DRAFT STATEMENT

PROPOSALS FOR PEACEFUL USE OF SPACE

(Excerpts ~~from~~ for Speech)

Another area in which we should take prompt action is that for the international control of satellites, missiles and other vehicles launched into outer space. The forward sweep of space technology has been so swift that we have scarcely had time to digest all of its implications for the future of the human race. Since the beginning of human history man has been bound to this planet we call earth. Now, within a brief period, the barriers between the earth and the universe have suddenly crumbled and the vast expanses of space lies before us for exploration and use by scientific ingenuity.

It is a melancholy thought that at the dawn of the space age we are using space so feverishly for the perfecting of even deadlier engines of destruction. The long-range missiles now under development have magnified the threat of atomic warfare by providing a means of delivery that is of unprecedented speed and against which there is at present no effective military defense.

United States Proposals

The United States took the lead last year, in attempting to do something about control of outer space missiles and vehicles so that they could be subordinated to peaceful ends, but the effort was entirely too modest. The United States proposed that there be joint international study of an inspection system to insure peaceful use of objects sent through outer space. This was approved by the United Nations General Assembly among its general recommendations on disarmament. As you are aware, however, negotiations on these proposals between the Soviet Union and the Western powers bogged down when the Kremlin boycotted the U.N. Disarmament Commission. The President earlier this year brought up the subject of space disarmament in letters to the Soviet leaders, but otherwise the ~~United States~~ Administration failed totake a vigorous initiative on the subject. Last March the United States paid a high price for the Administration's procrastination. Grabbing the initiative the Kremlin announced to the world comprehensive proposals for banning

the use of outer space for military purposes and for cooperation in the peaceful study of outer space under the supervision of the United Nations. We had, in a word, been scooped. The lead in this field of disarmament that had once been ours was snatched right out of our hands by the alert Soviet propagandists.

For months the Administration permitted the Soviet Union to monopolize the lead for joint international action for peace in space. Belatedly, in the September, the United States finally laid before the United Nations proposals for the peaceful study and utilization of outer space. These proposals were confined to endeavors strictly in the scientific field and did not broach the problem of international control of space weapons. Both the United States proposals and the Soviet Union's plan are scheduled to be discussed by the General Assembly at its current session in New York, probably within a few weeks.

Dangers of Unregulated Space

This is a constructive beginning, but much more must be done if our political institutions are to keep pace with the explosive expansion of space science. Seven satellites have already been launched into space by American and Russian scientists. Four are still orbiting -- one of them for an expected period of two centuries. Many different kinds of satellites will soon be coming off production lines designed for all sorts of military and scientific purposes. Within only a short period of time the number and variety of satellites whizzing through space could raise grave and troublesome issues. One serious difficulty arises from the fact that certain types of satellites can play a ~~double~~ multiple role. A television satellite, for example, might be utilized for the scientific purpose of scanning cloud formations, but it could also be employed for reconnaissance of military positions. Such a satellite might also be profitably adapted as an instrument of inspection for international disarmament. If space satellites are not

made subject to international regulation or incorporated into an international inspection system, then any country could send space vehicles over another for military purposes. A Soviet reconnaissance satellite, for instance, could spy on American defenses -- or vice versa. The country spied upon would then have the choice of suffering this infringement of its security or destroying the intruder. Obviously such an uncontrolled situation could have inflammatory effects.

An unregulated state of affairs in space could also result in another kind of tragedy -- the tragedy of an accidental outbreak of general missile warfare. It is quite possible, scientists have warned, that an unfamiliar satellite might be mistaken for an attacking intercontinental ballistic missile and trigger off the missile holocaust we all dread. These are not hallucinations generated by overheated imaginations but real problems which the scientific community has brought to our attention. Farseeing statesmanship should attempt to deal with them before growing scientific complications make them impervious to a solution.

A Program for the Space Age

Under present conditions a well-conceived program for dealing with the political problems of outer space should contain at least the following main points. These points were essentially endorsed by the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament in its final report issued about a month ago.

First, the peoples of the world must unite their efforts for the scientific study and exploration of outer space. A linking of many hands and minds from many nations will bring not only greater energy and resources to the space program, but also create order in place of what could otherwise be a situation of perilous chaos. This union of effort should take place on two fronts -- on the front of the world scientific community and on the front of governments. The International Geophysical Year, scheduled to end in December, has furnished a remarkable example of cooperative research in space technology and other fields by the world scientific community. Although the world's

scientists have decided not to continue the IGY in its entirety, they have taken steps to extend world cooperation in space research and certain other fields. Just a couple of weeks ago the International Council of Scientific Unions under whose ~~aegis~~ sponsorship the IGY program has been conducted created a special committee on space research to prepare a plan for long-term coordination of space research and exploration.

This initiative by the scientists has been paralleled on a governmental level by the United States proposals in the General Assembly for peaceful scientific cooperation to which I have already alluded. These two moves -- one by scientists, one by governments -- should not be competitive but complementary. Participants on both levels can make a positive contribution to harmonious progress in opening up the mysteries of outer space.

As they stand now the United States proposals call only for the United Nations to approve in principle international

cooperation for peaceful space research, independently of disarmament, and to create a special joint committee to explore what ought to be done. They do not spell out what kind of an international organ should have jurisdiction over peaceful space studies nor what its scope, authority and program should be. This is a blank spot that should be filled in as rapidly as possible. The State Department, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and other pertinent Executive agencies should promptly evolve plans for the proposed international space authority and present them to the United Nations. These plans should envisage the participation in the joint space enterprise of every nation that desires to take part. No member of the international family of nations should be excluded from the invitation, and likewise no nation's refusal of the invitation should be considered a barrier to cooperative action by the others. In concept and design the international space agency might well be patterned after the present International Atomic Energy Agency now operating in the area of peaceful development of atomic energy.

Time will be required to negotiate, organize and place in operation an international space agency for peaceful purposes. Within a matter of months both the United States and the Soviet Union might have launched rocket shots for impact on the moon or for orbit around it. The first successful moon shot could signal an outburst of clashing legal claims that would further inflame relations between the two countries. Eventually, conflicting claims could also be asserted over other space bodies or over portions of space itself. Several months ago I proposed that in order to prevent legal and political collisions of this character the United States should propose to the members of the United Nations the conclusion of a treaty barring any national claims in the region of outer space. Since then the Secretary General of the United Nations in his annual report has also suggested an agreement that outer space and the celestial bodies therein not be considered as capable of appropriation by any state. The United States should follow through

on this idea and should sponsor at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly an agreement for the internationalization of space. Moreover, our government should immediately announce that it will reserve any of its own claims or rights in space for the United Nations or for such other international agency as might be organized with jurisdiction over space affairs.

While establishment of the international space agency for scientific research and adoption of the principle of space internationalization will not of themselves prevent any nation from fabricating long-range ballistic missiles or other military space weapons, they would have some indirect value as disarmament devices. The space agency would absorb energies and divert resources that might otherwise be expended in missile rivalry. The principle of internationalization would help to prevent incidents and conflicts that heighten tension and stimulate an arms race.

But more than this is required. The United States should also formulate specific proposals for an international space weapons

control system and press for their acceptance within the United Nations. This system should include the outlawry of missiles and military space vehicles as well as an effective inspection network to gurantee that the ban is not evaded. The onrush of military space technology is so rapid that we must act quickly. The world learned a disagreeable lesson when through Soviet obstinacy the opportunity for complete control of atomic weapons slipped through our fingers. After years of procrastination and futile negotiation over atomic controls the inexorable facts of science took their revenge. We found ourselves in a technical impasse where we could not have effective comprehensive nuclear disarmament even if everybody had agreed. We learned it was no longer scientifically possible to detect existing nuclear weapons stockpiles by an inspection system. It would be folly to repeat in regard to space weapons the same error that was made in regard to atomic armaments. Once long-range ballistic missiles and other outer space military devices become thoroughly

perfected and incorporated into national defense systems, it will very likely become exceedingly difficult if not impossible to bring them under an effective international ban and inspection network. We must act now while these new dreadfully swift engines of destruction are still in their infancy.

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