

University of Tasmania Open Access Repository

Cover sheet

Title

International regime formation and leadership : the origins of the Antarctic treaty

Author

Harold Hall

Bibliographic citation

Hall, Harold (1994). International regime formation and leadership : the origins of the Antarctic treaty. University Of Tasmania. Thesis. <https://doi.org/10.25959/23211503.v1>

Is published in:

Copyright information

This version of work is made accessible in the repository with the permission of the copyright holder/s under the following,

Licence.

Rights statement: Copyright 1994 the Author

If you believe that this work infringes copyright, please email details to: oa.repository@utas.edu.au

Downloaded from [University of Tasmania Open Access Repository](#)

Please do not remove this coversheet as it contains citation and copyright information.

University of Tasmania Open Access Repository

Library and Cultural Collections

University of Tasmania

Private Bag 3

Hobart, TAS 7005 Australia

E oa.repository@utas.edu.au

CRICOS Provider Code 00586B | ABN 30 764 374 782

utas.edu.au

INTERNATIONAL REGIME FORMATION
AND LEADERSHIP

~~~~~  
The Origins of the Antarctic Treaty  
~~~~~

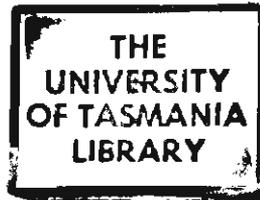
BY

H. ROBERT HALL B.A. (Hons), M.A.
Hadd

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania

May, 1994



Cent Thesis
HALL
Ph.D
Pol Sci
1994

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Robert Hall

ROBERT HALL

16 May, 1994
Date

5. Access to, and copying of, thesis

The thesis copy lodged in the University Library shall be made available by the University for consultation but, for a period of two years after the thesis is lodged, it shall not be made available for loan or photocopying without the written consent of the author and in accordance with the laws of copyright.

After a thesis has been examined the following authority will apply. Please complete your request, and sign below.

- (i) I agree/~~do not agree~~ that the thesis may be made available for loan.
- (ii) I agree/~~do not agree~~ that the thesis may be made available for photocopying.
- (iii) I note that my consent is required only to cover the two-year period following approval of my thesis for the award of my degree. After this, access to the Library copy will be subject only to any general restrictions laid down in Library regulations.

Signed:

Robert Hall

Date:

16-5-94

Lodged in Morris Miller Central Library: / / 198..... from which date the two years embargo will apply.

ABSTRACT

This study assesses the role of political leadership in international regime formation. It is argued that political leadership is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the success of efforts to reach agreement through processes of institutional bargaining that dominate attempts to form regimes in international society. The theoretical work of Oran Young has drawn attention to the issue of leadership in the formation of international regimes. This study has sought to test ideas, derived from his work, in the context of the international regime regulating human activities in Antarctica which was established under the terms of the Antarctic Treaty of 1959.

Based largely on the analysis of recently released government archival material, this case study contrasts the failed attempt to form an Antarctic regime in the late 1940s and early 1950s with the success of efforts in the late 1950s. Indeed, the failure of the efforts undertaken in the earlier period to solve what was known as the Antarctic Problem provides a near experimental condition (or relevant counterfactual) to compare with the success of the efforts which culminated in the signing and ratification of the 1959 Treaty.

This thesis confirms Young's hypothesis that political leadership is a multidimensional phenomenon which plays a critical role in regime formation. While leadership was present in both attempts to form an Antarctic regime, the emergence of intellectual leadership in the late 1940s was not complemented by structural or significant entrepreneurial leadership to overcome or circumvent prenegotiation problems. In the later, successful attempt, the ideas generated and proposed through intellectual leadership in the earlier period were complemented with entrepreneurial leadership and structural leadership that were crucial in overcoming extant prenegotiation and other institutional bargaining problems. Thus, the case study suggests that entrepreneurial, structural and intellectual forms of leadership are necessary for regime formation to occur.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A number of people have provided help, encouragement and support to me in the research and writing of this thesis. I would like to record my appreciation to Dr. Richard Herr of the Department of Political Science at the University of Tasmania who supervised this project. I am particularly grateful to Richard for the combination of thoughtful guidance and enthusiastic support which he provided throughout the whole period of my candidature. I also benefitted from the assistance of Dr. Bruce Davis of the Institute of Antarctic and Southern Ocean Studies at the University of Tasmania who commented on drafts of this work and offered continual encouragement to complete it.

Along the way, I benefitted, too, from the assistance of many others. For archival material, my thanks go to Angela Greig, Gillian Redmond and Mark Wagland at Australian Archives, Canberra; to David Haight at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas; and to Marjorie Ciarlante and Dane Hartgrove at the United States National Archives, Washington, D.C. For financial support and facilities, I thank the Department of Political Science at the University of Tasmania; the Australian Department of Industry, Technology and Regional Development and the Australian Antarctic Science Advisory Committee.

I am also grateful to Marcus Haward for his encouragement and the loan of his antique personal computer upon which this thesis was word-processed. Very special thanks go to Beverley Brill, John Rozentals and Sam Steven for their support and assistance in formatting the manuscript and to Mary Steven, Marilyn Scott and Graham Smith for their help in proof-reading.

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Map

PART I INTRODUCTION

1.	INTERNATIONAL REGIMES AND REGIME FORMATION	2
1.1	International Regimes	3
1.2	International Regime Developmental Processes	6
1.3	Institutional Bargaining	10
1.4	Leadership in Regime Formation	13
1.5	Regime Developmental Processes, Institutional Bargaining and Leadership - A Schema	21
1.6	Methodological Considerations	23
2.	THE ANTARCTIC TREATY AS A CASE STUDY OF REGIME FORMATION	27
2.1	The Antarctic Treaty and International Regime Formation	29
2.2	Further Methodological Considerations	32

PART II THE PROBLEM

3.	THE SOURCE AND EARLY NATURE OF THE ANTARCTIC PROBLEM	38
3.1	The Discovery and Exploration of Antarctica	39
3.2	The Initial Partition of Antarctica	42
3.3	The Further Partition of Antarctica	45
3.4	Challenges to the Partition	53
3.5	Conclusions	61
4.	THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION BEGINS . . . AND FALTERS	64
4.1	The Process of Prenegotiation	65
4.2	Toward a Turning Point in Antarctic Affairs	67
4.3	A Reassessment of U.S. Antarctic Policy and the Search for Options	69

4.4	Parameter Setting and Making a Commitment to Negotiate	79
4.5	An Agreement to Negotiate is Sought	80
4.6	Another Turning Point - Soviet Interest	84
4.7	The United States Tries Again	86
4.8	Further Escalation of the Antarctic Problem	89
4.9	Prenegotiation and Leadership	90
4.10	Conclusions	97

PART III BREACHING THE IMPASSE

5.	ANTARCTICA, THE I.G.Y. AND BEYOND	100
5.1	The International Geophysical Year	105
5.2	The I.G.Y. and Proposed Post-I.G.Y. Activity in Antarctica	110
5.3	Conclusions	116
6.	GETTING TO THE TABLE	119
6.1	The Reassessment of U.S. Antarctic Policy	119
6.2	The Search for Options Begins	124
6.3	"Old Commonwealth" Discussions	127
6.4	Four-Power Discussions	129
6.5	Further Developments	132
6.6	The Four-Power Discussions Resume	134
6.7	U.S. Department of State-Defense Department Meetings	135
6.8	Word Gets Out	137
6.9	The Firming of the U.S. Position	140
6.10	Making a Commitment to Negotiation	142
6.11	An Agreement to Negotiate is Sought	153
6.12	Conclusions	154

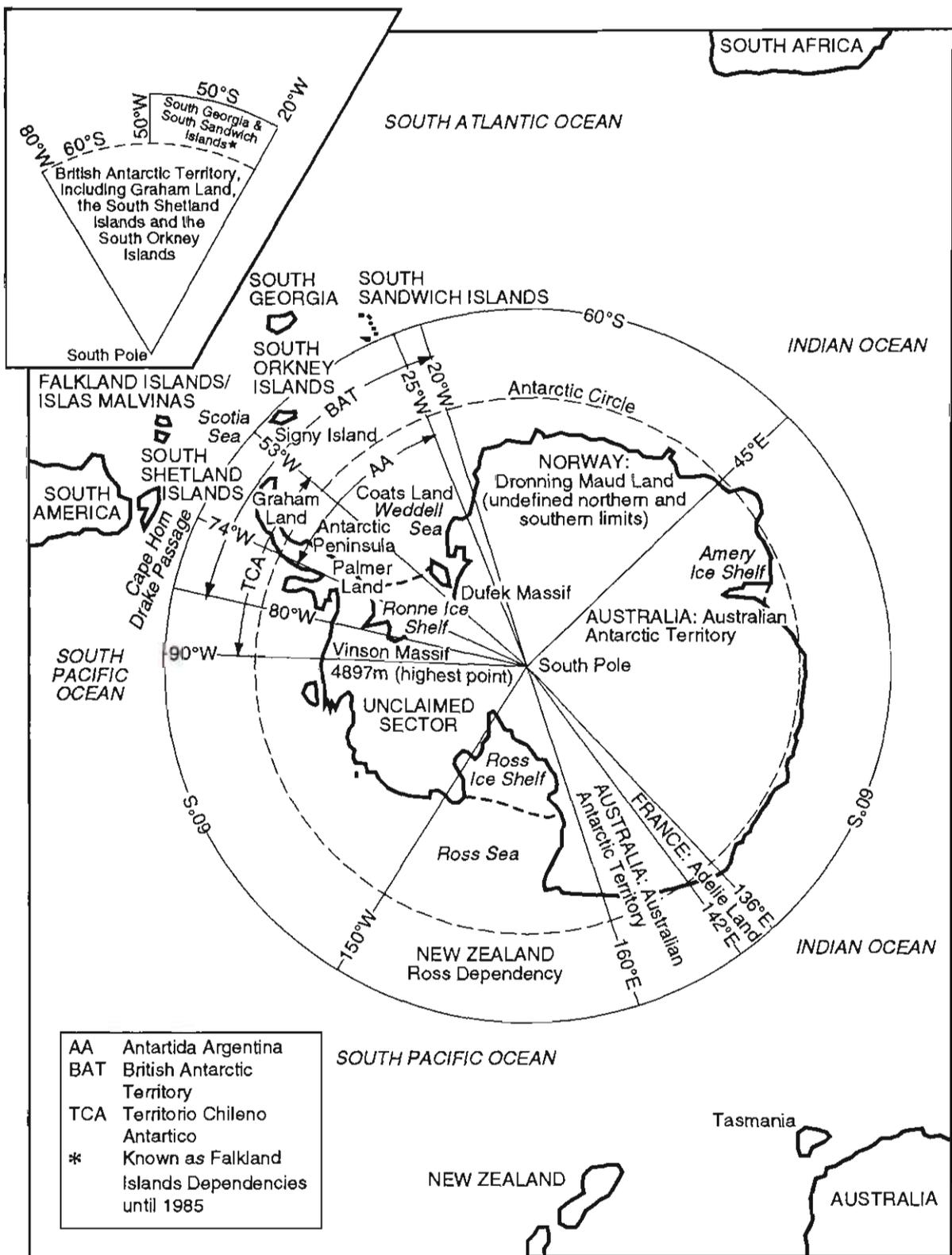
PART IV - AT THE TABLE

7.	NEGOTIATING THE ANTARCTIC TREATY: THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS	160
7.1	The Preparatory Meetings - Phase One	162
7.2	The Preparatory Meetings - Phase Two	167
7.3	The Preparatory Meetings - Phase Three	173
7.4	Away from the Table	178
7.5	Conclusions	183

8.	NEGOTIATING THE ANTARCTIC TREATY: THE CONFERENCE ON ANTARCTICA	185
8.1	Conference Structure and Rules of Procedure	188
8.2	Phase One - Committees I and II	190
8.3	Phase Two - Committee of the Whole and Heads of Delegation Meetings	202
8.4	Conclusions	217
8.5	Postscript: Ratification of the Treaty and its Entry into Force	219
9.	CONCLUSIONS	221
9.1	Assessing the Role of Leadership in Regime Formation	221
9.2	Implications for Theory and Practice	228
	APPENDIX	235
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	243

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAP

Map 1.	Antarctic Territorial Claims	ix
Figure 1.	Modes of "Significant Affecting"	15
Figure 2.	Regime Development Processes, Institutional Bargaining and Leadership - A Schema	22



Argentina	1943	25°W–74°W, south of 60°S
Australia	1933	45°E–136°E & 142°E–160°E, south of 60°S
Britain	1908, 1917	20°W–80°W, south of 60°S
Chile	1940	53°W–90°W, to South Pole (no northern limit)
France	1924	136°E–142°E, south of 60°S
New Zealand	1923	160°E–150°W, south of 60°S
Norway	1939	20°W–45°E (undefined northern/southern limits)

Map 1: Antarctic Territorial Claims

Source: P.J. Beck, *Why Study Antarctica?* (Kingston upon Thames: The APEX Centre, Kingston Polytechnic, 1991).