Consequently, the Norwegian Government considers the establishment of an international administration for Antarctica unnecessary for the carrying out of the desirable scientific tasks, and cannot subscribe to an arrangement, whereby Norway would waive her exclusive sovereignty over her territories south of the 60 degree south latitude. Norway's sovereignty over these areas is firmly based upon international law, and the Norwegian Government is confident that the United States Government will appreciate that Norway cannot, for reasons of a national and political character, yield her exclusive sovereignty over what is Norwegian territory.

The Norwegian Government assumes furthermore that the fact of some individual countries having exclusive sovereignty over certain areas in the Antarctic will be an incentive for such countries to pursue scientific research there, for the benefit of all mankind; Sovereignty can hardly be an impediment to scientific operations. Thus the abovementioned Norwegian-British-Swedish expedition shows that Norway's exclusive sovereignty over Queen Maud Land in no way impedes co-operation with foreign governments with regard to scientific activities in this area.

The Norwegian Government has noted that the South Shetland and the South Orkney groups, both situated south of the 60 degree south latitude are excepted from the proposed plan (excepted is also South Georgia, situated north of the 60 degree south latitude). By excepting some of the most important areas, claimed by several countries, it seems that this plan would not prove effective in settling the most acute international disagreements in the Antarctic area, which, as far as the Norwegian Government understands, is its foremost political purpose. The sacrifice Norway eventually would have to make by renouncing her exclusive sovereignty over Peter I's Island and the territory between the 45 degree east longitude and the 20 degree west longitude (Queen Maud Land) would thus not contribute effectively to the establishment of peace and harmony in the Antarctic.

Washington, D.C., November 15, 1948.

NORWEGIAN EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON.

The Ambassador of Norway presents his compliments to His Excellency the Acting Secretary of State, and, referring to the Department of State's Aide-Memoire, dated August 9, 1948, concerning the possible establishment of an international status for the Antarctic area, and to the note dated August 30, 1948, from the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of this Embassy, the Ambassador has the honor to inform His Excellency that the Norwegian Government has now studied with great interest the United States' proposal in this matter.

Norwegian scientists have, as known, made considerable contributions to the exploration of Antarctica, and the Norwegian Government will continue to do its utmost to promote scientific research in this area. The Norwegian Government also firmly desires to contribute to the increase of international co-operation in this field. In this connection may be mentioned that in 1949 a Norwegian-British-Swedish expedition, under Norwegian leadership, will be sent to Queen Maud Land. It is assumed that this expedition will carry on its scientific research through 1952.

The Norwegian Government is confident, however, that the creation of fully satisfactory international
co-operation in the scientific field will be possible without establishing an international régime for the Antarctic
area, as proposed by the United States Government. It will
be remembered that in a field of utmost importance in
Antarctica, namely the meteorological field, an international scientific body - the Committee for Polar Meteorology created by the International Meteorological Organisation - has already been established. As far as whaling is
concerned, the International Convention for the Regulation
of Whaling, dated December 2, 1946, lays down that the
International Whaling Commission to be established shall
encourage, recommend or, if necessary organise studies and
investigations relating to whales and whaling (Article
IV, 1(a).

The Norwegian Government assumes that the interested governments should concentrate their efforts mainly on supporting and facilitating the stipulated tasks of the already existing international organisations for scientific research in Antarctica. The Norwegian Government realises, however, that the International Committee for Polar Meteorology and the International Whaling Commission cannot cover all fields where scientific research might be desirable, and will consequently welcome any proposal for the establishment of additional, purely scientific, international organisations. Their functions should, however, be clearly defined and co-ordinated to avoid competition between two or more international organisations.

Moreover, the Norwegian Government deems it desirable that all interested governments pledge themselves mutually to impart to each other the results of scientific research performed by their respective nationals.

P.M. 102/2. LUSPOS. AIR MAIL. UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA. UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. DEPARTEMENT VAN BUITELANDSE SAKE. DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. PRETORIA, Die Hoë Kommissaris vir die Unie van Suid-Afrika, Amerikaanse Voorstelle vir Administrasie van die Suidpoolgebied. Ek heg hierby, vir u eie inligting, afskrifte aan van die antwoord van die Noorweegse Regering op die Amerikaanse voorstelle vir die administrasie van die Suidpoolgebied. Hierdie inligting is goedgunstelik aan die Departement deur die Noorweegse Minister in Pretoria verstrek, na aanleiding van die mededeling aan hom van die Unie-regering se sienswyse aangaande Guid-Afrika se algemene belang in enige toekomstige Internasionale administrasie van die Suidpoolgebied. VAN BUTTELANDSE SAKE. dovernment realises, nowever, that the international committee for Polar Meteorology and the International Whaling Commission cannot cover all fields where scientific research might be desirable, and will consequently welcome any proposal for the establishment of additional, purely scientific, international organisations. Their functions should, however, be clearly defined and co-ordinated to avoid competition between two or more international organisations. Moreover, the Norwegian Government deems it desirable that all interested governments pledge them-selves mutually to impart to each other the results of scientific research performed by their respective nationals.

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Washington, D.C. November 15th, 1948.

GOFY of note to State Department, Washington, from Morwegian Ambassador.

THE NORVEGIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON 7, D.C.

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FREE TRANSLATION

"On the 9th August last the State Department delivered to the Chilean Embassy in Mashington a Memorandum on the Antarctic continent together with a draft agreement which was also submitted to the Governments of the Argentine Republic, Australia, France, Great Britain, Norway and New Zealand.

Basing themselves on a number of considerations connected with the juridical regime of that continent, and on the possibilities of exploiting its scientific potentialities and on the advantages of avoiding all risk of disturbing the cordiality of relations between friendly nations the Government of the United States of America proposed in the draft agreement a system for the internationalisation of the Antarctic, adding that they would warmly welcome any suggestions and proposals which Chile might wish to make.

The Chilean Government studied both documents with the greatest care and on 7th October the Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered his reply to the United States Embassy in Santiago.

In this reply the incontrovertible titles of our country to the Chilean Antarctic sector were reiterated, and the results of previous attempts to solve territorial disputes by internationalization, in general disappointing, were analysed.

At the same time, the Chilean Government put on record that neither the spirit nor the letter of the Rio de Janeiro Treaty of 1947, which outlined a zone of security for our continent in which the South American Antarctic is included, could be reconciled with the proposed system of internationalization.

For these reasons, among others, the proposal of the State Department was unacceptable to the Chilean Government.

The reply of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates, however, that it is not only desirable but necessary to achieve international cooperation of a scientific nature in the Antarctic, and adds that the Government of Chile would be ready to subscribe to an agreement which established a wide interchange of scientific information.

While reaffirming the decision of Chile to carry on unhositatingly in defence of her sovereignty the note states that our Government is prepared to study some formula designed to avoid international incidents in the Antarctic which might impair friendly relations between friendly countries. In their opinion, it might be possible to arrive at a modus vivendi in the Antarctic regions which would avoid the dangers of disturbance or of international incidents without obliging the interested nations to put off their individual rights by so doing.

The Department of State's note and the Chilean reply have both been of a reserved character up to the present."

CHILEAN COUNTER-PROPOSALS

Assembled in the City of, Messrs	
, duly authorized representatives the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Chile, the United States America, France, Norway, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom of G Britain and Northern Ireland have examined aspects referring to Antarctica and have decided to solemnly declare their agreement wrespect to the following points:	reat
Taking into consideration that in the Antarctic Continent th still exist vast regions not well explored or mapped.	iere
That the scientific investigations and studies which may be obtained from the Antarctic regions on meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, cosmic rays, geology, marine biology etc., are or can agreat value for marine and air navigation, in the use of telecommunications, the development of agriculture, and many other hum activities.	
That it is the desire of their respective Governments to main close relations of friendship and avoid any motive for internation disagreement, and that it is convenient, therefore, to prevent cor of sovereignty or of another kind from disturbing such friendly relations.	nn?
The representatives of the signatory Governments declare the following:	
1. That their respective Governments will carry out a full ex of scientific information regarding the Antarctic.	tchange
2. That their respective Governments will carry out, without reserve of any kind, and with proper regularity, the exchange of a kinds of books, pamphlets, magazines, maps, navigation charts, photographs, sketches, computations, and, in general, all data whi they may possess or obtain regarding Antarctica.	
3. That their respective Governments will encourage the sendito Antarctica of technical expeditions, and will furnish them the facilities for provisioning, and anything else in accordance with international usage.	ng
4. That the establishment of new bases, the carrying out of expeditions, or the exercising of like activities, in the territor expansion included in south or parallel 60 southern latitude, will narm the sovereign rights which their respective countries may have within this region, and that none of the new bases, expeditions or activities alluded to before can be invoked as antecedents of domination in this region.	not
5. That while this Declaration is in force, the respective overnments will not subject the fisherman or the fishing fleets of ationalities of each of the participating Governments to taxes, ishing rights, or like duties.	f the
6. The present Declaration will take effect from this date of fill remain in effect for a period of five years. Six months before expiration of this time limit, the signatory Governments will consume another regarding the advantage of meeting in an Antarctic Polaroference. If none of the signatory Governments should manifest he others its wish to terminate this Declaration on the date reference, it will continue in effect for another like period.	ore the

SECRET

day of the

Done in the City of _____, on the ___ month of _____ in the year 1948.

For Mr. A. Hamilton, South Africa ECKET ives of P(48)34 tates of of Great Previous Ref. P(48)32 to ent with POLAR COMMITTEE United States Draft Proposals for the settlement of the Antarctic Dispute at there r be Annexed are copies of the following documents:-Lal (i) Counter-proposals of Chilean Government handed to United can be of or human States representative, Santiago, on 19th July, 1948. (ii) Statement issued by Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, , maintain national Santiago, on 29th October, 1948. it conflicts lly (iii) Note from Norwegian Ambassador, Washington to United States Acting Secretary of State, dated 15th November, 1948. the (Signed) John Chadwick 11 exchange Secretary, Polar Committee. hout of all Commonwealth Relations Office, a which Downing Street. 14+4 December, 1948. sending the with 4. That the establishment of new bases, the carrying out of expeditions, or the exercising of like activities, in the territorial expansion included in south or parallel 60 southern latitude, will not harm the sovereign rights which their respective countries may have within this region, and that none of the new bases, expeditions or activities alluded to before can be invoked as antecedents of domination in this region. 5. That while this Declaration is in force, the respective Governments will not subject the fisherman or the fishing fleets of the nationalities of each of the participating Governments to taxes, fishing rights, or like duties. The present Declaration will take effect from this date and will remain in effect for a period of five years. Six months before the expiration of this time limit, the signatory Governments will consult

Done in the City of _____, on the _____ day of the month of _____ in the year 1948.

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to, it will continue in effect for another like period.

19/88/2.

Springbok

SECRET

16th December, 1948.

The Secretary for External Affairs:

Polar Committee

I forward herewith four copies of Polar Committee Document P(48)34, dealing with the United States draft proposals for the settlement of the Antarctic Dispute.

L. Hewitson

Political Secretary.

TH/PH.

Tu-

6. The present Declaration will take effect from this date and will remain in effect for a period of five years. Six months before the expiration of this time limit, the signatory Governments will consult one another regarding the advantage of meeting in an Antarctic Polar Conference. If none of the signatory Governments should manifest to the others its wish to terminate this Declaration on the date referred to, it will continue in effect for another like period.

Done in the City of _____, on the _____ day of the month of _____ in the year 1948.

9th December, 1948.

THE SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
PRETORIA.

ANTARCTICA.

the State Department to find out whether it was now opportune to hold a conference to discuss the American plan for Antarctica.

They apparently advised the American authorities that the Commonwealth countries concerned in the Antarctic were more or less in agreement that the plan would form a useful basis on which to commence discussions. The reply received was that as American—Argentinian relations, concerning even more delicate and certain; more important matters, are about to be examined, it was felt that it would not at present be possible to hold a conference to decide the future of Antarctica.

These brief particulars were given to Commonwealth Missicat an informal meeting held on the 7th of December.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AD INTERIM.

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Done in the City of _ month of	, on thein the year 1948.	_ day of the

M. Harrillon

9th December, 1948.

With the

HI FFAIRS,

Compliments of the

Legation

of the

Union of South Africa

GTICA.

LETALISA LARVE

The Political Secretary,
Office of the H.C. for the
Union of South Africa,
London,
England.

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Done in the City of _____, on the _____ day of the month of ____ in the year 1948.

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Received 13.12.48. CYPHER O.T.P. TELEGRAM. FROM: South African Delegation, Paris. TO: Secretary for External Affairs, Pretoria. 11th December, 1948. NO. 69 X SECHET X. International Regime in Antarctic. Br. Louw discussed matter with representatives of Australia, New Zealand, Argentine and Chile, and Andrews with representatives of Norway. claim to recognition of our interests generally The High secepted oner for the Union, French representatives will be contacted during the course of the next few days. My P.W. of 20th Soptember, 1948, and telegram No. 632 of 1st November, 1948, ATT refer. s womatoon, it was now ha1 ide 1811



DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

Squet

14-12-1848

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.

My P.M. of 20th September, 1948, and telegram No. 632 of 1st November, 1948, refer.

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TRIEGRAM.

Paris. fairs, Pretoria.

11th December, 1948.

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OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM FROM COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

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(BY AIR MAIL)

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TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "

(Sent 18th December, 1948.)

D. No. 93 SAVING SECRET.

My despatch D. No. 56 of 14th Decomber.

ANTARCTIC

His Majesty's United Kingdom Ambassador in Paris has reported that Prench Government do not (repeat not) propose to make a formal reply to United States aide memoire of 9th August. French Ambassador in Washington has already verbally informed State Department that his Government remain opposed to principle of abandonment of national sovereignty. They would however be prepared to consider internationalisation of scientific activities. In meantime they intend to continue with their present plans for exploration and development. His Majesty's Ambassador suggests that French authorities would later favour convening of a conferent between Antarctic Powers on scientific and exploratory plane.

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While reaffirming the decision of Chile to carry on unhesitatingly in defence of her sovereignty the note states that our Government is prepared to study some formula designed to avoid international incidents in the Antarctic which might impair friendly relations between friendly countries. In their opinion, it might be possible to arrive at a modus vivendi in the Antarctic regions which would avoid the dangers of disturbance or of international incidents without obliging the interested nations to put off their individual rights by so doing.

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DUPLICATE Commonwealth Relations Office. NION OF SOUTH AFRICA Circular despatch D. No. 55 Downing Street. /4 December, 1948. Sir, With reference to my circular despatch D. No. 41 dated 9th September 1946, I have the honour to transmit a copy of a free translation of a statement published by the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs on 29th October. This statement re-affirms Chilean claims in the Antarctic and gives the reasons why the Chilean Government feel unable to accept the United States Covernment's proposals for an international regime in that area. ed rmly I have the honour to be, Your most obsdient humble servant, (GO,) P. J. NOEL-BAKER THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. ever, onal While reaffirming the decision of Chile to carry on unhesitatingly in defence of her sovereignty the note states that our Government is prepared to study some formula designed to avoid international incidents in the Antarctic which might impair friendly relations between friendly countries. In their opinion, it might be possible to arrive at a modus vivendi in the Antarctic regions which would avoid the dangers of disturbance or of international incidents without obliging the interested nations to put off their individual rights by so doing. The Department of State's note and the Chilean reply have both been of a reserved character up to the present."

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Washington, D.C. November 15th, 1948.

DUPLICATE Commonwealth Relations Office, despatch Downing Street. December, 1948. With reference to my circular despatch D. No. 41 dated 9th September, 1948 I have the honour to transmit a copy of a Note dated 15th November, 1948 from the Norwegian Ambassador in Washington to the United States Acting Secretary of State, rejecting the proposals put forward in August by the United States Government for a special regime in the Antarctic. tus 48, I have the honour to be, passador Sir, vernment Your most obedient humble servant, (BE.) P. J. NOEL-BAKER

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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Consequently, the Norwegian Government considers the establishment of an international administration for Antarctica

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in due course would be published and I requested that if in the meantime anything of importance, as a result of the expedition's researches, came to the notice of my colleagues, they might be good enough to bear in mind the Union Government's interest in the matter.

A copy of this report is being forwarded to the High Commissioner in London.

W. O. PARENINERA

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

The Political Secretary,
Office of the High Commissioner
for the Union of South Africa,
LONDON.

Copy for your information.

SECRETARY OF LEGATION.

SECRET.



AIRMAIL 36/6

51 Avenue Hoche, Paris 8e, 20th January 1949.

The Secretary for External Affairs, PRETORIA.

United States proposal for an International Regime in the Antarctic.

Referring to your minute no. P.M. 102/2 of the 30th December, I beg to report that during the last four weeks I have had two conversations with the officials at the French Foreign Office who are dealing with the abovementioned proposal.

The position from the French point of view is that the United States Government has not made a formal proposal for the establishment of an international regime in the Antarctic and that the possibility that a conference on the matter may be called has not received any deep consideration by the French authorities. Their Ambassador at Washington has been told that the French Government is not in favour of abandoning the principle of national sovereignty and I gathered that no move will be taken by the French to further the holding of a conference such as that which the United States Government appears to think may ultimately be necessary.

I explained the interest the Union had in the Antarctic continent and southern waters generally, and enquired whether, in the event of a conference being talled either to study Antarctic matters from a political angle or alternatively from a purely scientific one, the Union's desire to participate in such discussions would be favourably viewed by the French authorities. My colleagues in the Foreign Office replied that, so far as they were concerned, they could see no possible reason why such participation should be refused, but that if any proposals for a conference were actually put forward the whole matter, including the Union's participation, would have to be studied by the Governments concerned. Until then they naturally could not bind their own Government in any way.

Finally I was informed that the French expedition to Adelie Land would probably spend a year in the South and that if additional equipment were sent out the expedition might be away for two years. A report

of expeditions and the exercise of analogous activities would not prejudice their respective severeign rights; and that none of these new bases, expeditions or activities could be cited as precedent for occupation. In stating that the new bases, expeditions and activities could not be cited as precedent for occupation there is no intention made of attributing to former bases, expeditions etc. more value than is due to the geographic, historic, legal, diplomatic and administrative titles which are coupled with them and are their justification.

This agreement would relate to areas to the south of latitude 60° south, without exception, and could remain in force for a space of five years or more, at the end of which the signatories would be under obligation to discuss among themselves the advantages of extending it for a further period, or to seek a new basis of understanding.

The advantage of such a solution over that suggested by the State Department resides, in the judgment of the Government of Chile, in the fact that, through its agency, all the benefits which the latter solution promises will be obtained without the need for the interested nations to renounce or shelve their individual rights, and that it gives time for working out, with the utmost care, a final solution of the problem.

In suggesting this idea, the Government of Chile conform with the request formulated by the State Department and consider that they contribute in this manner, to the harmony which should prevail among the nations with interests in the Antarctic, convinced as they are that, at the present time, it is important to avoid any cause whatsoever of differences, and even of friction, between nations that base their common existence on the highest precepts of western civilization. This desire, common to Chile and to the United States of America, can find its expression in a simple formula, based on good will and co-operation, like the one which the Government of Chile have had the honour to propound in this note, rather than in a formal agreement of internationalization which suffers from the drawbacks cited.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs seize this opportunity to repeat to the United States Embassy the assurances of their highest esteem.

Santiago, 7th October, 1948.

To the Embassy of the United States of America.

sure, which neither the Government of the United States of America nor any other of those invited by this Government to sign the pact relative to the Antarctic would wish to assign to that continent, but which other countries excluded from the agreement would wish to attribute to it. Hence, after lengthy negotiations which dragged on until 1920, the impracticability of the system was recognised and Norway - whose geographical situation in respect of Spitzbergen is similar to that of Chile in respect of the South American Antarctic - was given the full and absolute sovereignty over the islands under reference. If, in the cases pointed out, and in so many others, the system referred to broke down, scant likelihood of success is offered in the affair relating to the Antarctic territory, owing to the large number of countries interested and the very different character of its titles. But there exists besides another important reason which has been alluded to before and which, of itself alone, would suffice to cause the Government of Chile to hesitate in giving its approval to the draft submitted by the State Department, and that is its disagreement with the terms of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance signed in Rio de Janeiro on the 3rd of September 1947 by all the American countries, including the United States of America. By article 40 of the said Treaty it is laid down, in effect, that the Antarctic region bounded by longitudes 24 and 90 west of Greenwich forms part of the "security zone of America". The spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro could not be reconciled with a system of internationalization in which extracontinental countries were allowed decisive intervention, since such countries would hold the majority of votes in the administration and Government of territories situated in a zone the protection of which was considered by the American nations, in a solemn instrument, as being essential for the security of this continent. Notwithstanding the difficulties mentioned, the Government of Chile fully share the fundamental idea of the State Department's proposal relating to the advantage of promoting scientific proposal relating to the advantage of promoting scientific studies and investigations in the Antarctic, particularly with regard to matters of meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, cosmic rays, geology, marine biology etc. International co-operation in this direction is not only desirable but necessary, and the Government of Chile would be disposed to subscribe, with the utmost pleasure, to an agreement by which the Governments with interests in the said regions would engage to effect a full exchange of information in this respect, which could be extended to books, pamphlets, reviews, maps, charts, photographs and other publications.

other publications.

4. The Government of Chile likewise fully share the preoccupation of the Government of the United States of America that the controversies over sovereignty in the Antarctic may disturb the relations of the countries which have, or pretend to claims in that region. Hence, notwithstanding their determination to proceed with firmness in defence of the basic principles of sovereignty, this Government are prepared to study together with the other friendly Governments, formulas aimed at avoiding incidents of an international character which might perchance affect those cordial relations which it is the fervent desire of Chile to maintain unimpaired.

In this respect they consider that, as the first step in this direction, the countries mentioned by the State Department in their draft agreement could accede to a declaration in which it could be stated that the establishment of new bases, the carrying

ready indefeasible, but simply to fix the extent of their jurisdiction in accordance with facts and with precedents of long standing. Consequently Chile does not make claims of an international character in this zone, but limits herself to the exercise of full and absolute sovereignty over regions which have always formed part of her territories. 2. The idea of internationalization advocated by the State Department finds its most faithful expression in articles II and III of the draft agreement submitted to the Embassy of Chile in Washington, by virtue of which the eight Governments above named would combine and unite their claims and interests in the Antarctic Continent, and would submit them to the authority indicated in the same agreement, would each one of them promise not to seek a division of territory, and would, at the proper time, surrender to a commission with full executive and administrative powers, the government of the territories which compose the Antarctic In other words, a Government such as that of Chile, which exercises full and effective sovereignty over their Antarctic Territories, would be placed on a complete par with those Governments which merely have claims to make. Worse still, by virtue of the proposal under reference, Chile would have to surrender to an international commission those powers of government and administration which she effectively exercises, and would find herself in a position identical with that of countries which have never exercised such an administration. The mere statement of the conditions in which a free and sovereign nation, such as Chile, would find itself, under the regime of internationalization, suffices to demonstrate how inacceptable this would be for its Government. On the other hand the system of internationalization suggested does not seem to be the most practical method of reaching a definite solution of the Antarctic problem, as is desired. Even though the draft talks of internationalization - a regime which has been applied by preference to straits and to river-ways - the Ministry for Foreign Affairs believe that a species of multiple condominium is under consideration, since "the contracting parties combine and unite their claims and interests", without time limit, engaging not to seek division of territory. If this was not the exact interpretation, the regime proposed would have for Chile, the disadvantages of a condominium, since it would amount to the renunciation of her exclusive dominion in the Antarctic so as to share it collectively with other nations. The lesson of history is adverse to condominia as a solution to territorial disputes. On the occasions where this system has been applied, increasing and successive difficulties have arisen in most cases which have brought about the subsequent abandonment of the condominium, or have, rather, been the cause of grave conflicts which have done irreparable damage to world peace. It would be easy to quote different examples of condominia which have broken down completely, such as that of Samoa, or that of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. But there is no need to prolong this communication in such a manner, as there exists a case similar to the present, the mere memory of which suffices to discourage the system of internationalization proposed. In 1914 Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States of America, the Netherlands, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway tried to invent a form of international administration for the archipelago of Spitzbergen, situated within the Arctic Circle, by which a decision regarding the sovereignty of these territories could be avoided. There was no talk at that time of internationalization but rather of the archipelago continuing to be "terra nullius", a status quo, to be - 2 -

Diplomatic Department

Confidential No. 4

NOTE VERBALE

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honour to refer to a memorandum handed over to the Chilean Embassy in Washington by the State Department on the 9th of last August concerning the Antarctic Continent

The said memorandum states that various considerations relative to the legal regime of the above continent, to the possibilities of promoting and exploiting its scientific potentialities, and to the advantage of removing all danger of disturbing the cordial relations existing between friendly countries, have led the Government of the United States to the conclusion that the establishment of an international regime in the Antarctic Continent is the most practicable method of solving the problem of the opposing claims to the said regions, and of removing the causes of possible international conflicts.

Animated by this spirit, and with the object of finding a basis of discussion acceptable to the interested States, the State Department also handed over a draft agreement which would be signed by Chile, Argentina, Australia, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Norway and New Zealand, and which would be considered as an agreement on the internationalization of the Antarctic. The State Department add that the Government of the United States of America will have the utmost pleasure in receiving the suggestions which the Government of Chile may find it convenient to make to them, and will consider the alternative propositions which may be submitted to them.

The Government of Chile have studied the above memorandum and the draft agreement accompanying it with extreme care both because of the importance of the matter under consideration and because it originated with an American country to which they were bound by the closest ties of friendship. The same considerations have induced the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to express to the United States Embassy and, through their intermediary, to the Government in Washington, in an exact and complete form, the points of view of Chile in relation to the matter of the Antarctic Territories, even though the provisions of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance signed last year in Rio de Janeiro would suffice to justify the Chilean Government's inability to accept the idea suggested by the State Department.

1. As the Government of the United States of America will know, the Government of Chile defined, by the supreme decree of the 6th November 1940, and in conformity with numerous geographical, historical, legal, diplomatic and administrative precedents, the confines of the Republic in those territories which extended to the Polar Region styled the South American Antarctic. By virtue of this decree all those territories, islands, islets, rocks, glaciers etc., known or unknown, and the respective territorial waters, existing within the limits of the polar sector bounded by longitudes 53 and 90 west of Greenwich form the Chilean Antarctic or Chilean Antarctic Territory.

As the Government of Chile then had the opportunity to make clear, in issuing the said treaty they did not attempt to carry out an unnecessary act of annexation, nor to assert a right which was

For Mr. A. Hamilton, South Africa House, Mr. Hewilson rtment P. (49) 4 Previous reference P. (48)34 refer to ington by the POLAR COMMITTEE United States Draft Proposals for a settlement of the Antarctic Dispute ne Antarctic lons Annexed is a translation of a formal Note the Verbale dated 7th October, 1948 from the Chilean ager of lly countries, :lusion that Minister of Foreign Affairs to the United States rctic Embassy, Santiago, rejecting the United States problem of the causes proposals for a special regime in the Antarctic. ding a basis (Signed) John Chadwick tate d be signed rica, would be Secretary, Polar Committee. f the of the receiving t convenient Commonwealth Relations Office, sitions Downing Street. randum and 24th January, 1949. th because scause it ound by the minute ou capiess ou one united States Embassy and, through their intermediary, to the Government in Washington, in an exact and complete form, the points of view of Chile in relation to the matter of the Antarctic Territories, even though the provisions of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance signed last year in Rio de Janeiro would suffice to justify the Chilean Government's inability to accept the idea suggested by the State Department. As the Government of the United States of America will know, the Government of Chile defined, by the supreme decree of the the Government of Chile defined, by the supreme decree of the 6th November 1940, and in conformity with numerous geographical, historical, legal, diplomatic and administrative precedents, the confines of the Republic in those territories which extended to the Polar Region styled the South American Antarctic. By virtue of this decree all those territories, islands, islets, rocks, glaciers etc., known or unknown, and the respective territorial waters, existing within the limits of the polar sector bounded by longitudes 53 and 90 west of Greenwich form the Chilean Antarctic or Chilean Antarctic Territory. As the Government of Chile then had the opportunity to make clear, in issuing the said treaty they did not attempt to carry out an unnecessary act of annexation, nor to assert a right which was

out of expeditions and the exercise of analogous activities would not prejudice their respective sovereign rights; and that none of these new bases, expeditions or activities could be cited as precedent for occupation. In stating that the new bases, expeditions and activities could not be cited as precedent for occupation there is no intention made of attributing to former bases, expeditions etc. more value than is due to the geographic, historic, legal, diplomatic and administrative titles which are coupled with them and are their justification. This agreement would relate to areas to the south of latitude 60° south, without exception, and could remain in force for a space of five years or more, at the end of which the signatories would be under obligation to discuss among themselves the advantages of extending it for a further period, or to seek a new basis of understanding. The advantage of such a solution over that suggested by the State Department resides, in the judgment of the Government of Chile, in the fact that, through its agency, all the benefits which the latter solution promises will be obtained without the need for the interested nations to renounce or shelve their individual rights, and that it gives time for working out, with the utmost care, a final solution of the problem. In suggesting this idea, the Government of Chile conform with the request formulated by the State Department and consider that they contribute in this manner, to the harmony which should prevail among the nations with interests in the Antarctic, convinced as they are that, at the present time, it is important to avoid any cause whatsoever of differences, and even of friction, between nations that base their common existence on the highest precepts of western civilization. This desire, common to Chile and to the United States of America, can find its expression in a simple formula, based on good will and co-operation, like the one which the Government of Chile have had the honour to propound in this note, rather than in a formal agreement of internationalization which suffers from the drawbacks cited. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs seize this opportunity to repeat to the United States Embassy the assurances of their highest esteem. Santiago, 7th October, 1948. To the Embassy of the United States of America.

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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. Commonwealth Relations Office, to

Gircular despatch D. No. 2 Downing Street. by the arctic

[] January, 1949.

Sir.

D. No. 85 dated 14th December, 1948, I have the honour to enclose a translation of the formal reply of the Chilean Government to the United States proposals of 9th August, 1948, for a special regime in the anteretic.

I have the homour to be, signed signed Your most obedient, humble servant, id be the siving ivenient ons

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THE BINISHER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, luced ates

last year in kio de Janeiro would suffice to justify the Unilean Government's inability to accept the idea suggested by the State Department.

As the Government of the United States of America will know, the Government of Chile defined, by the supreme decree of the 6th November 1940, and in conformity with numerous geographical, historical, legal, diplomatic and administrative precedents, the confines of the Republic in those territories which extended to the Polar Region styled the South American Antarctic. By virtue of this decree all those territories, islands, islets, rocks, glaciers etc., known or unknown, and the respective territorial waters, existing within the limits of the polar sector bounded by longitudes 53 and 90 west of Greenwich form the Chilean Antarctic or Chilean Antarctic Territory.

As the Government of Chile then had the opportunity to make clear, in issuing the said treaty they did not attempt to carry out an unnecessary act of annexation, nor to assert a right which was Foreign Minister was just as anxious as he was to avoid these. The Chargé d'Affaires a.1. adds: "After outlining to him briefly our point of view as set out in the Aide Memoire which I later handed to him, I once more emphasized that this informal approach was intended primarily to place South Africa's interest on record with the Chilean Foreign Office. Similar approaches had already been made to the other seven Governments concerned. Señor Riesco replied that it was apparent to him our two countries had many interest in common on the antarctic Continent, and he felt that our expressed desire to be associated with future discussions on the control of this territory was both reasonable and understandable. The whole question was, however, rather undecided at the moment, and he very much doubted whether a lasting solution could be found on the basis of the proposals put forward by the United States
Government. These were not acceptable in their
present form either to Chile or Argentina or, for
that matter, to Norway, and in his opinion they
still had a long way to go before there was any hope of agreement amongst the eight powers originally concerned. " Stephan F. du Toit Minister. SF/JM

Antarctic Regime With reference to your Minute P.M.102/2 on the above subject, I wish to report as follows: On receipt of the minute, I prepared a Note in the form of an aide memoire for presentation to the Argentine and Chilean Foreign Offices and was able without the usual delay to secure an interview with the Acting Foreign Minister in Buenos Aires. Dr. Bramuglia had not yet returned from Paris and this fact had some advantage as there is a feeling in Buenos Aires that General Sosa Molina who is also Minister of War probably in general has more influence in the Argentine Cabinet than Dr. Bramuglia; on the Antarctic question in particular, I have little doubt that he has the greater influence. In the interview I made a statement to him on the lines of your letter to the Norwegian Minister in Pretoria and at the conclusion handed him the aide memoire. During my statement when I indicated our interest in being associated with any international organization or machinery which may be devised for control and administration of the Antarctic continent, he interrupted me with a question very eagerly put: "Would South Africa recognize British claims to sovereignty there"? I replied that, as I had stated, South Africa was at the moment not dealing with any of the conflicting claims, she was in fact not yet in a position to comment on the American proposals which were only now being studied by the Union Government; for the present South Africa was only placing on record her interest in the matter and her standpoint on the various issues would have to be awaited. It was obvious to me that Sosa Molina's approach to our claim to be associated in any Antarctic plan, would be conditioned by whether in his opinion we would merely be one more supporter for British claims. The status of the various member-states of our Commonwealth is not yet readily understood here. After my reply it seemed that he showed greater interest in our position and indicated that he could well understand our interest in the Antarctic. Beyond that he offered no comment. 5. I thereupon immediately advised the Chargé d'Affaires a.i., Santiago, in order to prepare him for the answer in case a similar question was thrust at him when he presented the case to the Chilean Foreign Office. He reports, however, that his interview at no time touched on embarrassing or contentious questions and that he gained the impression that the Chilean /Foreign

the box out in the Aide Service strick I is being to his, I come more explained to his I foreign the interior or marriy place Fouth Africa's interest on records

February 8th, 1949.

United States Proposals for

The Secretary for External Affairs,

B.A.22/1

4/49.

Caps Town.

PRAVDA (Cont'd)

S.OTION B. 11th February, 1949.

and present-day interest in it', and having exchange opinions on the report, arrives at the following conclusions:

- "1. The Society does it necessary to point out the outstanding role of the Russian scientist-explorers in
 the discovery of the Anteretic, they having refuted
 by their discoveries the assertion of a number of
 foreign explorers, including the well-known British
 navigator, James Gook, who denied the existence of
 an Anteretic continent. This role of the Russians
 in the discovery of the Anteretic is especially
 apparent from the results of the Russian expedition
 to the Anteretic in the early 19th century.
 - "The Russian navigators Bellingshausen and Lazarev in 1819-1821 circled the interctic continent, first approached its shores and on January 22, 1821. discovered Peter I Island, ilexander I Land, the Traverse Islands and others. In recognition of the services of the Russian navigators one of the southern Polar Seas was named Bellingshausen dec.
- "2. From what is stated in section 1 stems the indisputable right of the Soviet Union to participate in the solution of problems of the Interetic. No attempts to solve the problem of the regime of the Interetic without the participation of the Soviet Union can find any justification. The problems of the Interetic must be solved in the first instance by those states which have the historical right to participate in this solution. However, according to reports in the foreign press certain states are attempting to secure a solution of problems of the Interetic without the participation of the Soviet Union, against which the Geographical Society of the USSR cannot but register a most decisive protest.
- "3. No solution of the problem of the regime of the anteretic without the participation of the Soviet Union can have legal force, and the USSR has every reason not to recognise any such solution."

PRAVDA - 11.2.49.

PART II.

PR. VDa (Cont'u)

BUTION B.

11th February, 1949.

"Moving farther to the north oast, they discovered three small islands named the Three Brothers, then Retr. Mirel Rozhnov Island. In these waters there were heres of wholes. Finally they discovered admirel Mordvinov Island, Mikhailov Island (in honour of Captain-Commodore Mikhailov) and Vice-demiral Shishkov Island. All these islands now bear English names on the maps.

"From the South Shetlands the 'Vostok' and 'Mirny' set their course for Rio de Janeiro and returned to Kronstelt on July 24, 1821 after 751 days. In all they traversed over 92,000 kilometres.

"The description of this remarkable voyage was published by Bellingshausen under the title 'Two Explorations in the Interctic Ocean and a Voyage Iround the World in the Course of 1819, 1820 and 1821'. The description comprised two volumes with an atlas of maps and views.

"The voyage of the 'Vostok' and 'Mirny' belongs among the most remarkable geographical discoveries in history.

"It should not be forgotten - and we emphasise this - that the right of priority in the discovery of a number of territories of the interctic historically remains for Russis and, by succession, for the USSR - the same right by which France lays claim to idelic Land, discovered by Dumont B'Urville. Russia never abandoned these rights and the Soviet Government has never given consent to anyone to control territories discovered by Russian seamen.

"In the 20th century, following the First World far, interest in the interetie, the only continent not yet divided up, greatly increased. In number of countries - Britain, France, Norway, Ohile and ingenting - began to lay claim by unilateral acts to this or that expanse of the interetic continent.

"In 1931 and 1939 Norway declaror Poter I Island, discovered by Russians in 1821 to be hers and 'joined' the expanse between the Australian and British (Falkland) sectors. On January 27, 1929 the Soviet Government informed Norway that it could not accept this action by Norway as legal and considered it necessary to reserve its point of view concerning the state ownership of the territory discovered by the Russian navigator, Bellingshausen. It is important to note that at the same time (January, 1939) the U.S... through statements to Britain and France also reserved its point of view on sovereignty in the antarctic. Thus the question of the latter remained open by virtue of the statements of the two great powers.

"The Soviet public and Soviet science could not neglect the problem of the Interctic and forget the rights and interests of our Motherland in this question. Naturally the Geographical Society, of which both great Interctic explorers - Bellingshausen and Lazarev, were members cannot but take an interest in this question." COPY

PART II

No. 42.

PRAVDA

SECTION B.

FRIDAY, 11TH FEBRUARY, 1949.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

GENERAL MESTING OF ALL-UNION GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

LENINGR.D, 10TH FEBRUARY

Today a general masting of the members of the All-Union Geographical Society opened here.

The President of the Geographical Society of the USSA academician L.m. Berg delivered a report on /Russian Discoveries in the antarctic and present-day interest in it". In his report he said:

"In recent years reports have not soldom appeared in the world press concerning various expeditions to the interestic and about speeches by statesmen of various countries on the question of the interestional regime of the interestic or the proprietorship of this or that country over various parts of it. The question of the interestic is taking on an equation of the interestic is taking on the inte

"The reason for this is clear: with the interestic ero linked very real interests, which have stimulated the imerican "Seturday Evening Post" (December, 1947), for example, to declare that this continent may prove to be a gigentic treasure chest!

"The Antarctic continent, which exceeds Europe in size, possesses deposits of very valuable minerals (coal, gold, silver, load, iron). The existence of uranium ore is probable. In large whaling and sealing trade is conducted in the Antarctic waters by a number of countries, including the Soviet Union.

"The shortest dir routes between the three populates continents of the Southern Hemisphere - Africa, Australia and South America - traverse the Antarctic. Finally the Antarctic serves as a spot of important meteorological observations. Thus this continent is acquirin international significance.

"It cannot but be noted that the negotiations concerning the antarctic are being concucted behind the scenes and thus for without the participation of the USSR, although the Soviet Union in any case has no less right to the antarctic territories discovered by Russians than has France, for example, which claims sovereignty over addic Lane on the grounds that this territory was discovered in 1840 by the Franch navigator, Dumont D'Urville (and named after his wife). At the same time, the Russian navigators Bellingshousen and Lazarev 20 twenty years before Dumont D'Urville proved for the first time the erronousness of the then reigning ideas that there was no land beyond the Polar Circle, and discovered the existence of the antarctic.

opened with a discussion on the interctic and that no other business was conducted. The subject was introduced by a report on "Russian discoveries in the interctic and present any interest in it." This report was delivered by reaconician L.m. Berg, the President of the Geographical Society, and the foremost Soviet Geographer. Mr. Berg began by referring to recent expeditions to the interest and the interest lately shown by other countries in the ownership of the area. He affirmed that "the question of the interest lately shown by its mineral wealth, including possibly uranium; by its mineral wealth, including possibly uranium; by its whaling and sealing trade, in which the Soviet Union took part; and by its importance to air communications and meteorology. Negotiations concerning the interestic were going on behind the scenes, and so far without Soviet participation, although by virtue of Russian discoveries the Soviet Union had rights to interestic territory no less than, for example, those of France.

Mr. Berg then launched into a detailed account of discoveries said to have been made in 1820 and 1821 by a Russian expedition under Bollinghausen, claiming for it the first discovery of the interctic continental mass as opposed to the surrounding Islands. On the outcome of this expedition he based the claim that "the right of priority in the discovery of a number of territories in the interctic historically remains with Russia and by succession with the U.S.S.R." Mr. Berg added that "Russia never abandoned those rights and the Soviet Government has never given consent to anyone to control territories discovered by Russian Beamon."

On the question of the "unilateral acts" by which other countries had subsequently leid claim to interctic territories, Mr. Berg recelled that in 1929 the Soviet Government had reserved its position regarding Norway's annexation of Peter I Island, one of the discoveries attributed to Bollinghousen. He also referred to the action of the United States Government when in 1939 it reserved its views on sovereignty in the interctic. He concluded by the declaration that this whole question "remained open by virtue of the statements of the two great powers".

His Majosty's United King om ambassador states that the Soviet Press has for some time past shown only occasional interest in the anteretic, although there had been brief reports of the United States Government's proposals for an Hight Power Condominium, and of the cautious reactions to those proposals of some of the powers approached. The publication of the report in question would therefore appear to mark a new stage of Soviet interest. In the ambassador's view, such publicity would certainly not have been given to the Goographical Society's claims if they had not had the prior approval of the Soviet Government. Similarly, the Society's demand for action by the Soviet Government must clearly have been approved, if not actually inspired, by the Kremlin. It may therefore be reasonable to assume that some official Soviet move of the kind suggested in the resolution passed by the Society will be forthcoming at some future date.

I have the honour to be Sir, Your most obedient humble servent.