

for the Conference to meet at the beginning of February. He admits that this could be the very earliest that the Conference could convene and I feel that he is being unduly optimistic. In the first place we are not sure yet what the Russian attitude is going to be when it comes to discussing substance and secondly it seems to me that the draft Treaty is going to evoke far more discussion than Ambassador Daniels expects.

Although we are aware of the Department's general line of thought on a number of the articles drafted by the United States we would be grateful to receive your comments on the draft as soon as possible. If the Department has any special points it would wish us to make, now is the time to do this so that these points may be brought to the attention of the group and also thus be taken into account by the participants when drawing up their directives for the Conference.

Copies to London and Canberra.

W. C. DU PLESSIS

AMBASSADOR.

given effect to immediately it was signed without waiting for ratification. He did not know how this could be done, but it was something which would have to be given careful consideration.

You will observe that the Treaty contains no provision regarding duration and it is presumably the intention therefore that it should be a Treaty of indefinite duration.

It is my understanding that the High Contracting Parties referred to in the United States draft are the twelve countries at present engaged in the preliminary talks in Washington. They will be the only signatories to the Treaty and will constitute the administrative body envisaged in Article VII of the draft text.

The draft as you will see makes no provision for accession, and this, of course, accords with our views. Ambassador Daniels has also hinted that Chile and the Argentine feel strongly on this point and in fact are not likely to go along with a Treaty which contains any such provision. Non-signatories shall be allowed freedom of scientific research in Antarctica and you will note from Article VIII that the Administrative measures referred to in Article VII will apply both to signatories and non-signatories, provided that such countries "respect the principles embodied in the present Treaty". When Ambassador Daniels was asked how this could be enforced he stated that there were various ways such as pressure of world opinion and pressure brought to bear by the parties to the Treaty. He also suggested that peripheral states such as New Zealand, Australia, South Africa might be able to bring pressure to bear presumably by withdrawing facilities from such countries.

Ambassador Daniels has expressed the hope that the Group will be able to complete its work by the end of this month. Allowing for a two-months lag between the agreeing on a Conference date and the convening of the Conference it would then be possible

of contributions to meet the cost of implementing the agreement. You will recall that the original United States draft provided that the costs would be divided equally between the parties to the Agreement.

Article VIII which relates to the application of the administrative measures follows the lines of the United States draft which was forwarded to you under cover of my minute 43/44 of 30 June 1958.

Article IX will concern the delimitation of Antarctica, but you will note that the United States has refrained from suggesting the wording for this Article. Ambassador Daniels explained that they had felt that there were still too many uncertainties involved and that they were therefore not at this stage prepared to suggest a wording for this Article.

Article X relates to the settlement of disputes. This Article differs from the United States draft submitted under cover of my minute 43/44 of 11 July 1958, in that it introduces the idea of consultation between the parties to the Treaty with a view to settling a dispute "by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means." Only if such consultation has failed to reach a settlement within a reasonable time will the matter be referred to the International Court.

Article XI provides for revision of the Treaty by the parties at the end of ten years.

Article XII provides for ratification and the entry into force of the Treaty. This will only take place when all the signatory states have ratified the agreement. This might, however, mean that the Treaty would not come into effect for years and Ambassador Daniels intimated that he considered it to be desirable for the parties to the Treaty to think up some means of agreeing among themselves that the Treaty should be

of July 15, 1958. It does, however, refer to rights as well as claims which the original draft did not and in this it follows the Australian draft. The last paragraph is also worded somewhat differently. The Department is, of course, aware of the Russian opposition to the inclusion of such an article in the Treaty and of the feeling of the other members of the group, except for France, that an article along these lines will have to be included. Ambassador Daniels has, I understand, spent a good deal of time in trying to get the French to alter their position and he has said that he is now more hopeful that the French will fall into line on this.

Article V raises the tricky question of jurisdiction, concerning which the members of the group have as yet had little exchange of views.

Article VI provides for the appointment of observers by the parties to the agreement in order to ensure that Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only. The idea of consultation between the parties to the Treaty with separation of inspection by observers from Article VII concerning administrative measures which require the consent of all the High Contracting Parties, is presumably to overcome the difficulty of a possible Soviet veto of inspection of their bases.

Article VII concerns administrative measures to ensure the successful accomplishment of the objectives of the Treaty. This draft represents a rewording of the United States draft forwarded to you under cover of my minute 43/44 of 11 July 1958. An important difference is that whereas the original draft provided that parties to the agreement would determine the administrative measures by majority vote, the present draft requires that such measures receive the approval of all the parties to the agreement before they can come into operation. Furthermore the present draft makes no mention of the question

Article I, paragraph 1, refers to peaceful purposes on which all are agreed. As far as paragraph 2 is concerned it would seem to be essential to have some such wording in the Treaty as the total Antarctic support operations of the United States are, for example, carried out by the United States Navy and other countries such as the United Kingdom, Chile and Argentina, also rely on their naval and military forces for such operations.

You will note that the draft of Article I makes no mention of non-militarisation which appeared in the Australian draft and which you also favoured. You will recall (my minute 43/44 of 24 July) that the Russians had also suggested that reference should be made to the fact that no military bases should be established in Antarctica; that there should be no military manoeuvres on land, sea or in the air and that there should be no testing of military weapons. Ambassador Daniels explained that they had no objection to such a paragraph being added to Article I, but for tactical reasons had decided to leave it to the Russians to make the suggestion. This will no doubt allow of some latitude for "concessions" being made to the Russians.

Article II provides for freedom of scientific research in conformity with the Treaty and Article III provides for international co-operation in such research. These two ideas were joined in one article in the Australian draft Treaty. Such research is not restricted to the twelve countries directly interested in Antarctica, instead Antarctica shall be open to all countries for this purpose.

Article IV relates to the freezing of the status quo in Antarctica and follows more or less the lines of the United States draft forwarded to you under cover of my minute 43/44

3 November 1958

SPECIAL AIR MAIL

CONFIDENTIAL

The Secretary for External Affairs,  
PRETORIA.



ANTARCTICA

You will be aware from my minute 43/44 of 29 October, that the group of twelve have now almost completed consideration of the draft rules of procedure of the Conference, and that it is likely that tomorrow the group will proceed to the discussion, or at least will touch on the procedure for discussion, of item 7 of the Australian draft agenda which deals with the substance of the Treaty.

Proceeding on the basis that the Soviet representative has stated that he will not object to any member of the group expressing his view on any matter he would wish to, the State Department Antarctic Division has recently been busily engaged in preparing a draft text of a Treaty. This they have now completed except for the preamble and a copy was handed to an officer of the Embassy by Ambassador Daniels yesterday. (See Annexure A). I understand that Ambassador Daniels intends to circulate the document to all or nearly all members of the group individually but does not intend to present the document to the group as a whole. Instead he will present the articles separately as soon as the group, following the Australian draft agenda, reaches the subject matter of each article.

There has been no opportunity to study the United States draft in detail but the following are the main points of the draft:-

*Handwritten notes:*  
See 43/44  
14/11



3 November 1958

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*With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa  
Washington, D.C.*

LONDON

3 November 1958



1 Affairs,

ARCTICA

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(See Annexure A). I understand that Ambassador Daniels intends to circulate the document to all or nearly all members of the group individually but does not intend to present the document to the group as a whole. Instead he will present the articles separately as soon as the group, following the Australian draft agenda, reaches the subject matter of each article.

There has been no opportunity to study the United States draft in detail but the following are the main points of the draft:-

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12/1  
14/11





it might be advisable to give Governments a short time to review the draft and suggested an adjournment of the meetings for one week only.

After some debate the Group agreed to follow the United States suggestion and it will therefore not be meeting during next week. Instead it will meet on the Tuesday of the following week, that is on 2 December. It was agreed that the Group will then first take up consideration of the revised draft rules of procedure forwarded to you under cover of my minute 43/44 of 13 November 1958. The hope was expressed that representatives would by that date have instructions on these draft rules so that the Group could complete consideration of this matter. When these rules were disposed of the Group would then return to consideration of the draft articles of the Treaty.

The only other point raised at today's meeting which is worth mentioning concerns a proposal by the United Kingdom representative that the United Kingdom draft on delimitation of Antarctica should be substituted for the incomplete United States draft of Article 9. He felt that it would be desirable for Governments when considering the draft Treaty to at least <sup>6</sup> have some draft of this particular article before them. The United States representative on the other hand did not think that this was necessary as the twelve Governments were already aware of the United Kingdom draft and would automatically take it into account when considering the United States draft Treaty. As I have already reported (my minute 43/44 of 3 November) Ambassador Daniels told an officer of the Embassy that they were not yet prepared to submit a draft for this article as there were still too many uncertainties involved. I assume therefore, that Ambassador Daniels did not wish to see included in his draft an article upon which United States thinking is not yet clear. In any event it was agreed after some discussion that the United Kingdom draft on delimitation of Antarctica should not be included in Article 9.

As the Group expects to resume consideration of the revised draft rules of procedure on 2 December, I shall be glad if you can indicate by that date whether you are in agreement with the draft rules and whether you have any specific

18 November 1958

AIR BAG

CONFIDENTIAL



The Secretary for External Affairs,  
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA

As reported in my minute 43/44 of 13 November 1958, the Group, at its meeting on 13 November, found it exceedingly difficult to consider the three draft articles circulated by the United States in isolation from other articles of the Treaty which were still to be circulated. It was no doubt for this reason that the United States representative circulated the remaining articles (except for Article XI) of his draft Treaty to the Group today. I understand that the exclusion of draft Article XI for the present is not due to any change of heart regarding the principle involved, but rather to some doubts as to the time which should elapse before reviewing a Treaty.

After Ambassador Daniels had briefly reviewed the United States draft articles the Australian representative asked for the floor and expressed the opinion that now that a complete draft was before the Group it might well adjourn in order to enable Governments to give adequate consideration to the draft and to instruct their representatives. He felt that it was fruitless to continue the discussions if representatives were not in a position to express the views of their Governments. He proposed that the Group should not meet again until a sufficient number of representatives had advised Ambassador Daniels that they had received instructions and were in a position to discuss the draft Treaty. The United Kingdom representative also favoured following this procedure.

Ambassador Daniels was not too happy about this proposal. He felt that the Group could usefully gain some benefit from discussing the draft even though representatives had not yet received instructions. He agreed, however, that



18 Nov. 1958

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*With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa  
Washington, D.C.*

LONDON

*W. Daniels  
25/11*

18 November 1958



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ANTARCTICA

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No.  
Ref. No.  
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OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER,  
KANTOOR VAN DIE HOË KOMMISSARIS,  
CANBERRA.

SECRET  
AIF 188.

19th November, 1958.

The Acting Secretary for External Affairs,  
PRETORIA

Demilitarisation of Antarctica

From recent talks at the Department of External Affairs I have gathered that the Australian authorities are greatly concerned over the need for securing a watertight arrangement for the demilitarisation of Antarctica; and they are bending their effort now to stimulating full consideration of this aspect by the United States and the Commonwealth countries engaged in the present discussions in Washington. Instructions in this sense are in fact being sent to the Australian representatives in Pretoria, London, Wellington and Washington.

The Australians are unhappy about the apparent willingness of the United States negotiators to accept too loose a wording in the proposed treaty which would limit activities in Antarctica to peaceful uses; but they are hopeful that in the Pentagon a more realistic interest may be developing in the strategic aspect. They feel that, while their own principal centres of population are uncomfortably close to Antarctica, we in South Africa, and New Zealand, are hardly less concerned.

They are therefore anxious to have explicit stipulations in the proposed treaty that (a) Antarctica is to be permanently demilitarised; (b) logistic support for national scientific projects in the region should be undertaken by civil, not military or naval, units; and (c) the high seas should be included in the "zone of application".

The first two are regarded as of prime importance; the third not so important, but nevertheless useful. The problem is of course, that in both the United States and the United Kingdom naval units are, for administrative reasons, regarded as most convenient for supplying bases in Antarctica; but the Australians nevertheless feel that it is essential that there should be a total prohibition on the use of naval vessels in the area. If this were accepted it would be relatively simple to detect a Russian infringement.

In general the Australian Government is anxious that its Commonwealth and United States friends should give thorough consideration to the strategic aspect of the Antarctic problem. In the Department of External Affairs some thought is also being given to the question of trying, at a suitable time, to include the testing of nuclear weapons, as a specific item, in the ban of military activities; but it is realised that this is too much of a political issue to raise at the present moment.

Copies to London and Washington.

*W. de Villiers*  
*W. de Villiers*

A. M. HAMILTON  
High Commissioner



OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER,  
KANTOOR VAN DIE HOË KOMMISSARIS,  
18 Nov 1958  
CANBERRA

19th November, 1958.

Affairs,

Department of External Affairs,  
Antarctica

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With the compliments of the  
High Commissioner for the  
Union of South Africa

Canberra



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Copies to London and Washington.

*Handwritten signature: M. de Vries*  
*Handwritten initials: hjs/IV*

High Commissioner  
A. A. HAMILTON  
2/

the draft articles by the 17th.

After some discussion it was decided that the group would meet on the 17th to hear the views of the Japanese representative and any of the other representatives who might have received instructions on the United States draft articles. The revised draft rules of procedure would also be on the agenda for that day.

The Embassy would be grateful to receive your comments on the United States draft articles as soon as possible.

Copies to London and Canberra.

D. S. Franklin

AMBASSADOR.

... representatives had received the views of their governments on the draft rules of procedure.

There was a brief discussion of a Russian proposal that Article 17 of the draft rules should be amended to read as it appeared in the original United States draft (then Article 16). This would in effect provide for open meetings of the Conference unless otherwise determined. No decision was, however, taken on this, and it will be brought up again when the revised rules of procedure are reconsidered.

It was again agreed that no useful purpose would be served by reconsidering the draft rules of procedure until a sufficient number of representatives had received instructions. The majority of the representatives intimated that they were hopeful of receiving instructions soon, and it is, therefore, not unlikely that the group may be able to give

consideration/.....

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both  
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which has already been referred to in the Embassy's minute 43/44 of 3 November, 1958.

After Mr. Daniels had finished speaking and it appeared that no other meeting of the group had any comments to offer the Australian representative remarked that they had made a considerable contribution towards the work of the group and that his instructions were for the present to listen to the views of other governments on matters before the group. Until he was aware of the thinking of the other governments members of the group there seemed to be no point in repeating the Australian viewpoint on the matters under consideration. The Australians are of course particularly concerned at the failure of the Russians so far to present any views on the matters raised in the United States draft articles and therefore he added that the group was faced in particular with a lack of information of the viewpoint of non-claimant countries.

As no one else was prepared to speak on the draft articles no further progress was made in the consideration of this question. The question therefore arose as to when the next meeting of the group should be held and in order to ascertain this, the Chairman asked each representative when he expected to have instructions from his government. The majority of representatives were of the opinion that they would be able to express their government's views on the rules of procedure by the 17th of December. They were, however, not so certain of having their Government's views by then on the United States draft articles and it was suggested that the group might meet during the first week in January in order to give Governments more time to consider these draft articles. The representative of Japan was the only one to state that he expected to receive his instructions on the draft rules of procedure and

the draft /.....

would seem to be a good deal of force to this argument -  
it would be quite easy for the Russians for example to say  
if unanimity was not required that as they had not agreed to  
a particular measure it could not be regarded as applying to  
them .

As far as paragraph 2 (d) of this article is concerned,  
Ambassador Daniels stated that the international organisations  
he particularly had in mind were SCAR and the World Meteorio-  
logical Organisation. It had been felt that it would be  
unnecessarily restrictive to refer only to these organisations  
however, and for this reason no organisation was mentioned by  
name.

Ambassador Daniels intimated that only the future  
would decide whether there would be the need for a small  
permanent secretariat to prepare reports, for instance, to the  
Secretary General of the United Nations, etc. He pointed out,  
however, that this article is worded in such a way as to cover  
the provision for any such eventuality.

Article VIII: This ensured that the treaty was not meant to  
prejudice the just and legitimate interests of non-signatories.

Article XI:  
Ambassador Daniels stressed that this article did not  
cover disputes generally but only those disputes concerning the  
interpretation or application of the Treaty.

Article XII: Some provision should be made, perhaps in the form of  
a separate protocol, to prevent the Treaty from becoming a  
dead letter in the event of there being a long delay before all  
the signatory governments have ratified it. This is something

which has /.....  
the draft /.....



would seem to be a good deal of force to this argument - consideration to this matter at the next meeting scheduled for Wednesday, December 17.

It is assumed from the fact that the Department has not reacted to our request for comment on the draft rules that there is no objection to the rules as at present drafted and that we may use our discretion to act accordingly unless Ambassador Daniels stated that the international organizations he particularly had in mind were ICAO and the World Meteorological Organization. It will be recalled that Ambassador Daniels at the last meeting was not in favour of adjourning the meetings for the reasons put forward by the Australian representative, and that he felt that some benefit could be gained from discussing the draft articles of a Treaty even in the absence of instructions from governments. He therefore, started the ball rolling at the meeting by reviewing some of the draft articles proposed by the United States. The following briefly are some of the points made by Ambassador Daniels:-

Article VI:

While there might be some feeling among representatives that the question of civil and criminal jurisdiction did not justify a separate item in the Treaty, he thought that with complexities that might arise, it was just as well to provide for machinery to settle such disputes through inter-governmental consultation.

Article VII:

Ambassador Daniels explained that the point might be made that the unanimity required by paragraph 4 of this article gave any one country a veto power. He, however, felt that it was essential for the effective operation of the administrative measures that they should be agreed to by all parties. There

would seem/.....

AIR BAG.

2 December 1958.

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Secretary for External Affairs,

PRETORIA.ANTARCTICA.

The Twenty-seventh meeting of the Group of Twelve was held this morning under the Chairmanship of the Australian representative. Although it was hoped at the last meeting that the adjournment of the meetings for one week would give governments an opportunity to furnish representatives with fresh instructions it appeared from the outset that only a few representatives had received the views of their governments on the draft rules of procedure.

There was a brief discussion of a Russian proposal that Article 17 of the draft rules should be amended to read as it appeared in the original United States draft (then Article 16). This would in effect provide for open meetings of the Conference unless otherwise determined. No decision was, however, taken on this, and it will be brought up again when the revised rules of procedure are reconsidered.

It was again agreed that no useful purpose would be served by reconsidering the draft rules of procedure until a sufficient number of representatives had received instructions. The majority of the representatives intimated that they were hopeful of receiving instructions soon, and it is, therefore, not unlikely that the group may be able to give

consideration/.....

*Res def Villan*  
*W/H*  
*9/12*



2 December 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa

Washington, D.C.

LONDON



at the next meeting scheduled for  
2 December 1958.

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prior to the next meeting of the group.  
ANTARCTICA.  
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9/12*

SECRET.

- 3 -

2 December 1958.

The High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa,  
LONDON.  
CANBERRA.

The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Union of South Africa,  
PARIS.  
BRUSSELS.

The Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary  
of the Union of South Africa,  
BUENOS AIRES.

The Chargé d'Affaires of the Union of South Africa,  
SANTIAGO.

For your information.

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

*Mr de Villiers*

*hps.  
fir.*

*Mr de Villiers*

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Article 14). This would in effect provide for open meetings  
of the Conference unless otherwise determined. No decision  
was, however, taken on this, and it will be brought up  
again when the revised rules of procedure are reconsidered.

It was again agreed that no harmful purpose would  
be served by amending the draft rules of procedure until  
a revised draft of the Rules of Procedure and the instructions  
for the conduct of the Conference had been agreed. It was  
agreed that the draft rules of procedure should be given  
the status of a working document and that it is the  
responsibility of the Secretariat to give

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.....

Long-term projects.

These consisted of the establishment and maintenance of three permanent South African stations - one each on Gough and Bouvet islands and the Antarctic "mainland", probably in the sector claimed by Norway.

Of these projects (1), (2), (3), (5) and (9) have been approved by the Cabinet and in execution of the programme, two meteorologists have already left for London to join the British relief expedition on the point of leaving for the Halley Bay base. They will remain at Halley Bay for one year as full members of the group.

In so far as concerns the short-term projects mentioned under subheads 6 and 7, and the long-term projects, the Cabinet requested that the heads of the Departments of Transport, Defence, Finance and External Affairs foregather to define what the Union's future policy in Antarctica should be. Their recommendations would then go forward for consideration by the Cabinet. One of the basic difficulties has been, and is, the lack of suitable shipping facilities for the servicing of any off-shore stations, as it is felt that the naval vessels at present in commission in the Union are not suitable for the type of work involved. An inter-departmental meeting of the scope envisaged was held on the 22nd November, 1958, and the general opinion was that everything possible should be done to maintain, and extend, the Union's present position in the southern oceans. Recommendations to this effect are being made to the Cabinet, whose final decisions are still awaited.

The projected co-operation with Norway (8) was almost still-born. The Director of the Weather Bureau approached his Norwegian opposite member on an informal basis, with an offer of co-operation, to which the reply was returned that the Union's co-operation was not needed, at least for the next two years. In the interim Cabinet had been formally approached for approval of the project but rejected the proposed financial contribution.

It might be expected that more clarity will be achieved regarding the Union's future policy in the south in the near future and you will be kept informed of developments.

*As regards project no. (4) you are, of course, aware that there was unfortunately no suitable person available to participate in the operation.*

**M. I. BOTHA**

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

102/2/7

SECRET.

PRETORIA.

3 DEC 1958

The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa, WASHINGTON.

Antarctica.

With reference to your minute 43/44 of the 6th November, 1958, I would inform you that in September, 1958, the recently-constituted South African National Committee for Antarctic Research, at its inaugural meeting, made certain recommendations regarding the Union's future activities in Antarctica. These took the form of short and long term projects, and were, briefly, as follows:

Short-term projects.

- (1) Continuation of the Union's membership of SCAR;
- (2) Delegation of three scientists to attend the Third SCAR Meeting and correlated Antarctic symposium in Melbourne in February, 1959;
- (3) Attachment of one of these scientists to the Antarctic Weather Centre to be established shortly in Australia;
- (4) Despatch of a meteorologist to accompany "Operation Deep-freeze IV";
- (5) Participation in the Antarctic symposium scheduled to be held in Buenos Aires in November, 1959;
- (6) Maintenance of the existing weather-station on Gough Island until March/April, 1960;
- (7) An intensive reconnaissance of Bouvet Island with a view to establishing the practicability or otherwise of a permanent weather-station. A special sub-committee of SANCAR was set up to study in detail what such a reconnaissance would require by way of logistic support etc.;
- (8) Co-operation with Norway in the maintenance of the Norwegian station on the mainland during 1959. The recommendation was that the Norwegians be offered the services of two scientists, and a financial contribution of £30,000;
- (9) Co-operation with the United Kingdom and Australia in Antarctica.

SECRET.

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Antarctic projects

SECRET.

These consisted of the establishment and maintenance of three permanent South African stations - one each on South and Bouvet Islands and the mainland, probably in the sector claimed by Norway.

3 DEC 1958

Of these projects (1), (2), (3), (5) and (9) have been approved by the Cabinet and in execution of the programme, two meteorologists have already left for London. The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa, WASHINGTON.

Antarctica.

With reference to your minute 43/44 of the 6th November, 1958, I would inform you that in September, 1958, the recently-constituted South African National Committee for Antarctic Research, at its inaugural meeting, made certain recommendations regarding the Union's future activities in Antarctica. These took the form of short and long term projects, and were, briefly, as follows:

Short-term projects.

- (1) Continuation of the Union's membership of SCAR;
- (2) Delegation of three scientists to attend the Third SCAR Meeting and correlated Antarctic symposium in Melbourne in February, 1959;
- (3) Attachment of one of these scientists to the Antarctic Weather Centre to be established shortly in Australia;

Despatch of a meteorologist to accompany "Operation Deep-freeze IV";

Participation in the Antarctic symposium scheduled to be held in Buenos Aires in November, 1959;

Maintenance of the existing weather-station on Gough Island until March/April, 1960;

An intensive reconnaissance of Bouvet Island with a view to establishing the practicability or otherwise of a permanent weather-station. A special sub-committee of SANGAR was set up to study in detail what such a reconnaissance would require by way of logistic support etc.;

Co-operation with Norway in the maintenance of the Norwegian station on the mainland during 1959. The recommendation was that the Norwegians be offered the services of two scientists, and a financial contribution of £30,000;

Co-operation with the United Kingdom and Australia in Antarctica.

South Africans for Antarctica

Two officials of the Department of Transport are to be sent to the British base at Halley Bay, on the coast of Antarctica, for one year to assist with meteorological observations.

They are Messrs. G. M. Artz and J. Bothma, who are on the staff of the Weather Bureau and at present on duty at Louis Botha Airport in Durban.

They leave for London by air on Friday and will join the British party which will travel to Halley Bay via Montevideo on November 21.—Sapa.

Star 12/11/58

SECRET.

/...

.....

The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Union of South Africa,  
WASHINGTON.

The High Commissioner for the Union  
of South Africa, 102/2/7  
LONDON.

For your information. PRETORIA.

*Ally*  
SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. 5. 1. 1959

The High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa,  
CANBERRA.

Antarctica.

I attach an extract from a report which appeared  
in Die Transvaler of the 12th January, 1959, concerning  
the visit of the Russian vessel Mikhail Kalinin to Cape  
Town:

"In die Tafelbaaise hawe lê 'n skip wat geskiedenis  
maak. Die Mikhail Kalinin is die eerste Russiese  
passasierskip wat Kaapstad aandoen. Hy is die  
eerste passasierskip wat dit in die ysvelde van die  
Suidpoolgebied sal waag en hy is ook die eerste skip  
wat in Oos-Duitsland vir Rusland gebou is.

Die Mikhail Kalinin wat die naam dra van 'n  
vroëre Russiese president, is op pad van Leningrad  
na Mirny - Rusland se basis in die Suidpoolgebied.  
Hy het aan boord 63 wetenskaplikes, onder hulle agt  
Pole wat die span by die basis moet gaan afles.

Hy trek besonder baie aandag in die hawe, die netjiese  
wit skip met die rooi vlag die hamer en die sekelop  
die skoorsteen en die rooi ster op die voorstewe.  
Hy het Saterdagmiddag in Kaapstad aangekom en vertrek  
vanmiddag na Mirny waar die ysbreker Ob op hom wag."

It is suggested that you bring this report to  
the notice of the Australian authorities. The points in  
which they might be interested are the fact that the  
Russians are using a passenger vessel in connection with  
their Antarctic activities, and the presence of the Poles  
on board.

The Department has no official knowledge about  
the visit of the Mikhail Kalinin, since no prior permission  
for visits of this nature is required.

A. G. DUNN

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.



*Mr. M. V. Morris*

No-operation with *Kingston and*  
Australia in Antarctica



The representative of France although he had certain reservations can also be included in this group.

iii) The representative of the U.S.S.R. made a vague statement to the effect that he had already contributed his views on certain matters covered by the draft Treaty such as peaceful uses, rights and claims and a definition of Antarctica but ended by saying that he agreed that it was desirable to get ahead with the discussions.

The representative of the Argentine was absent during most of the meeting and so we were not able to get the benefit of his views.

You will note that we informed the Group that we hoped to have instructions early in the New Year. This was the least we could do as all other members (except the U.S.S.R.) are apparently ready to discuss the draft Treaty by then. In fact, it was in the belief that this discussion could commence at the next meeting of the Group that it was decided not to hold another meeting until January 6th. I should be grateful therefore, if you could furnish your comments on the United States draft Treaty before that date.

Copies to London and Canberra.

W. C. DU PLESSIS

AMBASSADOR.

*Handwritten notes:*  
See A. P. ...  
W.C.  
30/12

The United States and United Kingdom representatives also made a point of stressing the fact that they relied to a large extent on their navy and military in conducting support operations etc. in Antarctica and that this was a fact which would have to be faced up to.

The question of "participation" was again touched on briefly during the meeting, and the Soviet representative restated his Government's view that all countries should be allowed to participate at the Conference if they wished to do so and that all countries should be eligible to sign any treaty which may be agreed upon.

During the course of the meeting each representative was requested by the Chairman to indicate when he expected to be in a position to discuss the draft treaty and the rules of procedure, and the position of the various countries is as follows:-

a) Rules of Procedure.

All members of the group except the Belgian representative and the Soviet representative (who did not make his position clear) are apparently in a position to discuss the rules of procedure.

b) Draft Treaty.

- 1) Chile, Japan, Norway and the United States are in a position to discuss the draft Treaty article by article.
- ii) Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, United Kingdom and ourselves indicated that we found the draft Treaty suitable as a basis for discussion. Most of the representatives in this group including ourselves, stated that they expected instructions early in the New Year. We know, however, that Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom have already been fairly fully briefed.

supposed that it would be possible to give certain important administrative measures the force of a separate treaty document. The representative of the United Kingdom wondered whether the difficulty of having to obtain parliamentary approval for certain measures might not be met by providing that the administrative measures would be agreed upon by an exchange of official notes which (in the United Kingdom at least) would have to be tabled before parliament.

The discussion on this question was dropped at this point without the Group having reached any decision in the matter.

The only other matter which was discussed at Wednesday's meeting relates to the question of the use of Antarctica for peaceful purposes. The Soviet representative indicated that he would like to set out what his Government understands by the use of the term "peaceful purposes". He stated that this in particular implied that no military bases should be established in Antarctica and that there should be no military manoeuvres of land, sea or air forces and no testing of military weapons of any kind. He did not consider that Article I as at present drafted was sufficiently precise and thought that it should be amplified along the lines he had suggested.

The first to react to Mr. Ledovsky's suggestion was the representative of Chile who stated that his Government might well be prepared to go along with the suggestion of the Soviet representative. At the same time he, however, pointed out that his Government regarded it as essential that military and naval support for scientific research for peaceful purposes should be continued. He enquired whether the Soviet representative would object to such support as set out in paragraph 2 of Article I of the United States draft. To this Mr. Ledovsky replied that he would seek instructions on this point.

The United/.....  
briefed.

that it would be too difficult to draft an article which would be satisfactory to everybody and that the Group should not get sidetracked on detailed jurisdictional points. It would be preferable to deal with the matter in Article VII. Members of the Group who supported this view were Australia, Chile, Norway and New Zealand.

On the other hand the representatives of the United Kingdom and Japan while agreeing that an article on jurisdiction would be exceedingly difficult to draft, nevertheless were of the opinion that the Group should not run away from this problem and that such an article should find its place in a Treaty. The representative of the United Kingdom was not entirely satisfied with the present United States draft which would require comprehensive treaties of extradition to enforce but he felt that the draft might well serve as a basis for further drafts which could provide a useful start in the consideration of this question.

In this connection the representative of Japan also raised the question whether approval of the administrative measures under Article VII would be by executive action or whether they would have to be dealt with in a separate treaty. He stated that he was enquiring because any decision on the question of jurisdiction would be a matter which would require the approval of the Japanese parliament and not merely the approval of the executive authority. If the administrative measures were to be approved by executive action then he considered that an article on jurisdiction should be included in the Treaty itself. To this question the representative of the United States replied that his Government had not thoroughly explored this point but that he had hoped that it would not be necessary to incorporate the administrative measures agreed upon in a treaty. He had thought in terms of executive agreements rather than binding treaties. He, however,

supposed/.....

The United/.....



43/44

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
AMBASSADE VAN DIE UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

AIR BAG.

18th December, 1958.

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Secretary for External Affairs,

PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA.

The group of twelve met as scheduled on Wednesday  
17 December, 1958.

The first point to be discussed related to Article  
V of the United States draft Treaty. Ambassador Daniels, as  
he had done on a previous occasion, again expressed doubts as  
to the possibility of including a provision relating to juris-  
diction in the draft Treaty. Whilst the United States felt  
that it would be desirable to include an article on jurisdiction  
this would raise all sorts of difficulties and he suggested  
for the consideration of the Group that as an alternative some  
thought might be given to dealing with this question under  
Article VII of the Treaty. That is, after the signing of the  
Treaty this question would be considered by those persons  
authorised to discuss administrative measures under Article VII.

had not thoroughly explored this point but that he had hoped that  
it would not be necessary to do so. This suggestion evoked considerable discussion  
during which it became apparent that the members of the Group  
were somewhat divided in their approach. Some members felt

*Her A. Miller  
WJ  
30/12*

that it /.....

CONFIDENTIAL.

19th December, 1958

With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa  
Washington, D.C.

LONDON.

43/44

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA  
AMBASSADE VAN DIE UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

18th December, 1958.

and that the Group should not get side-  
National. article VII. Members of the Group  
are Australia, Chile, Norway and New  
Internal Affairs, relatives of the United  
agreeing that an article on jurisdiction  
could not run away from this problem and  
find its place in a Treaty. The  
ANTARCTICA. will not entirely satisfied with  
draft which would require consideration  
of twelve met as scheduled on Wednesday

The first point to be discussed related to Article V of the United States draft Treaty. Ambassador Daniels, as he had done on a previous occasion, again expressed doubts as to the possibility of including a provision relating to jurisdiction in the draft Treaty. Whilst the United States felt that it would be desirable to include an article on jurisdiction this would raise all sorts of difficulties and he suggested for the consideration of the Group that as an alternative some thought might be given to dealing with this question under Article VII of the Treaty. That is, after the signing of the Treaty this question would be considered by those persons authorised to discuss administrative measures under Article VII.

This suggestion evoked considerable discussion during which it became apparent that the members of the Group were somewhat divided in their approach. Some members felt

that it /.....

Her A. Millers  
WJH  
30/12

At this stage the Australian representative proposed an alternative wording which he thought would meet some of the objections raised. The following is the wording proposed:-

"All governments, individuals and organisations shall enjoy freedom of scientific research in the whole of the Antarctic on an equal basis in conformity with the provisions of the present Treaty."

While this new wording seemed to cover the position of stateless persons and representatives of international organisations, it still failed to commend itself to those members of the Group who favoured the United States wording. The Belgian, Chilean, French, New Zealand, Norwegian, United Kingdom and United States representatives all supported the United States text. The Japanese representative reserved his position. We expressed a preference for the United States draft, but suggested that as there was very little difference in intention between the two drafts, and as their real scope would be determined by the provisions of other articles of the Treaty, the Group should proceed with examination of the other draft articles. If such examination should show that the United States draft of Article II was, in fact, restrictive then we could return to article II. If on the other hand it proved the contrary then the Russians and Australians might not consider it necessary to press their proposal. The Soviet representative for his part promised to consult with his government regarding the Australians' proposed amendment to his own draft and to report back to the Group.

The attitude to this question adopted by the Australian representative was evidently motivated by the fact that while the members of the Group should remain firm on certain fundamental aspects of the Treaty, they should nevertheless not be unnecessarily obstructionist and should try and accommodate the Russians wherever possible. While there is a good deal of sense in this argument, nevertheless there is a certain danger inherent in following such a procedure, as if the Group shows itself as being too accommodating the Soviets will no doubt stiffen their demands.

The next meeting of the Group will take place on Monday 19 January, when we will no doubt continue with the discussion of Article II and possibly pass on to other Articles.

Copies to London and Canberra.

W. C. DU PLESSIS

AMBASSADOR

the present Treaty" were retained in the Soviet draft of the Article. Article II would then read as follows:-

"All Governments, organisations and citizens of all countries shall enjoy freedom of scientific research in the whole of the Antarctic on an equal basis in conformity with the provisions of the present Treaty".

Those members of the Group who opposed the Soviet suggestion did so mainly on the ground that the present wording was, in fact, more simple and all-embracing than the Soviet proposal. It avoided the difficulty which always arises when an attempt is made to enumerate, as such an enumeration invariably fails to cover all possible categories. Such an enumeration in fact could prove more restrictive than the present wording of draft Article II. Thus the United Kingdom representative pointed out that the Soviet wording would not allow representatives of international organisations into Antarctica and that the only capacity in which they could enter would be as citizens of a particular country. Similarly it does not cover the position of a scientist who is stateless. A number of representatives expressed the view that Article II should be retained in its present simple form, particularly as the inclusion of the phrase "in conformity with the provisions of the present Treaty" implied that the practical scope of the article would be determined by the provisions of other articles of the Treaty. It was also pointed out that the Soviet wording could lead to some absurd interpretations - thus the Argentine representative expressed the view that an extreme interpretation of the Soviet wording and its emphasis on enjoying scientific research "on an equal basis" could mean that an Argentine scientist at an Argentine base might be required to give up his position at the Argentine base in favour of a scientist of some other country. The representative of New Zealand also expressed the view that the use of the words "on an equal basis" was not desirable because freedom of scientific research does not mean equality of scientific research as some countries were more advanced scientifically than others and could therefore contribute more to scientific research. He felt in any event that these questions would be dealt with under Article VIII.

The Group will meet again on Monday 19 January, when we will continue with the discussion of Article II and possibly give an outline of other articles.

Copies to London and Canberra.

S. C. DE PLASSIS



AIR BAG

13th January, 1959.

SECRET.

The Secretary for External Affairs,  
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA

The meeting of the Group of Twelve was held today as scheduled.

Although it had been agreed at the previous meeting at the suggestion of the Australian representative that the Group should pass to the consideration of the draft Treaty as a whole, the representative of the Argentine and ourselves intimated that we were not yet in a position to do so, and as a number of representatives also indicated that they would prefer an article by article discussion, the Australian representative stated that he would for the time being withdraw his proposal that the draft Treaty be considered as a whole. He reserved the right however, to re-introduce the proposal at a later stage if necessary.

The Group thereupon continued with a consideration of Article II and, in fact, devoted the entire meeting to this Article. The representative of the Soviet Union again repeated the position that he had taken at the last meeting, namely, that the draft as at present worded could be understood to mean that only the Treaty signatories could undertake scientific research in Antarctica whereas the Antarctic should be open to all countries for scientific research on an equal basis. He therefore restated his proposal that the United States draft should be amended along the lines that all governments, organisations and citizens of all countries should enjoy freedom of scientific research in the whole of the Antarctic on an equal basis.

The Australian representative stated that it was desirable to make the Treaty precise wherever possible and he could therefore see no objection to the Russian proposal provided that the words "in conformity with the provisions of

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
Mrs A. K. ...  
H. J. ...

the .....

SECRET.



15th January, 1959

With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa  
Washington, D.C.

LONDON



13th January, 1959.  
... organisations and citizens of all  
... freedom of scientific research  
... on an equal basis in  
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... of the Group who opposed the Soviet  
ANTARCTICA  
... and all-embracing than the Soviet  
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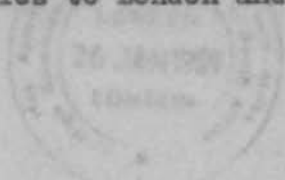
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It was decided to leave over discussion of the matter to enable representatives to obtain the views of their Governments. To us it seems that the United States contention that paragraph 1 of draft Article III establishes the principle of co-operation with international scientific organisations is debatable, and it may prove necessary to include in Article III some general statement of the principle. The New Zealand representative suggested in this connection that if such a statement should be agreed to it might take the form of the addition to paragraph 2 of Article III of something along the lines "(d) Co-operation will be sought with international organisations having a scientific interest in Antarctica".

Discussion on the draft articles will be continued at the next meeting, scheduled for Tuesday, January 27.

Copies to London and Canberra.



W. C. DU PLESSIS

AMBASSADOR

The Australian representative stated that he had not yet received the views of his Government on the amendments to his draft which had been proposed by the Australian. As far as his original formula was concerned he wished to include that the term "international" was meant to refer primarily to national scientific organisations. It, however, included national scientific organisations which co-operate internationally and also be accorded freedom of scientific research. In discussion on this he agreed that the freedom should apply also to United Nations Specialized Agencies which might have a scientific interest, but distinguished the United Nations as such as a political organisation not concerned with scientific research.

The Soviet representative stated that he had not yet received the views of his Government on the amendments to his draft which had been proposed by the Australian. As far as his original formula was concerned he wished to include that the term "international" was meant to refer primarily to national scientific organisations. It, however, included national scientific organisations which co-operate internationally and also be accorded freedom of scientific research. In discussion on this he agreed that the freedom should apply also to United Nations Specialized Agencies which might have a scientific interest, but distinguished the United Nations as such as a political organisation not concerned with scientific research.

Article III.

The Soviet representative proposed that a provision should be added "providing for the obligation of participants

*Handwritten notes:*  
New Zealand  
1/26/59

of the Treaty to render assistance to the activity of international scientific organisations which carry on scientific research in Antarctica and in particular to the activity of the Special Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR).

The United Kingdom representative followed by stating that the British Government would like the following provision added either as a sub-clause (d) to paragraph 2 or as paragraph 3 to the Article:

"In implementing this article use shall be made, wherever practicable, of the facilities provided by international organisations having a scientific or technical interest in Antarctica."

The essential difference between the Russian and the British proposals is that in the former the emphasis is on assistance to international scientific organisations, whereas in the latter it is on the utilisation of the services of such organisations. Their essential purposes, however, are similar, namely to establish the principle that there should be co-operation with international scientific organisations.

The United States representative maintained that this principle was sufficiently enunciated in paragraph 1 of the United States draft Article III. The principle being broadly stated in ~~paragraph~~ <sup>ARTICLE</sup> III, the details could be worked out later in terms of paragraph 2(d) of draft Article VII. This view was supported by the Argentine, New Zealand and Chilean representatives, the latter mentioning that when Article VII comes up for consideration he may wish to return to an earlier Chilean suggestion that there should be created an Antarctic Institute. (The thinking behind the original idea for an Antarctic Institute, it will be recalled, was that it might provide a means for associating non-signatories of the Treaty).

In the discussion most delegates criticised the Russian suggestion that SCAR should be mentioned by name - on the grounds generally that it was not proper for Governments to legislate for a specific non-governmental organisation, and that there was no certainty as to the duration of the existence of SCAR in its present form or under its present name. It would be better that relations with SCAR or with any other organisation be dealt with in terms of the arrangements contemplated under Article VII.

It .....

21st January 1959

AIR BAG

SECRET

The Secretary for External Affairs,  
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA

As stated in our last despatch, the Group of Twelve further considered Article II and commenced discussion of Article III at the meeting held on 19th January. Article II.

It will be recalled that the Australian representative at the last meeting proposed an alternative wording of Article II. At Monday's meeting he explained that his draft was not cleared with his Government and that it was given to the Group on an entirely personal basis in the hope that it might cover the differing views expressed in the United States and Soviet drafts. Since he has not yet had the views of his Government on his draft or on the Russian proposal, he reserved his interposition to return to this Article at a later stage.

The Soviet representative stated that he had not yet received the views of his Government on the amendment to his draft which had been proposed by the Australian. As far as his original formula was concerned he wished to explain that the term "organisations" was meant to refer primarily to national scientific organisations. If, however, different national scientific organisations should co-operate internationally then of course such international organisation should also be accorded freedom of scientific research. In discussion on this he agreed that the freedom should apply also to United Nations Specialised Agencies which might have a scientific interest, but distinguished the United Nations as such as a political organisation not concerned with scientific research.

Article III.

The Soviet representative proposed that a provision should be added "providing for the obligation of participants

of .....

*Handwritten:*  
Herd Villiers  
WJH 26/1



SECRET

21.1.1959

With the  
Compliments of the  
Embassy  
of the  
Union of South Africa  
Washington, D.C.

LONDON



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... 21st January 1959  
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of .....

*Her de Villiers*  
*WJL 26/1*