

SECRET

DRAFT AGREEMENT ON ANTARCTICA

WHEREAS explorers and scientists of the signatory states have occupied a leading position in the exploration and investigation of the Antarctic regions and have explored and charted extensive areas thereof;

WHEREAS vast areas have not yet been explored and charted, and large portions of the coasts are inaccessible by ship at all times because of ice conditions in contiguous seas;

WHEREAS scientific data that may be obtained only in the Antarctic regions are urgently needed because of their planetary significance in many fields of knowledge, including meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, studies of cosmic rays, geology, and biology, some of the results of which may prove to be of great practical value in relation to navigation by sea and air, telecommunications, agriculture and other human activities in many parts of the world;

WHEREAS facilitation of comprehensive scientific exploration and observation is of prime importance in the Antarctic regions, requiring encouragement in the establishment of fixed stations for scientific observations wherever it is physically feasible and advisable to locate and support them, and likewise requiring unhindered mobility of parties penetrating very large interior regions of the continental ice-cap by air and surface transport;

WHEREAS Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, the Kingdom of Norway, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America claim portions of Antarctica; and

/WHEREAS

TOP SECRET

AIDE-MEMOIRE.

The following considerations, in briefest outline, have led the United States Government to the conclusion that the establishment of an international status for the Antarctic area is the most practicable and preferable method of solving the problem of conflicting and potentially conflicting claims in that area.

The prestige of several nations is engaged in the area. Very difficult problems would be posed, should a division among the various national sovereignties be sought through the International Court. The foreseeable values of Antarctica are predominately scientific rather than strategic or economic. An international regime would be well calculated to promote the exploitation of these scientific values. Internationalization, therefore, appears to present the best possibility of removing the area from the field of present or potential future contention, at the same time preserving to the interested nations control over the strategic use and possible economic value of the area.

The conflict of interests, the friction and disagreement generated by the conflict of claims, and the unsettled status of Antarctica perturbs otherwise amicable relations and is, moreover, susceptible of exploitation to the disadvantage of the interested nations by nations and groups who hope to profit from discord.

An international administration for the Antarctic continent and sub-Antarctic islands would promote the further systematic scientific exploration and investigation of Antarctic phenomena. It would facilitate the correlation of meteorological observations of practical significance in long range weather forecast, particularly for countries of the Southern Hemisphere. A settlement by internationalization should, as stated above, also remove the area from the field of present or potential future conflict, at the same time preserving to the interested nations control over any actual or potential values which the area may contain, while widening the sphere of friendly, cooperative international endeavour.

The United States hopes that the interested nations will endeavour to agree on some form of internationalization of the area. In order to provide a basis for discussion, a plan for an international administration of the area has been prepared. However, the United States will welcome suggestions from the United Kingdom, and will gladly discuss any alternative proposals.

Enclosure.

Department of State,

Washington, August 9, 1948.

TOP SECRET

P(48)32.

For Mr. A. Hamilton,
South Africa House

POLAR COMMITTEE

UNITED STATES DRAFT PROPOSALS
FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE
ANTARCTIC DISPUTE

Annexed are copies of an Aide-Memoire and of a Draft Agreement on Antarctica. These documents were handed to the United Kingdom Embassy in Washington on the 9th August, and at the same time similar communications were sent by the United States State Department to the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, France and Norway.

The contents of the documents have not yet been made public. Members of the Committee are therefore requested to treat this paper as being of particular secrecy.

(Signed) John Chadwick

Secretary,
Polar Committee.

Commonwealth Relations Office.
20th September, 1948.

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Washington, August 9, 1948.

The text of this telegram may not be communicated OUTSIDE ANY UNITED KINGDOM DEPARTMENT without first being paraphrased.

HEXAD

CABLEGRAM TO: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, PRETORIA,
DESPATCHED: 4th October, 1948.

563 addressed Primesec 563 repeated Washington 21.
Antarctic Regime Secret. Your P.M.102/2 of 20th
September. Commonwealth Relations Office have been advised
orally of approach which Eustace is to make to State
Department. They informally expressed complete agreement with
this line of action and said that as the initial approach to
Washington is being made by the Union Government, even if only
to ask for information, they now felt free to ask Foreign
Office to request U.K. Ambassador in Washington to put in a
word with State Department about Union's interests.

Debit: E.A.

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Commonwealth Relations Office.
20th September, 1948.

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has been prepared. However, the United States will welcome
suggestions from the United Kingdom, and will gladly
discuss any alternative proposals.

Enclosure.

Department of State,

Washington, August 9, 1948.

Ref. 19/88/2.

October 5th, 1948.

SECRET.

INFORMAL.

Dear Syers,

Referring to our talk last Saturday about the United States proposals for an international regime in the Antarctic, I am writing to confirm that the Union authorities have asked Mr. Eustace, Charge d'Affaires, a.i., at our Legation in Washington, to approach the State Department, informally, for information about the proposals referred to in the State Department's press release of the 28th August, and to draw the attention of the United States Government to the extent of South Africa's interests in any plans for the internationalization of Antarctica.

Yours sincerely,

J. Hewitson

C. G. L. Syers, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

TH/ER

Jew

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Enclosure.

Department of State,

Washington, August 9, 1948.

Commonwealth Relations Office,

Downing Street.

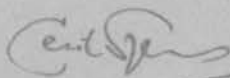
6th October, 1948.

SECRET

Dear Hewitson,

Thank you very much for your 19/88/2 of the 5th of October in confirmation of our conversation last Saturday. I have passed on what you say to the Foreign Office as I promised.

Yours sincerely,



(C.G.L. Syers)

T. HEWITSON, ESQ.,
SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE.



October 5th, 1948.

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ed States proposals
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Enclosure.

Department of State,

Washington, August 9, 1948.

Legation Office,

Devon Street.

25 October 2, 1945.

France, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Chile. By such restriction it was hoped to exclude claims from other powers, and particularly any claims that might be advanced by the Soviets. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate a clause in the Constitution allowance for the accession of any power which all the signatories felt had a definite interest in the Antarctic. The American hope was that South Africa would by this means participate in the restricted international control of the Antarctic.

The necessity for keeping these somewhat involved American plans a secret was stressed. I undertook that this aspect of the matter would be borne in mind by this Legation. Mr. Hulley stated, however, that his Department had and would continue to have full and frank discussions with the United Kingdom authorities on all matters concerning the Antarctic.

While Mr. Hulley could make no promise without consulting members of his Department, he hoped within a few days to provide the Legation with particulars of the approaches already made to the other governments concerned. Any further information received will be forwarded to you immediately after its receipt.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd) T.H. BUSTACE.

CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AD INTERIM.

C. MURPHY, Esq.,
SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE.

C. S. L. SPENCER, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
Devon Street,
London.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

COPY/MIN
29.10.1948.

C.102.

LEGATION OF THE UNION
OF SOUTH AFRICA,
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

5th October, 1948.

THE SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA.

With reference to your minute P.M.102/2 of the 16th of September 1948, I have to inform you that, accompanied by Mr. W.D. van Schalkwyk, I called on the Department of State on the 1st of October and at an informal meeting with officials of the British Commonwealth Division and of the North European Division, I outlined, as instructed, the Union's interest in Antarctica.

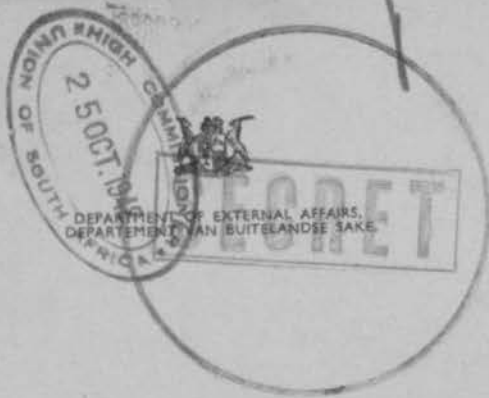
Mr. E.T. Hulley of the North European Division (this Division is responsible for Arctic and Antarctic policy matters) received my statement in a very friendly manner, and he remarked that the demarche of the Union Government was not unexpected. He then continued that the South African interest in Antarctica was looked upon by the State Department with a good deal of sympathy. His Department was in agreement that the Antarctic Continent must as yet be regarded as terra nullis. He explained that the original suggestion that some form of trusteeship should be created, had been advanced by the State Department during the period when Russia refused to participate in the Trusteeship Council. Now that Russia had actually taken her seat on the Council, however, the original proposal no longer found favour.

South Africa's special interest in possible meteorological services from the Antarctic were well understood by American officials and Mr. Hulley believed that any exploitation or development of the Antarctic Continent, which might take place, might well use Union ports as a base. He stated that the strategic importance of the area, in its relation to South Africa, was fully realised.

The whole question of whaling interests was, Mr. Hulley felt, covered by separate international agreements and such whaling activities as took place had in fact little to do with the land mass of the Antarctic Continent. He advanced as his personal view the probability that Antarctic air communications would be likely to skirt the Antarctic Continent and not actually cross this Continent.

Mr. Hulley then set out to explain that the intention at present was to restrict negotiation to the eight powers mentioned in the Press Release of the 28th August, viz., the United States, the United Kingdom,

/.....



Secret

With the compliments of the Secretary for External Affairs.

Met die komplimente van die Sekretaris van Buitelandse Sake.

The High Commissioner for the Union, LONDON.

For your own information only. Instructions will follow.

M. H. H. H.

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]

C.102.
OF THE UNION
SOUTH AFRICA,
WASHINGTON 8, D.C.
... 1948.
... powers, the interests
... in the continent
... of any power which all the
... be interested in the continent.
... affairs.

... your minute P.M.102/2
... I have to inform you that,
Schalkwyk, I called on the
... of October and at an
... of the British Common-
... North European division, the
... Union's interest in
... received will be for-
... its receipt.
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Secret

P R E T O R I A,

11-10-1948

Dear Ted,

You will recall that we were informed in the High Commissioner's telegram No. 563 of the 5th October (repeated to Washington No. 21), that the Foreign Office has now requested the United Kingdom Ambassador in Washington to put in a word with the State Department about the Union's interest in any international regime which may be established in Antarctica.

As the United Kingdom Government originally raised objections to our proposal for some form of association with these international discussions, we would be interested to learn whether the Ambassador has been requested to support our representations or otherwise. If, therefore, you obtain any information as to what the nature was of his "word" with the State Department on this point, we would be glad to have it.

We have just received, through the United Kingdom High Commissioner here, the text of the State Department aide memoire and draft agreement on Antarctica, dated August 9th, which has been communicated to us "with the concurrence of the United States Government".

We shall be writing officially to you giving our comments on the draft agreement, at an early date.

I have sent a copy of this letter to Chris Naude.

Yours sincerely,

M. H. H. [Signature]
18/10

T.H. EUSTACE, ESQ.

Dear Chris,

Forwarded for your information.

DR. W.C. NAUDE.

Free
Spinks to Chadwick, CRO
asked him to let us know
whether Ambassador has
now asked to support
us at State Dept
[Signature]

The text of the telegram may not be
communicated outside the United Kingdom
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

HEXAD

19/10/48

4469.

CABLEGRAM FROM: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, PRETORIA.

DATED: 16th October, 1948 (Recd. 18.10.48)

No 605. It is noted from Minutes of last Polar Committee meeting that it is hoped to discuss United States Antarctic proposals during Commonwealth Conference. Please give Mr. Louw full brief on Union's attitude in this matter on basis of correspondence in your possession.

JF

1. M.H. ...
THAS
2. F. ...

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M. H. ...

B. B. ...

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Dear Chris,

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DR. W.C. NAUDE.

Fru

Speaks to Chadwick, CRO.
wishes him to let us know
how Ambassador has
we at State support

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HEXAD 4469. 5

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Page 18/10

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Jeu

*Mr. Hamilton -
He found out
what will be discussed
privately in presence
without me?
18/10*

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B. B. 901 W

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DS

*Spoke to Chadwick, CRO.
Asks him to let us know
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been asked to support
us at State Dept.
18/10*

proposals to be discussed by United Kingdom Ministers with Mr. Fraser and Dr. Evatt". He went on to say that "there was at present necessarily some divergence of views between the Commonwealth Governments directly affected by the proposals and until further discussions had taken place it would be difficult to prepare any formal reply to the United States Government".

19th October, 1948. The Department of Labour Ref: 19/88/2.

support a South African claim to participate in the discussions for several reasons, the principal one being that the United States proposals were purposely framed in such a way as to exclude the possibility of certain other powers, notably Russia, being associated with the special regime and that if, therefore, the basis of the proposals was broadened to include powers not already owning or claiming territory in the Antarctic, the United States Government would undoubtedly be faced with claims from Russia to be associated with the International Antarctic Commission.

The Union Government did not consider that the attitude on the part of the United Kingdom Government was entirely reasonable and decided that the time had now come when the United States Government should be informally apprised of the Union Government's interest in the United States proposals and instructed the Chargé d'Affaires in Washington to approach the State Department for information regarding the proposals referred to in the State Department's press release of the 28th August, and to draw the attention of the United States Government to the extent of South Africa's interests in any plans for the internationalisation of Antarctica. The United Kingdom authorities have been informed that this approach is being made.

At the last meeting of the Polar Committee the Foreign Office representative mentioned that "it was hoped that an opportunity would arise during the forthcoming Prime Ministers' Conference in London for the United States /proposals.....

Top Secret

United States proposals for a special regime
in the Antarctic.

On the 24th July the Commonwealth Relations Office informed the Union Government, confidentially, that the United States had prepared a scheme for a "special regime" for the Antarctic which would involve the establishment of an International Antarctic Commission composed of one representative of each of the following States:-

United States, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, Norway, Argentina and Chile, and invited the Union Government's comments. These proposals were subsequently conveyed to the Governments of the countries mentioned and on the 28th August the State Department issued a communique on the subject without going into details about the proposals.

In their reply the Department of External Affairs drew attention to the Union's interest in the control and administration of Antarctica and expressed the view that the Union might justifiably claim to be associated with any organisation or machinery which might be devised for the control and administration of the area. The High Commissioner was, therefore, asked to obtain informally an indication of the extent to which the United Kingdom might be prepared to support a South African claim to participation in international discussions on this subject. In their reply which was delivered informally the United Kingdom authorities said that while the Government would, in principle, be very willing to support the claim of another Commonwealth Government to be associated with the special regime, they would find it difficult at this time to /support.....

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Ref: 19/00/2.

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Note by [unclear]
for
Munich/London

20/10/48

" Perhaps you might seek a word with Noel Baker
to say that whilst the Govt had no
particular desire ^(at this stage) to raise the Antarctic
question with Australia or New Zealand,
nevertheless if he or his Dept were
contemplating a talk with Swath
Fraser, it might be advisable if you
also participated.

I think Ext. Affairs have slightly
misinterpreted the position when they think this
question would be raised in the Commonwealth
Talks. The British view is that the American
scheme is unrealistic + unlikely + would probably be
shut down (!) + that nothing is likely to come of it.

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Note by [unclear]

During the conversation Señor Bernstein came to the question of the Antarctic and repeatedly emphasized that Chile was going to pursue her aims peacefully. I reflected to myself that it did really not matter much whether Chile chose peaceful or other means; but why should her peaceful intentions be protested so much? I felt that she had bound herself in this controversy to a more intransigent and militant manner of those considered actions she does not at all times feel sure; her leaders were therefore at pains to let the world understand that Chile was not going to be associated in any rash action, if ever it came to that.

Señor Bernstein handed me a copy of the Chilean Counterproposals (dated 19th July, 1948) to the United States proposals - I have since received a copy from London.

On perusing the text, I remarked that it all looked peaceful enough except that it amounted to affording Chile 5 years peaceful opportunity to consolidate herself on territory claimed by another. To this Señor Bernstein replied that that morning he had handed new counter-proposals to my American Colleague and on my asking in which way they differed from those before us, he stated that in their draft there was a difference, but in their effect there was none.

Our conversation then proceeded to the South West Africa question.

Here in Argentina no one has yet opened the question of the Antarctic with me and I hardly expect that they will, because in the absence of Dr. Brasuglia, those who stayed at home have become most uncommunicative.

There is for instance, Dr. La Rosa, Under-Secretary (Political) of Foreign Affairs, about whom I have written before - a man who has always been prepared to express an incisive, almost dogmatic, view on any subject, a man in whose nature it is to be positive in his attitudes. I had a general and very friendly talk with him a few days ago but elicited no information on their views about U.N.O. and its agencies and proceedings, about the Pan-American Union, or anything else.

The trend of his attitude throughout was that Dr. Brasuglia was away at Paris and he alone knew what Argentina's views and policies were going to be. He (Dr. La Rosa) was merely an official and did not know and he added significantly that the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs would know still less.

I could sense that his own reticence and his discounting of the Acting Minister was part of their build-up in this continent of Dr. Brasuglia's role in big company in Paris. They were not going to risk any divergences or incongruities in their pronouncements on policy.

Sanchez

Minister:

BT/bp

Air-Mail.

Ref. B.A. 22/7.

Secret.

18th October, 1948.

The Secretary for
External Affairs,
Union Buildings,
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA.

Your P.M. 192/S dated 24th September, 1948 reached me today with its enclosure which seems to indicate that the Union is now disposed to show more interest in this question.

In Chile the matter has now been broached to me a couple of times by the Foreign Office but before receipt of your abovenamed communication I contented myself with merely listening as I had no directive to convey what measure of interest the Union had in the future disposal or administration of Antarctica.

I have repeatedly felt that the time had now come for the Union to share in the consultations which are proceeding and for that reason I sent my despatch S.C. 10/1 on 27th August especially to draw your attention to the omission of South Africa from the countries consulted on the U.S.A. proposals.

In fact the Chilean Foreign Minister informed me that he knew that the Union Government was being consulted by the U.K. Government; he had received that information from the Foreign Office in London.

In the course of our discussion on the Pan-American Union and the Bogota Conference we came to the Resolution passed there on "colonies and occupied territories in America" and to the part which Chile had taken in the discussion at that Conference.

He was showing some warmth on the subject and in order to find out how much he really meant with regard to the disputed territories elsewhere, I asked him whether they, for example, proposed to kick the Dutch and the French out of Guiana. It was then that Mr. Riesco made the following statement (as far as I can remember his exact words).

"Oh no, that is not Chile's attitude. We are not going to interfere with established colonies. In fact I have given Argentina to understand that the business about the Falkland Islands is their own affair. We are not going to get mixed up in that affair. Unfortunately however, the British now say that the Falklands have little children - called Dependencies - and that is where we have our claims. But we are going to seek an understanding by peaceful negotiations."

At this point we proceeded to another topic.

Two days later I had at his invitation a discussion with the Head of the Political Division of the Foreign Office, Señor Enrique Bernstein Carabantes, who had promised to find me for purposes of study a copy of the Charter of the Organisation of American States. I have since received a copy from Washington.



SECRET

B.A. 22/7.

Secret

*De parte de la Legación de la
Union de Sud Africa.*

*With the compliments of the Legation
of the Union of South Africa.*

*Met die komplimente van die Gesantskap
van die Unie van Suid-Afrika.*



Mr. Bernstein
Juy

... to the ...
... 18th October, 1948.

... September, 1948 reached
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... arrest in this question.

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DEPARTMENT WITHOUT BEING PARAPHRASED
COMMUNICATED OUTSIDE ANY UNITED KINGDOM
The text of this telegram may not be
communicated OUTSIDE ANY UNITED KINGDOM
DEPARTMENT WITHOUT BEING PARAPHRASED

CABLEGRAM TO: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, PRETORIA.

DESPATCHED: 22nd October, 1948.

19/88/2.

No.604 Your 605. Antarctica. This subject was not raised at Commonwealth talks. Minister Louw has been fully briefed as instructed, and matter may possibly be informally discussed in Paris during next few weeks between Bevin, Fraser, Evatt and Louw. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations told me to-day that preliminary talks, designed to adjust differences between New Zealand and Australia before United Kingdom took up matter with ourselves prior to replying to the United States invitation, were not yet concluded. When agreement between New Zealand and Australian Governments has been reached Noel Baker will get in touch with us and meanwhile hopes to send us a memorandum on United Kingdom Government's attitude.

M. H. H. H.

LE/JF

25/10

Debit:E.A.

Jen

given Argentina to understand that the business about the Falkland Islands is their own affair. We are not going to get mixed up in that affair. Unfortunately however, the British now say that the Falklands have little children - called Dependencies - and that is where we have our claims. But we are going to seek an understanding by peaceful negotiations."

At this point we proceeded to another topic.

Two days later I had at his invitation a discussion with the Head of the Political Division of the Foreign Office, Señor Enrique Bernstein Carabantes, who had promised to find me for purposes of study a copy of the Charter of the Organization of American States. I have since received a copy from Washington.

3 We shall meanwhile provide Australian French and Norwegian representatives here and Argentine and Chilean Governments (through our legations) with Aide Memoires on the subject on the lines of page three of our despatch to Eustace of 17 September.

JF

TYPE X (HEXAD)

4705.

CABLEGRAM FROM: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRETORIA.

TO: HIGH COMMISSIONER. LONDON.

DATED: 1st November, 1948 (Recd. 1.11.48)

No 632 Top Secret My 102/2 of 20 September and my 605 United States proposals for Antarctic Regime Par Eustace has now reported on his approach to the State Department. His statement was received in a very friendly manner and he was told that South African interest in Antarctica was viewed with a good deal of sympathy. He was informed that the intention at present was to restrict negotiation to the eight powers mentioned in the press release of 28 August. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers the American proposal was to incorporate a Clause in the constituent agreement allowing for the accession of any power which all the signatories felt had a definite interest in the Antarctic. The American hope was that by * this means South Africa would participate in the restricted international control of the Antarctic.

2 In the light of this development we feel that the time has now arrived when our interest should be made known to the other powers concerned (additional to the United States of America and United Kingdom) We would suggest therefore that Mr Low might seek a suitable opportunity of discussing the matter with Dr Evatt and Mr Fraser. Subsequently on his return to Paris it might also be appropriate for him to have discussions with French Norwegian Argentine and Chilean representatives attending the General Assembly. As State Department have stressed the need for secrecy however it might be wise not to inform Non Commonwealth representatives at this stage of the American reaction to our approach.

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and Norwegian representatives here and Argentine and
Chilean Governments (through our legations) with Aide Memoires
on the subject on the lines of page three of our despatch
to Buenos of 17 September.

JF

(The text of the telegram may not be communicated outside the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT without first being paraphrased.)

5

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4705.

CABLEGRAM FROM: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRETORIA.

TO: HIGH COMMISSIONER. LONDON.

DATED: 1st November, 1948 (Recd. 1.11.48)

*Mr. Amintore
H. de Comand
2/11*

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CABLEGRAM FROM: SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRETORIA.
DATED: 3rd November 1948 (Recd: 3rd Nov.1948)

IMPORTANT.

Unnumbered. TOP SECRET.

My 632 was drafted while Mr. Louw was still
in London but was held over for Prime Minister's approval
on his return to Office. It should therefore have been
addressed to PARIS.

Please forward a copy there urgently.

Their 632 TOP SECRET. U.S. proposals for Antarctic Regime.

... in the constituent agreement allowing for the accession
of any power which all the signatories felt had a definite
interest in the Antarctic. The American hope was that by *
this means South Africa would participate in the restricted
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the need for secrecy however it might be wise not to inform
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reaction to our approach.

EMERGENCY OF THE UNION
OF SOUTH AFRICA

a clause in the Constitution allowance for the accession of any power which all the signatories felt had a definite interest in the Antarctic. The American hope was that South Africa would by the means participate in the restricted international control of the Antarctic.

The necessity for keeping these somewhat involved American plans a secret was stressed. I undertook that this aspect of the matter would be borne in mind by this Legation. Mr. Hulley stated, however, that his Department had and would continue to have full and frank discussions with the United Kingdom authorities on all matters concerning the Antarctic.

While Mr. Hulley could make no promise without consulting members of his Department, he hoped within a few days to provide the Legation with particulars of the approaches already made to the other governments concerned. Any further information received will be forwarded to you immediately after its receipt.

(sgd) T. H. EUSTACE .
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AD INTERIM.

South Africa's special interest in possible meteorological services from the Antarctic were well recognized by American officials and Mr. Hulley believed that any exploitation or development of the Antarctic continent, which might take place, might well see Union take an active part. He stated that the strategic importance of the area, in its relation to South Africa, was fully realized.

The whole question of avoiding interests was, Mr. Hulley said, covered by extensive international agreements and such existing activities as had taken place in fact little to do with the laws of the Antarctic continent. He stressed as well the importance of the Antarctic in the strategic sense and the fact that the United States had a special interest in the area.

LEGATION OF THE UNION
OF SOUTH AFRICA
WASHINGTON 8, D.C.

5th October, 1948.

THE SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA.

With reference to your minute P.M.102/2 of the 16th of September, 1948, I have to inform you that, accompanied by Mr. W. D. van schalkwyk, I called on the Department of State on the 1st of October and at an informal meeting with officials of the British Commonwealth Division and of the North European Division, I outlined as instructed, the Union's interest in Antarctica.

Mr. E. T. Hulley of the North European Division (this Division is responsible for Arctic and Antarctic policy matters) received my statement in a very friendly manner, and he remarked that the demarche of the Union Government was not unexpected. He then continued that the South African interest in Antarctica was looked upon by the State Department with a good deal of sympathy. His Department was in agreement that the Antarctic Continent must as yet be regarded as terra nullis. He explained that the original suggestion that some form of trusteeship should be created, had been advanced by the State Department during the period when Russia refused to participate in the Trusteeship Council. Now that Russia had actually taken her seat on the Council, however, the original proposal no longer found favour.

South Africa's special interest in possible meteorological services from the Antarctic were well understood by American officials and Mr. Hulley believed that any exploitation or development of the Antarctic Continent, which might take place, might well use Union ports as a base. He stated that the strategic importance of the area, in its relation to South Africa, was fully realised.

The whole question of whaling interests was, Mr. Hulley felt, covered by separate international agreements and such whaling activities as took place had in fact little to do with the land mass of the Antarctic Continent. He advanced as his personal view the probability that Antarctic air communications would belikely to skirt the Antarctic Continent and not actually across this Continent.

Mr. Hulley then set out to explain that the intention at present was to restrict negotiation to the eight powers mentioned in the Press Release of the 28th August, viz., the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Chile. By such restrictions it was hoped to exclude claims from other powers, and particularly any claims that might be advanced by the Soviets. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate

Ref. 1/88/2.

AIR MAIL

November 3rd, 1948.

TOP SECRET.

Dear High Commissioner,

I attach a copy of telegram No. 632 of the 1st November, 1948 from the Secretary for External Affairs about the Union's interest in the American proposals for an Antarctic Regime.

From the second paragraph it seems as if part of the telegram, at least, was drafted some time ago, while Mr. Louw was still in London.

Telegram No. 605, referred to in No. 632, instructed us to prepare a brief on the Union's attitude for Minister Louw in case the U. S. Antarctic proposals should come up at the Prime Ministers' Conference. This was done and Mr. Louw saw the brief before he returned to Paris. I am, however, enclosing a copy of it in case it should be required.

I also enclose a copy of Mr. Eustace's report to the Department of External Affairs on his approach to the State Department.

Yours sincerely,

J. Hewitson

Leif Egeland, Esq.,
South African Delegation to the United Nations
Assembly,
Hotel Claridge,

Paris.

* P.S. A telegram, just received, confirms this and asks us to pass a copy of No. 632 to Paris urgently.

Antarctic Continent and not actually across this Continent.

Mr. Hulley then set out to explain that the intention at present was to restrict negotiation to the eight powers mentioned in the Press Release of the 28th August, viz., the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Chile. By such restrictions it was hoped to exclude claims from other powers, and particularly any claims that might be advanced by the Soviets. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate



South African Delegation,
Hotel Claridge,
PARIS.

6th November, 1948.

Dear Hewitson

I am in receipt of your letter No. 19/88/2 of the 3rd November. I have passed the documents enclosed therewith to Minister Louw for his attention.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

Leif Egeland

T. Hewitson, Esq.,
South Africa House,
LONDON.

True

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Antarctica (U.S.A. Communication)

42. Mr. Gammans asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if His Majesty's Government have replied to the communication addressed by the U.S. Government to the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, Norway, Argentina and Chile on the subject of an international solution to the problem of Antarctica, and if he is in a position to make a statement.

48.

MR. BEVIN: No, Sir. His Majesty's Government have been carefully studying the proposals in question and have been in consultation with the other Commonwealth Governments concerned. While these studies and consultations are not yet complete, I am to say that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom welcome the initiative of the United States Government in this matter, and regard their proposals as a useful contribution towards an eventual settlement of this difficult problem on an international basis.

/2

MR. GAMMANS: Does that mean that Argentina and Chile are meanwhile still illegally occupying British territory; and are the Government still considering selling H.M.S. "Ajax" to Chile?

MR. BEVIN: The second part of that supplementary question does not arise. The answer to the first part is that there are still some representatives of those two Governments in those islands, but I still welcome the initiative of the United States.

Fin

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Commonwealth Relations Office,

Downing Street,

4th November, 1948.

F
52870/22 (Pt 2)

TOP SECRET

17/11/48

Dear Hewitson,

I enclose for your information a copy of the text of a reply made by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons on the 3rd November, in answer to a question about the U.S. proposals for an international solution of the Antarctic problem.

The text of the Foreign Secretary's reply has already been telegraphed to our High Commissioner in Pretoria to be passed on to the Commonwealth authorities.

The U.S. proposals in question are those contained in our Top Secret Telegram No. D. 157 dated 24th July.

Yours sincerely,

E. R. Carnahan

T. Hewitson, Esq.,
South Africa House.

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Mr. Hulley then set out to explain that the intention at present was to restrict negotiation to the eight powers mentioned in the Press Release of the 28th August, viz., the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Chile. By such restrictions it was hoped to exclude claims from other powers, and particularly any claims that might be advanced by the Soviets. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate

19/86/2

Springbok

November 10th, 1948.

SECRET

THE SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
PRETORIA.

REGIME IN THE ANTARCTIC.

I enclose for your information
a copy of the text of a reply made by the
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Political Secretary.

TH/ER

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by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate

SECRET

P R E T O R I A,

- 5 -11- 1948

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

United States proposals for Antarctic Regime.

Please refer to paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 632 of the 1st November to London (copy of which has been endorsed to you) in which reference was made to the decision of the Government to apprise other Governments concerned of the extent of South Africa's interest in the United States proposals for an Antarctic regime.

2. In this regard I attach a copy of a letter which is being handed to the Norwegian Minister in Pretoria. A similar communication is also being addressed to the French Minister here. It is suggested that you should now address a similar communication to the Chilean authorities concerned in such form as you think fit, making it clear that Mr. Louw will be discussing the matter with the Chilean representative in Paris and that your approach is an informal one, which is intended primarily to place South Africa's interest on record in the Chilean Foreign Office.

3. Buenos Aires has been instructed similarly.

D. D. FORSYTH

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

SECRET

P R E T O R I A,

5-11-1948

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

United States proposals for Antarctic Regime.

Please refer to paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 632 of the 1st November to London (copy of which has been endorsed to you) in which reference was made to the decision of the Government to apprise other Governments concerned of the extent of South Africa's interest in the United States proposals for an Antarctic regime.

2. In this regard I attach a copy of a letter which is being handed to the Norwegian Minister in Pretoria. A similar communication is also being addressed to the French Minister here. It is suggested that you should now address a similar communication to the Argentine authorities concerned in such form as you think fit, making it clear that Mr. Louw will be discussing the matter with the Argentine representative in Paris and that your approach is an informal one, which is intended primarily to place South Africa's interest on record in the Argentine Foreign Office.

3. Santiago has been instructed similarly.

D. D. FORSYTH

SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DBS/EH

3. As you are aware, the Union has never advanced any claim to Antarctic territory, most of which, in default of effective occupation, can only be regarded as terra nullius. The Union is moreover the only major power in the Southern hemisphere which in terms of the United States original proposal, is apparently to have no say in the future control and administration of the Antarctic Continent yet from the long term standpoint, the manner in which such control is exercised, will prove of vital concern to the Union. Our important whaling interests in the Antarctic are well known. On the meteorological side we may hope to benefit from the establishment of meteorological stations at Antarctic bases. Our future interest in Antarctic air communications is apparent from the map. When the time comes for economic exploitation and development of the Continent the Union will be one of the natural and appropriate bases from which such enterprises will operate. In the field of long range and long term strategy, the control of Antarctica must always be a matter of primary concern to us.

4. This bare outline may well be sufficient to indicate the extent of our interests and to justify consideration being given to the association of the Union with any international organisation or machinery which may be devised for control and administration of the Antarctic Continent. It was on this basis therefore that the State Department was approached as indicated in paragraph 2 above.

5. In response to our approach to the State Department, copies were furnished for information to the South African Legation, Washington, of the proposals submitted by the United States Government to the other Governments concerned on August 9th. These proposals are now being studied by the Union Government.

6. Although the Union Government are not yet in a position to comment on the United States proposals, they feel that it is desirable that their interest in the matter should be made known to other Governments concerned. They have therefore requested Mr. Louw, Leader of the South African Delegation to the United Nations Assembly, to seek a suitable opportunity of apprising the Norwegian Delegation in Paris of South Africa's interest. Mr. Louw has also been informed that this brief note on the subject is being handed to you.

Yours sincerely,

G. D. FORSYTH

DBS/EH

SECRET

P R E T O R I A,

8-11-1948

My dear Minister,

You will no doubt be aware of the United States proposals for some form of international regime in the Antarctic and of the approach made by the United States Government to the Governments of Norway, Australia, the Argentine, Chile, New Zealand, France and the United Kingdom. A State Department press release on August 28th made public the fact that certain proposals had been submitted by the United States Government to the other Governments concerned, and I quote for convenience the text of this communique:

"The Department of State has approached the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom informally with a suggestion that a solution for the territorial problem of Antarctica be discussed. It is the view of the Department of State that the solution should be such as to promote the scientific investigation and research in the area. The Department of State has suggested that this can perhaps be done most effectively and the problem of conflicting claims at the same time solved through agreement upon some form of internationalisation. The Department of State expects that the question is one which will require an extended exchange of views, consideration of suggestions and probably reconciliation of varying viewpoints. Until such exchange of views and necessary further study is completed, it is not believed that any useful purpose could be accomplished by a conference on the subject, and no such conference is contemplated at present."

Following this announcement the South African Chargé d'Affaires in Washington was instructed to draw the attention of the United States Government to specific South African interests in the control and administration of Antarctica and to request that the United States Government should bear in mind the desirability of South African association with international discussions on this subject, should progress be achieved in the present informal bilateral exchanges with other Governments concerned.

/....

E.F. HOUGEN, ESQ.

Antarctica must always be a matter of primary concern to us.

4. This bare outline may well be sufficient to indicate the extent of our interests and to justify consideration being given to the association of the Union with any international organisation or machinery which may be devised for control and administration of the Antarctic Continent. It was on this basis therefore that the State Department was approached as indicated in paragraph 2 above.

5. Our representations to the State Department were received in a very friendly manner and our Chargé d'affaires was told that South African interest in Antarctica was viewed with a good deal of sympathy. He was informed that the intention at present was to restrict negotiations to the eight powers mentioned in the press release of August 28th. If agreement could be reached by the eight powers, the American proposal was to incorporate a clause in the constituent agreement allowing for the accession of any power which all the signatories felt had a definite interest in Antarctica. The American hope was that by this means South Africa would participate in the restricted international control of the Antarctic.

6. It was at one time thought that it would be possible to have a private discussion of Antarctic problems among representatives concerned, in the course of the Commonwealth Conference in London. No such discussion took place, however. Mr. Louw has therefore been requested to seek a suitable opportunity of discussing the matter with Dr. Evatt and Mr. Fraser, following his return to Paris, since the Union Government feel that other Governments concerned should be informally apprised of the extent of South Africa's interest in the United States proposals. If a suitable opportunity arises Mr. Louw will also mention the Union's interest to the Argentinian, Chilean, French and Norwegian representatives in Paris but he will say nothing about the American reaction to our initial approach to the State Department, since the United States Government have stressed the need for secrecy in this regard.

7. Mr. Louw has been informed that this brief note on the subject is being handed to you.

Yours sincerely,

D. D. FORSYTH

DBS/EH

Antarctica must always be a matter of primary concern to us.

SECRET

P R E T O R I A,

5-11-1948

4. This letter will be submitted to the Union with any international convention or agreement which may be devised for the administration of the Antarctic continent. The State Department was approved in paragraph 2 above.

My dear High Commissioner,

You will no doubt be familiar with the background to the United States proposals for an international regime in the Antarctic and with the approach made by the United States Government on August 9th to the Governments of Australia, the Argentine, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom. Subsequently a State Department press release on August 28th made public the fact that certain proposals had been submitted by the United States Government to the other Governments concerned.

2. Following this announcement the South African Chargé d'Affaires in Washington was instructed to draw the attention of the United States Government to specific South African interests in the control and administration of Antarctica and to request that the United States Government should bear in mind the desirability of South African association with international discussions on the subject, should progress be achieved in the present informal bilateral exchanges with other Governments concerned.

3. As you are aware, the Union has never advanced any claim to Antarctic territory, most of which, in default of effective occupation, can only be regarded as terra nullius. The Union is moreover the only major power in the Southern Hemisphere which in terms of the United States original proposal, is apparently to have no say in the future control and administration of the Antarctic Continent yet from the long term standpoint, the manner in which such control is exercised, will prove of vital concern to the Union. Our important whaling interests in the Antarctic are well known. On the meteorological side we may hope to benefit from the establishment of meteorological stations at Antarctic bases. Our future interest in Antarctic air communications is apparent from the map. When the time comes for economic exploitation and development of the Continent the Union will be one of the natural and appropriate bases from which such enterprises will operate. In the field of long range and long term strategy, the control of

/....

ALFRED STIRLING, ESQ.

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4. This bare outline may well be sufficient to indicate the extent of our interests and to justify consideration being given to the association of the Union with any international organisation or machinery which may be devised for control and administration of the Antarctic Continent. It was on this basis therefore that the State Department was approached as indicated in paragraph 2 above.

5. In response to our approach to the State Department, copies were furnished for information to the South African Legation, Washington, of the proposals submitted by the United States Government to the other Governments concerned on August 9th. These proposals are now being studied by the Union Government.

Although the Union Government are not yet in a position to comment on the United States proposals, they feel that it is desirable that their interest in the matter should be made known to other Governments concerned. They have therefore requested Mr. Louw, Leader of the South African Delegation to the United Nations Assembly, to seek a suitable opportunity of apprising the French Government of South Africa's interest. Mr. Louw has also been informed that this brief note on the subject is being handed to you.

Yours sincerely,

J. D. FORSYTH

PRETORIA,

8761-11-9-7

My dear Minister,

You will no doubt be aware of the United States proposals for some form of international regime in the Antarctic and of the approach made by the United States Government to the Governments of France, Australia, the Argentine, Chile, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom. A State Department press release on August 28th made public the fact that certain proposals had been submitted by the United States Government to the other Governments concerned, and I quote for convenience the text of this communique:

"The Department of State has approached the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom informally with a suggestion that a solution for the territorial problem of Antarctica be discussed. It is the view point of the Department of State that the solution should be such as to promote the scientific investigation and research in the area. The Department of State has suggested that this can perhaps be done most effectively and the problem of conflicting claims at the same time solved through agreement upon some form of internationalisation. The Department of State expects that the question is one which will require an extended exchange of views, consideration of suggestions and probably reconciliation of varying viewpoints. Until such exchange of views and necessary further study is completed, it is not believed that any useful purpose could be accomplished by a conference on the subject, and no such conference is contemplated at present."

2. Following this announcement the South African Chargé d'Affaires in Washington was instructed to draw the attention of the United States Government to specific South African interests in the control and administration of Antarctica and to request that the United States Government should bear in mind the desirability of South African association with international discussions on this subject, should progress be achieved in the present informal bilateral exchanges with other Governments concerned.

/....

E.A.M.-J. LANCIAL, ESQ.



P.N. 102/2

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
DEPARTEMENT VAN BUITELANDSE SAKE.

Secre.

With the compliments of the
Secretary for External Affairs.

Met die komplimente van die
Sekretaris van Buitelandse Sake.

*File
(Polar Committee)*

*M. H. ...
11/11*

High Commissioner for
the Union of S. Africa
London.

My telegram 632 refers.

which has never advanced
most of which, in
can only be regarded as
cover the only major
which in terms of the
PRETORIA,
administration of the
...
... will
... Our important
... are well known. It
... to benefit from the
... stations at Antarctic
Antarctic air communi-
aware of the United
of international regime
approach made by the
Governments of France,
e, New Zealand, Norway
ate Department press
blic the fact that certain
y the United States
ments concerned, and I
of this communique:

State has approached
na, Australia,
, Norway and the
with a suggestion
territorial problem
. It is the view
State that the
to promote the
nd research in the
State has suggested
one most effectively
ting claims at the
greement upon some
... The Department
of State expects that the question is one
which will require an extended exchange of
views, consideration of suggestions and prob-
ably reconciliation of varying viewpoints.
Until such exchange of views and necessary
further study is completed, it is not believed
that any useful purpose could be accomplished
by a conference on the subject, and no such
conference is contemplated at present."

2. Following this announcement the South African
Chargé d'Affaires in Washington was instructed to draw
the attention of the United States Government to
specific South African interests in the control and
administration of Antarctica and to request that the
United States Government should bear in mind the desir-
ability of South African association with international
discussions on this subject, should progress be achieved
in the present informal bilateral exchanges with other
Governments concerned.

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E.A.M.-J. LANCIAL, ESQ.