



Bréfa- og málasafn 1969, fyrsti hluti

Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórnmal – Forsætisráðherra – Bréf – Ernest A. Schmidt – Kasim Gülek – David H. Henry – James K. Sampas – Gunnar G. Schram – Mr. Spearmann – Richard Nixon – *Economic Exploration of the Atlantic Ocean*

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bjarnibenediktsson.is

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October 17, 1969

Memorandum to the Panelists.

Mr. Dean Acheson has given me the attached memorandum indicating points he will raise during the panel discussion and his attitude toward them.

Attached also is a copy of my letter to Mr. Acheson outlining a procedure for handling the discussion, which he accepted.

Richard Wallace

October 16, 1969

Memo to Mr. Wallace:

The points now arising for NATO discussion are:

1. Do the dangers that led to Article V still exist and require it?

I think so.

2. Do they still require US-European forces in being and in position in Europe?

I think so.

3. Are they adequate?

I think not.

4. What is required?

(a) I suggest real popular and governmental affirmation of 1, 2, and 3 are decisions of major policy.

(b) Specific undertaking to take military contributions out of balance of payments arrangements.

(c) Greater harmonization of policy in military, economic, and monetary fields to make it possible for governments to keep action in accord with professions.

NATO cannot continue in an atmosphere of increasing national separatism.

October 13, 1969

Hon. Dean Acheson
Covington & Burling
888 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Acheson:

We are grateful to you for your willingness not only to participate in the Special Panel discussion on Tuesday, October 21, but also to act as moderator of the group.

Your fellow panelists will be Paul Henri-Spaak, Lester B. Pearson, Halvard Lange, and Bjarni Benediktsson.

As moderator, I would suggest that you open with a brief, extemporaneous statement, in which you observe that this is the 20th Anniversary year of the Pact which you and these other gentlemen signed in Washington in April, 1949. All agree that it has been successful in its primary purpose - namely, to prevent Soviet aggression in Western Europe. However, now people on both sides of the Atlantic are raising questions about its durability and its future.

Then, I would suggest that you identify the two or three or more points that you feel are important to the future, and invite the other panelists to express their views. I think every effort should be made to keep the whole thing informal and keep it moving. I will urge Spaak to make his comments and interventions in English rather than French, which I know he can do and which will simplify the whole proceedings.

Mr. Acheson

- 2 -

October 13, 1969

Before the date of the panel, I will have identified two or three articulate younger members of the assemblage who will be primed with questions and I will furnish you with their names in advance. I would suggest you not call on them until you five signers have started a good and lively discussion. Then simply play it by ear as to when you wish to call on them. They will be seated in the audience, not on the panel.

I think the whole thing should not run more than an hour and a half, and you could halt the proceedings at the end of an hour if the discussion appears to be getting repetitious.

This is my suggestion for handling the meeting. You may very well have different ideas. If so, fine but I would appreciate your letting me know if you intend to handle it differently for I will be seeing Mr. Spaak next Sunday and I'm sure he would want to know.

The audience for the meeting will be the delegates and observers from the 15 NATO countries who will be attending the Assembly.

The location is the Main Conference Room of the Department of State. Please use the C Street entrance.

The meeting is public and there will be coverage by all the media.

Once again, our deepest gratitude to you for helping make this a success.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Richard J. Wallace



1798

Ljosvit (n) f.
form. þingfl.
NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY
ASSEMBLÉE DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
SECRETARIAT INTERNATIONAL

3, PLACE DU PETIT SABLON - BRUXELLES 1 - BELGIQUE
TEL : 13.28.65 TELEGR : ASATLANTIC - BELGIQUE

28th February, 1969.

Dear Mr. Speaker,

I have the honour to invite you, as in former years, to designate the members of the United Althing who will participate in the work of the North Atlantic Assembly.

May I remind you that the Rules of Procedure of our Assembly allow your delegation 3 votes, but in practice, there is no limit to the size of national delegations.

In order to facilitate the organization of the Assembly's work, I should be grateful to receive from you the composition of your delegation and the designation of its members to the different committees : Political Committee, Economic Committee, Military Committee, Scientific and Technical Committee and the Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information.

This information should be addressed to the Secretariat of the North Atlantic Assembly, 3, Place du Petit Sablon, Bruxelles 1.

Information concerning the next meeting of the Assembly will be communicated as usual to the representative of your country on the Standing Committee.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Kasim Gülek
Dr. Kasim Gülek,
President.

Birgir Finnsson, Esq.,
Speaker of the United Althing,
Reykjavik,
Iceland.

Alþingi

Dagb. 69. 677

ICELANDIC CONSULATE

ROTTERDAM, 23rd. May 1969.-

25 SCHEEPMAKERSHAVEN

TELEPHONE 1175 80

Bjarni Benediktsson, Esq.,
Háuhlid 14,
REYKJAVIK.

Dear Bjarni,

I have just returned from a business visit to Switzerland and have found your letter this morning dated 21st. May.-

Jeanette and I will be very pleased to dine with you on Friday evening, 30th. May, if indeed Ottarr Möller has not made other arrangements for me.-

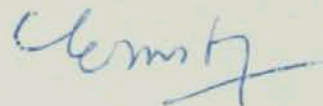
As I wrote to you on 14th. May Ottarr is arranging various festivities in connection with his Annual Meeting on 30th. May, but I take it that you have consulted him and that indeed we will be completely free on Friday evening, 30th. May, to come and dine with you.-

We have been booked to stay 5 nights in the Saga Hotel and will be arriving on Thursday evening, 29th. May.-

Looking forward to seeing both of you I remain,

with kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,



E.A. SCHMIDT



EMBASSY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Reykjavik, Iceland

October 13, 1969

Mr. Knutur Hallsson
Office of the Prime Minister
Reykjavik

Dear Knutur:

Here are some additional pamphlets which I have received from Washington for the Prime Minister and Mrs. Benediktsson. These are up to date and consequently probably more accurate and useful than the ones I sent earlier.

Since the Prime Minister told me that he expects to have little time, I am listing below the resort hotels and areas in terms of their distance from Washington. However, with travel by air the time factor is not important and I imagine that only the Puerto Rico-Virgin Islands area and to a lesser extent the Florida-Bahamas area will be truly warm at this time of the year.

1. Nearest Washington: The Tides Inn (Virginia); the Homestead (Virginia); the Greenbriar (West Virginia).
2. Next Nearest: South Carolina, Georgia, and Bermuda resorts.
3. Next Nearest: Florida and the Bahamas resorts.
4. Furthest: Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands resorts.

Since most of these places are very popular, even at this relatively off season, I recommend making reservations as soon as possible.

Best wishes to the Prime Minister and Mrs. Benediktsson for a happy holiday.

Sincerely,

David H. Henry
Deputy Chief of Mission

Frásögn.

Laugardaginn 20. september, kl. 11 f.h., kom James K. Sampas sendiráðunautur í sendiráði Bandaríkjanna í utanríkisráðuneytið til viðtals við undirritaðan. Var tilefnið ósk um að veita tveimur sovézkum tundurspillum leyfi til þess að koma í heimsókn til Reykjavíkur dagana 9-13. ~~xxpx~~ október n.k.

Sampas skýrði svo frá að snemma í morgun hefðu borizt skila-
boð frá bandaríska utanríkisráðuneytinu. Væri meginefni þeirra það
að skora á íslensk stjórnvöld, fyrst og fremst utanríkisráðuneytið,
að veita ekki umbætt leyfi, sem sovézka sendiráðið sótti um með orð-
sendingu 18. sept. s.l.

Ástæður þessarar óskar bandaríska utanríkisráðuneytisins væru
eftirfarandi:

1) Such a visit of Soviet combatant naval vessels
to Iceland would assist the Soviet efforts to expand their naval
posture on the North Atlantic, and would constitute a bad prece-
dent.

2) Such a visit would complicate the mission of the
Icelandic Defence Force, and would give the impression that
Iceland was moving closer to the Soviet Union.

J. Sampas kvæðst vilja benda á að heimsóknir sovézkra skipa
úr flotanum, sem ekki væru á hernaðaræðgjörðaskrá, væru annars eðlis
en hér væri um að ræða. Slík skip hefðu áður heimsótt Ísland og
ýmis Nato-lönd. Hinsvegar væri þetta í fyrsta skiptið sem herskip
í aktívri þjónustu í sovézka flotanum bæðu um heimild til þess að
birgja sig upp í íslenskum höfnum. Sérásjaldan kæmi fyrir að slík
óska bærizt Natolöndum. Hefði bandaríska utanríkisráðuneytið í skyndi
látið gera lista yfir slíkar heimsóknir til Natolanda, sem e.t.v.
væri þó ekki alveg tæmandi. Sýndi hann að eftirfarandi heimsóknir
herskipa í aktívri þjónustu hefðu aðeins átt sér stað, af hálfu
Sovétríkjanna, til eftirfarandi landa:

Noregur: árin 1955, 1956.

Frakkland: -- 1967.

England : -- 1953, 1955, 1956.

Ekki væri kunnugt um aðrar heimsóknir slíkra skipa, en þessar.
Heimsóknir þessar hefðu flestar átt sér stað fyrir meir en áratug,
áður en herafli Sovétríkjanna á Atlantshafi hafði vaxið í það horf

sem nú er, en veldi þeirra á hafinu ylli Bandaríkjastjórn verulegum áhyggjum og einnig NATO, að því er hún teldi - og kunnugt væri.

Í þessu sambandi mætti benda á að ænað herskipa þeirra sem nú er óskað hafnarleyfis fyrir, nr. 545, hefði verið eitt þeirra sovétsku herskipa, sem sigldi hér upp að landhelgi í fyrra og lá allengi við landið ásamt fleiri skipum, og allmikla athygli vakti þá.

Ad því er varðaði yfirlýsingar íslenskra stjórnvalda í ~~apríl~~ vegna komu bandaríska kafbáts í Hvalfjörð, í apríl s.l., um að herskipum hverrar þjóðar sem væri myndi veitt heimild til þess að koma í íslenska höfn til þess að taka vatn og vistir, þá hefði fulltrúi Bandaríska sendiráðsins, Mr.D.Henry tjáð Agnari Kl.Jónssyni að Bandaríkjastjórn skildi málið þannig að um slíkan rétt til komu í íslenskar hafnir væri aðeins að ræða ef hlutadeigandi skip veru í nauðum stödd. Um það ríkti alþjóðavenja, en ekki um að leyfa bæri herskipum allra þjóða ávallt og stíð að koma til hafnar í tilteknu landi. Væri það ekkert brot á alþjóðavenju að synja um slíkt, þegar ekki væri um neyðartilfelli að ræða. Ad því er varðaði sovétsku herskipin tvö væri grá nilega ekki um neyðartilfelli að ræða og því engin alþjóðleg skylda sem hvíldi á herðum ísl. stjórnvalda að leyfa landgönguna.

Loks gat J.Sampas þess að bandaríska ambassadorinn væri fús og reiðubúinn að ræða þetta mikilsverða mál í dag eða á morgun við utanríkisráðherra og önnur stjórnvöld, ef þess væri óskað.

Reykjavík 20.september 1969.

Sign. Gunnar G. Schram

Fréttir: Írin 1965, 1966.

Fréttir: — 1967.

England: — 1963, 1965, 1966.

PROF. ROBERT W. TEPLIES
DEPT. OF GEOGRAPHY
EAST TENN. STATE UNIVERSITY
JOHNSON CITY, TENN. 37601

1948

(Not a direct quote, but words to the effect that:)

Preventive war against Russia would be justified

Saturday Review dated 16 October 1954 quoted,

from 1948, his speaking about preventive war:

" I have no doubt that America would win in the end. Communism must be wiped out and world government must be established "

1950

In his pamphlet "Who Can be Neutral" :

"from this survey one clear moral results:

The important thing for mankind is that there should not be a Third World War. The way

to prevent a Third World War is to make the preponderance of force on the side of America

obvious even to the Kremlin. The way to secure

OVER

1948

to secure a preponderance of force on

the side of America is to form a firm

alliance with all the nations that

do not positively desire a Communist

victory.

1950

"The Communist Manifesto"

From this survey we can make several
the important thing for us to know is that there
should not be a third world war. The way
to prevent a third world war is to make the
preponderance of force on the side of America

VISCOUNT DO BOTELHO
Member of the Board of the Portuguese Council
of A.T.A.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION
OF THE
ATLANTIC OCEAN

A suggestion to a new dimension for
N.A.T.O., as a contribution to
PRESIDENT NIXON'S IDEA

October 1969

A NEW DIMENSION FOR NATO
THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WEALTH OF THE
ATLANTIC OCEAN

The pollution problem

The hecatomb of the aquatic fauna of the Rhine, brought about by Insulvan, the highly toxic, chemical product, made in some factories of the German Federal Republic, has again called the attention of the world to the danger of the pollution of the waters. Due to this accident, 4 million Dutch were threatened with water rationing. The contamination reached the Ijsselmer, and, further away from Rotterdam, the Islands of Zeeland, destroying the marine fauna, on its way. An urgency plan has been established, foreseeing the filtering, through the dunes, of the water of the North Sea, for the relief of the most pressing necessities.

More recently — last July and also in Germany — an explosion in a factory of chemical products destroyed all the fauna of the upper part of the River Leine, in the southwest of Hanover. The tests which were made, according to the Institute of Hygiene, of the University of Goetingen, demonstrated the presence of Benzol, and the losses were very great, this being especially due to the fact that the authorities of East Germany refused to co-operate with those of the Federal Republic, contrariwise to what had happened in relation to Holland at the time of the Rhenen incident. In effect, the Secretary of State of the R. A. F., Dr. Ludwig Manger-Koenig, and his Dutch colleague immediately established an alarm system for the co-ordination of methods of detection and for the increase of the exchange of information between the two countries, so as to provide for the avoidance, in the future, of further accidents. In one of the meetings of the World Health Organization, a joint report is to be presented.

*

A little over two years ago, the disaster of the tanker "Torrey Canion" polluted vast zones of the coast of France and Cornwall and also alerted the world. The cleaning up was done by means of detergents. However, two English specialists, O'Sullivan and Richardson, reached the conclusion that the mixture of detergents with petroleum provoked an even greater mortality rate among marine life than the petroleum itself. Thus, on the 7th of April, in Porthgwarre, the beach had been contaminated for a week, but animal life still persisted, although some of its forms, such as the algae, were at the point of death. On the next day, after having pulverized it with detergents, these specialists verified that the fauna had nearly completely succumbed. This incident served to show that the fight against pollution, caused by petroleum, is far from having attained perfection. What will happen if, some day, in the course of a conflict, various tankers of 200,000 tons are sunk?

This theme was the subject of a prolonged discussion at the Conference of International Maritime Law, which took place in Tokyo last April in the presence of 500 experts on legislation and maritime transports, at which I was present. Two projects of convention were adopted, focussing, in particular, the responsibilities of ship-builders. These projects will be submitted to Government ratification, in the course of a Diplomatic Conference, which is to take place in Brussels on the 10th. of November next, under the auspices of the Belgian Government.

*

The danger of catastrophic pollution of the seas does not, however, result only from the disasters which may occur to tankers. The prospection for petroleum "off-shore" can originate, as bad, or even worse, catastrophies. In the same way, the installation and deflagration of sub-marine nuclear arms may cause radioactive contamination with almost unforeseeable consequences.

Last March, at the Disarmament Conference, in Geneva, the Soviet representative, Aleksei A. Roschi, when enumerating the problems which were the object of that meeting, gave a certain amount of priority to the question of arms, for massive destruction, placed at the bottom of the sea. And, in an attitude certainly previously agreed upon, President Nixon, in Washington, made almost similar declarations, making evident the convenience of reaching a rapid agreement, similar to those of the Treaties which forbid the placement of nuclear ogives in the Antarctic and in space.

This question presents, however, some difficulties of legal order, deriving from the diversity of territorial waters defined for each country. The extension of the 3 mile limit, which was recognized by all in days gone by, has been practically abandoned and has passed in many countries to one of 6 or 12 miles, and even to that of 200 miles as established by Peru and Equador.

On the other hand, at the already mentioned Conference of Geneva, some neutralist nations enhanced the fact that, although the "purification of the under-seas has its importance, it was regrettable that the great Powers had deviated themselves from the crux of the problem, which was that of general disarmament". And all this came to nothing, in spite of the advice of Mr. Thant, who thinks "it would be preferable to go forward, within possible limits".

*

The pollution of maritime coasts, and especially of beaches has, however, already become a grave problem in some parts of the world, independently of accidents with catastrophic characteristics. About 5 years ago, having visited some Greek beaches, excellent for bathing, I had the disagreeable surprise of coming out of the water covered with black oil, which adhered to the skin and only came off with difficulty. And last August sheets of oil polluted the British coast on the north side of the County of Kent, hundreds of dead birds were found to the Northwest of Herne Bay, and the bathers and tourists were kept from bathing on the beaches from Littlestone to Dungestene. The same thing happened in the Isle of Hayling. The pollution of waters of the coast has in reality become endemic and progressive. It constitutes for some regions a danger, which becomes graver and graver for the development of tourism.

Prof. Jean Marie Peres, the French scientist, has recently told me that the generalized use of soluble detergents, even for domestic use, and also that of pesticides, represents as well a very great contribution towards the pollution of the rivers and the seas, where directly or indirectly all rivers end.

The British scientists and industrialists in particular have made a notable effort towards the improvement of the fight against pollution. The factories of the Imperial Chemical Industries, in Huddersfield, have launched a new product which is the object of great hope. This product has the name of Dispersol O. S., and when it is mixed with the oil it produces an emulsion which remains still on one spot and does not suffer the influence of winds or tides. It is not soluble in water, contrary to that which happened to the detergents used in the case of the Torrey-Canion, which dissolving, in great part, in the sea demanded a much greater quantity to obtain the same results, and which moreover contributed greatly to the fauna's death.

The Wealth of the Sea

The wealth of the sea is immense. It constitutes a potentiality, largely latent, which is indispensable to the future of Humanity. The seas represent 97% of the water the world has at its disposal. In the measure of the increase of population, as well as that of the growing requirements of agriculture, the era is approaching in which sea water will be unsalted to be used in cultivation and in distribution of potable water. The fields of natural gas and those of petroleum, of the continental platforms, are still to be identified, but it is already known, through prospections, which have specially been done in the United States and the North of Europe, that the zones down to the depths of 200 meters are the richest of the globe.

Actually, according to Ives La Prairie, 9.000 petroleum wells are exploited to a distance of 60 miles from the coasts; 16% of the world's petroleum is extracted from perforations off-shore and 40% of American petroleum will soon have identical origin.

There exists in the marine depths a great abundance of rich minerals, as, for example, the 14 tons of uranium in each cubic mile shown in a study done by "U. K. Atomic Energy Research Establishment". And in the abyssal depths of the Pacific nodules of manganese, which attain a concentration of 18Ks. per square meter, have been found.

The data relating to the richness of proteins, proceeding from the marine fauna, is impressive. These are manufactured annually in the ocean to the amount of 400 hundred million tons, that is, enough for the proteic feeding of 20 billion people. Fishing has in the last decade increased at an annual proportion of 8%,

which makes it at 3 times faster than the population of the globe. In 1967, 60 million tons of fish were caught.

We are, however, still very far from attaining the limit of piscatorial exploitation. In the meantime, it is urgent that oceanographic studies be intensified, so that the cycles of procreation and subsistence of the species may not be destroyed. The report of Aigrin — (of the Common Market) — which preconizes the rational exploitation of the oceans, says "it is fundamental to avoid the perturbation, sometimes irreversible, of the conditions of life in the marine world".

Through International co-ordination of the fishing industry that reserve of proteins, which is the sea, will prove to be practically inexhaustible, as also inexhaustible is the mineral wealth of the sea. The Malthusian theories, deriving from formerly known potentialities in regard to founts of energy, mineral wealth and alimentary possibilities, have proved to be completely wrong, because also wrong were the inferences from which they were drawn. The solution to the problem of the demographic explosion of our days is neither to be found in the pill nor in sterilization. It is to be found certainly in the education and also in economical development, in the rational good use of the natural wealth that God has put at Man's disposal and within reach of the intelligence with which He has endowed him.

The exploitation of the North Atlantic

Lawrence Reed, having specialized at Oxford University, on Oceanics and Technical - Economy, and who is a member of the "Sector Research Unit" of the Conservative Party, has recently published in the "Bow Group"⁽¹⁾ a work on the exploration of the North Atlantic, which although very synthetic is also most interesting. It is from this work that I have collected much data, referring to the wealth of the sea, of which I have made use.

The fundamental objectives of this study are those which I am resuming below:

- a) To create a mentality which will result in a favorable regulation of the development of the wealth of the North Atlantic, physical, chemical, geological and biological.
- b) For so doing, a "Commission of Ocean Development" would have to be created, open to all West European countries, whose area of jurisdiction would cover, not only the zone of 200 miles distance from the coast but also all surrounding waters, which today belong to all, and limited following the principle of equidistance from the shore, and including archipelagos.
- c) The Commission would gather its revenues from concession of licenses and royalties for the exploitation of the oceanic wealth done by private organizations with peaceful aims in view.
- d) The Commission would found an "Oceanographic College" with the purpose of making all the scientific studies required for the avoidance of pollution in the North Atlantic, and also that of learning its wealth; and from it to make a maximum profit — for the general good, but especially the good of Europe, where demographic concentration is the highest in the 5 continents of the globe.
- e) Finally, the Commission would be responsible to a Maritime Parliament and to a "Special Tribunal of Appeals".

The program of Lawrence Reed is vast, so vast that the distance which separates us from its execution is greater than the distance from the Earth to the Moon. But its execution is certainly much nearer than the exploration of that planet. I think that, in this way, can be defined the limit of time between the ideas of that author, at least in regard to oceanic exploitation, and their realization, which will, no doubt, come true even in our days.

(1) Ocean-Space, Europe's new frontier. Bow Group Pamphlet, May 1969

The exploration of the Sea

In France, the problems of pollution and of oceanic research have been given careful attention by public authorities. Considered, at the beginning of the century there, as well as in other countries, as sectors of a secondary science, especially directed towards the study of maritime fauna and flora and reserved to some university professors, this study has greatly increased in interest after the last war, and has gathered together hundreds of scientists, namely geologists, biologists, physicists, doctors, chemists, mathematicians, astrologers, navigators and engineers, in about 30 research centers, dispersed on the coasts of France, and dependent of, either, the National Center of Scientific Research (C.N.R.S.) or of several universities (Paris, Lyons, Strasbourg, Poitiers, etc.), or yet of private subsidized organizations such as The Oceanographic Institute, and the Center of Research and Oceanographic Studies (C.R.E.O.). Furthermore, so as to cover similar activities in her former colonies, France has created the Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d'Outremer (O.R.S.T.O.M.), which counts with more than 500 investigators. Nevertheless, all these efforts proved to be insufficient, especially due to lack of co-ordination between the different organizations. Thus, after several trials of reorganization, whose results did not prove completely satisfactory, the "National Center for Exploration of the Ocean" (C.N.E.X.O.), a public foundation of industrial and commercial character, dependent directly on the Chief of State, was created and charged with the following:

"In union with the ministries and private and public organizations to develop the knowledge of the oceans and the studies and research tending to the exploration of the wealth to be found in their surface, in their density, and in their soil and sub-soil. With this end in view it will elaborate, and propose to the Government, the programmes for research and development and all the ways aiming towards the study and exploration of the oceans, insuring the execution of the general programme, namely, financing them and acquiring heavy equipment of general interest. It has, for that effect, the right of knowing the private research done by public organizations and of co-ordinating them".

For the execution of this programme the C.N.E.X.O. disposes of 150 million francs inscribed in the Vth Plan, besides having an annual donation of 100 million. The first step taken by this organization was to elaborate a programme on the national scale as a point of convergence of all research activities, of the technical development, and the preparation of the final phase — the exploitation —, not in function of scientific disciplines but according to five *topics of orientation*:

- a) The exploitation of living matter;
- b) The exploitation of mineral and fossil matter;
- c) The reconnoitering and delimitation of the continental shelf;
- d) The fight against pollution;
- e) The effects of the Ocean on meteorologic and climateric conditions.

The direction of these topics was entrusted to some eminent personalities, who had already proved their competence in the existing centers of study. The construction of the great Oceanologic Center has begun in Brest and it includes various buildings, which will occupy more than two hundred and fifty acres and employ over 300 specialized technicians.

In reference to naval equipment, the C.N.E.X.O. disposes of the ships "Jean Chareot" of 2.200 tons, "Coriolis" of 450 tons, "Pelagia" of 350 tons, and of the special devices "Bathyscaphe Archimede"⁽¹⁾ and the "Diving Disc" which is being built and will be able to submerge to a depth of 3.000 meters. Also in the shipyard there is a ship of 840 tons for research in cold seas, and another of 650 tons for tropical waters. There are also in mind 3 other ships of 800 tons each, of various potentialities. The first of them is expected to be launched in 1970. In league with the French Institute of Petrology, the building of a special submarine of 250 tons, the "Argyronete", which will be able to go down to a depth of 600 meters and serve as a "submarine house" for the divers, has already started.

This vast programme, which can be glimpsed through this summary, has induced French industrialists to group themselves in different organizations (Technocean, Ostreo, Asteo, Cema, etc.) in order to face the great extension which the construction of specialized gear must demand.

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Other maritime countries have also been busy with oceanographic studies.

The United States, for example, possesses more than 100 devices for aquatic prospection, which can reach a depth of 3,000 ft. Its bathyscaphe "Trieste II" localized the two atomically propelled submarines which the Navy lost, the last of which, the "Scorpion" lying at some thousands of meters depth, 300 miles to the southwest of the Azores. And the submarine "Ben Franklin" of 140 tons built by the Grumman Aircraft Corporation, according to the draft made by Dr. Piccard, realized in the summer of 1969, under the aegis of NASA, interesting research from Florida to North Carolina. The studies are led by the American Naval Oceanographic Center. However, there are other groups which treat similar subjects, namely the Commission of Marine Science Engineering and Resources and the National Petroleum Council's Committee, which in July 1968 presented the Department of the Interior with a report on Petroleum Resources under the Ocean Floor.

"In America — says Lawrence Reed — 725 companies are listed as offering products and services in Ocean Science and Technology. Fifty of these companies are working on one or more major oceanology projects and 25 of them spend more than 10 million dollars a year on research".

The German Federal Republic has, at least in the last 10 years, intensified its oceanographic studies, disposing of ships highly specialized and prepared, such as the "Meteor".

Japan has also made great progress — some as yet highly secret — directed towards the economic exploration of the seas. The North and South Atlantics are always being ploughed by Japanese fishing boats.

Two Japanese scientists, Yamabe and Fujinaga, especially dedicated themselves to the industrial production in water beds of certain species, such as the shrimp. They have adopted the following idea: "Agriculture has evolved; fishing has to be modernized". During thousands of years man has lived on the spontaneous fruits of the Earth and from hunting and fishing, through very primitive ways. The Earth's production has become extraordinarily modernized through the addition of fertilizers, selection of seeds, irrigation and mechanization. However, in respect to the sea the only progress made is in the manner of fishing. Therefore, the sea has to be treated like the earth, sowing and increasing the reproduction of the species, for the picking. That which has already been attained in the domain of eatable organisms, which reproduce themselves naturally in calm waters, is not proved as not being possible to attain, at least in the area of the Continental Shelf. Applying the Japanese technique, there already exist in Europe commercial nurseries of shrimps.

The U.R.S.S. has for more than 15 years been doing oceanographic studies, with strategic and economic aims, in the zone of the Azores. The Russian fleets of "fishing boats" appear in all the seas, especially where there happens to be any military or subversive incidents. In general, these unities are built in Sovietic shipyards. However, some have been built in other countries.

In 1966, for example, the shipyard of Nantes got an order for 6 other ships for the trolley fishing, of which the first was delivered in 1967. The interest shown by U.R.S.S. in the oceans and their economic possibilities is such that Dr. Alexandre P. Lisitzin, geologist of the Academy of Science of Moscow, after having passed 55 days doing oceanographic studies in the Pacific, with a group of American research-men, declared that "were he a capitalist he would not hesitate in employing his last shirt in the exploitation of the oceans, much more profitable than the identification of the lunar matter".

"*In Britain* — again according to Lawrence Reed —, too, activity is underway with the launching, in May 1968, of our first submersible — Standard Underwater Research Vehicle (SURV), built by Lintott Engineering Ltd. Two other companies which have now entered the field are Cammell Laird and the British Aircraft Corporation; the former with the prototype of a unique multi-purpose sea-bed vehicle, and the latter with plans for an underwater habitat. The past few years have also seen the emergence of a number of industrial groups formed to draw attention to the economic importance of the oceans. The Commercial

(1) This unity is the only which at the present time can go down to a depth of 12,000 meters. It has already reached the depth of 9,600 meters in an abyss near Japan. It has this summer been working in the sea, off the Azores, with the support-ship A-749 Marcel LE BYAN. In the Island of Sao Miguel I met Commander Houot, head of this research group, and it was he who, very amiably, furnished the many of the elements about the notable oceanographic activities of the French.

Oceanology Study Group (COSG), a consortium of six companies — ICI, BP, RTZ, Hawker Siddeley, Unilever and Costain, was set up to identify the problems and prospects of marine exploitation. More recently, the Construction Industry Research and Information Association (CIRIA) established an Underwater Engineering Group. [. . .] The government has recently been undertaking a major review of how resources of the Sea can be harvested to help the national economy. Individual ministries and an inter-departmental study group have been examining areas where oceanographic studies might produce commercial results. At present, Britain has 28 oceanographic vessels, 1,650 marine scientists and spends about 25 million dollars a year on ocean sciences [. . .].”

In Portugal, the hydrographic studies are those which in the last 10 years have had the greatest expansion. However, since 1967 the oceanographic ship, and ancient mine sweeper, “Sao Jorge”, has been adapted, and a team formed by naval officers, amongst whom two have followed a specialized course in an University in California, have begun the execution of a vast programme of oceanographic studies, which is indispensable to a country which takes from the sea a great part of its alimentary resources, which owns a large canning industry and whose coasts either metropolitan (Portuguese Continent, Madeira & Azores) or overseas (Cabo Verde, Angola & Mozambique) are very rich in eatable species.

N.A.T.O.'s oceanographic studies

N.A.T.O. has also been interested in the oceanographic studies, but only, so far as I know, in a special sector: the detection of submarine by SONAR used by surface ships and which also has its uses for the detection of shoals of fish and clusters of plancton. The propagation of the sound waves is verified, however, in different ways, according to the salinity and temperature of the water (registered by bathythermographers), which vary with the depth of the water and the stations of the year. There exist aquatic fronts, at certain depths, which are brought about by sudden differences of those elements, which deviate, disperse or reflect the sound waves, which are able to, in certain circumstances, constitute an efficacious protection for submersibles.

In Spezia there is a center for the collecting of data, and on the Portuguese Island of Santa Maria (Azores) there has recently been set up the “NATO Acoustic Range, (Poligono Acustico da N.A.T.O.) with different aims, namely the study of the acoustic submarine conditions, prevailing in the Atlantic Area.

In reality, there is no definite frontier between the oceanographic studies for economic development and those which have strategic finalities. It is true that the economical competition is also a fight, in the same way as the fight against sub-nutrition.

The evolution of Maritime Law

We refer to the legal difficulties resulting from the diversity in the limits of territorial water as defined by each country. It is worthwhile, even only in a light way, to look at this problem.

The general rules of International Maritime Law are convergent in allowing each State the right to defend:

- a) The integrity of its territory against external attacks, or its eventual neutrality or non-belligerency in certain conflicts (which results in the necessity of making use of its waters for establishing there-on military defences, such as forts, mine fields, anti-submarine nets, etc.);
- b) The precepts of its tax laws;
- c) The protection of the health of its population;
- d) The exclusive use of the natural products existing in its waters, in defense of its economy.
- e) The profitable, also exclusive, use of its waters for establishing thereon works for the amelioration of conditions of social and economic life, (ports, light houses, posts for radio-communication or radar, sub-marine cables etc.). From these works there also result, almost always, benefits of international order.

All these rights bound together lead to the imperative necessity of codifying what is meant by the “won” waters of a maritime State, that is, the limit on which that State can exert total or partial sovereignty.

The so-called *Continental Shelf* is the submarine region which extends from the coast to the point where the sea-bed suddenly presents a more or less abrupt depth, thereby considerably increasing the depth of the sea.

The width of the Continental Shelf is very variable. Thus, on the Portuguese Atlantic coast, for instance, it is very small compared to the shelves of the coasts of Northern France and England. It is on the Continental Shelves that are found, in greater quantity, the ictiological eatable species.

The zone of the oceans which extends beyond the abrupt step, referred to above, has been named *Abyssal Depths*.

The legal classification of the adjacent waters to each State does not, however, coincide with the geological classification.

These waters are, in fact, divided into three classes, according to the nature of the power of sovereignty exerted over them: *Interior Waters*, *Territorial Sea*, and *High Seas*. Moreover, in the water where the regimen of High Seas is in force there are two zones in which the States can exert certain competencies due to their special conditions of proximity and depth: The *Contiguous Zone* and the *Continental Shelf*.

Thus, going from the Earth to the Sea, we cross successively the following maritime spaces: *Interior Waters*, *Territorial Seas*, *Contiguous Zone*, *Continental Shelf*, and *High Seas*. It is in the defining of the limits of these spaces that the greatest divergences and conflicts between States take place,⁽¹⁾ since the principles which constitute the positive law to the things of the sea derive from the rights that each State claims unto itself for the defense of its interests, principally those of an economic and strategic nature. All of this is what leads to the enormous difficulty in establishing rigid norms and principles of international value.

The most constructive achievement in this respect is that which has attained conventions⁽²⁾ relating to the notion of *Territorial Seas* and other like questions, namely those which resulted from a meeting convened in Geneva in 1958, under the aegis of the United Nations and which was named "First Conference of the Rights of the Sea". However only one conclusion was reached unanimously: the width of territorial waters can never be less than 3 miles.

Thus, through internal law, the States fix the boundaries, along their coasts, more or less according to the specific interests they want to protect, many avoiding, however, to mention in official reports the real extension of their territorial waters.

Some maintain it at three miles, others have put it up to 6 or 12 miles, two nations, we have already mentioned, have enlarged it to 200 miles and even on the 1st September last, the President of Mexico announced to the Nation his intention of increasing to extension of the Mexican waters, in spite of the opposition of the United States, on the North of the Californian Gulf.

The Continental Shelf is the zone where the aquatic fauna is richest. It is also there that are localized important petroleum deposits. Actually, the nations which ratified the "Convention on the Continental Shelf" have generally limited their sovereignty on the soil or sub-soil of the sea to an isobath of 200 meters. However, there is already a notable and fortified movement towards the increase of the area of sovereignty of the States. It is not only Peru and Ecuador who have stretched their area to a distance of 200 miles from their coasts. By the initiative of the U.R.S.S., together with East Germany and Poland, these nations have declared the Baltic to be wholly Continental Shelf.

In a recent article of the authorship of Clyde de la Motte,⁽¹⁾ commenting the studies and conclusions of the "Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources", destined to the orientation of the American policy of the sea, a re-definition of the Continental Shelf is suggested in the following terms:

"The seaward limit of each coastal nation's shelf would be fixed at 200 meters isobath, or 50 nautical

(1) We have purposely left out some notions such as that of **Historical Waters** and **Historical Rights**, which do not offer much interest to the subject versed in this article, and would make it too tedious.

(2) Convention on Territorial Seas and Contiguous Zone; Convention on High Seas; Convention on the "Continental Shelf"; Convention on fisheries and the reservation of the biological resources and the Protocol of optional adhesion on the obligatory settlement of divergencies.

miles from the baseline for measuring the breadth of its territorial sea, whichever would give it the greatest area".

This definition would allow, in some cases, for the extension of the Continental Shelf, but, besides this extension, a new intermediate zone between the Continental Shelf and the high seas has been foreseen, and in those depths the coastal nations would exercise a certain sovereignty. This suggestion is also completed by another one, which involves scientific and economic activities in relation to the area.

"Creation of an international authority to register national claims beyond the redefined Continental Shelf.

"Establishment of an international fund. This fund would stem from payments by every nation registering a claim to exploit a given area. The fund would be used in turn for such purposes as financing marine scientific activity and resources exploration (particularly food-from-the-sea programs), and aiding the developing countries through the World Bank and other development agencies.

"Creation of an intermediate zone. The commission anticipated that because of the uncertainties that have surrounded the present definition of the Continental Shelf, some coastal nations might refuse to accept the proposed new definition.

"The intermediate zone proposed by the commission would extend to the 2,500-meter isobath, or 100 nautical miles from the baseline of each coastal nation's territorial sea. That is, the nation could choose between the two alternatives.

"Only the coastal nation or its licensees would be authorized to explore or exploit the mineral resources of the intermediate zone. However, claims to explore the zone would have to be registered with the International Registry Authority under the terms and conditions applicable to areas of the deep seas beyond the intermediate zone.

"Under this proposal, then, a nation would not acquire *sovereign rights* over the intermediate zone, but would have only the rights accorded to it under the new framework".

Beyond the coastal line (including, or not, the intermediary zone, and independently of the way in which the width of the Continental Shelf will have been determined), lie the High Seas. What laws rule these?

In August 1967 when of the XXII Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the delegate of Malta proposed that the sea bed and sub-soil, beyond the jurisdiction of the States, ought to be kept free from any national appropriation and remain perpetually and exclusively used for pacific ends. Following this resolution, a Commission charged to examine this topic was formed, this happened twice in 1968, once in New York and another time in Rio de Janeiro, without, however, having reached any positive results.

In the report of the Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources, it is suggested (I quote Clyde La Motte) that:

"For areas of the deep seas beyond the intermediate zone, the commission recommended that the U. S. adopt a policy of *first come, first registered*. That, in effect, would be the same system used by the nations themselves in registering claims with the International Registry Authority.

"Realizing that it is likely to take a great deal of time to get international agreement on a plan, the commission suggested an interim approach. Among other things, it would specify that the U. S. propose the principle that no nation should, during the interim period, claim or exercise any rights over any part of the sea-bed or subsoil beyond the 200 meters isobath".

This is, however, a simple suggestion because in the actual state of the Law, if the first article of the Convention of Geneva of 1958, on the Continental Shelf, were to be applied to the letter, all the sea floor could be divided between the Coastal States in as much as it could be possible to exploit it, since the Continental Shelf is defined by a criterium of exploitation possibilities.

In fact, the criterium of the 200 meters isobath seems to be exceeded, since there are already soundings for petroleum prospection at more than 300 meters depth, which reach 6,000 meters beyond the bottom of

(1) Vide "Ocean Industry", May 1969, vol. 4th., no. 5.

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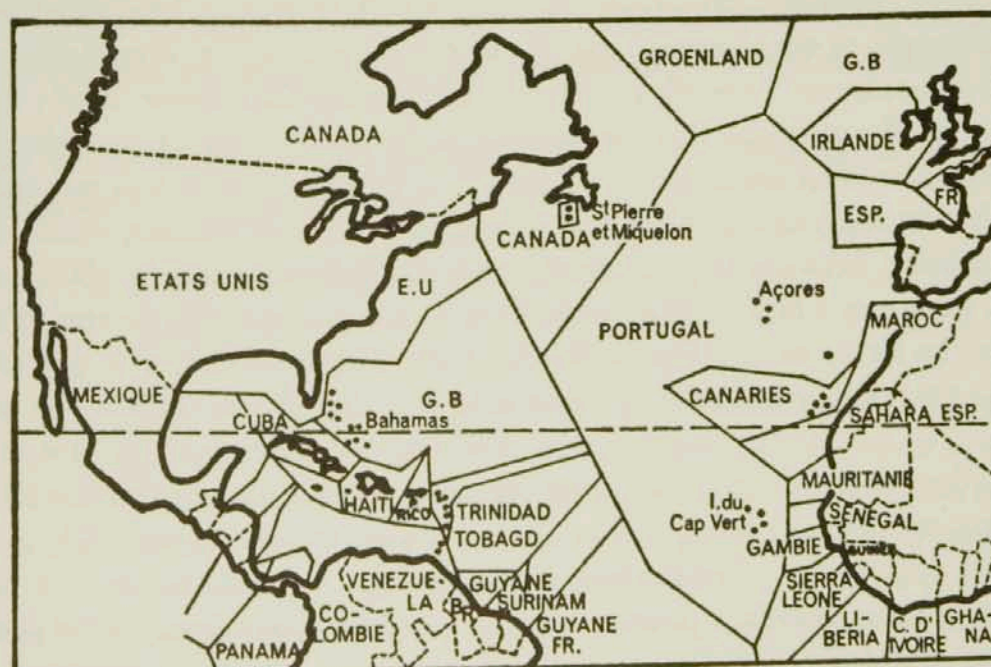
the sea⁽¹⁾. And as Michel Voelcked declared in a Conference on the 16th. of November 1968, which took place in the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Defense Nationale ⁽²⁾, it can be deduced that the profitable exploitation of the sea floor depends less on the great investments, which might be necessary, than on the indispensability of doing this in a regimen of exclusivity on a sufficiently large area.

It makes no doubt that the arbitrary divisions of the sea in Territorial Waters, Contiguous Zone and Continental Shelf and the High Seas, as well as the differences between the juridictional regimen of the sea-bed and the subjacent waters seem to, little by little, converge or evolute towards the notion that the maritime world constitutes a whole and that it will as such be legally considered by each maritime nation. Thus, if the soil and sub-soil of the oceans come to be considered as Continental Shelf, a division of the bottom of the sea will finally be reached (applying the rule of equidistance, established in Article 6 of the Convention) — perhaps even the division of the sea itself — as has already happened in the North Sea and the Baltic.

It is within these principles that Lawrence Reed and Michel Voelcker elaborated the maps we reproduce, the first representing exclusively the North Atlantic, while the second extends the division to the South of Cape Verde Islands.



The North Atlantic divided up between coastal states on the equidistant point principle, taking into account the possession of small island. (Lawrence Reed)



Map elaborated by Michel Voelckel

(1) It is even supposed that new perforations will attain this year 500 meters (vide Report of "ad Hoc" Committee to study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, United Nations, pag. 25).
 (2) Vide "Revue de Defense Nationale", May 1969.

Of course, the principle of the "freedom of the seas"—an expression already some centuries-old—finds itself at present under great pressure. We are evidently very far from the concept of 1534, year in which King John III of Portugal sheltered in the shadow of the Roman Law said: "All the seas on which all can and must navigate are those which have always been known by all and common to all, but the others which have never been known and which never seemed navigable and were discovered, by me, with such hard work, those certainly not"⁽¹⁾; and even further from the Bula of Pope Alexander VI which divided the seas between Spain and Portugal.

New conditioning has arisen in our time: on one side, the exploitation of the proteic and mineral wealth of the sea itself: on the other side, the advent of the nuclear missile carrying submarine, the most terrible arm of dissuasion. Under the pressure of these conditionings, the "freedom of the seas" suffers shocks which may become a deep sea wave. The United Nations occupies and preoccupies itself with the mutations decuring from this new conditioning. However, this aereopago of International Politics acts with so many limitations, and suffers so many distortions, even without mentioning the right of veto reserved to the great powers of the Security Council, and the expression "freedom of the seas" lends itself so much to dialectics that its definition seems to find greater difficulty in concretizing itself than the Disarmament Conference, in Geneva, on the way to half a thousand sessions, to attain its pacific purposes.

A suggestion to N.A.T.O.

The suggestion of Lawrence Reed is especially directed to Europe. The proposal of the Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources applies to all the seas. To my mind, the problem is such a complex one and requires such great investments, even when limited to the North Atlantic alone, that its solution and development ought to be made extensive to all the countries of the coast of that sea. Altogether they will not be too many to treat a theme of such profound implications, either of a scientific or material nature. It seems, therefore, logical that the study and exploitation of the Atlantic ought necessarily to extend themselves to the South Atlantic, where there is an enormous wealth of fish which it is necessary to preserve and increase, besides important zones of petroleum deposits, which are already localized, some of which are already in exploitation. In truth, nobody would think of studying and exploiting only half of the Mediterranean or the Baltic . . .

On the other hand, the frontiers between the studies which have an economic or strategic aim are very slight and almost impossible to define, and that in the actual conditions of maritime rights if the Atlantic from North to South comes to be considered explorable, all its bed will be able to be divided between the coastal States, following the principle of equidistance, and its waters subject to the sovereignty of these same nations, although, in a "reasonable way", (words which were used at the Convention itself) respecting the Convention of Geneva of 1958. But we know that the Atlantic is the dorsal spine of the defense of the Occident, and the real scene of the East-West confrontation. Already in 1950 an accord was reached by Great Britain and the United States for the study of the calculation of remote-control of missiles, which covered a space of 1.000 miles over the Atlantic, between Cape Kennedy and the Bahamas, and in 1964, through a Franco-Portuguese agreement, a space of 1.600 miles over the Central Atlantic was also covered. The Alliance having begun to englobe only the sector of this Ocean North of the Tropic of Cancer is due to the fact that the Suez Canal was not, at that time, considered as vulnerable as it has shown itself to be, and the Mediterranean was still considered an exclusively Western area. The eventual increase of the area of the Treaty to the South Atlantic would allow N.A.T.O. to, in a certain measure, compensate strategically for the weakening of its southern flank, along the Mediterranean, and at the same time to take up the study and development of the wealth of this ocean, following a scheme which could, perhaps, be inspired by that of Lawrence Reed, and having, in this way, fundamentally a primary economic objective, which would not prejudice, and on the contrary help, its system of defense.

(1) Vide Merea in "Novos Estudos da Historia do Direito" (New Studies of the History of Laws) and Marcello Caetano in "Portugal e a Internacionalizacao dos problemas Africanos" (Portugal and the Internationalization of the African Problems).

The theme seems fascinating to me, and it could result in a greater contribution for facing the alimentary difficulties which the demographic "explosion" during the next 10 years will bring along, giving even an incontestable, valid solution to the problems of sub-development and of hunger in the world. The new third dimension to be given to N.A.T.O., as preconized by President Nixon, would find, in this theme, a possibility of realization and a projection into the future of Humanity which would over-pass the most alluring expectations.

The developed world has already become conscious of the capital importance of the Oceans and of the imperious need of knowing them better, of exploring, exploiting and preserving their resources, both proteic and mineral, for the future benefit of Man. Also, the necessity for transforming salt water into fresh water, for the subsistence of the populations of the big industrial regions, or for the regions where water is scarce, and also with the aim of turning desert areas into livable and arable ones. The military aspect would certainly be an unavoidable complement, if we take into account the objectives of N.A.T.O. and the conditions derived from modern submarine warfare, but at the same time to be desired in the measure in which the Alliance, as has already happened, preparing for war has avoided it at least in the area allotted to it.

The Atlantic Treaty has been, and we have faith will continue to be, a tool for Peace, which, as said His Holiness Paul VI, does not exist without development, as development does not exist without Peace.

Basing myself on the above exposed, I would like to make the following suggestions to the Atlantic Treaty Association:

- 1—The creation of a Committee open to all the N.A.T.O. countries, composed by delegates appointed by the respective National Committees.
- 2—The Committee would establish its own rules, choose its own President and localize the head offices in the capital which it would consider the best suited for it.
- 3—The said Committee would fundamentally study the possibilities of enlarging the area of the Treaty to the South Atlantic, bearing in mind:
 - a) The drawing up of a subject for study against pollution and for the development and exploitation of all areas of the Atlantic Ocean, reckoning on the experience, or the contribution, which all the countries of N.A.T.O. will be able to give towards the realization of this plan, having, especially in view, economic objectives. It would in the future benefit all the countries of the Alliance, which would be directly interested.
 - b) The eventual participation of other countries on the coast of the Atlantic — like Brazil for instance —, according to a system, to be studied, of Association with N.A.T.O.
- 4—The Committee would, through A.T.A., or with the co-operation of A.T.A., obtain funds from N.A.T.O., or from the Governments of the Alliance, or private entities, for the realization of the aforementioned studies.
- 5—The Committee would be able to get the collaboration of oceanographers or other technicians, from N.A.T.O. countries for the attainment of the goal set for it.

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