


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL TIMMONS  
FROM: AL HAIG   
SUBJECT: Arctic Policy

You recently forwarded to Dr. Kissinger a copy of a letter Senator Gravel wrote to the President on Arctic policy.

The Senator calls for a national policy statement on US interests in the Arctic. Moreover, he asks the President to assign to an appropriate policy staff group the job of producing an analytical study which would form the basis for an updated policy in the Arctic.

You should be aware that such a study has been underway within National Security Council channels and is now nearing final draft. The terms of reference for the study are classified, but in general they are parallel to the type of analysis Senator Gravel calls for in his letter.

We hope to have the Arctic policy study completed by 1 June 1971.

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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SECRET/SENSITIVE  
ATTACHMENT

April 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: ROBERT M. BEHR *RB*

SUBJECT: Arctic Policy

Bill Timmons has forwarded a letter (Tab B) he wrote to Senator Gravel in response to the Senator's letter (Tab C) to the President regarding Arctic policy. The correspondence was sent to Dr. Kissinger for his "consideration".

Although we have not been asked to draft a substantive reply to Senator Gravel, I believe that we should acquaint Bill Timmons with what is going on in the NSC channels with respect to Arctic policy. He can then use the information as he desires. The memorandum at Tab A will serve this purpose.

FYI: The terms of reference for the NSC Arctic Policy Study are at Tab D.

RECOMMENDATION:

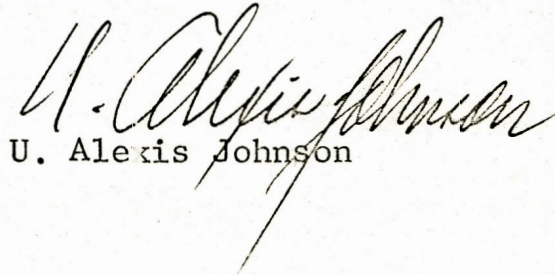
That you sign the memorandum at Tab A.

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-3-

work here on the problem and expect to hear from Cadieux not later than Monday. However, I think it also possible that Prime Minister Trudeau might telephone you.

  
U. Alexis Johnson

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

*Dispatched  
to the President  
March 22*  
ACTIONCONFIDENTIAL

March 22, 1970

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *AK*

SUBJECT: Canadian Legislation on the Arctic

In accordance with your March 17 telephone conversation with Prime Minister Trudeau, an interagency team from the Departments of State, Defense, Navy, Transportation, Interior, and Coast Guard visited Ottawa on March 20 to discuss this subject with the Canadians. The team met with State Secretary for External Affairs and Acting Prime Minister Sharp and two other Ministers, Trudeau being out of town.

Results of U. S. Team Visit

Some progress was made with the Canadians and there should be some helpful revisions made in the proposals the government is committed to make to Parliament next week. However, some objectionable features will undoubtedly remain, given the overwhelming political pressures on the Arctic pollution issue and nationalistic claims to the area's waters. The Canadians are very sensitive about its becoming known that they are discussing with us legislation being considered by the government before its presentation to the Parliament.

The tabling of legislation next week is only the first step, and our team believes the Canadians will handle the subject in a manner that will buy as much time as possible to work out a mutual solution. Our team proposed a Joint U. S. -Canadian Commission under which each country would enforce against its flag vessels mutually agreed regulations for operations in the Arctic. The Canadians felt that their political pressures would not let them accept a solution which would give the "big and powerful" United States such a strong voice in how they handle their Arctic waters. Talks centered around alternatives to this solution and various formulas for Canadian legislation.

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-2-

The Canadians are meeting further on this subject, and Ambassador Cadieux will be in touch with State by tomorrow. There is a chance that Prime Minister Trudeau might call you.

Suggested Talking Points for Possible Trudeau Call

1. You appreciate the reception of the U. S. team by Minister Sharp and his colleagues.
2. You understand that the talks were constructive, with a mutual recognition of problems.
3. You hope that further progress can be made toward solutions acceptable to both countries.
4. You understand that Ambassador Cadieux will be in touch with the State Department on this matter.

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retarint -

4/13

OBE - There was another <sup>later</sup> memo on  
this subject 4/11 (log # 9161) - also a  
new memo will be coming thru  
later today (4/13) on this subject.  
(9208)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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ACTION  
April 9, 1970

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Agace 9112  
H

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Helmut Sonnenfeldt *HS*

What is due to  
division? I need  
recommendation

SUBJECT: US Response to Canadian Legislation on Arctic

APR 13 1970

At an inter-agency meeting today at State, chaired by State's Legal Adviser Stevenson, consideration was given to what response the US should make to the introduction yesterday into the Canadian Parliament of proposed legislation dealing with a pollution zone in the Arctic, fisheries closing lines and the territorial sea. The rough estimate is that the legislation will be enacted prior to the June recess of the Canadian Parliament.

Though no conclusions were reached at the meeting, there seemed to be general agreement that there were two categories of measures open to the US, those that should be taken immediately and those that might be taken over a longer period (six months). Among the immediate steps which might be taken are:

- calling our Ambassador in Ottawa back to Washington for several days consultation;
- advising the Canadian Government that we wish to postpone consideration of dates for beginning bilateral talks on the common continental shelf;
- cancelling two scheduled meetings with the Canadians dealing with Arctic issues: a National Science Foundation meeting on pollution, and a Coast Guard meeting on navigational aides;
- announcement that we shall continue to send US submarines in submerged transit through the Arctic waters without prior notice to Canada.

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An additional immediate step considered at today's meeting was a statement to be issued by Secretary Rogers. The proposed statement would express the deep disappointment and concern of the US Government over the Canadian action. To put teeth into our protest, the statement notes that we expect shortly to call a major international conference designed to establish, by agreement, an international regime for controlling maritime pollution in the Arctic. Secondly, the statement issues an invitation to Canada to join with us in submitting to the International Court of Justice the dispute concerning the pollution zone and the fisheries closing lines, despite the reservation submitted yesterday by Canada to its acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction.

Stevenson is planning to discuss these immediate steps on Friday with Alex Johnson, and hopes that, after securing DOD's clearance, Secretary Rogers will issue the proposed statement on Monday. We do not know whether State intends to seek White House approval of these actions.

Preliminary consideration was also given at the meeting this afternoon to measures which are clearly punitive, and not directly related to the Arctic and law of the sea issues. These require further study and need not be implemented immediately. These measures include an alteration of the Joint Defense Production Sharing Agreement, removal of Canada's privileged status in our balance of payments programs, not liberalizing the Canadian oil import exemption, and closing Goose Bay Air Force Base.

I do not know the nature of any discussions you may have had on this subject with Alex Johnson. But, it does seem important to ensure that White House approval be sought before certain actions are taken, particularly any announcement of submarine transits, the call for an international conference, and the invitation to go to court with Canada.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you discuss this with Under Secretary Johnson before the weekend.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE 055408

85

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INFO OCT-01 AF-12 ARA-12 EA-10 EUR-20 NEA-13 RSC-01 IO-13  
 SCI-06 SS-20 NSC-10 SFW-02 INT-06 MSC-01 COM-08 E-15  
 DOT-12 OIC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07  
 NSAE-00 P-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 OST-01 /202 R

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DRAFTED BY: L/PMO:RNEUMAN  
 APPROVED BY: J-AMBASSADORJOHNSON  
 L-MR-STEVENSON  
 WHITE HOUSE-MR-DOWNEY(INFO)  
 EUR-MR-HILLENBRAND  
 S/S-MR-GLEYSTEEN  
 SCI/EN-MR-SALMON  
 IO-MR-GREENE  
 EUR/CAN-MR-SCOTT

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# Department of State

# TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 STATE 055408

USMISSION NATO  
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SUBJECT: PROPOSED ARCTIC CONFERENCE

1. ON APRIL 8 THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT TWO LEGISLATIVE BILLS DEALING WITH POLLUTION IN THE ARCTIC, FISHERIES AND THE LIMITS OF THE TERRITORIAL SEA. USG OPPOSES THIS LEGISLATIVE ACTION AS UNFOUNDED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. SECRETARY ROGERS WILL RELEASE DETAILED STATEMENT SETTING FORTH USG POSITION. STATEMENT WILL BE SENT SEPTTEL WHEN RELEASED.

2. MOST SERIOUS ASPECT OF LEGISLATION IS BILL WHICH SEEKS TO ESTABLISH POLLUTION ZONES IN ARCTIC WATERS UP TO 100 MILES FROM EVERY POINT OF CANADIAN COASTAL TERRITORY ABOVE THE 60TH PARALLEL. WITHIN THESE ZONES CANADA WOULD ASSERT RIGHT TO CONTROL SHIPPING, TO PRESCRIBE STANDARDS OF VESSEL CONSTRUCTION, NAVIGATION AND OPERATION, AND, IF NECESSARY, TO PROHIBIT FREE PASSAGE OF VESSELS IN THOSE WATERS.

3. CANADIAN LEGISLATION RUNS COUNTER TO USG VIEW THAT RULES AFFECTING NAVIGATION ON THE HIGH SEAS CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED BY MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT. USG SHARES CANADIAN CONCERN OVER POTENTIAL FOR OIL POLLUTION IN ARCTIC. MOREOVER, USG IS AWARE OF PECULIAR ECOLOGICAL NATURE OF ARCTIC REGION AND THE SPECIAL DANGERS OF OIL POLLUTION IN THAT AREA. PRIOR TO INTRODUCTION OF CANADIAN LEGISLATION, USG PROPOSED THAT CANADA ALONE OR CANADA WITH USG CALL IMMEDIATE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR THE WATERS AND ICE OF THE ARCTIC BEYOND NATIONAL JURISDICTION.

4. CANADA HAS MANIFESTED ITS VIEW THAT IT MUST ACT UNILATERALLY RATHER THAN WAIT FOR INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH NOT EXCLUDING SUBSEQUENT MULTILATERAL APPROACH. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES USG CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO MOVE AHEAD PROMPTLY TOWARDS MULTILATERAL CONFERENCE DESIGNED

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# Department of State

# TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 STATE 055408

TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR ARCTIC AREAS BEYOND NATIONAL JURISDICTION AND WILL URGE CANADA TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CONFERENCE. IT MIGHT BE ADVISABLE TO DIVIDE THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE INTO TWO SESSIONS, THE FIRST DEALING ESSENTIALLY WITH AGREED ANTI-POLLUTION REGULATIONS ON AN URGENT BASIS, WITH SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATION GIVEN TO OTHER ASPECTS OF THE REGIME. BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF FIRST SESSION, THE CONFERENCE WOULD APPOINT WORKING GROUPS TO STUDY POSSIBLE APPROACHES TO OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE ARCTIC REGIME TO BE CONSIDERED IN DETAIL BY THE SECOND SESSION.

5. REQUEST ADDRESSEES CONSULT URGENTLY WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS IN ORDER TO SOLICIT THEIR VIEWS REGARDING AUSPICES, AGENDA, TIMING AND PARTICIPATION OF PROPOSED CONFERENCE. PRELIMINARY USG PREFERENCE IS FOR EARLY CONFERENCE, PERHAPS FOURTH WEEK OF JUNE IN WASHINGTON, WITH INVITATIONS SENT TO ADDRESSEE GOVERNMENTS ON BASIS EITHER TERRITORIAL PRESENCE OR POTENTIAL USE OF ARCTIC WATERS. USG WOULD BE MOST PLEASED IF ADDRESSEES WOULD WISH TO JOIN IN THE CALL FOR THE CONFERENCE, AND WE SEEK HOST GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ASAP ON THIS POSSIBILITY.

6. EMBASSIES REQUESTED ADHERE CLOSELY TO TEXT OF THIS TELEGRAM IN MAKING PRESENTATION. IF EMBASSIES DEEM IT DESIRABLE, AS FOR EXAMPLE WHERE THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF A MISUNDERSTANDING, WE SUGGEST THAT THE RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THIS CABLE BE PRESENTED AS AN AIDE MEMOIRE.

7. FOR OTTAWA: EMBASSY SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF NOTE PRESENTED TO CANADIAN AMBASSADOR APRIL 14 AND TAILOR PRESENTATION TO THAT TEXT. ROGERS

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March 31, 1971

Dear Mike:

I would like to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to the President with which you enclosed your recent speech proposing a comprehensive national policy statement regarding the Arctic. Your letter will be brought to the President's attention as well as shared with those whose responsibility encompasses this area.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons  
Assistant to the President

Honorable Mike Gravel  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C.

bcc: w/inc to Dr. Kissinger - for your consideration  
bcc: w/inc to John Ehrlichman - for your consideration  
bcc: Kenneth BeLieu -FYI

WET:EF:VO:jas

ON 11 5 11 20

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 23, 1971

BT

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

For some time I have felt that we have needed a full national policy statement on U.S. interests in the Arctic (and the sub-arctic) and a comprehensive line agency program to go with it. Such a step would have several very real advantages, and the present timing would seem to be especially good. Indeed, had we done a thorough and explicit analysis of our national interest in the High North in the past, a number of the issues currently facing Alaska and the nation would likely be surrounded with less confusion and be more susceptible of solution -- for example, the oil pipeline permit, the settlement of the Alaska Native Land Claims, and the question of environmental protection responsibilities along the Northwest Passage.

Three general observations are the occasion for my proposal. One is that U.S. public and private activities in the Arctic have now reached a level of size, complexity and diversity with every prospect of acceleration that a comprehensive national policy statement and an integrated national program for the region seems entirely in order. A second is that given the present and prospective degree of federal involvement in the Arctic, a statement and program which knit together national concerns for the area would be especially helpful for agencies to pin their individual program and planning activities. Finally, the U.S. having a state in the Arctic (Alaska) presents the opportunity to capitalize on fresh international initiatives with other members of the circumpolar community in a region as yet relatively free from strife but ripe for cooperative ventures.

Earlier this month I set forth my proposal and the reasons for it in an address at Alaska Methodist University in Anchorage (copy enclosed). In this presentation I identified what I would see as the general elements of the analysis -- national security and political aspects, social and economic aspects, scientific and environmental aspects. I see the task as one of goal setting and then moving from this to a program for achievement commensurate

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
Page 2

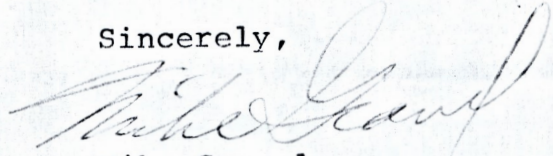
March 23, 1971

with relative urgency and to underpin this with a clear national policy statement by the Administration.

I urge that you consider giving the assignment I have outlined to the appropriate policy staff group for development and elaboration. Alternatively, the creation of a temporary Presidential Commission to produce the analysis might be desirable if the broad and balanced approach I envision could not be found in existing Administration machinery.

Your early attention to this proposal is respectfully requested.

Sincerely,



Mike Gravel

Behr 492 8285  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SECRET/SENSITIVE

April 15, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

CHAIRMAN, NSC UNDER SECRETARIES COMMITTEE

SUBJECT: United States Arctic Policy and Organizational  
Arrangements for Implementation

The President has expressed concern that there exists no coordinated United States policy on the Arctic and Arctic affairs.

In view of the critical need for an overall policy framework to preserve the environment of the North, to provide guidelines for decision-making on several issues of international concern, and to focus United States activities, longer-range interests and objectives in the Arctic, the President has directed that the NSC Under Secretaries Committee undertake a review of United States policy on the Arctic. This review should consider the political implications of United States policy, and explore all opportunities for international cooperation on Arctic matters. It should also include consideration of the necessary interagency coordinating mechanisms and budgetary implications.

For the purposes of this review, the Under Secretaries Committee should include the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and representatives of the Departments of Interior, Commerce, Health Education and Welfare, Transportation, the Office of Science and Technology, the National Science Foundation, the Bureau of the Budget.

The Committee's recommendations regarding United States Arctic policy and organizational arrangements for implementation should be forwarded to the President by or before May 18, 1970.

  
Henry A. Kissinger

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NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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SUBJECT: Ack Gen Brand's ltr and speech re comprehensive  
 natl policy statement on the Arctic

REFERENCE: S/S \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ NOT XEROXED \_\_\_\_\_

APP'TS: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ HAK \_\_\_\_\_ TALKER \_\_\_\_\_ MEMCON \_\_\_\_\_ DATE REQ. \_\_\_\_\_

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INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				ACTION REQUIRED	
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INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH \_\_\_\_\_ NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
 SEE LOG \_\_\_\_\_ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO  TO Truman  
 JOINED BY LOG \_\_\_\_\_ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)   
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WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

March 23, 1970

HAK:

Attached at Tab A is a copy of Alexis Johnson's memorandum to the President on his trip to Ottawa.

Last night, I gave you a copy of the summary memorandum we sent to the President on your behalf (Tab B).

You will note that we did not forward Johnson's memorandum to the President nor did we mention in your memorandum who was on the team.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a large, stylized letter 'B' enclosed within a circular scribble. A long horizontal line extends from the bottom right of the signature.

Al Haig

Attachments

8554  
HAK-FYI  
Action: Sonnenfeldt  
Info: Behr

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON

S/S 4396

March 21, 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Canadian Legislation on the Arctic

In accordance with your telephone conversation with Prime Minister Trudeau on March 17, I yesterday visited Ottawa and met all day, until late in the evening, with State Secretary for External Affairs and Acting Prime Minister Sharp (Trudeau was in Winnipeg for several days), and two other Canadian Ministers, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Chretien, and Donald MacDonald, President of the Privy Council and Government Leader in the House. Ambassador Cadieux and other senior Canadian Government officials were also present. I was accompanied by Under Secretary of the Navy Warner and senior representatives from DOD, DOT, Interior and the Chief Counsel of the Coast Guard.

In summary, I believe we have caused the Canadians to rethink, and undoubtedly to make some revisions in the proposals they are committed to make to Parliament next week. However, as it is quite clear they face overwhelming political pressures on the pollution issue in the Arctic and nationalistic claims to the waters in the area (this is clearly the present political issue in Canada), I am not sanguine that they will find it possible to eliminate all of those features that we find objectionable. However, the tabling of legislation next week is only the first step and I am satisfied that they intend to handle the matter in a manner that will buy as much

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-2-

time as possible for both of us to try to work out mutual solutions.

In addition to making the points contained in the "talking paper" attached to Secretary Rogers' memorandum of March 16 to you, I proposed to the Canadians the immediate formation of a Joint U.S.-Canadian Commission under which we would enforce against American flag vessels mutually agreed regulations for operations in the Arctic off both of our coasts. The Canadians would do the same with respect to their vessels. I pointed out that this would meet the immediate practical needs and also avoid the issue of principle for both countries while buying time to work out a wider international solution. While appreciating our effort to offer a constructive solution, the Canadian representatives felt that the political pressures they faced were such that they could not accept a solution which would appear to give the "big and powerful" U. S. such a strong voice in how they handle their Arctic waters.

Much of our discussion through the day revolved around various possible alternatives to this proposal, formulae for Canadian legislation, and other possible solutions.

The Canadians are very sensitive on its becoming known that they are discussing with us legislation being considered by the Government before its presentation to the Parliament. The Canadians themselves are meeting again today on the subject and plan to discuss the matter with the Prime Minister when he returns this afternoon. I offered to leave in Ottawa any members of my delegation that would be helpful, but Sharp suggested that we keep in touch through Ambassador Cadieux, who returned to Washington with me. I have promised to follow up work

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