is to ask the Secretary-General, specifically and in writing, to do what you and we all think that he is going to do. But I do not think that this small amendment, which goes practically without saying, is going to delay the Committee's work. If the intention is that this was some kind of a transaction that was made outside this Committee and should be adhered to, then my delegation has different views on that.

110. Mr. JACKMAN (Barbados): I am under great difficulty as Chairman of the Latin American Group which as a group, almost without exception, forms part of the co-sponsoring countries. The proposal which has been made by the representative of Iraq causes some problems. It causes, first of all, the practical problem of consulting a large number of co-sponsors in the short time available. I wonder whether I might appeal to the representative of Iraq to emulate the spirit of compromise which was shown by the delegations of Morocco, Tunisia and Kuwait, in a matter of much greater substance than the point which he raises, taking into account the apt explanation which the Chairman has offered as to the possibilities which are inherent in the Secretary-General's post under the Charter for making the comments which we should like to have made.

111. I do not believe the actual point raised would cause so much difficulty *per se* with the majority of co-sponsors. I do not believe so, but I have had no time to consult them so I cannot say yes or no. Even if it did cause difficulty, the fact is that it is perfectly open to the Secretary-General to make the comments that he wishes to make, as you, Mr. Chairman, have pointed out.

112. If I might appeal to the representative of Iraq to show the same spirit of compromise and understanding which has so admirably been shown by the delegations of Morocco, Kuwait and Tunisia, I believe that we should then be able to put this matter to the General Assembly, and the point which he has made would certainly be taken into account in the forwarding of the report to the First Committee.

113. I should like to ask, therefore, on behalf of the co-sponsors–whom I have not consulted but who I am sure would join me in this appeal–that the representative of Iraq take this matter in the spirit in which I have put it.

114. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): I should like to join Mr. Jackman in the appeal he has made to the representative of Iraq. I agree with the statement made by the Chairman that the Secretary-General is in all circumstances free to make his comments and bring his views to the attention of Member Governments; he does not need specific authorization for that.

115. The amendment suggested introduces a new element into the draft resolution which would have to be carefully considered. I do not recall that that element has appeared in any similar or comparable connexion before. I would therefore hope that the representative of Iraq will not press his amendment to a vote.

116. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): I am not a co-sponsor of the draft resolution but I should like to add to what the representatives of Barbados and Finland have just said. If one analyses, from the standpoint of meaning, the phrase "the Secretary-General to report", it falls within the purview of the Secretary-General to make whatever comments he might deem necessary to make. I would also suggest to the representative of Iraq that what he is trying to accomplish is already implied in this particular paragraph. When a report is made it is all-embracing and covers whatever comments may, in the opinion of the Secretary-

General, be deemed necessary. Not being a co-sponsor of this draft resolution, I put it to the representative of Iraq that what he seeks to accomplish may already be inferred from the particular paragraph, as I read it. It also says "Requests the Secretary-General to report . . . concerning the communications". The only way that he can do that is to make whatever comments he deems necessary. I appeal to the representative of Iraq to look at it in that light.

117. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): I respect those appeals and would like to accept them and follow them. One of my colleagues referred to the question of compromise. I believe compromise goes both ways—it is a two-way street. Why do they want us to compromise? Why do they themselves not compromise?

118. Another question was the one of consultation. My delegation, to be very frank, put forward some ideas yesterday and—perhaps because we were absent from this building—no one consulted us about those three or four ideas. Neither compromise nor consultation plays a very large part in this question.

119. Another question is that of the Secretary-General not needing to be told in the draft. But I can bring you scores of resolutions in which the Secretary-General—when it was a matter of communications to him—was specifically told that he was to report.

120. I am sorry to delay the proceedings of this Committee, but it was not our fault that this question was held in abeyance for four or five weeks. It was not our fault that the draft resolutions were presented to us only yesterday or the day before. As the question is most important to us, and as we should want to have the Secretary-General specifically requested to make his comments and report them, I cannot see anything wrong with it. Some speakers have said that that is taken for granted; the Secretary-General is going to do it. We might as well ask him. What is wrong with asking him? Does the Secretary-General not want to be asked? That would change the picture. If I knew from the Secretariat that the Secretary-General does not want to be asked, then my delegation would abide by the wishes of the Secretary-General. But I believe the Secretary-General would not say that.

121. I repeat—compromise is a two-way street; consultation is a two-way street; and interpretation is also a two-way street.

122. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): I will not appeal to the representative of Iraq to show a spirit of compromise as I know he has already shown that spirit. I entirely agree with all that he has said. I merely wish to refer to the text of paragraph 5 of the draft resolution. It is quite clear from that text that the Secretary-General is not being asked merely to report to the General Assembly the communications he has received. He has been asked to report concerning the communications. What does that word "concerning" mean? Clearly, he has to comment on them. If that is the clear interpretation and understanding of that word "concerning"—and I do not believe that anyone can disagree with that interpretation—then we need not proceed with this discussion any further.

123. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): I am very sorry. I will maintain my amendment and I want it put to the vote.

124. Mr. CHAMMAS (Lebanon): Usually when the Committee or the General Assembly does not wish the Secretary-General to report, it asks him to transmit. I am sure the co-sponsors, intentionally using the word "report", did not want the Secretary-General to act merely as a post-office. I add this explanation so that perhaps the representative of Iraq will accept that explanation.

125. The CHAIRMAN: Is the Committee ready now to consider the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.511?

126. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): Mr. Chairman, I wish you to put the amendment to the vote first.

127. The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Iraq has proposed an amendment to operative paragraph 5 of document A/C.1/L.511.

128. Mr. KHANACHET (Kuwait) *(translated from French)*: I apologize for speaking at this stage of the debate. I believe that in considering this agenda item, the Committee has been concerned with reaching a consensus and arriving at a unanimous vote. As that is the general view, I would venture to propose that the meeting should be suspended for a few minutes in order to enable the author of the amendment and the co-sponsors of the draft resolution to reach agreement, an undertaking which does not seem to me to present insurmountable difficulties.

129. The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the Committee would now like to suspend consideration of agenda item 103 in order to give time to the delegations concerned to reach agreement, and in order not to lose time it will agree to resume consideration of agenda item 28 so that I might give the floor to those delegations which wish to present draft resolutions.

130. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) *(translated from French)*: I have listened attentively to the various comments on the draft resolution sponsored by the Latin American group and some European countries.

131. As several speakers have remarked, draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 formally states that the Secretary-General is requested to present a report. Before he can do so, he must be informed of the views of the heads of State of the entire world on the importance of strengthening international security, and I see no reason for granting the Iraqi representative's request for a consultation which would be useless, particularly as the Chairman, using his discretionary powers, has already taken a decision which is not open to question. I see no reason to suspend the meeting for a consultation, in view of the unanimity which has already been attained on draft resolution A/C.1/L.511. In this connexion, I wish to congratulate all the delegations which have widely expressed support for that text, the result of much effort to reconcile all the different opinions on the problem of international security which the world faces today.

132. I feel that there is no need to suspend the meeting for a consultation which, I am convinced, would not

increase by one iota the unanimity now prevailing on draft resolution A/C.1/L.511.

133. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Haiti. I appreciate what he has just said, but I do believe that the transition now to item 28 would enable the delegations concerned to have a little time to consult together in order to reach agreement on the manner in which the Committee should adopt draft resolution A/C.1/L.511. I would therefore again respectfully suggest to the Committee that we resume consideration of agenda item 28 so that delegations concerned may consult together on agenda item 103.

134. Mr. Abu SINN (Sudan): One would have liked to have heard the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.511, replying to the proposed amendment of the representative of Iraq, mention the fact–as was pointed out by the representative of Liberia–that operative paragraph 5 means exactly what the representative of Iraq would have liked to see. Unfortunately, it seems to me that the interpretation has not come from all sides but from the sponsors of the draft resolution.

135. I would like to express my agreement with what the representative of Lebanon, and the representative of Ceylon, has said about his understanding of the word "concerning" in regard to the communications. Now I venture to suggest that if one of the sponsors of the draft resolution would let us know that this is precisely what they mean, that they would like the Secretary-General to report and comment on the communications that he receives from different States, this might prove satisfactory to the representative of Iraq.

136. The CHAIRMAN: It was to facilitate the very suggestion made by the representative of Sudan that the Chair proposed that we turn to consideration of agenda item 28 since, as he will observe, there is more than one sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 and they will need to consult among themselves, and it would make for much saving of time if we would now turn to the consideration of agenda item 28 and if the sponsors of the draft resolution, together with the representative of Iraq and other interested delegations, could consult together and be able to reach an agreement. Therefore, if the Committee has no objection, I shall take it that it decides to turn to consideration of agenda item 28, the question of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 28

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/7621 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.509) *(continued)*

137. Mr. HAYMERLE (Austria): On behalf of the delegations of Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Romania, Sweden, United Arab Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, I have the honour to introduce to the Committee draft resolution A/C.1/L.510 on the item: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

138. The report to which this draft resolution refers was circulated in two separate documents, A/7621 and A/7621/Add.1, due to the fact that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which met in September resumed its work in November. The text of this draft resolution is the result of informal consultations in which, according to a well-established tradition, all the members of the outer space Committee were invited to participate.

139. Before explaining briefly the content and purposes of the draft resolution, I wish to recall that the consultations were conducted in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and co-operation. Although differences of opinion existed, it was possible to reconcile the various, and sometimes divergent, approaches to the subject. I should like to pay a tribute to the determination of all delegations which participated in the consultations to reach agreement on a generally acceptable text.

140. The draft resolution before us comprises two sections; the first section dealing with the recommendations of the outer space Committee, with the exception of the question of the preparation of a draft convention on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. This latter problem is the subject of second section. In the opinion of the sponsors, the division of the draft resolution into two parts seemed warranted in view of the various urgent requests by the General Assembly to the Committee to complete its work on the liability convention, and in view of the special efforts which were made by the outer space Committee during the last months to achieve this goal.

141. May I now turn to the first section of the draft resolution before us. Paragraph 1 of the operative part would endorse in general the recommendations and decisions contained in the Committee's report. These decisions would include a request to the Secretary-General to prepare two background papers as indicated in paragraph 22 of the Committee's report. In the following paragraphs, the draft resolution deals with subjects of legal substance. It would request the Committee to continue its study of problems such as the definition of outer space and the utilization of outer space and celestial bodies, and it would invite countries which have not yet done so to become parties to the treaties which have already been endorsed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the outer space Committee.

142. In the field of communication satellites, which is the subject of the following operative paragraphs, the draft resolution would reaffirm the belief already expressed in a General Assembly resolution *[1721 D (XVI)]* as early as 1961 that communication by means of satellites should be available to all nations on a global and non-discriminatory basis. It would take note with appreciation of the two reports of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites.

143. May I be permitted to elaborate in more detail operative paragraph 6 relating to the promotion of the applications of space technology. This paragraph would welcome the decision of the outer space Committee, as contained in paragraph 15 of its report *[A/7621]* and in paragraphs 22-31 of the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee *[ibid., annex II]*. Paragraph 15 contains the Sub-Committee's decision that

> "...henceforth it would itself promote more energetically the applications of space technology and in future meetings would consider various concrete initiatives including, for example, panel meetings in collaboration with appropriate United Nations specialized agencies, and international or national organizations within the context of paragraphs 22 to 31 of the Sub-Committee's report".

Paragraph 15 further welcomes

> "the recommendation that the Secretary-General be requested to prepare a comprehensive assessment of the requirements concerning meritorious specific requests for practical space applications, e.g., survey missions, panel meetings and fellowships, which may fall outside the normal purview of the specialized agencies or that of UNDP and the way of meeting them, including the magnitude of the administrative, technical and financial involvement; as well as the recommendation that the Secretary-General initiate a preliminary consultation with FAO and other United Nations bodies concerned on the advisability of convening in 1971, or as soon thereafter as would be practical, a panel to discuss the applicability of space and other remote sensing techniques to the management of food resources and to report his findings and suggestions at the Sub-Committee's next session".

144. The paragraphs which follow in the draft resolution are self-explanatory and would, among other things, endorse the recommendations of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space for the appointment by the Secretary-General of a qualified individual who would have the full-time task of promoting the practical benefits which may be derived from the programmes in space technology.

145. The draft resolution would also approve sponsorship by the United Nations of the CELPA Mar del Plata Station in Argentina, in accordance with resolution 1802 (XVII) of 1962, as well as continued sponsorship of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in India. It would recommend that "Member States should give consideration to the use of these facilities for appropriate space research activities".

146. In the last operative paragraphs of the first section, the draft resolution would address different requests to specialized agencies, the IAEA and the United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property, and would finally request the outer space Committee to continue its work and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session.

147. In the second section, as I mentioned before, the draft resolution deals with the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in the preparation of a draft convention on liability. The problems involved, and the difficulties encountered, were the subject of most of the statements made in this Committee in the course of the consideration of the present item. In my capacity as Chairman of the outer space Committee, I had the possibility two days ago *[1718th meeting]* of giving to the First Committee a detailed account of the efforts made by all members of the outer space Committee during the last months in order to fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

148. The second section of the draft resolution would reflect the present state of affairs in the preparation of that convention. It would express the regret of the General Assembly that the Committee has not been able to complete the task assigned to it by the General Assembly during the past six years. It would take note of the efforts made, and of a certain rapprochement achieved, while it would, at the same time, express its deep dissatisfaction with the fact that its efforts have not been successful. It would urge the Committee to complete the draft in time for final consideration by the twenty-fifth General Assembly, and would emphasize finally that the convention is intended to establish international rules and procedures concerning liability for damage caused by the launching of objects into outer space, and to ensure, in particular, prompt and equitable compensation for such damage.

149. I trust that this draft resolution, which I have briefly introduced, will commend itself to all members of the Committee, and that it will be adopted unanimously.

150. Before concluding, may I be permitted to add one word in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. In the course of the debate on the item under consideration, friendly remarks have been made by several representatives referring to the activity of the Chair, and my colleagues of the Bureau of the outer space Committee. I wish on behalf of my colleagues and myself to thank all those delegations for their kind words. The Bureau's task was greatly facilitated if not made possible, by the assistance, devotion and co-operation of all the delegations, members of the outer space Committee, to which I should like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation.

151. Mr. DELEAU (France) *(translated from French)*: My delegation is among the sponsors of the draft resolution just introduced by the Austrian representative, Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which is largely responsible for the text before us.

152. As a sponsor, I would recommend this text to the First Committee for approval. I would also draw attention to three points in the draft resolution to which my delegation attaches particular importance.

153. The first point relates to operative paragraph 3 of part B, inviting those countries which have not yet become parties to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, and the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space to give consideration to ratifying or acceding to those

instruments. Last year we phrased that invitation in stronger terms. We did not feel that we could repeat it in the same wording this year, however, as a year ago we had expected it to be accompanied by a draft convention on liability. Since that regrettably is not the case, we felt that the invitation should be less pressing, for one cannot expect States to assume certain obligations so long as their urgent demands for another convention have not been met. My Government takes the same position, for it does not intend to sign the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts until it has signed the liability convention.

154. My delegation has also given some thought to operative paragraph 4 of the same part of the draft resolution. That paragraph reaffirms the principles of resolution 1721 D (XVI) to the effect that communications by means of satellites should be available to the nations of the world on a global and non-discriminatory basis, and that States parties to negotiations regarding international arrangements in the field of satellite communication should constantly bear this principle in mind. My delegation would have wished this paragraph to contain a reminder of the prerogatives of Governments with regard to all space activities, prerogatives which form one of the fundamental principles of the Treaty on outer space. Governments are entitled to discharge certain political responsibilities within a world telecommunication system. That idea was very well expressed by the Swedish representative *[1720th meeting]* in that part of his statement relating to Washington negotiations on INTELSAT, and my delegation associates itself with those remarks.

155. Lastly, my delegation would emphasize that part C of the draft resolution expresses its concern at the delay in reaching agreement on a draft convention on liability, which would offer the necessary safeguards to the possible victims of space accidents. It takes the view that this convention, still under preparation, is aimed essentially at ensuring prompt and fair compensation to such victims, and it expresses the hope that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and its Legal Sub-Committee will work tirelessly so that this convention may see the light of day and be submitted to the First Committee and the General Assembly for approval at the next session.

156. Mr. ASTRÖM (Sweden) *(translated from French):* I asked to speak, although with some hesitation in view of the lateness of the hour, in order to associate myself with the French representative's remarks, notably with regard to operative paragraph 4 of part B of draft resolution A/C.1/L.510. My delegation, too, would have wished to see in that text a more definite affirmation of the prerogatives of governments than is now the case. In this connexion, I would repeat what I said during the general debate: that to give the United Nations a part to play in the establishment of the new system and its operation–I refer to INTELSAT –would be in line with the principles set out in resolution 1721 B (XVI). I added, however, that since this does not seem to be within the realm of possibility, my delegation felt that if the principles mentioned were to be maintained and applied, the Governments now taking part in the negotiations must reserve the right to discharge certain responsibilities and exercise certain political prerogatives within the system.

157. Mr. BOHIADI (Chad) *(translated from French):* My delegation, as a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space–although it has not taken active part in that Committee's work–wishes to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.1/L.510.

158. Mr. CHEHKAOUI (Morocco) *(translated from French):* The Moroccan delegation, which is also a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, similarly wishes to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.1/L.510.

159. Mr. DELEAU (France) *(translated from French):* I understood that the Chairman was going to put to the vote draft resolutions A/C.1/L.509 and A/C.1/L.510 simultaneously. I wonder whether draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 will be introduced; if it is, I should like to speak immediately after that introduction.

160. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of France. I stated my intention to invite the Committee to proceed to a vote on both draft resolutions A/C.1/L.509 and A/C.1/L.510–but one after the other, naturally. The first to be voted on would be A/C.1/L.509, which was introduced formally yesterday by the representative of the United States *[1720th meeting]*.

161. Mr. DELEAU (France) *(translated from French):* I thank the Chairman for his explanation.

162. My delegation also wishes to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.1/L.509. It believes that this text meets a hitherto neglected need–developing international co-operation in the long-distance exploration of the earth's resources. The countries whose territories are being observed must certainly benefit from the observations, for it is only fair that all countries, whatever their degree of development, should enjoy the advantages of space techniques on an equal footing. Moreover, this would be a case of applying one of the fundamental principles of the Treaty on the Exploration and Peaceful Utilization of Outer Space.

163. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian):* The USSR delegation naturally does not intend to explain its vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.510, since it has co-sponsored that text and will vote for it.

164. On the other hand, my delegation wishes to explain its vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.509, submitted by the United States and other countries.

165. In our view, exploration of the earth's natural resources by means of satellites raises a number of highly intricate scientific, technological and legal problems, and in particular touches on State sovereignty and the sovereign rights of States to their natural resources. In our opinion, these problems must first be carefully studied, as has often been done in the past and, we are sure, as will often be done in the future in seeking to solve other complex questions relating to the activities of States in outer space.

166. In this connexion, I would also mention that, according to paragraphs 47 and 49 of the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee on the work of its

sixth session *[A/7621, annex II]*, topics which may be of wide interest should be circulated to the Sub-Committee well in advance for thorough and comprehensive evaluation. Regrettably, the sponsors of the proposal in question had not done so.

167. My delegation takes the view, with regard to the question raised by the United States delegation, that at the present stage it would be quite enough merely to instruct the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to investigate the scientific, technological and legal problems connected with the development and use of methods of exploring the earth's resources by means of satellites.

168. Since draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 goes considerably further and asks the General Assembly to take a definite position even now, prior to a thorough and comprehensive study of the question by the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the USSR delegation will vote against that text.

169. Mr. VINCI (Italy): This morning, I asked that Italy be inscribed as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.509. I understand that in view of the shortness of time there has been no possibility of reproducing the draft resolution incorporating the name of Italy. That text does, in fact, express many of the views I gave yesterday on behalf of my delegation, and I should like the Committee to know that Italy is a co-sponsor of that draft resolution.

170. The CHAIRMAN: In addition to Italy, the delegation of Japan is also a co-sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.509. Earlier, the representative of France asked that his delegation be added as a co-sponsor of the same resolution.

171. While the Chair scrupulously respects the sovereign right of every delegation to make statements in explanation of vote, in view of the lateness of the hour I wonder whether it would be possible for us to proceed to vote straight away on the two draft resolutions on outer space, and whether it would be agreeable to representatives to explain their votes after the voting if they consider it to be necessary. I would appeal to them to be as brief as possible.

172. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. Chairman, I fully appreciate your desire to put these draft resolutions to the vote and get on with our work, but my difficulty is that when the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.509 was introduced I did not hear a full explanation. Perhaps it was my fault. The fact is that there are expressions that are not quite clear to me, and I am wondering if the sponsors would be kind enough to explain two parts of this draft resolution which are not at all clear to me.

173. The last preambular paragraph, beginning with the words "Wishing to encourage", goes on to say "including those related to airborne-sensing techniques". Now, my expert tells me that airborne-sensing techniques have nothing to do with outer space. He may be wrong; better experts in other delegations will certainly clarify that particular point.

174. Secondly, in operative paragraph 4, these words are used: "in particular in the framework of the United Nations system". I should like the sponsors to explain, if it is at all possible, the exact significance of those few words.

175. If these two clarifications are given, my delegation will be fully satisfied and should be able to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

176. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of India. I invite any one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.509 to give the clarification requested by the representative of India.

177. Mrs. BLACK (United States of America): Earlier this year, I had the honour to serve on the Citizens' Group of the United States Space Task Force. We know that our planet is an earth spaceship, and all of us are on it together. My delegation feels that through the peaceful use of outer space we shall be able to achieve peace on our spaceship. I am most hopeful that we can learn to work together in space and share our knowledge so that our spaceship earth can be a safe place and we can help to achieve peace.

178. The CHAIRMAN: The sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.509 are Argentina, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, France, Japan and Italy. Does any other sponsor wish to make a statement?

179. Mr. SEN (India): After hearing the stirring appeal of the representative of the United States, I think that I am more confused than ever. We fully realize the importance of space ships and all that they hold for us in the future. My difficulty still remains. If there are no better technicians than my poor delegation is able to afford and provide, then I suggest we might delete those few words in operative paragraph 4 and in the preamble. My two submissions would be that in operative paragraph 4 the words "in particular in the framework of the United Nations system" be deleted. Similarly in the seventh preambular paragraph the words "including those related to airborne-sensing techniques" be deleted, because they have no particular relevance to the subject before us.

180. The CHAIRMAN: I invite the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 to indicate whether they agree to the amendment proposed by the representative of India.

181. Mrs. BLACK (United States of America): We will have to consult with our co-sponsors.

182. The CHAIRMAN: I take it that the Committee is not ready to vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/L.509 and A/C.1/L.510. I invite the sponsors to consult together as quickly as possible.

AGENDA ITEM 103

The strengthening of international security (A/7654, A/C.1/L.468, A/C.1/L.505, L.506, L.507 and L.508) *(concluded)*

183. The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the Committee to resume consideration of draft resolution A/C.1/L.511.

184. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): During the period that you took up item 28 the sponsors of this draft resolution had time to consult among themselves and also with the representative of Iraq. I should like to say first that I very much regret the fact that the sponsors failed to consult the representative of Iraq. This failure is all the more regrettable since he made in his statement certain specific suggestions with regard to the draft resolution. He has therefore every right to put before the Committee at this stage any suggestions and amendments he may wish to make.

185. However, on the substance of his suggestion, I should like to say on behalf of the sponsors that the right of the Secretary-General to make any comments on any subject before the United Nations bodies is a self-evident right. He has many different ways of communicating his views to delegations. He has, in fact, used in practice a variety of methods of making known his views on many subjects. In operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution the right of the Secretary-General to make any comments that he may wish to make is implicit and therefore the point made by the representative of Iraq is already inherent in the text. With this statement on behalf of the sponsors, I venture to express the hope that the representative of Iraq will not press his amendment to a vote and that we may proceed to adopt the text as it stands.

186. Mr. JACKMAN (Barbados): I merely wish to endorse what has been said by the representative of Finland and to say that we have profited from the slight delay and have been able to consult most, if not all, the co-sponsors of the draft resolution. We have arrived at a consensus among the sponsors that the phrase in operative paragraph 5 of this draft resolution "to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session concerning the communications he has received" is in their understanding perfectly capable of bearing, and does in fact bear, the meaning that the Secretary-General may make such comments as he deems appropriate within the ambit of the authority conferred on him by the Charter. We have also had the opportunity of discussion in some detail with the representative of Iraq, and I must add on behalf of the Latin American group our own regret that pressure of time yesterday did not give us the opportunity to consult with every person and delegation which had made suggestions of one kind or another as fully as we should have done. For this I think that the delegation of Iraq is owed a serious and sincere apology. I hope, with this explanation on behalf of the representative of Finland and on my own part, that we will be in a position to request the representative of Iraq that he does not press his amendment to a vote and that this resolution will be received by the First Committee with acclamation.

187. Mr. KHALAF (Iraq): I am very appreciative of the consideration shown to me by the sponsors and many other delegations concerning this important question. I am also appreciative of the appeals directed to the Iraq delegation, starting with the appeal of the Chairman of the Committee, and being aware of the fact that this Committee has been directing its business this afternoon through appeals, I would not be one of those who would ignore those very forceful and indeed friendly appeals towards me. Therefore, I withdraw my amendment on the understanding that was given to the last paragraph of the draft resolution before us and also on the understanding that the opinion of the Iraq delegation be shown and reflected in the report of the Committee.

188. The CHAIRMAN: I assure the representative of Iraq that his statements will be fully reflected in the verbatim record of the proceedings of this meeting.

189. I now invite the Committee to adopt the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.511.

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.511, was adopted by acclamation.

190. The CHAIRMAN: I take it that the sponsors of the other draft resolutions and amendments under this item to which I referred earlier do not press for a vote on them. I shall call upon representatives who wish to give an explanation of vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.511.

191. Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) *(translated from Spanish)*: My delegation merely wishes to place on record that, if draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 had been put to the vote, my delegation would have abstained.

192. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: The statement I am about to make will be made on behalf and on the instructions of USSR Minister for Foreign Affairs Yakov Aleksandrovich Malik, head of the USSR delegation to the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, who is unfortunately unable at the moment to be present in person.

193. During the broad discussion on the strengthening of international security which took place in this Committee, my delegation had an opportunity to expound in great detail the USSR position on this highly important international problem. It also explained all the aspects of the USSR proposal that had been commented on by various delegations.

194. At this closing stage of the Committee's consideration of that proposal, the USSR delegation would once again note with satisfaction that the initiative taken by the Soviet Union in placing the question of the strengthening of international security before the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly has been most favourably received and supported by a great many States Members of the United Nations. As is generally recognized, the discussion of this question has been most fruitful. The importance and urgency of the problem were noted by virtually all delegations, while those who tried to minimize its importance or to pass it over in silence received no support.

195. As my delegation stated earlier, the USSR took this initiative with regard to the question of strengthening international security not in order to engage in polemics or to start a controversy. Its initiative was high-minded and constructive. The Soviet Union is sincerely desirous of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations in the sphere for which it was primarily created, namely, the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

196. This is why my delegation at the outset declared itself ready to take into account the reasonable wishes and the constructive considerations and proposals of other delegations and agreed to hold consultations with them for the purpose of exchanging views on the preparation and adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution on the strengthening of international security which would enjoy the widest possible support on the part of those Member States interested in the strengthening of peace and international security.

197. It became plain in the course of those consultations that Member States favoured the formulation and adoption of a definite decision on the question of strengthening international security and also favoured keeping this item before the United Nations and resuming a discussion of it at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. As everyone knows, in the course of these consultations my delegation, for its part, did not press for an unqualified adoption of its draft appeal to all States of the world on the strengthening of international security, contained in document A/C.1/L.468.

198. Faithful to this attitude, my delegation did not insist today that the draft appeal should be put to the vote. It has consulted with other delegations and has given due attention and consideration to their opinions, proposals and arguments. In this connexion, the USSR delegation wishes to express its especial appreciation to the Indian delegation and personally to Mr. Sen, its permanent representative, to the delegation of Finland and personally to Mr. Jakobson, its permanent representative, to Mr. Jackman, Chairman of the Latin American Group and permanent representative of Barbados, as well as to the many other delegations and heads of delegations who made vigorous efforts during the consultations to ensure the formulation and adoption of an appropriate decision.

199. We also wish to pay a deserved tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, whose outstanding ability, great diplomatic experience, tact and skill have greatly facilitated the consultations and contributed to their successful outcome.

200. My delegation has studied attentively draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 submitted jointly by Austria, Finland and Latin American countries. It has noted that this draft stresses the importance of the strengthening of international security, provides for a broad discussion of that subject at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, and draws attention to a number of important international problems which must be taken into account when the General Assembly formulates a comprehensive document on this important problem. It further provides that such a document should be adopted at the next session of the General Assembly, marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

201. A constructive element of the draft resolution is its request to Member States to transmit their views and proposals on the strengthening of international security. All States will thus have this important problem drawn to their attention and will have time between the present and the next sessions of the General Assembly to prepare themselves for a resumed discussion of this question, so that the Assembly can adopt an appropriate resolution with the participation of all States. In sum, the draft resolution just adopted by the First Committee lays the groundwork for a further productive discussion of the question of international security.

202. My delegation was accordingly able to support this draft resolution. Such are the comments it wished to make in explaining its vote, now that the discussion of the question of strengthening international security, raised by the Soviet Union, has been ended and the First Committee has adopted a resolution on the matter.

203. Mr. SEN (India): As this Committee has reached the concluding stage of its deliberations on the item on the strengthening of international security, my delegation would like to explain its vote and relate it to our views on the form of action the General Assembly could most appropriately have taken on this question.

204. At the conclusion of the general debate on this subject two things were noticeable. First, there was general recognition that the subject was of great importance and significance in the context of present international affairs, and, secondly, most delegations were concerned with finding a most satisfactory way of disposing of this item at the current session. This was the reason why several delegations undertook to work out formulae which, in their opinion, would meet with general approval. It is no secret to members of this Committee that my delegation was engaged in intensive consultations with a view to working out a widely acceptable draft appeal, declaration or resolution on the question of international security. We proceeded on the basis that the item presented for our consideration was as serious as it was urgent, and that it should have been possible to work out a substantive document outlining concrete measures and principles, the strict implementation of which would substantially strengthen the state of international security. Our consultations were based on the large measure of support to this general approach which was expressed in the constructive and extensive general debate on this item.

205. It is true that the time at our disposal for the possible formulation of a document which objectively gave expression to the concerns and aspirations of the great majority of Member States was perhaps less than might have been desirable for such a complex and demanding exercise.

206. However, a sufficiently wide degree of support—sufficiently wide for our delegation's point of view—for some form of modest but clearly substantive action was not forthcoming. This cannot be attributed so much to the shortage of time but much more to the absence of the necessary political will to act in concert through a process of mutual understanding and accommodation.

207. Yesterday, the Committee had before it two draft resolutions *[A/C.1/L.505 and A/C.1/L.506]* and this afternoon the two were combined—if that is the right word for the progeny—to produce a single draft *[A/C.1/L.511]* which has just been adopted. This course of action reflected the view that the General Assembly would be failing in its duty if it sought to dismiss as unworthy of detailed consideration and appropriate action an item of obviously major importance. The procedural character of the draft

resolution just adopted not only indicates a disappointing minimum by way of action, in the light of the detailed and highly important debate but also the presence of many conflicting political tendencies within the Organization, which are perhaps inevitable in the present state of international relations. The picture that emerges as a result cannot augur too well for the future of this Organization on the eve of its twenty-fifth anniversary.

208. From what I have stated, it should be clear that the draft resolution just adopted fell far short of our expectation. However, we wished to approach the present stage of consideration of this question in the most constructive manner possible and supported the draft resolution in the hope that its adoption is calculated to widen the area of agreement and would leave the doors open to bring in many elements for proper strengthening of international security which are not mentioned in the text before us. If in spite of these hesitations and reservations we voted for the draft resolution it is in the high expectation that its adoption would pave the way for the most serious and non-controversial consideration of this important question next year. It is possible that by then some of the clouds that darken the international political horizon will have dispersed and a better spirit of co-operation, free of fear and cant, will prevail.

209. In conclusion, I should like to thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the kind words he has spoken about my delegation and about me personally.

AGENDA ITEM 28

International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (A/7621 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.509) *(concluded)*

210. The CHAIRMAN: I should like to ask the co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 whether they have been able to reach agreement with the Indian delegation in regard to the amendment suggested by the representative of India.

211. Mrs. BLACK (United States of America): We have consulted with our co-sponsors and we are prepared to respond to the first question raised by the representative of India, Mr. Sen. We propose that in the seventh preambular paragraph we should substitute the words "remote sensing" for "airborne-sensing", and I hope the Secretariat will pay particular attention to the translation of "remote sensing techniques" which I understand is difficult for many of the representatives in the translation; I do hope that this will prove acceptable to the representative of India.

212. I understand that the representative of Sweden will speak to the second question raised by Mr. Sen.

213. Mr. ASTRÖM (Sweden): The representative of India has asked for an explanation with regard to some words in the last operative paragraph of the draft resolution A/C.1/L.509. Responding to his request, may I say the following: this, of course, is the first time that the United Nations takes cognizance of the potentially very important use of satellites in the form of earth resources survey programmes. We feel that it is too early to take any more detailed or definite decisions with regard to the application of this particular form of space technology. This is the reason why the first operative paragraphs are of a very general character and, as we see it, do not prejudice in any way the consultations, negotiations and agreements that may follow in this important field.

214. The most significant part of the draft resolution, in our view, is paragraph 4 which gives a direct mandate to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to take up this exciting aspect of space technology for detailed consideration. Precisely because we feel that this is so crucial, we would like to stress the importance of the words: "... in particular in the framework of the United Nations system ..." inasmuch as we would like to see as much as possible of the international co-operation that hopefully will be possible in this field take place within the framework of the United Nations while, at the same time, not excluding the possibility of other forms of international collaboration. This is the explanation for the use of the particular words in the last operative paragraph.

215. Mr. SEN (India): Only a little while ago the representative of Iraq fell a victim to appeals; I am now going to fall a victim to explanations particularly as they come from such charming quarters as Mrs. Black and Mr. Aström. I am completely satisfied with the substitution of the words "airborne-sensing" by the words "remote sensing" and I think the paragraph will make sense, technically. And after the explanation by Mr. Aström I shall not insist on the deletion of the words referring to the United Nations.

216. The CHAIRMAN: Before I invite the Committee to vote I shall give the floor to the Secretary who wishes to make a statement.

217. Mr. CHACKO (Secretary of the Committee): Before proceeding to the vote on the two draft resolutions *[A/C.1/L.509 and A/C.1/L.510]* I should like, in accordance with rule 154 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to draw the attention of the Committee to the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.510. With regard to operative paragraph 8 of the first part of the draft resolution concerning appointment by the Secretary-General of a qualified individual with the full-time task of promoting the practical applications of space technology, the financial implications are already contained in annex V of the report of the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space contained in document A/7621.

218. Operative paragraph 1 in the first part of the draft resolution

> "*Endorses* the recommendations and decisions contained in the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space,"

including the decision in paragraph 22 of the Committee's report.

219. In that paragraph:

> "... the Committee would invite the Secretary-General to prepare: *(a)* a background paper for the next session of the Legal Sub-Committee on the question of the definition and/or the delimitation of outer space ... *(b)* a background paper on the results of the studies to be furnished by the specialized agencies and IAEA in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2453 B (XXIII)".

220. In this connexion, I should like to inform the Committee that the preparation of these two papers is estimated to involve an expenditure of approximately $9,000.

221. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 and Add.1, sponsored by Argentina, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, France, Japan and Italy.

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.509 and Add.1 was adopted by 94 votes to 8, with 3 abstentions.

222. The CHAIRMAN: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution A/C.1/L.510.

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.510 was adopted unanimously.

223. The CHAIRMAN: I will now give the floor to any member of the Committee who wishes to explain his votes on draft resolutions A/C.1/L.509 and Add.1 and A/C.1/L.510.

224. Since no representative wishes to explain his votes, I take it that the Committee agrees that the consideration of agenda item 28, international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, is concluded.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 29

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (A/7741-DC/232; A/C.1/992, A/C.1/993/Rev.1 and Corr.1, A/C.1/994, A/C.1/995, A/C.1/997; A/C.1/L.512) *(concluded)

CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

225. The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the Committee to turn its attention to agenda item 29, and in particular to annex A of the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament *[A/7741-DC/232]*[3] which contains the draft treaty of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof. In this connexion I invite the attention of the Committee to draft resolution A/C.1/L.512[4] circulated in the names of Pakistan, Argentina, Australia, Brazil and a number of other delegations.

226. I should like to inform the Committee that the delegation of Italy wishes to be added as a co-sponsor of this draft resolution.

227. Mr. RUDA (Argentina) *(translated from Spanish)*: Despite the lateness of the hour, my delegation wishes to submit formally to the Committee the working paper circulated by the Secretariat under the symbol A/C.1/997, which relates to articles I and II of the draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

228. This working paper is the outcome of intensive consultations and, in our view, it reflects the comments made in the First Committee in the course of the debate without in any way affecting the aims of the draft Treaty.

229. I turn now to the differences between the text we are placing before the Committee and that of articles I and II of the draft Treaty submitted by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which appears in annex A to the report of the Conference.

230. Article I, paragraph 1, introduces a substantial change in the text submitted by the Co-Chairmen. The concept of superjacent waters adopted in that text, the legal consequences of which we had occasion to criticize when we commented on the draft Treaty, is now replaced by another which is more in keeping with the true nature and aims of the instrument, as we see it. The reference to the "maximum contiguous zone", in defining the zone to which the instrument applies, has been deleted and replaced by the concept of the "sea-bed zone", which derives logically from the geographical area covered by the draft Treaty. This new criterion is, in addition, of a technical character, confined strictly to the draft Treaty, and its use cannot give rise to any legal consequences relating to the law of the sea. We feel that this is, beyond any doubt, the best solution in view of the "non-armament" approach of the draft Treaty.

231. Article I, paragraph 2, likewise refers to the concept of the "sea-bed zone", rather than the "contiguous zone". Apart from this, no other change whatsoever has been made affecting the scope of this provision, as set forth in the draft of the Co-Chairmen.

232. Article I, paragraph 3, is retained as it stands in the original draft, since it presents no difficulty for those delegations which have expressed hesitation regarding the subject dealt with in our working paper.

233. Article II reflects the substantial change in article I, paragraph 1, regarding the nature of the zone to which the draft Treaty applies. The new text seeks to define the outer limits of the sea-bed zone referred to in article I. It merely cites various provisions of the 1958 Geneva Convention on

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* Resumed from the 1716th meeting.

3 *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1969*, document DC/232.

4 The text of draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 contains the amendments subsequently proposed by Ceylon (see para. 248 below).

the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, for the sole purpose of determining the configuration of the sea-bed zone and supplying a system of measurement to establish the zone of application and, therefore, the geographical area covered by the commitments provided for in the draft Treaty. This procedure obviates lengthy and difficult enumeration of the criteria for measuring the zone.

234. To show that the reference to the Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone is simply incidental and thus ensure that the differing positions of Member States regarding the law of the sea are in no way affected by it, the provision contained in article II, paragraph 2, of the Co-Chairmen's draft has been expanded to make it much more comprehensive. We believe that the best way of doing this is to make certain necessary additions to the present wording and insert the provision as a new article, article IV, after the substantive provisions of the draft Treaty.

235. With regard to the additions incorporated in this new article, we wish to point out that they also conform to the principle that no formula or criterion that might have specific legal consequences in matters relating to the law of the sea should be adopted in connexion with "non-armament" measures. Accordingly, the first part of the text adds the phrase:

> "... with respect to existing international conventions, including the 1958 Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone ...".

236. As I said earlier, the purpose of this explicit reference to the Geneva Convention is to reaffirm that principle with respect to the only convention that is mentioned by name in draft Treaty, solely in order to define the limits of the sea-bed zone referred to in article I.

237. Similarly, to avoid any erroneous interpretation of the strictly "non-armament" character of the draft Treaty, the new article also includes the phrases: "including *inter alia* territorial seas and contiguous zones" and "including continental shelves".

238. We feel that making these additions and placing this provision in a different position in the draft highlights the change made in articles I and II and, broadly speaking, avoids any prejudging of the positions of Member States regarding the law of the sea.

239. In submitting the working paper contained in document A/C.1/997 for the consideration of the Committee, my delegation is convinced that the paper constitutes a fitting solution to the legal difficulties raised by the original draft presented by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and that, at the same time, it does not in any way affect the delicate political balance achieved in the negotiations which culminated in the preparation of the draft Treaty now before the Committee.

240. For these reasons, my delegation hopes that the paper will be favourably received, not only by the sponsors of the draft but also by the other Member States of the United Nations.

241. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): I should like to take this opportunity, as we approach the close of our discussion, to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.512, which at the last count was being co-sponsored by some thirty-four delegations.

242. In its operative paragraphs, this draft resolution:

> "*Welcomes* the submission to this Assembly of the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof ...

and

> "*Calls upon* the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament ... to continue its work on this subject",

taking into account the proposals and suggestions made here.

243. Our attitude with respect to this prospective treaty had been and continues to be that it should be broadly acceptable and should serve the interests of all members of this Committee. For this reason, we have sought painstakingly to find appropriate ways to accommodate the views expressed by other delegations, first in Geneva at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and later in this Committee, with respect to possible amendments to the initial draft text that was agreed upon by the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States and submitted in Geneva on 7 October *[ibid., annex C, section 34]*. As will be recalled, certain amendments proposed by members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament were incorporated on 30 October in the text which appears as annex A of that Committee's report. Other amendments have been put forward in working papers, which have been circulated and commented on here in the First Committee, most recently just now by the representative of Argentina *[A/C.1/997]*. These suggestions and amendments are being given careful attention by my Government and will be important elements in our deliberations when we resume work in Geneva.

244. Since the genesis of the idea of banning the arms race from the sea-bed, there has been no question but that a treaty to promote that objective should and also would promote the common interest of mankind in the progress of the exploration and use of the sea-bed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes. In this regard, we have viewed the work of the Committee on Disarmament as a necessary complement to the important work of the sea-bed Committee, which was established through resolution 2467 (XXIII) of 21 December 1968. During the past year, while in New York, the sea-bed Committee pursued its twin goals of establishing a set of legal principles governing the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and creating the framework of an eventual international régime for this area, the Committee on Disarmament pressed forward with the elaboration of the draft treaty which has been discussed in this Committee.

245. Considerable work has gone into this draft treaty, and we particularly appreciate the constructive spirit and

helpful suggestions of members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament during the most intense phase of the negotiations in Geneva in October. The product of these labours was the revised draft of 30 October. This work over the past year in Geneva also provided the basis for the wide-ranging discussion and careful scrutiny of the draft that has taken place in the course of our consideration of disarmament questions here during the past month. The records of these discussions will, we are confident, enable us, on our return to Geneva, to develop a treaty text that will be warmly welcomed by the members of the First Committee when it next considers the matter.

246. Let me briefly reiterate what, in our view, the purpose of this treaty should be. By preventing a nuclear arms race on the sea-bed, it will serve the universal aims of maintaining world peace, reducing international tensions, and strengthening friendly relations among States. Moreover, the treaty will represent an important step towards the exclusion of the sea-bed from the arms race. In the wider context of disarmament, we recognize that the draft sea-bed treaty represents a limited step, but one that is eminently worthwhile. I need hardly remind the members of the Committee of the note struck by Ambassador Yost here on 17 November *[1691st meeting]*, when he observed that it is already feasible to emplace nuclear weapons on the sea-bed, an action which, in the absence of an effective treaty prohibition, might have certain military advantages. The conclusion of a treaty would not only forestall this danger, but would also contribute greatly to ensuring that the vast potential of the sea-bed will remain available for peaceful economic exploitation for the benefit of all mankind.

247. Our delegation has listened with care—which, as we indicated at the outset, was our intention—to the comments, the proposals and the suggestions made here. We are prepared to undertake such changes as seem to be called for, in order to meet the legitimate concerns of the international community. We shall return to the task in Geneva with this mission in mind, and we shall strive to produce the best possible text, taking full account of the comments which have been made here.

248. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon wishes to introduce an oral amendment to the draft resolution[4] that has just been introduced by the representative of the United States. The delegations of Chile, Kuwait and Malta wish to be associated with the delegation of Ceylon in this amendment. The amendment is as follows: at the end of the third preambular paragraph add the following words: "as well as the suggestions made during the special session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.".

249. The amendment speaks for itself but I should like to just add a few words to explain it. The special session of the Sea-Bed Committee, as we are all aware, became necessary because of the importance of the proposals contained in the draft treaty of the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament regarding the denuclearization of the sea-bed and ocean floor as far as the work and mandate of the sea-bed Committee were concerned. The representative of the United States in introducing draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 stated that he considered the work of the Committee on Disarmament on this question to be complementary to the work of the sea-bed Committee, as established by resolution 2467 (XXIII).

250. During the special session of the sea-bed Committee, there were several suggestions which we deemed worthy of consideration, and, therefore, of special mention in this draft resolution.

251. I trust that the amendment will be acceptable to the co-sponsors. If it is, the delegation of Ceylon will be glad to have its name added to the list of co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 and we hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by acclamation.

252. The draft resolution is a recognition of the need for full consultation and exhaustive examination which are vital elements in the process of formulating international law. We wish, in this connexion, to express our deep appreciation to the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for the patience and understanding that they have shown during the entire debate on this question and especially in regard to the proposals that have been made for the improvement of the draft.

253. We hope that the suggestions that have been made, together with the willingness displayed by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in entertaining them will result in the fruition of their efforts in producing an acceptable text by the next meeting of the General Assembly. Once again, I commend this amendment to the members of this Committee and hope that if it is acceptable to the co-sponsors the whole draft resolution will be adopted by acclamation.

254. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(translated from Russian)*: My delegation has a few brief remarks to make in connexion with the consideration by the First Committee of a draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, and also in connexion with the thirty-four Power draft resolution *[A/C.1/L.512]* now before the Committee.

255. The Soviet Union's position on this question is well known, having been stated repeatedly in the Committee on Disarmament and further expounded in our statement in the Fifth Committee on 17 November 1969 *[1691st meeting]*. We note with satisfaction the great interest taken by the Members of the General Assembly in the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof. The conclusion of such a treaty would certainly be of great value. First, it would prevent the sea-bed and the ocean floor from being used for the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction. Secondly, it would demonstrate that States are capable of adopting, in concert, measures to limit the arms race. There can also be no doubt that the conclusion of such a treaty would help to ease international tensions. The very fact that both the idea of concluding such a treaty and the basic contents of the draft treaty submitted met with a favourable response on the part of delegations allows us to hope

that work on the treaty can be speedily brought to a successful conclusion.

256. The USSR delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the representatives who took part in the useful and meaningful discussion on the subject in the First Committee. Its appreciation also goes to the delegations which took part in elaborating the draft treaty before us. It believes that discussion of this question by the General Assembly is in the interests of all countries and will be helpful in ensuring that the sea-bed and the ocean floor are protected from the nuclear arms race.

257. My delegation regards the comments made and considerations advanced by various delegations with respect to the draft treaty as constructive and deserving of attention. These comments and considerations should help in completing the work on the text of the treaty. We believe that this work is urgently necessary and we trust that the Committee on Disarmament will take it up at its next session, so that the drafting may be rapidly completed and the resultant text be submitted to the General Assembly, with a view to the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof–a worthy addition to the international treaties on disarmament now in effect.

258. It is with this purpose in mind that thirty-four delegations submitted draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 on the item under discussion.

259. My delegation hopes that this draft resolution will receive broad support in the Committee.

260. As to the amendment just proposed by the representative of Ceylon, the USSR delegation, for its part, is ready to accept it. I am not empowered to speak on behalf of all the sponsors of the draft resolution, not having been able to consult them all, but I would say that I did consult a good many and that they are all prepared to accept the amendment.

261. With regard to the remarks of the Argentine representative, I would draw his attention and that of all members of the Committee to the provision in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 to the effect that in future work on the text of the draft treaty all the proposals and suggestions made at the present session of the General Assembly should be taken into account. Consequently, on the basis of the text before us, I have no hesitation in assuring the Argentine representative that the proposals and suggestions in his working document will be taken into account in the future work on a draft treaty on the sea-bed and the ocean floor, in accordance with the draft resolution now before the Committee.

262. Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): The purpose of my intervention at this late stage of our debate is to explain very briefly the initiatives the Brazilian delegation took in presenting a revision of its working paper contained in document A/C.1/993/Rev.1, on the provisions of article 3 of the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof.

263. As will be noted, the only change in relation to our original text *[A/C.1/993]* is to be found in paragraph 4 *(a)* and *(b)*, which deal with the role to be played by the coastal States in verification procedures that take place in areas under their national jurisdiction. We have only changed the words "continental shelf . . . or in its superjacent waters" to "areas under the national jurisdiction of any State Party".

264. I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that an error cropped up in document A/C.1/993/Rev.1, which led to the issuing of a corrigendum *[A/C.1/993/Rev.1/Corr.1]*.

265. We have introduced the modified language in our working paper with a view to facilitating future agreement on appropriate control provisions of the sea-bed treaty, which would protect the rights of, and give an appropriate role to, coastal States in verification procedures that are conducted in areas under their national jurisdiction.

266. We are confident that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will be able to report at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on a widely supported draft resolution which could then be considered and finally agreed upon at the General Assembly's next session.

267. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to state that, for its part, the delegation of Brazil welcomes the amendment proposed by the delegation of Ceylon and has no objection to its adoption.

268. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) *(translated from Spanish)*: At our night meeting on 1 December *[1707th meeting]*, I ventured to analyse the situation we then faced with regard to the draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof. I listed a number of obvious facts and then said:

> "...of the two main alternatives before the First Committee, the Mexican delegation would unhesitatingly opt for the idea of the General Assembly's returning the draft to the Committee on Disarmament and attaching the records of the debates of the First Committee and any working papers on the subject that may have been submitted to it, with the recommendation that the Committee on Disarmament should try to prepare a new draft acceptable to all members of the Committee and likely to be accepted also by all the Members of the United Nations". *[1707th meeting, para. 107.]*

269. I think that these words are enough to explain why my delegation is especially pleased to include its name among the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.512. This is an eminently constructive draft and we hope that the Committee will adopt it by acclamation.

270. I would simply like to point to some of the provisions which we feel merit special support.

271. To start with, the first preambular paragraph recognizes "the common interest of mankind in the reservation

of the sea-bed and ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes".

272. Secondly, the last preambular paragraph expresses the conviction that a treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof is to be regarded simply as "a step towards the exclusion of the sea-bed, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof from the arms race".

273. Thirdly, a provision deserving the whole-hearted support of my delegation is that in paragraph 2 of the draft, which calls upon the Committee on Disarmament to take into account all proposals and suggestions that have been made at this session of the General Assembly and to continue its work on the subject—and this is particularly important—so that the text of a draft treaty can be submitted to the General Assembly for its consideration.

274. In connexion with this provision, I should also like to point out that on the date, I have just mentioned, 1 December, my delegation submitted a working paper which was circulated as document A/C.1/995.

275. Lastly, my delegation is, needless to say, happy to accept the suggestion made by the representative of Ceylon.

276. So far, I have spoken about this draft resolution, but since I have the floor and to avoid having to ask for it again, I would like, through you, Mr. Chairman, to make an earnest request to the Secretariat.

277. The verbatim records of our meetings have, generally speaking, been issued with commendable promptness. However, this week there have been some delays, including, for example, the record of the 1715th meeting, held on Tuesday morning.

278. My delegation—and I am sure that many other delegations find themselves in the same difficulty—has to report back to its Government before the closure of the General Assembly, and I would request the Secretariat to do everything possible to make that record and any others that are missing available by Monday morning.

279. The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Mexico for his statement. I assure him that the Secretariat will take due note of his statement with regard to the verbatim records.

280. Mr. DE SOTO (Peru) *(translated from Spanish):* The Peruvian delegation has co-sponsored draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 in the spirit of the first preambular paragraph, namely in recognition of the common interest of mankind in the reservation of the sea-bed and ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes.

281. We hope that this draft resolution will be adopted, since it confirms the competence of the General Assembly in this matter.

282. We welcome the incorporation of the amendment proposed by the representative of Ceylon and also take this opportunity to state that it is our understanding that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction will fulfil the role entrusted to it both in its mandate as such and in accordance with the action taken by the General Assembly.

283. The CHAIRMAN: There are no more speakers on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.512 which includes the amendments submitted by the delegations of Ceylon, Chile, Kuwait and Malta.

284. No delegation has asked for a formal vote on the draft resolution.

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.512 was adopted by acclamation.

Completion of the Committee's work

285. The CHAIRMAN: With the conclusion of this item, the Committee has concluded its work for the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I should confess to the Committee that the pace that it has set has been somewhat overwhelming to me, with the result that I am not quite ready to make my final statement. However, I shall improvise as I go along, and I promise the Committee that I shall not take long, but it is my duty to thank all those who have helped us to accomplish the results that we have achieved.

286. I express to you my heartfelt gratitude for your unstinted co-operation in enabling me to conduct the business of the First Committee to its conclusion by the target date which was set for our work. I offer you my respectful congratulations. Your achievement is proof that the procedures of parliamentary diplomacy need not be dilatory, and that even representatives of Governments of sovereign States dedicated to the protection and promotion of their national interests are nevertheless able and willing to take due account of the expectations of the peoples of the world that a general assembly of 126 sovereign States can act in harmony on the burning issues of peace and war with dispatch and efficiency.

287. This Committee has had a heavy agenda and has taken important decisions on a number of matters before it. I shall not at this very late hour touch on all of them, far less attempt to evaluate them. This does not in any way imply that I consider some of the decisions to be less important than others. I said in my very first statement as Chairman of this Committee that to me, in my capacity as Chairman, all the items on our agenda are equally important. I trust therefore that if I do not refer to all the draft resolutions adopted by the Committee, I shall not be misunderstood.

288. The first item that we considered was that of strengthening international security on the initiative of the Foreign Minister of the USSR. We have had a most extended and constructive debate on this item, a debate which, by general consensus, must be characterized as one of a high order. I most sincerely congratulate the delegations which took part. It would perhaps be invidious to single out the interventions for special mention, and therefore I shall not, though tempted, do so.

289. It is indeed heartening that draft resolution A/C.1/L.511 has been adopted unanimously. Though mainly procedural in nature, it nevertheless assures that henceforth the question of international security–which was the reason for the establishment of the United Nations and remains its primary purpose–will be accorded a central place in our deliberations next year as befits the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization. This is not to exaggerate the significance of the adoption by acclamation of the resolution on the strengthening of international security which is no doubt a procedural one. All of us are only too conscious that major differences exist in regard to the principles to be proclaimed, and as to the ways and means of acting upon them. But it has become equally clear from the debate that many of the differences are by no means irreconcilable and that, given time–and hopefully by the twenty-fifth anniversary–it will be possible for the General Assembly to take some meaningful action in regard to strengthening international security.

290. On the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, the Committee has adopted two resolutions which give guidance to the Committee on the peaceful uses of the area as to its work in the coming year.

291. On the disarmament items, the First Committee debate this year was broader and more intensive than on previous occasions. Nearly one hundred statements were made in the general debate and the discussions proceeded on a very high level and were detailed and penetrating in their substance. Our deliberations took place against a background of a number of favourable developments, including the opening in Helsinki of the strategic arms limitation talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the announcement by the same two Powers of the ratification of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This act, together with additional signatures and ratifications, is a good augury for the early entry into force of the Treaty. If I may say so, the spirit of Helsinki has hovered over our deliberations and has augured well for future debates.

292. Twelve resolutions–a record figure for disarmament–have been adopted. While it is obvious that on a subject of such importance and complexity it is not easy to arrive at recommendations which would meet the wishes of everyone, I think we can take considerable satisfaction from the progress achieved during this session.

293. The Committee has taken a very important step in the resolution declaring the decade of the 1970s a Disarmament Decade, and in requesting the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to work out and report to the General Assembly a comprehensive programme.

294. The Committee has also adopted important resolutions on the suspension of nuclear weapons tests. The resolution concerning the provision of certain information by Governments, in the context of the creation of a world-wide exchange of seismological data, may well turn out to have been a step of the greatest significance in finding a solution to the deadlocked problem of verification of underground nuclear weapons tests, and hence towards the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

295. One unanimous resolution was adopted on chemical and biological weapons calling for accession to, or ratification of, the Geneva Protocol in the course of 1970, welcoming the report of the Secretary-General on this subject and recommending its wide distribution, and requesting the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to consider urgently, and to reach agreement on, the prohibitions and other measures referred to in two draft conventions put before the Committee by the socialist States and by the United Kingdom.

296. It is my belief that the draft resolution A/C.1/L.500, which was adopted unanimously, gives clear guidance to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on the question of the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological agents intended for purposes of war. I believe I am giving expression to a widespread hope when I say that one of the most fitting ways of observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization would be the adoption of an effective convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons.

297. The opening of the bilateral talks on strategic arms limitations was welcomed with satisfaction by all Members. In that context, the Committee, following the suggestion of the Secretary-General, adopted a draft resolution appealing to the Soviet Union and the United States to agree on a moratorium on further testing and deployment of new offensive and defensive strategic nuclear-weapons systems. Though the principal parties and several other delegations abstained on the appeal, I am nevertheless persuaded that in their negotiations they will keep in mind the profound concern of the peoples of the world concerning the potential threat of total annihilation by advanced nuclear-weapons systems.

298. I should also like to refer to the adoption by the Committee of a noteworthy draft resolution declaring its views on the scope of the generally recognized rules of international law as embodied in the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

299. Finally, in regard to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.512, which the Committee has just adopted by acclamation, on the elaboration of a draft treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor, the Committee's debate has by common consensus been an outstanding one. Significant contributions have been made by a number of delegations in their proposals and working papers, which reflect support from the vast majority of the delegations represented here. I believe that the debate on the sea-bed denuclearization treaty has truly promoted a process of negotiation in the First Committee and that, judging from the admirable statements made just a few moments ago by the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, they will give serious attention to the proposals to improve the text of the treaty so as to make it universally acceptable. This augurs well for the future of our work, and in particular it raises the hope that, in addition to the convention on chemical and biological weapons, the treaty to denuclearize the sea-bed and ocean floor will also be adopted by next year.

300. I should not like to take the time of the Committee to refer to all the draft resolutions on outer space. I do believe that the two drafts that were adopted are important steps towards the eventual realization of the promise of applying space technology to development and the amelioration of the lot of the developing countries.

301. It is now my most pleasant duty to acknowledge the great assistance and co-operation rendered to me by the Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur. The Vice-Chairman was always ready to take over my responsibilities, affording me some relief and enabling me to carry out consultations with a view to expeditiously disposing of our business. The ability and acumen of Ambassador Kolo are well known to all of you, and I should like to pay him a heart-felt tribute for his splendid co-operation. I should also like to thank our Rapporteur for his counsel and advice.

302. I should be failing in my duty if I did not acknowledge the great inspiration with which the Secretary-General has provided us in this debate. Several of the important draft resolutions adopted accorded with his suggestions. We believe that he has contributed very greatly to the outcome of our deliberations.

303. The Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Kutakov, has always been by my side, nudging me whenever he felt that my attention had wandered in directions other than the business of the Committee. He made me keep alert all the time. I am grateful to him for his invaluable assistance.

304. As for the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Chacko, I should acknowledge the outstanding contribution he has made. He has not spoken much, except concerning financial implications, but I should say that his private counsel has been invaluable to me.

305. I should like, on behalf of all my colleagues, to express our heartfelt thanks to the Secretariat—to the interpreters, the verbatim reporters, the Press officers, the conference officers, the documents officers, the sound engineers, the guards and the messengers. Without their assistance, it would have been impossible for us to proceed with our work.

306. I should also like, on behalf of the Committee, to express the gratitude of us all to the many others who, in their offices, unseen by us, have assisted us in our work.

307. Finally, I should like to express our deep appreciation of the great service rendered by the news media, the representatives and correspondents who are not present here. Without their assistance and co-operation, we would have been living in a world of our own, unable to communicate with the world outside. They have played an indispensable role, and if anyone has worked harder than the representatives and members of the Secretariat I am sure it is the correspondents and representatives of the news media, who very often succeeded in a remarkable manner in separating the wheat from the chaff in speeches and conveying to the world the significance of our deliberations in a style and with a clarity which some of us might envy.

308. Having said this, I should like once again to thank my colleagues for their co-operation in concluding our work. I wish you a happy journey home and a safe return next year.

309. If the Committee has no objection, may I reiterate my appeal to dispense with compliments? Since the hour is late, and many of us have to keep dinner engagements, I shall declare the meeting adjourned.

310. Mr. HARMON (Liberia): Mr. Chairman, despite the fact that you have asked us to dispense with compliments, I think that after your speech I must ask for a rising vote of thanks to you, the officers and everyone concerned on their excellent performance and the accomplishment of what we consider to be one of the most interesting and fascinating committee meetings in, I think, all the twenty-four years of the General Assembly.

311. I ask for a rising vote of compliments to the Chairman.

The representatives stood and applauded.

312. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway): I feel cheated, Mr. Chairman. I was waiting to give you a vote of thanks on behalf of the countries of Western Europe. I shall not do so now, since you have asked us not to, but I should like to say that it gives me a feeling of frustration, disappointment and self-abnegation.

313. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) *(translated from French)*: I wish the same thing as the Norwegian representative, as, to my regret, I have not attended too many meetings of the First Committee. I wanted to come to the last meeting, however, in order to express to you, Mr. Chairman, our sympathy and admiration. As you have asked that there should be no long speeches, I shall comply with your wishes and merely add something in a jocular vein in order to lighten the atmosphere in this Committee as it approaches the end of its work.

314. I would merely say that during this session you have set us an example of international co-operation. You have given us a picture of international co-operation which we have not always resembled, since we are sometimes in disagreement. I trust, nevertheless, that in the end we shall grow to resemble that image.

315. If I may, I will tell you a story about the writer Gertrude Stein and Picasso, who painted her portrait. When she asked him, "Does that portrait look like me? ", Picasso replied, "No, but you will grow to look like it! " I therefore trust, Mr. Chairman, that we shall end by looking like that picture of international co-operation which you have drawn for us.

316. Mr. MASHOLOGU (Lesotho): In order to appease the African delegations, I should like to associate myself with the remarks of gratitude and appreciation that have been made to you, Mr. Chairman, other Members of the Bureau and the Secretariat. The proceedings of this Committee have taken us on a very extensive tour, down to the sea-bed and ocean floor, back to earth and into outer space and we are back here faithfully under your very able guidance.

317. Mr. SOUVANLASY (Laos) *(translated from French):* Despite your request, Mr. Chairman, some of my colleagues have spoken at greater length than I intend to do. Now that we are about to end our work, I wish to associate myself with the preceding speakers in order to express to you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Asian delegations, including my own, our deep gratitude for the great skill with which you have conducted our work in the course of these long months.

318. Our sincerest gratitude also goes to the other officers of the Committee and the members of the Secretariat, whose invaluable assistance enabled us to do useful work.

319. Lastly, I wish to assure you, Mr. Chairman, that your presence at the head of the First Committee does honour to the Asian group, which will long remember this extremely fruitful session.

320. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): In compliance with your wishes, I merely say thanks on behalf of the Arab delegations to the United Nations. You have given us an outstanding example of dynamic leadership. We believe that you have enhanced the process of international harmony through the conduct of your work and we think some of the resolutions adopted augur well for more progress towards international peace and justice and towards international security. Thank you very much, we are indebted to you, to the Members of the Bureau and to all Members of the Secretariat.

321. Mr. POLYANICHKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) *(translated from Russian):* Mr. Chairman, I can only regret that, in compliance with your wishes, I am unable to speak at length to express my delegation's satisfaction at the successful completion of our work under your wise guidance. I would therefore associate myself with the remarks of the preceding speakers, in which you were rightly described as a great diplomat, a marvellous organizer and a man of stature. Allow me to extend my very best wishes to you.

322. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) *(translated from Spanish):* Your statement, Mr. Chairman, has spared me and above all the Committee from taking up too much time in saying how the Latin American Members of the United Nations feel about the way you have presided over our work. It was only a few moments ago that I was given the honour of speaking on their behalf and, since I do not have your facility for speaking at a moment's notice, this is to the Committee's advantage. So I shall simply recall what one of our colleagues said at the beginning of our deliberations when, in complying with a decision by the Chair, he said that he would congratulate not the Chairman, but the Committee because it had such a Chairman. You have proved how right our colleague was. May I merely add our thanks to the Vice-Chairman, Ambassador Kolo, the Rapporteur, Mr. Barnett, and all the members of the Secretariat, both those we see and those behind the scenes.

323. Mr. BAYULKEN (Turkey): I shall be very brief and I shall try to follow the example that you yourself set. I would like only to say this, that a moment ago the Committee took a unanimous vote of confidence in appreciation of your very high and admirable services as the Chairman of our Committee. I would like to say that I myself as a long-standing friend of yours, and my delegation, join in this tribute with heartfelt thanks and admiration.

324. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): May I, on behalf of the country which has the honour to be the host to this Organization, and if I might be permitted, perhaps on behalf of any Governments in the Assembly who have not been represented by a speaker so far, just thank you very much for a job extraordinarily well done.

325. The CHAIRMAN: Before I adjourn I should like to say, especially to the representative of Liberia, how grateful and touched I am by what he said and by the Committee for its gesture that enables me to complete my Chairmanship on a note of satisfaction.

326. However, I should not like to let this occasion pass without extending my deepest apologies to the representative of Norway and the European group for giving them a sense of frustration. I thought that perhaps many delegations have engagements, and after the applause by the members of the Committee I felt myself more than sufficiently rewarded and that I was appreciated more than I deserved, and therefore felt a little abashed at perhaps becoming the recipient of further compliments. I hope my European colleagues will understand and not take offence.

327. I thank you, distinguished colleagues.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

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