

P.S. 12/10/13

SECRET

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Imperial Conference - 1937

Committee on Polar Questions,
New Hebrides, Western Samoa, the
Antarctic.

[1937]

PS 12/10/13

ANNEX IV

Note to the Norwegian Minister from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SIR,

Foreign Office, S.W.1, 23rd October, 1934.

I have the honour to refer to M. Vogt's note of the 26th January last concerning the Antarctic, in which he alluded to certain questions arising out of the Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, and suggested that these questions might form the subject of discussions between Norwegian and British experts.

2. I much regret the delay which has occurred in replying to M. Vogt's note under reference, due to the necessity for consultation with His Majesty's Governments in the other parts of the Empire concerned in this matter.

3. I now have the honour, after such consultation, to inform you that His Majesty's Governments concerned are fully in agreement with the view expressed in the last paragraph of M. Vogt's note that an international conference on the subject of the Antarctic would not be desirable. They will, on the other hand, of course, be ready at any time to enter into discussions with the Norwegian Government through the diplomatic channel in regard to any specific points which the Norwegian Government may desire to raise. At the same time they are not, in the absence of more precise information as to the questions to be discussed, convinced of the necessity in present circumstances for any discussions between experts.

4. I have the honour to add as regards the second and third paragraphs of your predecessor's note under reference that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognize the special interests of Norway in the Antarctic. In this connexion I desire to repeat the assurance already given informally to the Norwegian Government that there is no intention of claiming British sovereignty over the region lying between the western boundary of the Australian Antarctic Territory as defined in the Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, and the eastern boundary of Coats Land as mentioned in the summary of proceedings of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

I have, etc.,

P. LEIGH-SMITH,

for the Secretary of State.

Monsieur Erik Colban,
etc., etc., etc.

ANNEX III

Memorandum communicated by the Norwegian Minister on 26th January, 1934.

The situation which has been created in the Antarctic by the Norwegian and British discoveries, and the placing under British authority of a new vast territory by the Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, have been followed with close attention by the Norwegian Government.

Not without concern have the Norwegian Government taken cognizance of the fact that nearly two-thirds of the Antarctic Continent, with adjacent islands, has been declared placed under foreign sovereignty, and thus a possibility created that in future certain restrictions might meet Norwegian activities, more especially the whaling industry, in these parts of the world.

The question naturally arises whether certain parts of the Antarctic Continent ought to be placed under Norwegian sovereignty, in order to protect Norwegian activities against the possibility of being subject to interference from some other country. Large areas in the Antarctic between Enderby Land and Coats Land have been discovered and partly mapped out by Norwegians.

The above-mentioned Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, gives rise to certain practical questions which the Norwegian Government are anxious to have clarified. The fact that part of Haakon VII's Vidde has been included in the area claimed as British territory might cause some reservation similar to that made by Norway in the exchange of notes with Great Britain in 1925-27 with regard to the Ross Dependency. There may also arise some questions with regard to the western border line of this territory. With the line as now fixed the claimed area comprises a substantial part of Queen Maud's Land, which has been discovered and mapped out by Norwegians.

There are also some questions which it is desirable to have clarified regarding the naming of certain areas, for instance, Lars Christensen's Land.

In case the territory between Enderby Land and Coats Land should be placed under Norwegian sovereignty, the question arises of fixing the border line between this territory and the part of Coats Land which lies outside the Falkland Island Dependencies (see the *Summary of Proceedings from the Imperial Conference in London, 1926*, p. 33).

The Royal Norwegian Government have had under consideration the desirability of holding an international conference for the discussion of the situation in the Antarctic. As, however, the questions of special interest to Norway in these regions chiefly concern areas where practically only Norway and Great Britain are interested, the Norwegian Government have come to the conclusion that the purpose would be better answered if the situation were discussed between these two countries, in order that the different questions might be clarified and an understanding between Norway and Great Britain reached. The Norwegian Government therefore venture to suggest that the most expedient procedure would be that these questions—of a practical nature and based on facts—could be discussed between experts from the two countries, and that the result of their deliberations thereafter could be transmitted to their respective Governments, who will then make their decision and endeavour to obtain an arrangement of all questions which may not be clear or may have given rise to divergent opinions.

ANNEX I

Note from the French Ambassador to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

L'Ambassadeur de France croit devoir confirmer la communication verbale faite par lui à la fin de Septembre dernier au Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat permanent relative à la Terre Adélie et aux terres antarctiques visées dans la note adressée par l'Ambassade d'Angleterre à Paris au Gouvernement français le 14 Février dernier.

La décision britannique, objet de l'ordre en Conseil communiqué à cette date par Lord Tyrrell, concernait les territoires, autres que la Terre Adélie, situés au sud du 60° degré de latitude et entre les 160° et 45° degrés de longitude. Elle a déterminé le Gouvernement français à recourir aux précisions suivantes.

Les îles et territoires compris dans le fuseau délimité par le 60° degré de latitude sud d'une part et les 136° et 147° degrés de longitude est de Greenwich de l'autre constituent la Terre Adélie et relèvent de la souveraineté française.

Pour le mettre en mesure de répondre à la communication de l'ordre en Conseil britannique, le Gouvernement français désirerait savoir si la définition exposée ci-dessus ne soulève aucune observation de la part du Gouvernement britannique.

M. CORBIN saisit, etc.

Ambassade de France à Londres,
Albert Gate House,
Le 24 octobre, 1933.

ANNEX II

Note to the French Ambassador from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Foreign Office, S.W.1, 13th April, 1934.

With reference to the Note which you were so good as to address to me on the 24th October last, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom and in the Commonwealth of Australia find themselves unable to accept the definition of Adélie Land as being the islands and territories included in the sector south of 60° of latitude South and between 136° and 147° of longitude East of Greenwich. In the view of His Majesty's Governments Adélie Land consists of the islands and territories lying in the sector between 136½° and 142° of longitude East of Greenwich, which are the limits given on Commandant d'Urville's own chart as published by your Government, and dated 1840, and subsequently reproduced in atlas form in 1847.

I have, etc.,

P. LEIGH-SMITH.

His Excellency
Monsieur André Charles Corbin,
etc., etc., etc.

XI—NAMES IN THE ANTARCTIC

64. During the period under review, those responsible for the placing of names on maps and charts of the Antarctic have had to consider what policy should be adopted in the choice of names. The problem was not new, but required fresh consideration on the revision by the Admiralty of existing maps and charts as a result of the discoveries of the British, Australian, and New Zealand Antarctic Research Expedition and of the Norwegian and United States expeditions which had recently visited the Antarctic.

65. The ultimate acceptance of any particular name rests with the administrative authority, if any, of a territory; the decision as to the names to be inserted on a map of an area not under administrative control rests rather with the cartographer. In either case, much depends on the explorer, who is usually responsible in the first place for suggesting a name. Notes for the guidance of Explorers and Cartographers in the matter were accordingly drawn up, with the approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which were accepted by the Royal Geographical Society, and were communicated to His Majesty's Governments in the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, and to the Government of the Falkland Islands. The principle of the Notes is that an explorer should send to the appropriate administrative authority the names which he suggests, with the reasons for suggesting them, with a view to official adoption by the administrative authority.

LONDON, S.W.1.

4th February, 1907.

under the auspices of the United States Government, but, if it were, they would wish to draw attention to the same points in connection with the operation of a wireless station and aeroplane flights as in the case of the Byrd Expedition.

57. The aeroplane was damaged by ice, so the flight could not be made. Mr. Ellsworth, however, took the aeroplane to Deception Island in the autumn of 1934, hoping to make the same flight in the reverse direction, but, owing to adverse weather, he decided not to do so.

58. Mr. Ellsworth decided to try again and, after two false starts, took off, on the 23rd November, 1935, from Dundee Island, off the Grahamland Archipelago, in the hope of reaching the Bay of Whales in the Ross Dependency. The aeroplane was piloted by a Canadian pilot, Mr. Hollick-Kenyon.

59. For eight hours regular wireless messages were received from the aeroplane by the base ship, the "Wyatt Earp," but then ceased. The latest reported position of the aeroplane was latitude 75° S, longitude 79° W, but it might have reached the Bay of Whales with a damaged transmitting set, though otherwise safe. It had been previously arranged that the "Wyatt Earp" should go from Dundee Island to the Bay of Whales, to take off the airmen, but, as the voyage was expected to take some six weeks, and as the R.R.S. "Discovery II" was then carrying out scientific investigations for the "Discovery" Committee off the coast of Australia, His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia suggested on the 2nd December, that she should be sent to Australia, to take on board an aeroplane, and from there to the Bay of Whales, in the hope of rescuing the two airmen, if they should be there or in the vicinity. In response to this suggestion, the "Discovery II" was ordered to Melbourne, where two aeroplanes, provided by the Commonwealth Government, were shipped. It was agreed that the Commonwealth, New Zealand and United Kingdom Governments should share equally the other costs of the diversion of the ship from her normal work up to £2,000 each, and that the Commonwealth and United Kingdom Governments would share equally any excess over £6,000.

60. The "Discovery II" reached Williamstown on the 13th December, left on the 23rd December, reached Dunedin on the 31st December, 1935, left on the 2nd January, 1936, and reached the Bay of Whales on the 16th January. Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Hollick-Kenyon were found there and taken on board. Both expressed their sincere thanks for all that had been done for them, and an official expression of the gratitude of the United States Government was received from the United States Chargé d'Affaires in London.

61. Mr. Ellsworth had to land four times during the journey, which altogether took some twelve days. Petrol ran short sixteen miles from his destination, which was reached on foot from the final landing place.

62. The geographical results of the flight, although appreciable, are not as striking as might have been hoped; for instance, one of Mr. Ellsworth's aims was to confirm whether or not the Antarctic continent is cut by a channel connecting the Ross Sea with the Weddell Sea, and he does not claim to have achieved this. He did, however, find a chain of mountains in the interior of Hearst Land, rising to 13,000 feet, and 75 miles in extent, which he named "Eternity Range," and, so far as he could observe, all the ground on the route between these mountains and the Ross Dependency appeared to be a high but fairly level plateau.

63. Before taking off he announced in a wireless message to the Press that when he reached unclaimed territory, he would "with the permission of the State Department, drop the Stars and Stripes, and, so far as that act will suffice, claim the area we discover up to the 120th meridian for the U.S.A." He has since announced that he raised the American flag on November 23rd, 1935, on the only unclaimed land in Antarctica and named the area between Hearst Land on one side and Marie Byrd Land on the other, "James W. Ellsworth Land". The area claimed is reported to extend from 80° W. (the western boundary of the Falkland Islands Dependencies) to 120° W.

only a portion of the region, was based on a misapprehension of the facts. After reference to the Order in Council of 1923 and the Regulations issued under it in exercise of British title, the note continued—

“ His Majesty's Government in New Zealand recognise the absence of ordinary postal facilities in the Dependency and desire, therefore, to facilitate as far as possible the carriage of mail by United States authorities to and from the Byrd Expedition. As regards Mr. Anderson's present mission, they understand that he is carrying letters, to which are, or will be, affixed special stamps printed in the United States and that these stamps are to be cancelled and date-stamped on board the Expedition's vessel. They also understand that these stamps are intended to be commemorative of the Byrd Expedition and have been issued as a matter of philatelic interest.”

“ In the above circumstances, His Majesty's Government in New Zealand have no objection to the proposed visit of Mr. Anderson. They must, however, place it on record that, had his mission appeared to them to be designed as an assertion of United States sovereignty over any part of the Ross Dependency or as a challenge to British sovereignty therein, they would have been compelled to make a protest.”

52. The United States Government, in replying on the 7th February, 1935, noted that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand had no objection to the proposed visit of Mr. Anderson, and said that they considered that no useful purpose would be served by a discussion at this time of the questions raised in the British note. They went on to reaffirm the statement in their note of the 24th February, 1934, reserving all United States rights in the matter.

53. It was subsequently reported in the Press that all the mail taken by the Expedition to the Dependency was, after the cancellation there of the stamps, taken back to the United States and reposted from there.

54. According to published reports of the Expedition the general direction of their discoveries lay beyond the eastern limits of the Ross Dependency. Admiral Byrd himself, on his return to New Zealand, assured Lord Bledisloe, the Governor-General, that there could be no question of the United States claiming any territory within the limits of the Ross Dependency. In a subsequent statement to the Press, he did foreshadow a claim by the United States to the land discovered by the Expedition to the east of the 150th meridian. So far as is known, there are no grounds for any British or other foreign claim to any part of the area between 150° W and 80° W. No action has, however, yet been taken by the United States Government on the basis of the discoveries of the Byrd Expedition.

X.—MR. LINCOLN ELLSWORTH'S EXPEDITIONS

55. In the autumn of 1933 Mr. Lincoln Ellsworth, a United States citizen, announced his intention of taking an aeroplane to the Ross Dependency and attempting a flight across the Continent to the Weddell Sea, in order to discover whether or not the Ross Sea and Weddell Sea are connected by water.

56. No application for permission to fly over the Dependency or over the Falkland Islands Dependencies was made by the Expedition, and no information was available as to whether the Expedition was proceeding under the official auspices of the United States Government. A message of goodwill with an offer of facilities while in the Dependency was sent to Mr. Ellsworth by the New Zealand Government on his departure from New Zealand on 5th December, 1933. His Majesty's Ambassador, in his note to the United States Government of the 29th January, 1934, referred to in paragraph 47, pointed out that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand were not aware whether this Expedition was proceeding

Post Office on the 7th November, 1934, the date on which all philatelic mail addressed to the Expedition would be despatched from Washington Post Office. The "Washington Evening Star" of the same date published a long article under the heading, "The most remote P.O. ever established under the U.S. flag will be set up on Antarctic ice at Little America." It seemed desirable to indicate to the United States Government, before Mr. Anderson sailed, that the communiqué had not escaped notice. Sir Ronald Lindsay was therefore authorised unofficially to ask for an explanation, in the light of his note of the 29th January, of what appeared to be the official recognition of the establishment of a United States Post Office in British territory under New Zealand administration. Sir Ronald Lindsay did so on the 7th November, observing that the United States authorities were now taking action which might be construed as an assertion of sovereignty and that he did not think that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand could allow this to pass unnoticed. Sir Ronald Lindsay's own impression was that the United States Government, while desirous of avoiding express recognition of the British claim to the Dependency, did not wish to assert United States sovereignty, and that their activities in connection with the special stamp and special post office were only undertaken in the imagined interests of philately.

49. On the 14th November, 1934, the United States Secretary of State sent a semi-official letter to Sir Ronald Lindsay, referring to his enquiry, and saying that the only action taken by the United States Government since the earlier correspondence was the despatch of Mr. Anderson to Little America "for the purpose of assuming charge of the handling of mail at that place." The letter went on:

"It is understood that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand base their claim to sovereignty on discovery of a portion of the region in question.

"While it is unnecessary to enter into any detailed discussion of the subject at the present time, nevertheless, in order to avoid misapprehension, it is proper for me to say, in the light of long established principles of international law, that I cannot admit that sovereignty accrues from mere discovery unaccompanied by occupancy and use."

50. It appeared undesirable to leave unanswered this definite challenge to British sovereignty in the Ross Dependency on top of the apparent intention to infringe British sovereign rights by the official recognition of a United States post office there. On the other hand, no useful purpose could be served by creating a diplomatic controversy with the United States about claims in the Antarctic, which would almost certainly become public, out of a relatively unimportant incident arising out of postage stamps. Means were therefore considered by which the handling of mail by Mr. Anderson in the Dependency could be reconciled with due recognition of British sovereignty. The alternatives considered were (1) a formal written assurance by the United States Government that Mr. Anderson's visit was not intended as an official exercise of United States postal functions but was arranged solely for reasons of philatelic interest; (2) the association of the New Zealand Post Office with the handling of the mail at the base, e.g. by a New Zealand official accompanying Mr. Anderson or by the use of New Zealand stamps besides United States stamps on the mail; (3) an express request from the United States Government for the authorisation of the use in the Dependency of United States stamps. But before any of these alternatives was put to the United States Government, the New Zealand Government ascertained that technical difficulties might prevent the proposed use of a cancelling-machine at the base; if so, it would be used either on the expedition's ship or even in New Zealand; moreover, a somewhat similar procedure was understood to have been adopted by Admiral Byrd's previous expedition in 1928. It therefore seemed preferable to refrain from any objections which events might show to be ill-founded, and, while adhering to the proposal to answer the challenge to British sovereignty in the note of the 14th November, to treat Mr. Anderson's visit as devoid of political significance.

51. On the 27th December, 1934, Sir Ronald Lindsay officially informed the United States Secretary of State, at the instance of His Majesty's Government in New Zealand, that the supposition that the British claim to sovereignty over the Ross Dependency is based on discovery alone, and, moreover, on the discovery of

the action of the United States Government might infringe it, and, in view of the publicity which it had received in the Press that it should not be allowed to pass without comment.

47. Accordingly, on the 29th January, 1934, His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington addressed a note to the United States Government, at the instance of His Majesty's Government in New Zealand, recalling their offer of all necessary facilities for the Byrd Expedition while in territory under New Zealand administration, and continuing as follows:—

" His Majesty's Government in New Zealand understand that the expedition has the official backing of the United States Government and in these circumstances they feel it necessary to state that their attention has been drawn to articles in certain newspapers reporting that it is intended to establish a post office at Admiral Byrd's base in Ross Dependency and that certain members of the expedition were, before leaving the United States, formally sworn in before the Postmaster-General of the United States with the object of acting as postmasters at this post office. It is also understood that special stamps in connexion with the expedition have been issued by the United States Government, and it has been reported that these will be used to frank letters posted at the expedition's base. While His Majesty's Government in New Zealand recognize that some allowance must be made for the absence of ordinary postal facilities in Ross Dependency, they would point out that if a United States post office were to be officially established in the Dependency, or if the United States Government were to sanction the use of United States postage stamps there without permission from the Sovereign Power, such acts could not be regarded otherwise than as infringing British sovereignty and New Zealand administrative rights in the Dependency as well as the laws there in force.

" Although it is understood that the expedition is operating a wireless station in Ross Dependency, no licence for such a station was applied for, and similarly although it is understood that United States aircraft are being imported into the Dependency for the purpose of making flights in or over its territory, the competent authorities received no application for permission for such flights. Since on his previous expedition Admiral Byrd established a wireless station at his base and carried aircraft to the Dependency and was not then required to obtain a licence or formal permission he may have thought it unnecessary to do so on this occasion. His Majesty's Government in New Zealand are indeed willing to regard their offer of facilities as covering now, as on the previous expedition, permission both for the wireless station and for the flights over the Dependency, but they would nevertheless point out that they would have preferred prior application to have been made to the competent authority by or on behalf of the expedition in accordance with the relevant legislation applicable."

At the same time as Sir Ronald Lindsay was instructed to present this note he was informed that its terms had been carefully drafted so as to place on record the attitude of the New Zealand Government but to avoid the necessity of the United States Government having to reply, and thus to diminish the risk of controversy. He therefore indicated this to the State Department and let it be known that His Majesty's Governments concerned would not be sorry if no answer were made. However, on the 24th February, 1934, the United States Secretary of State acknowledged the note of the 29th January in a note which continued:

" I desire to assure you that any facilities given to the Expedition by the New Zealand authorities are greatly appreciated. It does not seem necessary at this time to enter into a discussion of the interesting questions which are set forth in your note. However, I reserve all rights which the United States or its citizens may have with respect to this matter."

48. On the 27th October, 1934, the United States Post Office Department officially announced that, in order to provide even better philatelic service than previously accorded to stamp collectors at the Little America Post Office of the Byrd Expedition, the Postmaster-General had designated Charles F. Anderson, cancellation expert of the Post Office Department, to proceed to Little America

also certain Antarctic territories extending to the South Pole. In the circumstances, I desire to have it made a matter of record that the acceptance by the Government of the United States of the terms of the pilot arrangement, with the Falkland Islands ' and dependencies ' listed in the schedule attached to your note cannot in any way be implied to have any bearing on the question as to what country or countries may validly claim ownership of or title to the various territories embraced within the term ' dependencies ' as used by your Government in this schedule."

42. His Majesty's Ambassador, in forwarding a copy of this note, expressed the opinion that the United States Government had adopted this attitude in pursuance of the contention in their note of the 14th November, 1934, quoted in paragraph 49, that permanent occupation and use are essential to the establishment of a claim to sovereignty. This note was not answered.

IX.—ADMIRAL BYRD'S SECOND EXPEDITION

43. In September, 1933, Admiral Byrd published his plans for an elaborate Antarctic expedition from the base in the Ross Dependency used on his first expedition in 1928-30 and then named by him " Little America." He was reported to have received from President Roosevelt an assurance of the full support of the United States Government.

44. In 1928 it had been thought desirable to bring to the notice of the United States Government British rights and interests in the regions to which a title to sovereignty had been asserted in the report of the 1926 Imperial Conference, at the same time offering the United States Government assistance to the expedition while in the Ross Dependency and the Falkland Islands Dependencies. It did not seem necessary again to bring British interests in those regions to the notice of the United States Government, because British sovereignty had been formally asserted by the British Australian and New Zealand Antarctic Research Expedition over all except one (the outlying part of Coats Land). With this exception, they had been formally placed under the authority of His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia. Publicity had been given to these developments, and British title was, it was thought, secure against any claims which might be advanced by the Byrd Expedition.

45. The Expedition was, however, taking aeroplanes to Little America, and was proposing to operate a wireless station there and, according to some reports, to set up a post office. Neither Admiral Byrd nor the United States Government showed any intention of contesting British sovereignty over the Ross Dependency, but, on the other hand, neither had recognized it by communicating to His Majesty's Government in New Zealand, who are responsible for the administration of the Dependency, the plans of the Expedition for visiting it, or by asking any permission in connection with the aeroplanes, the wireless station, or the post office. It was therefore decided, both as a matter of courtesy and as a means of again bringing British sovereignty over the Dependency to the notice of the Expedition, to send them a message of goodwill and an offer of any assistance in the Dependency within the power of the authorities. This was done by the New Zealand Government. The offer of facilities was not made, as in 1928, to the United States Government, because of two complications in connection with the proposed post office at Little America, which there was not time to consider before the Expedition left New Zealand.

46. The two complications were: (1) the issue by the United States Government of a special postage stamp inscribed " Byrd Antarctic Expedition II " and " U.S. Postage," representing a globe with Admiral Byrd's itineraries and Little America prominently marked, and (2) the administration of the oath, in the presence of the United States Postmaster-General, to two members of the Expedition, before their departure from the United States, to empower them to act as postal officials at the proposed post office. It was thought that, although Admiral Byrd himself might not intend to infringe British territorial rights in the Ross Dependency,

no circumstances be renounced, but they have nevertheless persisted in their claim, and have caused embarrassment by a number of vexatious acts, as, for instance, by obstructing telegraphic and postal communication between the Argentine and the Islands, and by refusing visas to British subjects born in the Islands, on the ground that such people, having been born in Argentine territory, are Argentine citizens.

36. Difficulties over visas and passports have occurred in recent years, but have been overcome. In 1933, the Argentine postal authorities refused to recognise as sufficiently stamped letters posted in the Islands and bearing stamps specially issued in that year to commemorate the hundredth year of British rule. In 1935, the Argentine Government issued a series of postage stamps on which the Islands were shown as Argentine property. In reply to a question in Parliament, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs took the opportunity of repeating that the islands were British territory and that no Argentine claim to them could be admitted. His Majesty's Ambassador at Buenos Aires was also instructed to point out to the Argentine Government that no useful purpose could be served by such actions as the issue of the stamps in question, which could only be detrimental to good relations.

37. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, while not admitting any question whatever as to the validity of British title, take the view that it is prudent to avoid any unnecessary controversy on the subject, and that their relations with the Argentine Government are normally cordial enough to enable the latter to restrain those sections of the press or of public opinion which are disposed to ventilate the Argentine claim.

VII.—THE ARGENTINE CLAIM TO THE SOUTH ORKNEYS

38. The South Orkneys lie some 400 miles south-east of the Falkland Islands, and were included in the Falkland Islands Dependencies when they were constituted by Letters Patent in 1908.

39. In 1904 the Argentine Government accepted the offer of Dr. Bruce, a British subject, to present to them a meteorological station which he had set up on Laurie Island. The station has since been in continuous Argentine occupation, and upon this fact the Argentine Government have based an argument, with varying persistency, that all the South Orkney group belongs to the Argentine. British sovereignty, however, has been continuously exercised since 1908, and has been repeatedly reaffirmed. The Argentine Government have continued to relieve the observatory each year, but in the period under review have not revived their claim.

VIII.—THE UNITED STATES AND THE FALKLAND ISLANDS DEPENDENCIES

40. In 1831 and 1854, the United States asserted their claim to certain fishing rights in the region of the South Orkneys, but they have declined to be a party to the controversy with the Argentine.

41. They have not reasserted any rights in this area, but on 30th April, 1935, the United States Secretary of State, in a note referring to an exchange of notes with His Majesty's Ambassador constituting an agreement about the issue of licences to pilots of civil aircraft, wrote:—

“ The schedule of territories attached to your note includes the ‘ Falkland Islands and Dependencies.’ It has come to my notice that the term ‘ dependencies ’ as used in this connection is considered by your Government to include South Georgia, the South Sandwich and South Shetland groups, and other islands, and

no claims had yet been put forward by any country. Mr. Dormer informed M. Mowinckel in this sense on the 16th November, 1934, reminding him that Sir Charles Wingfield had made a similar communication to him in December, 1929. M. Mowinckel merely remarked that the communication was interesting and that he would study the question.

29. On the 20th February, 1935, Captain K. Mikkelsen, in the Norwegian tanker "Thorshavn," found land in Latitude $67^{\circ} 50' S$, Longitude $80^{\circ} 45' E$, which he followed to Latitude $68^{\circ} 29' S$, Longitude $78^{\circ} 36' E$. He hoisted the Norwegian flag and named the land Ingrid Christensen Land. It lies within the Australian Antarctic Territory and appears to be practically identical with land discovered by Sir Douglas Mawson in February, 1931, and named by him Princess Elisabeth Land. When the news was published in the Norwegian Press the Norwegian Prime Minister was reported as saying that the question of an official Norwegian occupation had not been considered by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

IV.—NORWAY AND PETER I. ISLAND

30. The "Norvegia" had formally annexed Peter I. Island on 2nd February, 1929, and after consideration of all the relevant factors, His Majesty's Minister at Oslo was informed that, if the Norwegian Government should mention the matter, he should reply that the island was not claimed as British.

31. In a note dated the 9th May, 1931, the Norwegian Minister officially informed the Foreign Office of the annexation and stated that by a Royal Proclamation of the 1st May, 1931, the island had been placed under Norwegian sovereignty.

32. On the 6th August, 1931, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs handed the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires a note stating that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were prepared to recognise Norwegian sovereignty over the island. At the same time, he reminded him of British interests in the Commonwealth sector (*see* paragraph 22).

V.—BRITISH GRAHAMLAND EXPEDITION, 1934-37

33. An expedition, composed chiefly of young men, under Mr. John Rymill, left England in September, 1934, for Grahamland, in the Falkland Islands Dependencies, with the object of exploring at the base of the Grahamland Archipelago, by one journey to the west towards Charcot Island, and another to the east towards Hearst Land. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom contributed £13,500 towards the expenses and helped the expedition in other ways. They cordially supported it, because, among other reasons, it was likely to strengthen the British position there under international law. The operations of the Expedition were not planned to extend beyond the limits of the Dependencies, so that no question arose of claiming fresh territory.

34. The expedition is due to return to England early in 1937.

VI.—THE ARGENTINE CLAIM TO THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

35. The Falkland Islands, after a variety of different occupations in the latter half of the 18th century, British, Spanish and French, finally passed into the possession of the British Crown in 1833, and have been in effective British occupation ever since. The Argentine Government, however, have consistently maintained a claim to the islands, and from time to time have presented a reasoned statement of it. They last did so in 1888, when His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom declined to enter into any further discussion of the matter. They have also since then been told several times that British rights in the islands would in

a conference with His Majesty's Governments and the United States Government with a view to an agreed partition of the Antarctic, the preservation of Antarctic whales, and uniform nomenclature based on priority.

26. On the 26th January, 1934, these views found official expression in a memorandum left at the Foreign Office by the Norwegian Minister (Annex III). After referring to the Australian Antarctic Territory Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, the Norwegian Government expressed their concern that nearly two-thirds of the Antarctic Continent had been placed under foreign sovereignty, which threatened a possible restriction of Norwegian activities, and they stated that they had considered the desirability of an international conference on the Antarctic; they had, however, concluded in favour of a discussion between British and Norwegian experts, the result of whose deliberations could be transmitted to their respective Governments, who would then try to settle all questions which might not be clear or might have given rise to divergent opinions.

27. It seemed likely from this step that the Norwegian Government intended to annex the sector between Enderby Land and Coats Land, but it was thought that, if they should do so without prior consultation with the British Governments concerned, the boundaries which they would be obliged to claim might conflict with those claimed for British territory. It might, therefore, be advantageous to agree with them beforehand the exact lines of delimitation. On the other hand, the limit of the Australian Antarctic Territory had been defined in the Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, and could not well be modified, whilst the limit of the outlying part of Coats Land, mentioned in the Imperial Conference Report of 1926 as an area to which British title already existed, had never been publicly defined and no formal steps had been taken to attach this area to the British Empire, so that there was no legal basis for an agreed delimitation. Moreover, discussions with Norway could hardly be kept secret, and, if news leaked out, foreign countries, particularly France and the United States of America, might think that Norway and the British Empire were dividing the Antarctic between themselves and be moved to stake their own claims or to protest against ours. Thus the Norwegian suggestion for discussions between experts had to be declined. At the same time, it seemed desirable to express the willingness of His Majesty's Governments at any time to discuss with the Norwegian Government through the diplomatic channel any specific points which the Norwegian Government might desire to raise.

28. Another motive behind the Norwegian note appeared to be the fear that, if they should refrain from annexing the sector, some other power might have designs on it, possibly the British Empire: in that case it was thought that they might be content with a formal assurance that there was no intention of claiming British sovereignty there: such an assurance, combined with express recognition of the special interests of Norway in the Antarctic, might have the further advantage that, if the Norwegian Government, on the strength of it, formally established themselves in that sector, public opinion in Norway might be reconciled to British claims to a large part of the continent outside it. If the Norwegian Government should allow 15 or 20 years to elapse without formally establishing a Norwegian title, we should regain our liberty of action. A copy of the note which, with the concurrence of His Majesty's Governments in the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, was accordingly sent to the Norwegian Minister on the 23rd October, 1934, is attached (Annex IV). His Majesty's Government in the Union of South Africa had agreed in 1929, when the attention of Norway was first directed to this sector by His Majesty's Minister at Oslo, that, in the event of territory there being claimed for Norway, no grounds existed on which objection could be taken. A copy of the note of the 23rd October, 1934, was sent to His Majesty's Minister at Oslo with instructions to inform the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs that His Majesty's Governments concerned regard as unimpeachable the British claim to sovereignty over the whole of the Falkland Islands Dependencies (including the whole of Coats Land), the Ross Dependency, and the Australian Antarctic Territory: as public opinion strongly supports these claims, it would be impossible to recognise the claims of any other country in any of these areas: there remained, however, the area between the western boundary of the Australian Antarctic Territory and the eastern boundary of Coats Land, to which, so far as was known,

19. Captain Larsen afterwards reported the discovery of two new lands—one stretching from Latitude 69° S, Longitude $38^{\circ} 45'$ E to Latitude $67^{\circ} 47'$ S, Longitude 45° E which he proposed to name Queen Maud Land, and the other stretching from Latitude $70^{\circ} 55'$ S, Longitude $8^{\circ} 40'$ W, to Latitude $72^{\circ} 20'$ S, Longitude $15^{\circ} 50'$ W, which he proposed to name Crown Princess Martha Land. Both these discoveries lay between the westernmost limit of the proposed Australian sector and the easternmost limit of Coats Land.

20. In February, 1931, Captain Larsen traced the coast line of the Antarctic Continent between Latitude $70^{\circ} 30'$ S, Longitude $24^{\circ} 15'$ E, and Latitude $68^{\circ} 40'$ S, Longitude $33^{\circ} 30'$ E. On the 17th February he flew inland and dropped a Norwegian flag annexing this territory, which he named Princess Ragnhild Land. This land lies between the two lands mentioned in the previous paragraph.

21. About the same time Herr Lars Christensen in the whaler "Torlyn" traced the coast-line between Latitude $68^{\circ} 50'$ S, Longitude 71° E and Latitude $68^{\circ} 10'$ S, Longitude 65° E, and named the territory Lars Christensen Land. This lay within the Australian sector and appeared to be a continuation of what Sir Douglas Mawson had discovered in 1930 and had named MacRobertson Land.

22. No representations were made to the Norwegian Government as to the activities in the Commonwealth sector of Herr Lars Christensen's or of other Norwegian whaling vessels, since the best policy seemed to be to rely on the friendly understanding reached in 1929-30. On the 6th August, 1931, however, in conveying to the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires the recognition by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Norwegian sovereignty over Peter I. Island (see paragraph 32), the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs took the opportunity to remind him of British interests in the Commonwealth sector, and to say that formal action in the matter was under consideration and that the Norwegian Government were expected to show the same friendly disposition towards British claims as was being shown towards the Norwegian annexation of Peter I. Island.

23. In the season 1932-3 Captain Riiser-Larsen attempted an expedition by land along the coast from Enderby Land to Coats Land, but it came to grief at the start.

24. In the season 1933-4 Herr Lars Christensen circumnavigated the Antarctic Continent. On the 17th January, 1934, in the course of the voyage, an aeroplane flew inland at a point in Latitude $66^{\circ} 40'$ S, Longitude $86^{\circ} 45'$ E, and saw land believed not to have been seen before. With the permission of the King of Norway, Consul Lars Christensen named this land Princess Astrid Land, after the daughter of the Crown Prince. It lies in the Australian sector. In May, 1934, it was announced that, in recognition of Belgian work in Polar exploration, the King of Norway, with the consent of the King of the Belgians, had decided to name the territory King Leopold and Queen Astrid Land. The Norwegian Prime Minister explained to His Majesty's Minister that the Queen of the Belgians thought that the land had been named after her, and that the new name had been given at the instance of the Belgian Special Ambassador, himself an eminent Polar explorer, who announced the accession of King Leopold. In order to remind the Norwegian Prime Minister that the land lay within the Australian sector, His Majesty's Minister took an opportunity of telling him that his explanation of the change of name had been communicated to His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth, who, as the Government responsible for the administration of the Australian Antarctic Territory, were primarily concerned with proposals for the naming of parts of it.

25. In December, 1933, the "Norwegian Journal of Commerce and Shipping" published, in instalments, a chapter on Antarctic problems from the third volume of a standard work on the Antarctic by Consul Bjarne Aagaard. This gave a fairly complete account of the formal steps taken to extend British control of the Antarctic, but suggested that much of the expansion was unjustified and had taken place at the expense of foreign countries, chiefly Norway, who had rights as good or better. The author concluded by drawing attention to the fact that British sovereignty was claimed over about two-thirds of Antarctica, and suggested that the Norwegian Government should protest against these claims, and should propose

French claim to the sector between 136° E. and 147° E. was not disputed by His Majesty's Government. He asked whether the existence of the note had been overlooked or there had been a change of mind. He was assured that an answer would be sent when the files had been consulted. Later, he was informed orally that the 1913 note had not been overlooked and that there had been no change of mind, but that it was not considered that the note involved the admission which he suggested.

16. By this time the search undertaken by the Commonwealth Government for original contemporary accounts of D'Urville's discoveries had been successful. Among those found was the "Hobart Town Courier and Van Diemen's Land Gazette" of the 28th February, 1840. This printed an account of the discovery of Adélie Land in parallel columns in French and English. The relevant passage in the French was :—

"Le Commodore d'Urville a nommé la terre nouvellement découverte, *Terre Adélie*. La partie reconnue, d'environ 150 milles d'étendue est comprise entre le 66° et 67° degré de latitude *Sud* d'une part; entre 136° au 142° degré de longitude *Est* de l'autre."

The same passage in the English version was :—

"Commodore d'Urville has named the land newly discovered "La Terre Adélie." The part observed, about 150 miles in extent, is comprised between the 66° and 67° of latitude on one side and the 136° W. to the 147° of longitude on the other."

The English version differs not only in the figure (147° for 142°) but also in "west" for "east," and misspells "Adélie."

This seems to have been the earliest detailed report published, and was probably copied by other Australian newspapers. In doing so, it was natural that they should copy the English version with 147° rather than the French with 142°. The other misprints in the English version corroborate the inference that it was 147°, rather than 142°, which was a mistake.

17. No further development occurred in connection with the French claim until October, 1936, when a member of the French Embassy called at the Foreign Office, and subsequently wrote restating the French position in the matter. While recognising that the length of coastline between longitude 136° E. and 147° E. greatly exceeds the "about 150 miles" at latitude 66° or 67° S. which D'Urville discovered, the French Government felt that at a time when the British Empire was annexing a territory, in the middle of which Adélie Land, "even with the most extreme limits," forms only a minute enclave, the United Kingdom Government might well agree to the widest definition of the limits of Adélie Land as French territory. They accordingly proposed that, on the understanding that the limit of 136° E. is not contested as the western boundary, the eastern boundary limit should be agreed as one lying somewhere between 136° E. and 147° E. This proposal, which represents some advance on the previous French attitude, was referred to the Commonwealth Government for consideration in November, 1936.

III.—NORWEGIAN ACTIVITIES IN THE ANTARCTIC

18. The situation with regard to Norway early in 1930 was that Captain Riiser-Larsen in the "Norvegia" and Sir Douglas Mawson in the "Discovery" were both exploring in the Antarctic; the Norwegian expedition had hoisted the Norwegian flag on land in the Australian sector between Enderby Land and Kemp Land: the Norwegian Government had been reminded that the British title to the Australian sector was regarded as unimpeachable, and had pointed out in reply that the "Norvegia" expedition was a private venture and could not commit the Government: at a meeting between Captain Riiser-Larsen and Sir Douglas Mawson on the 14th January, 1930, in longitude 47° E, the Norwegians were persuaded to confine themselves to the west of longitude 45° E, the British expedition limiting their efforts to the east of that meridian.

whether they claimed "that portion of the Antarctic Continent known as Wilkes Land". In 1912 the French replied that Commodore D'Urville had taken possession of the part of the Continent known as Wilkes Land or Adélie Land in the name of France, and referred to various publications on the subject. They added that they did not intend to renounce their rights. In 1913, when it was proposed to give the name "King George V. Land" to some of the territory discovered by the Australian Antarctic Expedition, it was thought advisable to inform the French Government in advance, and to assure them that the district to be named would not touch on the French claim. Unfortunately, Sir F. Bertie's note of the 29th March, 1913, mentioned that His Majesty's Government understood the extent of the land named by Commodore D'Urville to have been about 150 miles, lying between 66° and 67° S. and 136° and 147° E. Although the French Government had not themselves put forward a claim to this extent of territory, they naturally did not contradict this statement. This description was taken from a contemporary account in the "Hobart Town Review". D'Urville's own charts, however, which up to 1922 were still issued by the French Ministry of Marine, represented the extreme limits of the coast discovered by him as 136½° E. and 142° E. A French decree of 1924, placing Adélie Land under the administration of Madagascar, left the limits blank, with a note that they would be indicated in a decree to be prepared by the Ministry of the Colonies. No such decree, however, has yet been issued. The conclusion reached in 1926 was that, within the limits indicated on D'Urville's own charts, the French claim was indisputable, and could not be contested on any ground which would not affect the validity of British claims. A foreign enclave in the Australian sector was, therefore, inevitable. It was, however, thought undesirable either to approach the French Government with a view to obtaining an exact definition of the limits of Adélie Land, or to assign limits to it without approaching them. The best course was thought to be in practice to treat Adélie Land as not extending beyond 136½° E. and 142° E., but as having, within those limits, the same extension to the South Pole as the British areas.

11. Accordingly, the Order in Council of the 7th February, 1933, merely excepted Adélie Land from the territory placed under the authority of the Commonwealth. As a matter of courtesy, a copy of the Order in Council was communicated to the French Government by His Majesty's Embassy in Paris on the morning of the date of publication in the "London Gazette" (14th February, 1933), and their attention was drawn to the explicit exclusion of Adélie Land from its scope.

12. On the 22nd September, a member of the French Embassy called at the Foreign Office and said that the French Government understood Adélie Land as extending from 136° E. to 147° E. He confirmed this in a letter the next day. On the 24th October, before this letter had been answered, the French Ambassador informed the Foreign Office in a note (Annex I) that the making of the Order in Council had led the French Government to define their claims as "the islands and territories comprised within the sector bounded by 60° S. latitude and the 136° and 147° E. longitude." In order to be in a position to reply to the communication of the Order in Council, they asked whether this definition gave rise to any observations on the British side.

13. His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia remained of opinion that, notwithstanding the limits mentioned in the 1913 note, a claim by the French Government to any territory beyond 136½° E. or 142° E. should be resisted, on the ground that they could have no good title to territory beyond the limits of that sighted by D'Urville, and that these limits, as established on his own charts, were 136½° E. and 142° E.; moreover, this extent, east and west, between the 66th and 67th parallels of latitude, would be about 150 miles, the distance mentioned in D'Urville's report and in the 1913 note; the distance between 136° E. and 147° E. in that latitude would be considerably more.

14. On the 13th April, 1934, the French Ambassador was accordingly informed in a note, of which a copy is annexed (Annex II) that His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom and in the Commonwealth of Australia could not accept the definition of Adélie Land put forward by the French Government.

15. On the 15th June, 1934, a member of the French Embassy, called at the Foreign Office with a copy of Sir F. Bertie's note of the 29th March, 1913, and said that the French Government had always regarded that note as evidence that the

7. Before the Order in Council was made, the probable reactions of the foreign countries most likely to be concerned, namely, Norway and France, were carefully considered, with a view to taking any steps which might be calculated to forestall any hostility to this measure.

8. It was appreciated that the Norwegian Government, opposed as they were to the sector principle, and apprehensive already at British claims to one-third of the Antarctic Continent, represented by the Falkland Islands Dependencies and the Ross Dependency, could hardly be expected to welcome the extension of these claims to another third of the Continent. At the same time, it might soften the blow for public opinion in Norway if the Government could point to some compensating achievement which would enhance their prestige. On this reasoning there appeared at first to be room for a bargain with Norway, on the lines either that Norwegian sovereignty over the sector between the Australian Antarctic Territory and Coats Land should be declared about the same time as the Order in Council should be made, or that recognition of Norwegian sovereignty over that area should be promised in return for Norwegian recognition of British claims in other parts of the Antarctic. Examination of this idea, however, led to the conclusion that the Norwegian Government, in the light of their determination to oppose the application of the "sector principle" in the Arctic, could not be expected to recognise it expressly in the Antarctic, and that, as their case against Denmark in The Hague arbitration of their rival claims in East Greenland rested to some extent on the contention that territories, by whomsoever discovered, remain, unless effectively occupied, *terra nullius*, they could not well recognise British sovereignty over a large area which, in their opinion, did not fulfil that condition. The Hague Court had, in fact, decided against Norway in the East Greenland case, but public opinion in Norway was still excited on the subject and express recognition of the British claim would, it was thought, be none the less embarrassing for the Norwegian Government; the most that could be hoped for was that they would refrain from protesting against the Order in Council. The British claim is based on the contention that a British title exists on various grounds and is good, whether or not expressly recognised by foreign countries. In so far as no protests are made against the Order in Council, the claim is strengthened. It was therefore considered that British policy should aim, not so much at obtaining Norwegian recognition as at forestalling active Norwegian opposition.

9. His Majesty's Minister at Oslo had already, in 1929-30, succeeded in reaching an informal understanding with the Norwegian Government whereby Norway, in return for a free hand in the sector between Enderby Land and Coats Land, would not interfere in the "Australian" sector. This understanding had since been observed (for instance, when the "Norvegia" turned east after meeting the "Discovery" in 47° E.) and there was no reason to believe that Norway would now challenge the formal action contemplated. In the circumstances, and especially in view of the excitement in Norway about the adverse decision of The Hague Court over East Greenland, any further approach to them at that time might have provoked, rather than forestalled, a protest. No communication was, therefore, sent to the Norwegian Government before the Order in Council was made, but on the morning of the 14th February, 1933, the day when the Order was published, Sir Charles Wingfield handed an advance copy to the Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as an act of courtesy and as evidence of the desire of His Majesty's Governments to maintain the friendliest collaboration with Norway in the Antarctic. At the same time he reminded him of the communications made to them in 1929-30 concerning the British title to the region the subject of the Order. The Secretary-General promised to bring the Order to the notice of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. No comment was received from the Norwegian Government at the time. Later developments are noted in paragraphs 26 to 29.

10. The attitude of the French Government had to be considered in connection with the Order in Council because of the French claim to Adélie Land. The validity and extent of the claim were fully discussed in the memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference of 1926 (E.101). Briefly, Adélie Land was discovered by Dumont D'Urville, the officer in charge of a French naval expedition, in 1840. He followed the coast for some distance and took possession of it. In 1911, in connection with an application for a British whaling licence, the French Government were asked

4. In the season 1930-31 the expedition sailed to Cape Denison, in about $142^{\circ} 50' E$, in King George V Land, and worked westwards, charting the coastline as much as possible, to a point in about $67^{\circ} 30' S, 70^{\circ} 43' E$, thus linking up with the discoveries of the previous season. The greater part of the coastline from $160^{\circ} E$, the western boundary of the Ross Dependency, to the eastern limit of Adélie Land had already been charted by British explorers, and Sir Douglas Mawson accordingly took formal possession of it in the name of the King by a proclamation at Cape Denison on the 5th January, 1931. The ship then proceeded west along the coast of Adélie Land, adding further details to existing charts. To the west of Adélie Land new land was discovered adjoining a stretch sighted in 1912 by the Australasian Antarctic Expedition and named by them Wilkes Land. On the 15th January in $64^{\circ} 49' S, 124^{\circ} 58' E$, on the 16th in $65^{\circ} 5' S, 120^{\circ} 36' E$, on the 18th in $64^{\circ} 21' S, 116^{\circ} 1' E$ flights were made and land was observed at a distance to the south and south-east which was named Sabrina Land. During a flight in bad weather on the 27th January in $65^{\circ} 7' S, 107^{\circ} 22' E$, the land previously charted as Knox Land was confirmed. On the next day an island some 13 miles long was sighted 20 miles to the south-west when the ship was in $64^{\circ} 46' S, 103^{\circ} 46' E$. It was named Bowman Island. It had been intended to chart the coast of Queen Mary Land, which had been discovered by the Australasian Antarctic Expedition in 1912, but storms and fog made approach difficult, so, as possession had been taken of that region in 1912, it was decided to save time and fuel by pressing on to the west. Land seen to the south during a flight in about $66^{\circ} 29' S, 76^{\circ} 15' E$ on the 9th February was named Princess Elizabeth Land. (This was proved by R.R.S. "William Scoresby" a few years later to be the ice-barrier, and Princess Elizabeth Land must lie considerably further south.) In about $72^{\circ} E$ the "Discovery" rejoined her course of the first season, and this time the coast line of MacRobertson Land was charted in greater detail. On the 13th and 18th February, British sovereignty was proclaimed over the area from the western boundary of Adélie Land to $45^{\circ} E$.

5. On the 27th April, 1934, His Majesty the King, on the recommendation of the Governors-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and of New Zealand, was graciously pleased to approve the award of the Polar Medal in bronze to all the members of the Expedition in each year who had not previously received it, and the award of an additional clasp to three members who had previously received it.

II.—AUSTRALIAN ANTARCTIC TERRITORY

6. The Expedition having accomplished the second of the three stages envisaged at the 1926 Conference, the third and final step, the issue of a formal document annexing the area and making provision for its government, came under consideration. The phrase "annexing the area" was not thought to have been intended in its technical sense, as this would have been inconsistent with the previous assertion of title. It had always been contemplated that the area should be administered by His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia. In consultation, therefore, between the Commonwealth and United Kingdom Governments, it was decided that the most appropriate course would be the making of an Order in Council, on His Majesty's prerogative, placing the area under the authority of the Commonwealth. Such an Order in Council was accordingly made on 7th February, 1933, placing under the authority of the Commonwealth "that part of His Majesty's dominions in the Antarctic Seas which comprises all the islands and territories other than Adélie Land which are situated south of $60^{\circ} S$, and lying between $160^{\circ} E$ and $45^{\circ} E$." It was provided that it should come into operation on such date after legislation should have been passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth providing for the acceptance of the territory and the government thereof, as should be fixed by Proclamation of the Governor-General of the Commonwealth. On the 13th June, 1933, the Governor-General assented to an Act providing for the acceptance of the area as a territory under the authority of the Commonwealth, by the name of the Australian Antarctic Territory. A proclamation fixing the 24th August, 1936, as the date on which the Order in Council came into force, was made by the Governor-General on that date.

Printed for the Imperial Conference, February, 1937

SECRET

Copy No. 188

E. (37) 6.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1937

SITUATION IN THE ANTARCTIC

MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE
UNITED KINGDOM

I.—THE BRITISH, AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND ANTARCTIC RESEARCH EXPEDITION, 1929-31

1. The Imperial Conference of 1926 had recommended that the more important regions in the Antarctic outside the Ross Dependency and the Falkland Islands Dependencies should be brought under British control in three stages :—

- (i) A public assertion of British title ;
- (ii) A formal taking possession on the spot by an officer authorised for the purpose ;
- (iii) The issue of letters patent annexing the area and making provision for its government.

2. The first stage was accomplished by the inclusion of a list of the areas in question in the published Summary of Proceedings of the 1926 Conference. The second stage, necessitating the despatch of an expedition to the Antarctic, was opened in 1929, when the British Australian and New Zealand Antarctic Research Expedition, under the command of Sir Douglas Mawson, was despatched to the Antarctic. Its object was to operate principally between the Ross Sea and Enderby Land (the proposed Australian sector), in order to lead up to the final establishment of British title to the sector between 160° E and 45° E. Sir Douglas Mawson was empowered to take possession of all the areas to which British title had been asserted at the Imperial Conference and of any new territory that might be discovered.

3. In the season 1929-30, notwithstanding bad weather, most of the coastline of the Antarctic Continent was charted or located from 73° E to 45° E. It was during this work that, on the 14th January, 1930, the "Discovery" met the Norwegian exploring ship "Norvegia" in about 47° E. Sir Douglas Mawson persuaded Captain Riiser-Larsen to confine his efforts to the area west of 45° E (the limit provisionally selected for the Australian Antarctic Territory) if the "Discovery" kept to the east of that meridian. On the 5th January, land had been sighted in 66° 35' S, 62° E, and named MacRobertson Land. (It has since been found that MacRobertson Land lies about 60 miles south of this position.) On the 13th January a landing had been made on Proclamation Island (65° 50' S, 53° 30' E), the flag was hoisted and sovereignty declared over all the regions between 73° E and 47° E and south of 65° S. On the 25th January Sir Douglas Mawson flew over the continental ice-slopes near Proclamation Island, and dropped a flag proclaiming British sovereignty over the same area, plus the land between 47° E and 45° E, which had been sighted in the meantime. On the 27th January the expedition left the Antarctic for Australia via Kerguelen.

It is clear that the Commonwealth has directly and indirectly a large real property interest in the New Hebrides. The Presbyterian and other Protestant Missions, which have invariably been anti-French, have expressed the view that they would receive short shrift in the event of the United Kingdom withdrawing from the Group. It is equally indubitable that British settlers would soon be faced with the alternative of quitting the Islands, or selling their estates to the French. It is to be remembered that, even under the Condominium, large sales have been effected by the British to the French. Instances of this can be quoted in the sale to the French in 1927 of £147,000 worth of land, and also the sales which were effected consequent upon the announcement of the United Kingdom's policy with regard to labour.

ANNEX No. 3.

Population of the New Hebrides.

—	1924.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.
<i>British—</i>											
Nationals ...	247	211	200	205	...	...	227	214	180	202	202
Foreigners* ...	27	21	23	23	...	...	20	20	18	14	...
Asiatics* ...	22	17	15	30	...	...	30	36	42	54	...
<i>French—</i>											
Nationals ...	741	680	720	779	...	...	1,018	1,003	789	731	731
Foreigners* ...	9	12	14	63	...	...	65	65	32	32	...
Asiatics* ...	131	37	40	31	...	...	65	70	29	86	...
Tonkinese ...	1,471	3,620	4,500	5,106	...	...	3,300	1,813	1,166	1,181	...
Javanese ...	...	54	54	40	...	...	42	42	62	...	...
Chinese... ...	...	...	...	304	...	...	44	...	...	...	...

* Opted under the Protocol.

accept no survey other than its own. It must be explained that in order to comply with the Joint Court procedure as laid down by the Condominium Gazette (No. 8, page 10), each application for title to land has to be accompanied by a plan of the area in question. In consequence therefore of the decision of the Joint Court, a separate survey staff was appointed and the cost of surveying each particular area was added to the legal expenses of the claimant. To those, amongst them the Commonwealth, who spent money on proper surveys in the years prior to 1917, the request for another fee for what seemed to be the same work appeared burdensome, but in the opinion of Mr. B. C. Ballard, the legal representative of Commonwealth interests in the New Hebrides, such an additional survey was necessary from a public and administrative point of view.

Nevertheless, the survey staff is small and the work is therefore proceeding slowly. Furthermore, the somewhat cumbrous procedure of the Joint Court renders the business a protracted one. Mr. Ballard estimates that these hearings will not be completed for 50 years if the present procedure is continued. While title is secure in cases disposed of, a number of settlers are in possession of their land without formal title, and this naturally gives rise to a feeling of insecurity.

Now that the new President has arrived it is possible there will be an acceleration of the work and that the settlement of the land question will be brought nearer a conclusion. At present the Court incorporates in its judgment the final technical survey and description of the land, but while this is necessary in a Certificate of Title, should the Court decide that there is no necessity for its inclusion in the Court judgment and the land can be identified by a non-technical description or by a survey not tied to the official trig. stations, unopposed claims could be confirmed and decisions reached in conflicting claims and a marketable and secure title given within a reasonably short time. The official issue of the Certificate of Title would, of course, have to wait until the completion of the Government survey. In the meantime the owners would be secure in the possession of their land. A great deal will, therefore, depend upon the new President's interpretation of the Protocol.

As regards the Commonwealth (Burns Philp) lands, the position is somewhat involved. Although the agreement of 1902, previously referred to under a separate heading, contemplated a transfer of somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 acres, the lesser figure will not be reached when all the cases have been disposed of. Twenty-five applications have been heard; of these, four were withdrawn, but the remainder showed a discrepancy between areas claimed and areas granted. Twenty-one applications in Efate and the Sothorn Islands claimed in all approximately 7,500 acres, of this 5,500 acres were confirmed, while another 800 went to British claimants. In most cases the discrepancy between acreage claimed and acreage granted was due to the differences between the two separate surveys, namely, the private survey in which the Commonwealth participated, and that conducted by the Joint Court. The Burns Philp applications which remain to be heard cover an area of 44,880 acres. Judging from previous experience, it is probable that these claims will be whittled down, particularly as many of the outstanding claims are based on dubious title, and most of them are being contested by other claimants.

It is somewhat difficult to arrive at an exact estimate of the amounts which have been expended upon land claims in the New Hebrides by the Commonwealth. However, taking into consideration the original survey (£22,000), the salary of the Commonwealth solicitor since 1910 (about £750 per annum), the Burns Philp subsidy (averaging roughly £11,000 per annum), the cost of the Joint Court survey, and the legal cost attendant upon the preparation and presentation of claims, it is unlikely that the total will be very much less than £50,000.

The revenue obtained by the Commonwealth from its lands in the New Hebrides for 1934-35 was only £93 5s. 6d. An additional £36 5s. 0d., considered to be uncollectable, was due for that year, making a total revenue of £129 10s. 6d. In some cases it was possible only to secure as little as £2 1s. 8d. by way of rental for an area of 500 acres.

In addition to the lands owned by the Commonwealth through the medium of Burns Philp, various missionary societies are also in possession of land. The Australian Presbyterian Mission alone has 244 claims prepared and lodged in the Joint Court, only 43 of which have been disposed of. It is understood that some proportion of these claims will be withdrawn on the ground of expense, but the Mission has nevertheless an appreciable stake in the Group.

5. The difficulties with regard to the coinage system are many and various. Three coinages are in current use in the group, namely, the British pound, the Australian pound and the French franc. When, in 1927, the franc depreciated in value, the British permitted its use in the group at par. The undesirability of such a course was clear, and when the pound sterling went off the gold standard, the French offered to grant us the same privileges as we had extended to them in 1927, but, the system being unworkable, it was decided to adjust the currencies according to the daily rate of exchange. Therefore, with three fluctuating currencies in the group, the monetary confusion will be understood to be indescribable.

6. The differences between the French and the British outlook are obvious. It is admitted throughout the group that the British administration of justice is invariably strict and impartial. The two main accusations which seem to be levelled at the French in the New Hebrides are:—

- (1) bad treatment of natives, and
- (2) lax administration of justice.

7. It might also be noted a French vessel with a staff of medical men, and with ample supplies of medical comforts constantly patrols the Group for the rendering of medical attention to French settlers. No such facility is available to the British settler.

8. The above-mentioned influences are rapidly squeezing British interests out all over the Group. A typical example is occurring at Whitesands, Tanna. Tanna was until recently an English preserve, and Mr. A. E. Robertson had the most important store and trading station on the island, having been established for years. Within the last three years French competition has not only established itself, but entirely enticed his copra trade away, leaving him to battle very insecurely for his store trade. To save what capital he can he is forced to sell; the purchaser, of course, will be French.

9. Though there are still a few settlers on the Commonwealth (Burns Philp) lands who are prevented by the terms of their leases from sub-letting or assigning to the French, their numbers have decreased, and will continue to do so unless the disabilities under which they operate their plantations, in comparison with the French settlers, are lessened or removed. As a consequence of these disabilities, many British settlers have had to vacate their holdings, or, alternatively, take out French naturalization papers, despite their earnest desire to retain their British nationality.

ANNEX No. 2.

Land Claims.

PRIOR to the installation of the Condominium, land claims depended almost entirely upon possession. Settlers obtained grants in an informal way from the natives, and in many cases could not produce adequate proofs of title. With the Condominium, the Joint Court was given jurisdiction to hear and determine claims relating to land. Applications were lodged in 1913, and hearings were commenced, only to be interrupted by the War. For various reasons not unconnected with difficulties of survey, these hearings were not recommenced until 1927.

Between 1906 and 1917 a considerable amount of work had been done in the location and survey of lands. In order to supplement its land interests held through the medium of Messrs. Burns Philp and Co., the Commonwealth made a survey of its land claims at a cost of over £22,000, and in 1910 an Australian solicitor was appointed at an average salary of approximately £750 per annum to present the Commonwealth (Burns Philp) plans to the Joint Court, and generally to hold a watching brief over Commonwealth interests.

After the Commonwealth survey had been completed, the Joint Court decided that, in view of the unreliability and inaccuracy of the French surveys, it would

Although the distances to the main recruiting centres are not so great from the plantations in the North of the group, the cost of recruiting is still very high. This is due to the fact that the local population is not very numerous, and, as the north is the recruiting ground, in general, for the whole of the islands, the local settlers find it hard to obtain labourers.

It is reported that the French planters state that Tonkinese labour is expensive, but this appears to be outweighed by the certainty of continuity of labour over a five year period.

4. The marketing of produce is also a matter which places the British settler at a grave disadvantage. Practically the whole of the British trade to the New Hebrides is in the hands of Burns Philp (South Sea) Company, Limited, which is the most important and influential British firm of merchants in the New Hebrides. The chief product of the islands is copra, and the French have recently made the position of the British settler very difficult by imposing a duty of 150 francs per ton on copra not French in origin imported into France. As the copra produced in the New Hebrides is almost wholly smoke dried, and of inferior quality, there is practically no market for it other than at Marseilles. Even Messrs. Burns Philp and Co., Ltd., ship the whole of their purchases to Marseilles, but, owing to the import duty, cannot offer the same price for it as the French Company.

In addition, native copra purchased in the first place by a Frenchman is deemed to be of French origin, and can thus be bought by the French trader at a higher price. The result is twofold—the British trader finds it hard to buy copra at all, so he cannot make a profit on turnover, and, more important, the native seller, having gone to the French store to sell his copra, naturally remains there to buy his "Trade" (food and clothing), and the British trader's other business is thereby seriously impaired. Most planters are also traders, but the proportion of traders only to planter is very high among the British nationals; consequently, British interests are vitally affected by this matter, which is, indeed, the grievance and topic of conversation in the Group to-day. Our people cannot see how they enjoy the "equal rights of trade" guaranteed in the Protocol, while the *de facto* discrimination occurs.

British planters are of course disheartened to receive about £2 less per ton for their copra than their neighbours (leaving native copra out of the question altogether); also, the French producer (not purchaser from the natives) receives a bounty paid by the Government, as well as not paying import duty. This, too, is an assistance the British planter does without.

The ruling prices for copra in March 1936 were:—

French copra : £8 5s.
British copra : £5 10s.

Copra is the sole British product at present. French planters grow a large amount of coffee (similarly protected) and cocoa, also cotton.

The position of the New Hebrides might be greatly improved with the introduction of scientific methods in the cultivation of the coconut and the making of copra. Although New Hebrides copra is of a low grade, no attempt is being made to obtain an improved yield for the same outlay by taking advantage of the results of scientific enquiry, the bounty of nature alone being relied upon. An attempt was made some years ago by two or three planters to establish a market of their own on the London market, but nothing was done. It would be necessary to obtain competent advice (possibly from Papuan or New Guinea Agricultural Department sources), and a framework of "policed" marketing would be necessary to ensure that a sufficient standard would be maintained.

In order to relieve the position to some extent the Commonwealth Government agreed on the 27th February, 1936, to remit the Customs duty of 1s. per cwt. payable on whole coconuts, and the duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. payable on cocoa beans imported into Australia from the New Hebrides, provided that they were produced by British settlers.

In addition, British settlers in the New Hebrides are entitled to a refund of half the Commonwealth Customs duty on maize, peanuts and millet, and a bonus of £4 per ton on all coffee imported into Australia.

A circular letter was addressed by the British Resident Commissioner at Vila to British settlers reminding them of these concessions on the 1st July, 1936.

as opposed to 80,000 hectares British in 1934), but even in 1927 it was obvious that the British settlers could not long continue to operate solely with the assistance of local labour.

There were, and are still, three main reasons for this:—

- (1) Local labour is not efficient. Evidence was given before the 1927 Commission to the effect that, though the local natives were slightly better at clearing land, they could not compare with the coolies when it came to working it.
- (2) There is difficulty in obtaining local labour. The natives have grown independent during the last fifteen years; in most cases they have their own gardens and can produce cotton, copra, &c., which, when sold, realises more than the planter can offer in wages. However, when the planter increases his rate of pay, he rarely succeeds in inducing the natives to leave their homes, for they consider that, if they can produce enough to meet their own requirements, there is no necessity to leave their villages, however high the wage. Further, the New Hebrideans refuse to sign on for more than a year, and the cost of recruiting them is too high to warrant a yearly recruitment, though this is often done at a great loss. The consequence is that the settlers have to rely to a large extent upon casual labour, which is uncertain and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the Indo-Chinese sign on for a five years' term.
- (3) Local labour is expensive. The figures given by the 1927 Royal Commission will be approximately accurate now. In that year the Commissioners reported that the total annual cost per head of the Tonkinese labour utilised by the French was £48 7s., whereas native labour cost £60 per head per year. This discrepancy is partially due to the additional sum necessary to recruit each year in the islands, and partially to the fact that the coolies will work for a less wage than the native.

The Commission, with the strong concurrence of British settlers, including planters, missionaries, graziers and shipping officials, reported that the importation of foreign labour was vitally necessary to a satisfactory continuation of the British settlement. Already, the French had made attractive offers to the British, these offers usually taking the form of a proposal to take shares in a company to be formed by the planter under French auspices. The acceptance of the proposal would link the planter with the French and thereby give him the benefit of imported labour. The Commissioners recommended the importation of Chinese labour and assessed the value per annum per head at £52 10s.

The British Government, pursuing its policy already outlined above, refused to adopt the recommendation, and as a consequence several planters disposed of their interests to the French.

To-day the difficulties with regard to labour obtaining in the islands are very similar to those obtaining in 1927. The urgency of the labour problem varies from South to North, but on the whole the depressed prices of copra with the consequent diminution of production has rendered it of less importance than previously. In the South the British inhabitants of Angityum are only trading, not planting, and so do not need much labour. On Tanny there is a vigorous, though independent, native population and, in the main, the two plantations there are supplied from local sources. Mr. S. O. Martin has enough local labour for his sheep station on Erromango.

The British settlers on Efate, the central island, are grouped at Undine Bay. On this island, both French and English find it difficult to engage local labour at the present time, but are managing copra-making by paying a contract price of so much per ton. The expense of recruiting labour from the North Island for these plantations is very great because the length of time required for this purpose is apt to be excessive, if there is not a ready response, as the boats and crews employed are hired by the day. Even when they do sign on, the natives are reluctant to engage for a period of more than one year.

These missionaries have agitated for many years for the Group to be partitioned between France and the British Empire, or for it to be taken over entirely either by Great Britain or the Commonwealth. The British missionaries are disliked by the French owing to their opposition to French methods of recruiting and treatment of natives. Furthermore, they also have claims to large blocks of land in the various islands, several of which have been recognised by the Joint Court.

*Department of External Affairs,
Canberra, F.C.T., January 29, 1937.*

ANNEX No. 1.

British Disabilities under the Condominium.

ARTICLE 1 of the 1914 Protocol provides for each Power maintaining sovereignty over its own nationals. This article, while making provision for the maintenance of separate conditions for the separate nationals, effectively prevents all equality in treatment. The two sets of nationals remain sharply differentiated one from the other, and any possible singleness of aim and outlook is thereby removed. It is admitted on all sides that the French are in a definitely superior position to the English, both numerically, financially and in the possession of real property. But it is also universally admitted that a great measure of financial inequality can be attributed to the fact that, whereas the French have imported indentured labour from Indo-China, British nationals are unable to obtain outside labour. In the New Hebrides native labour is difficult to obtain and tends to be inefficient, and the result has been, for a number of years, that French plantations have been in a high state of prosperity and cultivation compared with British plantations which, though equal in fertility, are subject to a continual struggle for existence.

2. In 1926, it was decided to send a commission to the islands representing His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand to investigate the situation. The Commonwealth representative on this commission was General Griffiths, then Administrator of Nauru. The Commission submitted a report which stated that the introduction of Tonkinese and Annamite labour by the French had given them an immeasurable advantage over their British rivals for the reason that—"The French had a regular supply of imported labour, whilst the British settlers were dependent on local labour, which was more expensive and difficult to obtain."

The Report recommended that labour should be provided for the British settlers from outside sources, for example, China. On the 3rd June, 1927, the Commonwealth Government intimated to the British Government that they would offer no objection should the latter decide to adopt the recommendations of the report. The British Government advised on the 15th July that they could not take this step on account of their policy, which had always been to prevent, as far as lay in their power, the importation of indentured labour. It is noteworthy that, though this policy has been reiterated throughout the British administration in the New Hebrides, no statement of the reasons on which the policy is based has been advanced, and apparently no request for reasons has ever been made. It is to be noted, however, that Chinese indentured labour is permitted for Nauru.

When the decision of the British Government became known at Vila, a number of British settlers immediately opened up negotiations for the transfer of their lands to the French.

3. The labour question, which at one stage was becoming crucial, is at the present time still a problem, although not now so acute as formerly. At the time of the issue in 1927 of the report of the Commission set up to consider the labour question, France already had the lion's share of the land (650,000 hectares French

Caledonia are isolated from the remainder of the French Colonial Empire, and would therefore be difficult of access by French merchant shipping in the event of a war between France and Great Britain. Any French shipping would be extremely vulnerable, and could not adequately be protected (except by convoy), even in the event of a base for French cruisers being established in the Group. The French might conceivably be induced to withdraw from the Condominium if the compensation terms comprised territory adjacent to its other colonial possessions. The Group is, however, so potentially valuable to France that her agreement could hardly be visualised, quite apart from the question of whether the United Kingdom would be prepared to renounce what would have to be substantial and valuable British territory elsewhere. In view of the recent report on the "demand for colonies" such a settlement is outside the bounds of probability at the present time.

- (d) *To agree with the British Government that it should forego its interest in the New Hebrides and negotiate for territorial concessions elsewhere.*—This has been suggested from time to time, and a scheme for negotiation has been outlined. But at the same time it must be noted that such an arrangement, while a possible advantage to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, has little to recommend it from the point of view of Commonwealth interests. The acquisition of Bora Bora in the Society Group might be of some value to New Zealand, but holds few attractions for Australia, while Kerguelen Island and Adélie Land in the Antarctic are hardly what might be described as desirable colonial possessions. The cost of their administration might be small, but the advantages they offer are dubious.

On the other hand Australia has commercial and real property interests in the New Hebrides greatly in excess of those of the United Kingdom, and should the latter withdraw it seems inevitable that, despite any agreement which the French Government might enter into to safeguard the British remaining in the Group, in view of the exclusive nature of French colonial policy, all British interests would ultimately be eliminated.

- (e) *For Australia to take over the British share of the Condominium.*—The New Hebrides is important to Australia for the following reasons:—

- (i) *Trade.*—British and particularly Australian trade with the Group is substantial and will probably increase as world conditions improve. Should France gain complete control of the Group this trade would probably become entirely lost to Australia and to the Empire, as the Group would be administered, like other French possessions, as a close preserve for French interests only.
- (ii) *Defence.*—The New Hebrides contains several harbours which would form convenient bases for submarines, warships and aircraft, and they are greatly superior to those of New Caledonia. As the group is only some 1,400 miles from Australian coasts, it would be undesirable to allow it to fall completely into the hands of a foreign Power, however friendly at the moment. In view of the increased range of modern war vessels, our merchant shipping would be completely at the mercy of raiders, using the group as their base.
- (iii) *Land interests.*—The Commonwealth has a direct interest in New Hebridean land amounting to nearly 50,000 acres, and though the amount of money spent in connection with this land is difficult of computation, it is safe to say that the amount considerably exceeds £40,000. This matter is dealt with more particularly in Annex No. 2.
- (iv) *Settlement.*—As mentioned above, there are still a number of Australian settlers in the New Hebrides not only as planters, but also as missionaries. On account of the works and activities of these missionaries (notably the Presbyterians), which have stretched over a period of nearly 100 years, there is a large measure of public feeling in Australia *vis-à-vis* the New Hebrides.

15. The Commonwealth of Australia has a considerable interest in the New Hebrides:—

- (a) The Commonwealth Government, through the trusteeship of Messrs. Burns Philp and Company, holds extensive lands in the New Hebrides, which were originally estimated at 50,000 to 100,000 acres (see Annex No. 2). As several of the Commonwealth's claims to land ownership have been rejected by the Joint Court of the Condominium, and as, in many cases, the area claimed has been reduced, it is probable that the total area to which title will be eventually granted will not exceed 35,000 to 40,000 acres. To date, approximately £40,000 has been expended by the Commonwealth Government on Survey and Court fees, and on the salary of the Commonwealth representative in the New Hebrides.
- (b) Most of the British settlers in the group are Australians. The latest figures available show that there are 202 British nationals resident in the group, of whom 123 are males. Practically all are Australian by birth or family association; there are very few (probably less than 5 per cent.) whose associations are wholly English or Scotch as opposed to Australian. French nationals number 731 (see also Annex No. 3, "Population").
- (c) Australia has a large and profitable trade connection with the New Hebrides. For the twenty years prior to 1932 the larger proportion of the import trade has been in French hands, but the depreciation of the Australian £1 caused a considerable proportion of the import trade to be diverted to Sydney, with the result that in 1932, the figures show that the British share of the import trade was slightly more than 50 per cent. In 1933 this was increased to 60 per cent. and, according to figures dated October 1935, the British portion of the import trade was 62 per cent., the greater part of which was with Australia.

The greater proportion of the export trade has always been in French hands. In 1913 the British percentage of the total tonnage exported was about 40 per cent., but since then the percentage has been between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. In 1932 the figures stood at 45 per cent. in tonnage and 27 per cent. in value, but in 1933 it was again 26 per cent. in tonnage and 14 per cent. in value, and in 1934 as low as 18 per cent. in tonnage and 11 per cent. in value.

16. The British position in the New Hebrides is becoming progressively worse. Time is on the side of the French, and if the present position remains unaltered, the group will, in a few years, become completely French.

The main reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the present system of joint government are given in the annex (No. 1) under the heading "British Disabilities under the Condominium," but they may briefly be stated as follows:—

- (a) Difference in methods of administration between French and British;
- (b) Coinage situation;
- (c) Labour situation; and
- (d) Bonus on French copra, and no import duty into France.

17. The following courses appear to be open:—

- (a) *To continue under the present system.*—The evidence is clear that the adoption of this course will inevitably lead to the swamping of British interests in the group, and to an ultimate demand by France for British withdrawal without compensation, territorial or otherwise.
- (b) *To suggest further proposals for partition of the Islands.*—This course has already been taken in the past, but has been rejected by France. As the French position has since been considerably strengthened, there is no reason why France should accept a further proposal on such lines. Even if France did agree to a partition, the obvious objection of the United Kingdom Government to a continuation of its administration in the group would still have to be surmounted.
- (c) *To suggest that the French Government might be prepared to forego its interests in the New Hebrides for territorial concessions elsewhere.*—In regard to this, it may be noted that the New Hebrides and New

- (h) that certain guarantees be asked for in connection with preservation of national rights of British subjects or British protected persons resident in the New Hebrides at the time of the termination of the Condominium;
- (i) that arrangements be made for the termination as speedily as possible of outstanding British land claims, and that the French Government be asked to set up on the termination of the Condominium, a special Lands Commission consisting of a neutral president, one British judge and one French judge;
- (j) that the right of appeal in cases (other than land cases) pending in the joint Court and in the Courts of First Instance from which an appeal lies to the Joint Court be preserved;
- (k) that a Consul or some British authority be retained in the group for some time after termination of the Condominium.

12. The United Kingdom Government came to the conclusion that, having regard to the material change in the general world situation which had taken place in the years 1930 to 1932, it would be inexpedient to open negotiations with the French Government at that time, as it was evident that under existing conditions the prospects of securing an arrangement with France in regard to the New Hebrides which would be satisfactory to British interests were appreciably less than they were in 1930. There was the additional local consideration that in 1930 the joint services of the Condominium were self-supporting, while in 1932 the Condominium required financial assistance from the two Governments for current services. The United Kingdom Government came to the conclusion that consideration of the question of approaching the French Government with a view to terminating the British-French Condominium should be postponed until early in 1934, unless a particularly favourable opportunity for doing so should occur sooner.

The Commonwealth Government agreed with the conclusion of the United Kingdom Government.

13. On the 23rd July, 1934, a telegraphic enquiry was addressed by the Commonwealth Government to the Dominions Office as to whether negotiations with the French Government had yet commenced, and what were the intentions of the United Kingdom Government as to future policy regarding the New Hebrides. It was pointed out that reports indicated that the remaining British settlers were in a parlous condition and that the position demanded some action.

Advice was received in August 1934 that negotiations had not been commenced, but that it was intended to consider the matter at the first convenient occasion, probably not before the early autumn.

On the 24th June, 1935, advice was received from the Dominions Office to the effect that the hope entertained in 1932 that the Condominium administration would, by 1934, again be self-supporting, had not been realised, and in view of this fact and of the uncertainty as to when its finances would be rehabilitated, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom saw no real alternative to a further postponement of the question of an approach to the French Government for the purpose of terminating the Condominium until 1939, unless a particularly opportune occasion for reviewing it should occur sooner.

14. It may be mentioned that the cost of services exclusively British in the New Hebrides amounted, in 1933-34, to £9,000. The estimated cost of the services for the year 1934-35 is £9,941.

The estimated expenditure and revenue of the Condominium Government for 1934 were as follows: Expenditure £23,260, Revenue £11,556, leaving an estimated deficit of £11,704. This deficit will be borne equally by the British and French Governments. In 1932 and 1933 there was a deficit of approximately £7,000 for each of these years.

As the Condominium administration was self-supporting and showed a profit until the depression years, it is reasonable to assume that with an approach to average world prices such a condition would again obtain. With the present rise of £3 in the price of copra, it is probable that the deficit for 1935-36 will be greatly reduced, if not eliminated.

The Interdepartmental Committee was of opinion that an endeavour should be made to obtain both territorial and financial compensation, but the former should be preferred if either but not both could be obtained.

As regards territorial compensation, of the areas suggested by the Imperial Conference Committee, *i.e.*, Kerguelen and Adélie Land in the Antarctic and Bora Bora in the Society Islands, the Interdepartmental Committee considered that, in view of their strategic and potential commercial value, Bora Bora and the neighbouring islands offered greater advantages than either Kerguelen Island or Adélie Land. Moreover, their cession in return for the British withdrawal from the New Hebrides could be regarded as territorial compensation in the same area, giving to the arrangement the appearance of a territorial adjustment in the Pacific. From the point of view of the advantages offered, and looking especially to the prestige aspect, they came to the conclusion that the territories mentioned should be asked for in the following order of preference:—

- (i) Bora Bora and neighbouring islands,
- (ii) Adélie Land and Kerguelen Island,
- (iii) Adélie Land, or, failing that, Kerguelen Island.

10. At this stage the Interdepartmental Committee felt it desirable that their conclusions should be confirmed, and accordingly the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand were consulted. The Commonwealth Government advised on the 24th June, 1931, that they concurred as regard future control and in the suggested order of preference. They considered, however, that all three territories together would be an inadequate exchange for the New Hebrides. If France would not consider the cession of all three territories, they considered that every effort should be made to obtain the acquisition of Bora Bora. Should France agree to cede Kerguelen Island and/or Adélie Land the Commonwealth Government advised that they would accept the administration of those territories. If it should be possible to obtain only Kerguelen Island or Adélie Land, the cession of the latter and the elimination of French influence in the Antarctic, although a most inadequate exchange, would be the more valuable to the Commonwealth.

The New Zealand Government intimated that, in the last resort, they would be prepared to undertake the administration of Bora Bora, and the neighbouring islands if ceded.

The Interdepartmental Committee in their report, dated the 20th July, 1931, accordingly recommended that the above three territories should be asked for as territorial compensation in the order indicated.

They also adopted recommendations to the effect—

- (a) that financial compensation should be asked for to the extent of the sums actually provided to supplement local revenue in the early years of the Condominium;
- (b) that an attempt should be made to obtain preferential treatment for certain British colonial products imported into France;
- (c) that certain provision should be made for safeguarding the interests of the natives;
- (d) that a guarantee that existing British Missions should receive the same treatment as French Missions should be asked for;
- (e) that the French Government be required to give an undertaking not to cede the territory to any third Power without the prior consent of the United Kingdom Government;
- (f) that the *status quo* as regards fortification and naval bases be maintained, and an undertaking be obtained not to organise in the group any native military forces except for local police and local defence purposes;
- (g) that equality with the French in perpetuity for British nationals (including subjects and companies), all British protected persons, British goods and British ships be secured if possible. Failing this that national treatment for goods and possibly companies, for a period of forty years, be secured, and if possible equality of treatment in perpetuity for subjects and ships;

- (2) That a fresh endeavour should be made to get France to agree to a partition of the group. Previous proposals for a partition, made to the French Government in 1926, had been rejected by them, and, as French interests had steadily increased at the expense of British since that date it was hardly likely that the Government of France would agree to acquire by partition what they might hope to obtain, in substance at least, by merely waiting.
- (3) That His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia or His Majesty's Government in New Zealand should be invited to take over the administration of the British share of the Condominium, in view of the fact that their interest in the group was substantially greater than that of the United Kingdom.

The telegram concluded with a statement that it was intended to discuss the above and any other courses of action with the representatives of Australia and New Zealand during the Imperial Conference.

8. A special Committee of the Imperial Conference of 1930 discussed the following alternative proposals with regard to the New Hebrides:—

- (a) Continuance of the Condominium and the maintenance of the British share in it without any special steps being taken to improve the British position in the group.
- (b) Continuance of the Condominium, the United Kingdom Government to adopt a policy of making all possible efforts to improve the British position in the group.
- (c) Partition of the group between the British and French Governments.
- (d) (i) Partition of the group under two mandates—one British and one French; or
(ii) Acceptance by France of a mandate over the whole group.
- (e) British withdrawal from the group in favour of France subject to satisfactory guarantees being furnished by France for the protection of British interests in the group either—
- (i) in return for territorial compensation elsewhere, or failing this
(ii) on the best terms that our negotiator can secure.

The areas suggested as territorial compensation were:—

- (1) Kerguelen Island.
(2) Adélie Land in the Antarctic, and
(3) Bora Bora in the Society Group.

The Committee eventually came to the conclusion that the only practical solution of the problem was the withdrawal of the United Kingdom Government from the Condominium, subject to essential guarantees for the protection of missionary and other British interests on the lines recommended in their Report. The Conference adopted the conclusion of the Committee.

9. In January 1931 an Interdepartmental Committee was set up by the United Kingdom Government to report on:—

- (a) the territorial or other compensation to be requested from the French Government for the British withdrawal from the group;
- (b) the guarantees to be demanded for the protection of:—
- (i) Natives.
(ii) British Missionaries.
(iii) Other British interests, including land claims.
- (c) whether any special compensation, and, if so, in what form, should be provided for officials in the group whose services would be dispensed with as a consequence of the British withdrawal.