

**INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE**

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**OBLIGATION TO NEGOTIATE ACCESS TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN  
(BOLIVIA v. CHILE)**

**MEMORIAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA**

**VOLUME II  
PART II  
(ANNEXES 116 – 233)**

**17 APRIL 2014**



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## **BILATERAL MECHANISM MINUTES**





**ANNEX 116: MINUTES OF THE I WORKING GROUP MEETING  
REGARDING THE BOLIVIAN-CHILEAN BILATERAL ISSUES  
OF 9 AUGUST 2005**

(La Paz - Bolivia)

[Extracts]

Republic of Bolivia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship

In accordance with the meeting of the Vice-Foreign Ministers held last June, the Working Group on Bilateral Issues reunited in La Paz, Republic of Bolivia, on 8 and 9 August 2005, for the purpose of exchanging proposals and forwarding in the establishment of a common broad, and without-exclusion agenda.

[...]

The Bolivian Delegation welcomed the Chilean Delegation and relieved their interest for the treatment of the agenda without exclusions, noting the search of agreements with the Chilean Party in the same sense.

[...]

The Bolivian Delegation stated that the Plan of Action agreed between both countries is an example of both countries' will to forward together, and since this perspective, they pointed that it constitutes a positive step in the reconciling

process of an agenda without exclusion with Chile, in which it approaches to record the maritime issue.

Signed in La Paz, on 9 August 2005

(Illegible signature)

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

FOR CHILE

**ANNEX 117: MINUTES OF THE XIV MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATION - BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
6 OCTOBER 2005**

[Extracts]

On this day the XIV Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile – Bolivia was held; chaired by the under-Secretary of the Chilean Minister of Foreign Relations, Mr. Cristián Barros and the vice- Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, Mr. Hernando Velasco. This meeting was preceded by the Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, which took place in the same city one day before.

[...]

**Institutional mechanisms for bilateral dialogue:**

The Parties simultaneously decided to institutionalize the Working Group on Bilateral Issues created last June on account of the usefulness that it has shown in the in the process of preparation for the Mechanism of Political Consultations established by both countries.

**United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea:**

In this regard and considering the interest expressed by Bolivia on the participation in activities of scientific marine investigation as well as of the surplus in the Exclusive Economic Zone of Chile, the Chilean Delegation expressed its disposition to continue making the internal consultations and the relevant evaluations pursuant to the provisions of the mentioned Convention.

**Maritime Issue:**

In the spirit of the Algarve Declaration of a bilateral agenda without exclusions, the Chilean Delegation took note of the approach formulated by the Bolivian Delegation with regard to the maritime issue, and agreed on the importance of keeping this issue in the mind for a future agenda.

[...]

These Minutes were subscribed in the city of Iquique on 6 October 2005.

(Illegible signature)

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

FOR BOLIVIA

**ANNEX 118: MINUTES OF THE XV MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATION BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
25 NOVEMBER 2006**

[Extracts]

The XV Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was held in Santiago on 25 November 2006. The delegations were headed by the under- Secretary of the Foreign Ministry of Chile, Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren and by the Bolivian vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Ambassador Mauricio Dorfler.

**Both delegations agreed on the fact that mutual trust is the base for dealing with all the items of the bilateral relation.**

In this atmosphere of willingness and constructive spirit, they considered and approved the content of the Minutes of the III Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues adopted in Santiago on 31 October.

**The delegations reviewed the open agenda (without exclusions):**

1. Development of Mutual Trust
2. Border integration
3. Free Transit
4. Physical Integration
5. Economic Complementation
6. Maritime Issue
7. Silala and Water Resources
8. Instruments to Fight Poverty
9. Security and Defense

10. Cooperation for the control of Illicit Drug Trafficking and Essential Chemicals Products and Precursors
11. Education, Science and Technology
12. Culture
13. Other issues

In this context both delegations paid attention to the following issues:

[...]

### **Maritime issue**

In the spirit of the wide bilateral agenda with no exclusions, both delegations exchanged criteria regarding the maritime issue and they agreed on the importance of continuing with this dialogue in constructive manner.

[...]

The Bolivian Delegation thanked for the hospitality at this meeting.

Santiago, 25 November 2006.

(Illegible signature)

**For the Chilean delegation**

(Illegible signature)

**For the Bolivian delegation**

**ANNEX 119: MINUTES OF THE XVI MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
18 MAY 2007**

[Extract]

The XVI Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Bolivia-Chile was held in the city of La Paz, Republic of Bolivia, on 18 May 2007 for the purpose of analysing and monitoring the progress of the 13 points Agenda, this common, wide and with no exclusions agenda, created by both countries.

The Bolivian Delegation was headed by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Ambassador Hugo Fernandez and the Chilean Delegation by the under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren.

This meeting was preceded by the IV Meeting of the Work Group on Bilateral Issues held on 17 May, whose conclusions were submitted to the consideration and approval of the Heads of the Delegations of both countries. The list of the delegations is annexed to the present Minutes.

The head of the Bolivian Delegation gave the warmest welcome to the Chilean representation and reiterated that the progress made in the 13 points of the bilateral Agenda has to be simultaneous because those issues constitute parts of a whole, in the search for solutions in the perspective of a wide and with no exclusions Agenda, towards the development of the process of integration and brotherhood of Bolivian and Chilean people.

The head of the Chilean Delegation thanked the welcome and noted that both countries have been going through a major road in a positive way and recalled that

ten months ago the both countries fixed the Agenda of the 13 points, and emphasized that the first point of the Agenda was precisely mutual trust. He emphasized the need to continue developing trust in the eyes of the public opinion of both countries and stated the importance managing the dialogue.

In order to provide adequate monitoring to the development of the Agenda of the 13 points both Delegations agreed to maintain an effective coordination for this purpose.

Both Delegations proceeded to the development of the meeting, having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting:

[...]

## **VI. Maritime Issue**

Both authorities agreed that under instructions of the Presidents and Foreign Ministers of both countries the analysis of the maritime issue remains be dealt, on this occasion, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia and to the Under-Secretary of Foreign Relations of Chile in the XVI Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultations.

Both delegations were pleased by the cordiality, frankness and depth, with which the dialogue was conducted and noted that there were important agreements in the analysis of the different aspects of this issue and that progress was made in the identification of the points of common and shared criteria, which the Foreign Ministers shall monitor.

[...]



Both authorities agreed that the next meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and the Working Group on Bilateral Issues will take place during the second half of the current year.

The Chilean under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs expressed on behalf of his Delegation the most sincere gratitude and appreciation for the hospitality received from the Bolivian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on occasion of these meetings.

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Hugo Fernandez

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and

Worship

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren

Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs



**ANNEX 120: MINUTES OF THE XVIII MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
17 JUNE 2008**

[Extracts]

The XVIII Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was held in the city of La Paz, Republic of Bolivia, on 17 June 2008 for the purpose of analysing and monitoring the progress of the Agenda of the 13 points, this common, wide and with no exclusions agenda, created by both countries.

The Delegation of Bolivia was headed by Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz, vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship and the Chilean Delegation was headed by the Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren Stork, under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

This meeting was preceded by the VI Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, held on 16 June, whose conclusions were submitted to consideration and approval of the Delegation Heads. The list of the Delegations of both countries is attached to these Minutes.

The head of the Bolivian Delegation gave the warmest welcome to the Chilean Delegation and expressed that relations have become more dynamic since the last meeting of the Mechanism which shows its energy. He noted that the Agenda of the 13 points guides the bilateral relation and that the progress of each of the points allows the progress of the whole of the Agenda.

The head of the Chilean Delegation thanked the warmest welcome to the Bolivian representation and emphasized and noted that one of the main priorities for the

Chilean foreign policy consisted in strengthening the bilateral relations with neighbouring countries, especially with Bolivia, through a full and inclusive Agenda without exclusions. He added that the current bilateral relations are fluid and are going through a very good moment, perception that was shared by the Governments of Bolivia and Chile.

In order to provide appropriate monitoring to the development of the Agenda of the 13 points, both Delegations agreed to maintain an effective coordination to that end.

Both Delegations moved on to the development of the meeting after having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting:

[...]

### **1. Development of the Mutual Trust**

Both Delegations reiterated their satisfaction for the several activities carried out by the Governments since the last meeting of the Mechanism and they coincided to continue supporting the development of meeting of different sector of the civil society in Bolivia and Chile that permit to deepen each time more in the development of the mutual trust, column that supports a better treatment of all the issues of the bilateral relation.

[...]

## **VI. Maritime Issue**

In the perspective to deepen dialogue on this issue, in accordance with the guidelines of the Governments concerned, and considering the existence of the important achievements of mutual trust, ideas and criteria on the specific way to address this issue as well as specific approaches in the field were exchanged.

Analysing the different options, they deepened those that are of short term. To advance in this analysis they accorded conducting the corresponding technical studies.

The vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs reiterated their assurance that through this process of dialogue, with a realistic and future perspective, they shall reach the necessary agreements.

The vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs agreed to give continuity to this dialogue, for which they considered it necessary to rely on their internal teams.

[...]

At the end of the meeting, the Delegations agreed that the next meetings of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and the Working Group for Bilateral Issues will take place in Chile, on a date to be agreed by diplomatic means.

The Chilean under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs expressed on behalf of his Delegation, the most sincere thanks and gratitude for the hospitality received from the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs on occasion of those meetings.

Done in La Paz, on 17 June 2008.

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Hugo Fernandez

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren

under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs And

Worship

**ANNEX 121: MINUTES OF THE XIX MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
21 NOVEMBER 2008**

[Extracts]

The XIX Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was held in the city of Santiago, Republic of Chile, on 21 November 2008 for the purpose of analysing and monitoring the progress of the 13 points Agenda, this common, wide and with no exclusions agenda, build by both countries.

The Chilean Delegation was headed by the under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren and the Bolivian Delegation was headed by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz.

This meeting was preceded by the VII Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, held on 20 November, whose conclusions were submitted to consideration and approval of the Heads of the Delegations, the list of the Delegations is annexed to the current Minutes.

The head of the Chilean Delegation gave the warmest welcome to the Bolivian representation and emphasized that to review twice a year the advance status of the different issues that are part of the bilateral Agenda is very positive, and that it constitutes an incentive for the work of this Working Group. Since the last meeting of this Mechanism in the city of La Paz, it was noted that they evidence important achievements in the bilateral Agenda, thus fulfilling the desire of our Governments to move forward in the process of approach between both nations.

The Head of the Bolivian Delegation thanked for the welcome and the reception of the Chilean Foreign Ministry and expressed to be certain that the work to be developed on this occasion will be productive and that the strengths that have been achieved in our bilateral relations that make the common Agenda will be evidenced. Additionally, he pointed out that the effective progress in certain issues will permit to conclude them and to incorporate new initiatives.

Both Delegations proceeded to the development of the meeting, having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting:

### **1. Development of the Mutual Trust**

Both Delegations reiterated their satisfaction for the several meetings of high level that occurred during the second semester of this year and they coincided to continue supporting the development of these activities, as well as others carried out by the civil society in Chile and Bolivia that permit to deepen each time more in the development of the mutual trust, column that supports a better treatment of all the issues of the bilateral relation.

[...]

## **VI. Maritime Issue**

The vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs continued to deepen the exchange of points of view on the maritime issue, emphasizing the will of the Governments to maintain the dialogue at this level, with the incorporation of the contributions provided by the corresponding technical teams.



It was agreed that there is a progress in the maritime issue, which is part of a process of mutual trust in which the countries are engaged, which must constitute the fundamental framework of their relations and of the construction of converging and shared interests that have the necessary internal support.

[...]

At the end of the meeting, the Delegations agreed that in the next meetings of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and the Working Group on Bilateral Issues will take place in Bolivia, on date to be agreed through diplomatic means.

The Bolivian vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship expressed in the name of its Delegation the most sincere thanks and gratitude for the hospitality received in occasion of these meetings, from the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Done in Santiago, on 21 November 2008.

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren  
Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz  
Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and  
Worship



**ANNEX 122: MINUTES OF THE XX MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
30 JUNE 2009**

[Extract]

The XX Meeting Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was celebrated in the city of La Paz, Plurinational State of Bolivia, on date 30 June, 2009 with the purpose to realize an analysis and monitoring of the progress of the 13 points Agenda, this agenda being wide and with no exclusions build by both countries.

The Delegation of Bolivia was headed by Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship and the Chilean Delegation was headed by the Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren Stork, under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

This meeting was preceded on 29 June, by the VIII Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, whose conclusions were submitted for consideration and approval of the Heads of Delegation. The list of the Delegations of both countries is attached to these Minutes.

The head of the Bolivian Delegation gave the warmest welcome to the Chilean representation in time to emphasize the progress in the last three years of constructive dialogue as well as the activities done in the first semester of 2009, which reflects the rapprochement between our nations.

The head of the Chilean Delegation thanked the warmest welcome to the Bolivian representation and emphasized the Agenda's richness, its systematization, as well

as the progress made since the last meeting of this Mechanism. Additionally, he took the opportunity to express its congratulations to Bolivia in commemoration of its Bicentennial.

Both Delegations proceed to the development of the meeting, having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting:

### **1. Development of the Mutual Trust**

Both Delegations reiterated their satisfaction for the several meetings of high level that occurred since the XIX Mechanism for Political Consultation and they coincided to continue supporting the development of these activities, as well as others carried out by the civil society in Bolivia and Chile that permit to deepen each time more in the development of the mutual trust.

[...]

### **6. Maritime Issue**

The vice-Ministers for Foreign Affairs exchanged points of view about the technical works made by each one of the teams with the intention to continue the development of the constructive and realistic approach, that are supported by the will of understanding and strengthening mutual trust shown by the Governments of Bolivian and Chile.

The vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized they will find the ways where these ideas must materialize through further consultations with their Governments and institutions involved. In this regard it was noted the consideration of diverse formulas to give continuity to address this topic, as well as new contributions from their work teams, considering an approach of integration between both countries.

[...]

At the end of the meeting, the Delegations agreed that the next meetings of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and the Working Group for Bilateral Issues will take place in Chile, on date to be agreed by diplomatic means.

The Chilean under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs expressed in the name of its Delegation, the most sincere thanks and gratitude by the hospitality on the part of the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Done in La Paz, on 30 June 2009.

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Hugo Fernandez

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and

Worship

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren

Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs



**ANNEX 123: MINUTES OF THE XXI MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BOLIVIA - CHILE,  
13 NOVEMBER 2009**

[Extract]

The XXI Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was held in the city of Santiago, Republic of Chile, on 13 November 2009 for the purpose of analysing and monitoring the progress of the Agenda of the thirteen issues; this common, wide and with no exclusions agenda, created by both countries.

The Chilean Delegation was headed by the under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren and the Bolivian Delegation was headed by the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship, Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz.

This meeting was preceded by the IX Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, held on 12 November, whose conclusions were submitted to the consideration and approval of the Heads of the Delegations. The list of the Delegations of both countries is attached to the current Minutes as Annex 1.

The head of the Chilean Delegation gave the warmest welcome to the Bolivian representation and emphasized the progress made in the last three years of constructive dialogue as well as the joint activities conducted during the second semester of 2009, which reflects the close ties between our peoples and the important level of mutual trust reached.

The head of the Bolivian Delegation thanked the warm welcome and expressed greetings on behalf of his delegation, as well as the optimism in the fact that this meeting shall be productive for both delegations. Along with executing a review on the bilateral link, emphasizing on the importance of exchanging criteria to promote, strengthen and consolidate the achievements reached within the framework of Agenda of the 13 points, an agenda which has been developed in a natural manner and which has energized relations between our Foreign Ministries. Having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting, both Delegations moved on to analyse it:

### **I. Development of Mutual Trust**

Both Delegations reiterated their satisfaction for the several high level meetings that have occurred since the XX Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and they agreed on continuing supporting the development of these activities, as well as others carried out by the civil society of both countries that allow to deepen the development of the mutual trust.

[...]

### **VI. Maritime Issue**

The vice-Ministers agreed to emphasize the importance of the process of dialogue performed up to date and emphasized the usefulness of the contributions that have been provided by the technical teams of both countries.

They also noted their conviction with regard to the need of continuing this process based on realistic and practical approaches, as a contribution to make real the



opportunities of integration and future cooperation which are offered to both countries, which would be useful to strengthen their bilateral ties.

[...]

After making an exhaustive review of the progress reached from 2006 up to date, and with a view to continue and to strengthen the development set forth in “the Agenda of the 13 points”, both Delegations agreed to define a Bilateral Working Group in charge of creating a project of Agreement for Strengthening Bilateral Relations between Bolivia and Chile, which systematizes the achievements of that Agenda.

At end of that meeting, both Delegations expressed their gratitude for the work developed, agreeing on holding the next meeting in June 2010, in the city of La Paz.

To close, the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia expressed on behalf of his Delegation, the most sincere thanks for the kindness and hospitality received from the Chilean Foreign Affairs Ministry on occasion of these meetings.

Done in Santiago, on 13 November 2000

FOR CHILE

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Alberto Van Klaveren  
Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs

FOR BOLIVIA

(Illegible signature)

Ambassador Hugo Fernandez Aráoz  
Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and  
Worship



**ANNEX 124: MINUTES OF THE XXII MEETING OF THE MECHANISM  
FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BOLIVIA – CHILE,  
14 JULY 2010**

[Extract]

The XXII Meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation Chile-Bolivia was held in the city of La Paz, Plurinational State of Bolivia, on date 12 to 14 July 2010 the purpose of analysing and monitoring the progress of the of 13 points, this common, wide and with no exclusions agenda, build by both countries.

The Delegation of Bolivia was headed by Ambassador Mónica Soriano López, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship and the Chilean Delegation was headed by Ambassador Fernando Schmidt Ariztía, under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

This meeting was preceded, by the X Meeting of the Working Group on Bilateral Issues, whose conclusions were submitted to consideration and approval of the Heads of Delegation. The list of the Delegations of both countries is attached to these Minutes.

The head of the Bolivian Delegation gave a warm welcome to under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Chile and to the Chilean Delegation accompanying her. She emphasized on the willingness of both Delegations, with the purpose to advance on the bilateral Agenda.

The head of the Chilean Delegation thanked the warm welcome, emphasizing on the constructive spirit and the interest to reach agreements in areas of mutual trust. He recalled the last meetings held by high level authorities of both countries and that have demonstrated the spirit of understanding and cooperation encouraging

them. The under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Chile expressed that he was sure that they will reach very positive results in benefit of both Parties in this meeting. Both Delegations proceeded to the development of the meeting, after having approved the methodology and the Agenda of the meeting:

### **I. Development of the Mutual Trust**

Both Delegations reiterated their satisfaction for the several high level meetings of that have been held since the XXI meeting of the Mechanism for Political Consultation and they agreed to continue supporting the development of these activities, as well as others carried out by the civil society in both countries which allow to deepen each time more in the development of the mutual trust.

[...]

### **VI. Maritime Issue**

The vice-Ministers for Foreign Affairs emphasized the importance of bilateral dialogue as a mechanism of understanding between the Governments of Bolivia and Chile.

Reaffirmed that this process reflects a Policy agreed between both governments, and given the high levels of mutual trust reached at this meeting, confirmed that they would maintain this atmosphere so as to encourage bilateral relations to cover the substantial issue of point 6 on the Agenda of 13 Points in this context, and further propose to reach concrete, feasible, and useful solutions in the next and successive meetings of the Mechanism of Political Consultation which benefit understanding and harmony between both countries.

[...]

To conclude the current meeting, both Delegations thanked for the work developed, for the coordination displayed and the planning of both Groups, as well as the high level organization, according their next meeting for November 2010, in the city of Arica.

When closing the Chilean under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs expressed on behalf of Chilean Delegation, the most sincere thanks for the cordiality and gratitude received on occasion of those meetings, from the Foreign Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Done in La Paz, on 14 July 2010.

FOR BOLIVIA (Illegible signature)  
Ambassador Mónica Soriano López  
Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs

FOR CHILE (Illegible signature)  
Ambassador Fernando Schmidt Ariztia  
Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs  
and Worship



## **NEWSPAPERS**





**ANNEX 125: “PRESIDENT ALESSANDRI EXPOSES THE GUIDELINES  
OF CHILE’S INTERNATIONAL POLICY”, *EL MERCURIO*,  
WEDNESDAY, 4 APRIL 1923**

[Extract]

Prime Magistrate’s Biography.-- His activity and his invariable optimism,--  
Sincerity and conciseness with which he expresses his point of view

The first results of the Pan-Americanism.-- Possibilities of cooperation  
between the League of Nations and the Pan-American Union

**THE FEELING OF AMERICA’S COUNTRIES ON MONROE DOCTRINE**

Chile confidently expects the arbitral award of Washington and looks at Bolivia’s  
port aspirations with sympathy.

**PRESIDENT LONGS FOR A BETTER SITUATION OF POPULAR  
CLASSES**

**Text of the statements reported by Mr. William Wills Davics**

**BUENOS AIRES 3.**-- Before my departure from Santiago, Mr. Alessandri granted me an interview in which he stated important declarations. The President discussed the international issues with great clearness and frankness which not only revealed his deep knowledge, but he also gave his declarations the nature of official statement.

[...]

Mister President, will be you ready to consider and satisfy the Bolivia's port aspirations?

Yes, Sir. In case the arbitral award which naturally will be inspired by justice and law, allows it, I am resolved to consider generously the aspirations of Bolivia, in the form and terms clearly and frequently posed in the Note of the Chilean Foreign Ministry addressed to the Bolivian Minister in Chile, on 6 February. "This will be a new and important contribution of my country to the situation of America, thus, legally we have no commitment with Bolivia. We have our relations wholly and definite solved by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 20 October 1904. The war with Bolivia finished with the Truce Pact of 4 April 1884, after long but easy negotiations. We abrogated that transitory pact, by the definite treaty above mentioned in which the peace and friendship relations between both Republics were resumed. It was acknowledge the perpetual and absolute dominium of Chile over the occupied territories, in accordance with the Truce Pact, the boundaries between both countries were determined; the proceedings for the demarcation commission, which should fixe the limits on the ground, were agreed.

Chile committed itself to build a railroad that links Arica to the Alto de La Paz which after some years, half of that railroad, had to become Bolivia's property. Chile committed itself to secure up to 5 per cent of interest on the capital Bolivia invests in the building of the railroads from Oyuni to Potosi, from Oruro to La Paz, from Oruro to La Paz via Cochabamba to Santa Cruz, from La Paz to the Beni Region and from Potosí via Sucre and from Lagunillas to Santa Cruz, for a term of 30 years. 30,000 pounds sterling were paid to Bolivia. Chile committed itself to pay and recognize the Bolivia's credits up to 6,000,000 gold pesos of 18 pennies.

Chile recognized Bolivia at perpetuity a free and wide commercial transit right through the Chilean territory and its Pacific ports: As well, Bolivia has been authorized to establish custom posts at the ports it chooses for trading purposes and it has been granted different commercial franchises.

This Treaty was highly beneficial to Bolivia and it granted free and perpetual access to the Pacific Ocean adjusted to the previous grounds that that country renounced to any Pacific port aspiration, and Chile, victor country, duly paid the territory ceded, furthermore the pecuniary obligation imposed to Chile which has been duly fulfilled, represent for this country about eight millions of sterling pounds cost.

Thus, the victor country expressing its desires of fraternity seeks strength and sincere amity with the defeated country. In fact it does not claim for a price for its victory and limits itself to [...] and pay for the territory that is ceded.

Notwithstanding what exposed, I repeat that in case the arbitral award of Washington allows it, Chile, who insists in its longing of contributing with its contingent to the tranquillity of America, I am resolved to consider generously the aspirations of Bolivia in the form and terms clearly and frequently posed the Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile, addressed to the Bolivian Minister in Chile, on 6 February.

The aspiration constitutes more than a feeling, than a necessity of that country. In fact, the 1904 Treaty secure a perpetual free trade through our ports, Bolivia exercises that right widely and without being impaired, through Arica, Antofagasta and through the Peruvian port of Mollendo, pointing out that due to the Bolivian natural features and landscape those ports could only serve the Bolivian Department of Potosi, Oruro and La Paz that represent perhaps only 20

per cent of the territory and of the production of Bolivia. The rest of the territory and its produce located to the west of the Andes has as natural outlet the Atlantic, through the Amazons River and the River of La Plata.

**ANNEX 126: “FOREIGN MINISTER SOLARES WELCOMED BY H.E.  
ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR OSTRIA GUTIERREZ”,  
*EL MERCURIO*, 9 NOVEMBER 1946**

**NOTE N° 263**

[Extracts]

**Accompanied by Ambassador  
Ostria Gutierrez**

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, Dr. Aniceto Solares, accompanied by Bolivian Ambassador to Santiago, Alberto Ostria Gutierrez was welcomed yesterday morning in an special meeting by the president of the Republic, Gabriel González Videla.

His Excellency, Mr. Solares, after the meeting was over, and when asked about the issues addressed, limited himself to saying that the conversation had been cordial and that he had had the best impression with regard to the determination with which H.E. President González Videla, whom he deemed as having “a new spirit and as being a great democrat”, faced the conduction of the relations between Chile and Bolivia.



**ANNEX 127: “MR. ENRIQUE HERTZOG, FORMER PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA,  
ARRIVED TO SANTIAGO YESTERDAY”, *EL ILUSTRADO*,  
23 DECEMBER 1949**

[Extract]

**THE DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC MAN OF THE *ALTIPLANO* TRAVELS  
AS AMBASSADOR OF HIS COUNTRY IN SPAIN.- THE GOVERNMENT  
OF CHILE DECLARES HIM OFFICIAL GUEST, AND DURING HIS  
STAY IN THE COUNTRY, HE WILL BE SUBJECT TO DIFFERENT  
CELEBRATIONS**

[...]

**VISIT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER**

Once the ceremony was completed, H.E. Enrique Hertzog accompanied by the Ambassador of his country will visit Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. German Riesco, together will go to the Presidency of the Republic to compliment the Head of the State, H.E. Gabriel Gonzales Videla.

**LUNCH AT THE PRESIDENCY**

Invited by His Excellency, the Head of the State of Bolivia will attend a lunch on his honour in the Palace of the Presidents of Chile, with the attendance of the Ministers of the State, Diplomatic Corps, representatives of the Public Powers and other well-known personalities.

[...]





**ANNEX 128: “JOINT COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN CHILE AND BOLIVIA”,  
*EL MERCURIO*, 16 MARCH 1974**

(Fragment of the Joint Communique between Presidents of Bolivia and Chile of March 15, 1974 in “Joint Communique between Chile and Bolivia”. *El Mercurio*, Santiago 16 March 1974. See also P. Carvajal Prado, *Charaña un acuerdo entre Chile y Bolivia y el tercero en discordia*, Arquen Editorial, 1994, p. 27)

[...]

By Eduardo Chaigneau, special envoy

BRASILIA- The Presidents of Chile and Bolivia signed here a Joint Declaration announcing the purpose of the Governments of both countries to negotiate the solution of “pending and fundamental issues”.

The brief declaration signed on behalf of Chile by President of the Government Board, General Augusto Pinochet, and by President of Bolivia Hugo Banzer, indicates that “within the protocol of the ceremonies of inauguration of the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Presidents of Bolivia and Chile had the opportunity to discuss about issues of interest for both countries. On these discussions – the declaration continues - the Presidents expressed their agreement to conduct negotiations, aimed at solving pending and fundamental issues for both nations”.

[...]



**ANNEX 129: "MEETING BETWEEN PINOCHET, MORALES AND BANZER",  
*EL MERCURIO*, 9 SEPTEMBER 1977**

(In, "Meeting of Pinochet, Morales and Banzer", *El Mercurio*, Santiago, 9  
September 1977, p. 14)

[Extract]

EL MERCURIO

Santiago de Chile, Friday 9 September 1977

Embassy of Chile:

Meeting held among Pinochet, Morales and Banzer

A Joint Declaration has been issued: decision to promote negotiations on the  
Bolivian land locked condition

Versions of international agencies on the place of the reunion

WASHINGTON.- (by Mario Oyarzun, special envoy)

-In a surprising meeting that lasted one hour at the Chilean Embassy, the  
Presidents of Chile, Peru and Bolivia decided to promote the solution to the  
landlocked condition affecting Bolivia.

Generals Augusto Pinochet, Francisco Morales and Hugo Banzer issued a joint  
declaration after holding dialogue from 17:30 to 18:30 at Ambassador Jorge  
Causas' home.

The Heads of State accorded that the meeting was extremely cordial and friendly and they expressed their satisfaction for the results of this encounter, which is the first one held at this level among the three countries.

It is also the first meeting held between Generals Pinochet and Morales Bermudez in their capacities as Presidents of their respective States.

The Heads of State conversed privately at first and then, the Chancellors of Chile, Vice-admiral Patricio Carvajal and of Peru, Jose de la Fuente joined them. The Under Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia did not travel to Washington because he is to replace the President while he is away from the country.

#### TEXT OF THE DECLARATION

The following is the text of the tripartite declaration submitted last night after the meeting among the Presidents of Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

“On occasion of the presence in Washington of the Heads of State of America to conduct the subscription of the treaties that have just been accorded between the Republics of Panama and the United States, and upon the initiative of Bolivia, the Heads of State of Bolivia, Chile and Peru met in this Capital city to consider the state of relations among their countries as well as the progress of the negotiations aiming at solving the Bolivian land locked condition.

[...]

As a result of the friendly and constructive analysis made, and reassuring the willingness of dialogue that encourages them, they agreed to instruct their respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs to continue their efforts to solve the aforementioned problem, inspired by ideas of cooperation, friendship and peace”.

[...]



**ANNEX 130: “URUGUAY: CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THE BOLIVIAN  
LANDLOCKED CONDITION HAVE BEEN ENGAGED”,  
*PRESENCIA*, 22 APRIL 1987**

[Extract]

**By SIXTO MARTINEZ**

**MONTEVIDEO, 21 (EFE)-** Nine years after the stagnation in the negotiation, today, BOLIVIA reiterated to Chile that it aims at a “useful, own and sovereign territorial strip”, that “generates mutual benefits” in order to secure its access to the sea.

The Foreign Ministers of Bolivia, Guillermo Bedregal and of Chile, Jaime del Valle, held their first official meeting since the rupture of diplomatic relations in 1978, on account of the failure of a negotiation on the same matter, at a hotel in Montevideo.

Bedregal submitted to Del Valle a “serious and viable” proposal in order to overcome the centennial problem of Bolivian landlocked situation that according to the Minister, constitutes the “fundamental objective of international policy” of its country.

The Bolivian Minister, in a speech addressed to the Chilean Delegation, stated that they “come to this meeting to negotiate with Chile a matter, which is vital, urgent” for its country.

Jaime del Valle affirmed, for his part, that “Chile arrives to this meeting with the best good faith, for the purpose of exploring possible formulas which can, in reasonable time, be positive and satisfactory for both countries’ interests.”

Bolivia lost its littoral after the defeat of its army in the Pacific War (1873-83), army allied of Peru which also had to give up territory.

Bolivia's proposal looks for "real and possible agreement" and puts an end to the "spiritual and factual circumstance which affects Bolivian development and which also cuts off the harmonious projection of our national communities", as well as "break the current stagnation". "We suggest a useful, continuous, sovereign strip of territory of its own, which dialectically generates factors of reciprocal interest for the parties concerned and which primarily does not fall into an abyss of conceptual separation that could threaten the solution to this issue", he added.

The Bolivian Minister stated that the proposal – now under examination of the Chilean Delegation- was inspired "in a life-giving, renewing, and deeply rooted in the new communitarian law of the Latin American".

"Development, peace and integration are the fundamental objectives which strengthen this will of approach between our countries", continued the Foreign Minister.

[...]

Peru, the third principal actor of the War of the Pacific which still vindicates its lost former territory - 58 years after the signature of the Treaty of Peace- "it is duly informed about all the steps that are being taken", an official Bolivian spokesperson declared to EFE.



**ANNEX 131: “BEDREGAL’S DISCLOSURES ABOUT PREVIOUS MEETINGS:  
CHILE KNEW THE DETAILS OF THE BOLIVIAN PROPOSAL”,  
*PRESENCIA*, 12 JUNE 1987**

*Foreign Minister Bedregal stated that, on two occasions, he submitted documents to his colleague, Jaime del Valle, whom he severely criticized for the interruption of negotiations on the sea issue.*

Bolivian Foreign Minister Guillermo Bedregal revealed yesterday that his Chilean colleague, Jaime del Valle, knew the details of the proposal that he had officially submitted to him, on 21 April, in Montevideo. He affirmed that, in an informal meeting he handed over a drawing detailing the corridor to Arica and that, on a second occasion, he handed over a document containing more details.

Bedregal’s disclosure had its origin in a declaration issued by del Valle, who held that the proposal was a “cold water bucket” every since the meeting in Montevideo. Notoriously annoyed, the Bolivian Foreign Minister stated that he wanted to correct the statements of the Chilean representative.

The following is the dialogue that Bedregal held with the press yesterday:

What is your view with regard to the attitude of the Bolivian people of complying with the official call for a minute of silence as a protest for the Chilean behaviour?

The human and patriotic content of an emotional magnitude is really worthy of the gentleness of the Bolivian people, of its casualties and of its history and I believe that this spiritual assurance, this silent protest, will reach all corners of the globe, where it will express the willingness that it is not just one man and

just one country looking for the reparation of an injustice and that reparation will come to be.

I would like to make a statement: I have read, with distaste, some statements issued by Foreign Minister del Valle and I want to rectify him as a man and also as a friend. I met Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle at Tenquendama hotel, in Bogota and at first I tried to assess what kind of a person he was and I do not think I may have been wrong. I have seen him as a gentleman, as a Latin American man, and, from the very beginning, I informed him, -I have even drawn it for him, on paper napkins-, about the Bolivian proposal before making the formula official in Montevideo. In New York, when leaving for the plane, I gave him a sealed envelope. I told him: Jaime, open this envelope once you are on the airplane, when you are heading to your nation, because it contains the merits of what Bolivia wants.

He has been a man who, in no way, can hold today that the proposal made in Montevideo was a bucket of cold water, because he could have stated that in Montevideo. The problem is that on account of his being a bricklayer of a totalitarian Government, he is a coward and I regret to say that, because I have respected him and I treated him with the courtesy of a Foreign Minister and not a simple puppet who had to be careful with fancy instructions that his lord may have been given him. I say this with a spirit of clarifying historical truth and, essentially, with a spirit of urging that human being, Jaime del Valle, to not be a coward.

The freshness of the proposal lays, firstly, in having established a bi-national commission of approach. Secondly, it lays in having established in the proposal, particularly on the territorial strip, an economically apt area which is more than just a deserted area. That economically apt zone was grounded in the

idea that the southern limit of the strip was to be the riverbed of Lluta River. This river, according to hydrological studies existing in Bolivia, could be increased at least a hundred times without affecting the ecology of the Altiplano which allows for the existence of fundamental grounds to give home to a town, to promote common development areas, bilateral enterprises and also to solve the critical issue affecting the city of Arica, which currently suffers from a lack of water supply.

The novelty and freshness of the approach lays in the fact that energy in the modern world is essential for all development. In that energetic aspect, besides waterfalls, gas was incorporated; an element which, according to Bolivian energy balance, we have in surplus.

We have also set forth the need of establishing a tri-national mechanism, in case they consent the consultation to Peru. All that is absolutely fresh, aiming at the twenty first century and not at former rancour from the war, of revenge; because it is sad to say that the language that Mr. Del Valle uses is similar to that of the satrapy of Mr. Koning, uttered at the beginning of the century.

The press has informed of retaliation against Bolivian people residing in Chile.

-I do not believe that to be evident. For retaliation there is retaliation. We have no information and I do not think that that rude edge is reached.

-Which are the measures that have been taken with regard to the Bolivian Consulate in Santiago?

We have de-ranked it and the Bolivian consul in Chile arrives this afternoon. We will leave the indispensable officials because, do not forget it, the Bolivian have legitimate rights in Chilean ports and though the Chilean territory which emerge from the Treaty of 1904.

In some specialized circles, it has been said that Chile has re- updated the so-called Portales' theory. What is your opinion?

I do not think that historical memory could mechanically be translated into a different political or historical circumstance. Evidently, there are positions which are a product of creating a doctrine in that country, but this is not the case. The issue is, merely, that Mr. Del Valle, must have been subject of a rampant action of reactionist sectors of that country and that he did not have the courage of acknowledging that he has negotiated with me, transparently and in good faith. He, regrettably, has given into the heat of what imposed by those who have a decision-making power greater than his will as a man and citizen.

**ANNEX 132: “CHILEAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER DOES NOT  
EXCLUDE A SOVEREIGN ACCESS TO THE SEA FOR BOLIVIA”,  
*EL UNIVERSAL*, 16 APRIL 2006**

**Source:** [http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/04/16/imp\\_int\\_ava\\_16A694221](http://www.eluniversal.com/2006/04/16/imp_int_ava_16A694221)

[Extract]

**El Universal (newspaper)**

Caracas, 16 April 2006

International

**Chilean Foreign Minister does not exclude the idea of a sovereign access to  
the sea for Bolivia**

**Santiago, Chile.-** The Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs Alejandro Foxley admitted, for the first time, the possibility that Bolivia be given a sovereign access to the sea through the north of Chile - in an interview published by the Chilean newspaper El Mercurio this Sunday.

“We do not exclude it as a possibility, no” said Foxley when asked about a possible sovereign access to the sea for Bolivia, informed FPA.

“I will not talk about the formula. We are studying and when the moment comes we will discuss it with the national politicians. We shall see if it is possible to find a formula with the counterpart” stated the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is the first time that Chile, through the Head of its diplomacy, accepts this possibility discarded in the last years since Bolivia intensified its maritime claim.

The Government of President Ricardo Lagos, which handed over the presidency to the President Michelle Bachelet offered Bolivia an access to the Pacific through the concession of a port with tax guarantees and facilities for its exports and imports.

[...]

Bolivia broke off diplomatic relations with Chile 28 years ago, when its conversations to secure an access to the sea failed, but Foxley stated with confidence that the ties shall renew with the next Government of Michelle Bachelet and the Bolivian administration of President Evo Morales.

“I believe it is possible because Chile very willing, and as I heard from President Morales, this is reciprocal” specified the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**ANNEX 133: “BOLIVIA WILL ENGAGE INTO BILATERAL DIALOGUE  
WITH CHILE”, *EL DIARIO*, 21 APRIL 2006**

[Extract]

**EL DIARIO,  
POLITICS (21 APRIL, 2006)**

**BOLIVIA WILL GO TO BILATERAL DIALOGUE WITH CHILE**

The President of the Republic, Evo Morales Ayma declared that Bolivia’s maritime reintegration will remain in the bilateral sphere in a scenario marked by the trust signs of both countries, but with a “low profile”.

He assured that he will not use the Bolivian claim as a political flag to “turn off social conflicts” and, in that context, he criticized former Presidents who used that excuse to avoid the attention to structural problems.

“We are going to bet for bilateralism, as long as relations with Chile are useful, and if there is no dialogue or if it does not work between our countries, we will have to appeal to multilateral dialogue”, declared the President in a press release with the Secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS).

[...]

## GRATITUDE

The President also emphasized the recent declarations of Chilean Foreign Minister Alejandro Foxley, who through a newspaper interview admitted the possibility to negotiate a sovereign access to the sea in favour of Bolivia.

“I am grateful for this great initiative (the Foxley statement), that way of outlining the topic, clearly and publicly, I received information from some authorities, some former Ministers, the former President (Ricardo) Lagos on the great interest to find peaceful solutions, through dialogue, through diplomacy”, added Morales

The Bolivian President also asked the hemispheric organism, in specific compliance with the Resolution approved on 18 November 1933, to contribute with the Bolivian-Chilean approach to initiate a process aimed at finding a solution to this border dispute that has been dragged for more than a century.

He also emphasized on the importance of the International community supporting this friendship process. Morales made reference to the statement of a sector of the Chilean people that asked for “sea for Bolivia” and he talked about people diplomacy and the need that the authorities listened and paid attention to the people’s voice.

Both Bolivia and Chile initiated a new stage in their relations in the last months, characterized by the singularity of their Governments. In the Bolivian case we have the first indigenous President; while Chile chose its first female president. Morales emphasized on this situation and declared that the women are “more sensitive” when it comes to analysing different situations and vindications.



In contrast to what happened in the last Governments the current administration will handle the maritime issue with responsibility and a “low profile”, and without any desire of confrontation, as what happened in some international forums.

[...]



**ANNEX 134: “THE OAS WILL NOT MEDIATE ON THE MARITIME  
CLAIM BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND CHILE”,**

***EL DIARIO, 21 APRIL 2006***

[Extract]

**EL DIARIO news – Politics**

**Politics (21 April 2006)**

OAS will not mediate between Bolivia and Chile on the maritime claim

The organism shall only conduct the dialogue between the two countries because it sees good conditions for it.

The General Secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS), Chilean José Miguel Insulza Salinas, expressed that the organism that he represents will not mediate, neither will it be the arbitrator between Bolivia and Chile on maritime claim.

Additionally, he stated that he will not call the two countries to meet and it shall depend on the conversations to be undertaken at Bolivian claim, because it is possible and there are optimal conditions so that Bolivia and Chile can outline a “direct dialogue”.

Rather, this international organism shall “accompany” the processes that both nations shall start with regard to the institutional resolutions it is established that this issue which is considered a hemispheric interest.

## **THERE ARE CONDITIONS**

However, the possibility of mediation is rejected in as much as both countries are sovereign in their decisions and must, consequently “met between them”.

Insulza, in a press conference with the President of the Republic Evo Morales Aima [sic], after a long meeting in which they addressed several issues -as the sea access and the support to the Constituent Assembly- expressed that there are conditions for a bilateral dialogue starting from the fact of the existence of new governments in both nations.

He added to this factor the willingness, readiness and conviction of the parties to dialogue on the agenda with no exclusions. Especially, he emphasized the view of President Evo Morales in the sense that “both countries need each other and can walk along, together firmly” overcoming all the problems and pending issues.

“I believe that with those elements, with that willingness, it is now necessary to have a direct dialogue; I believe there is a wide agenda for it. By the way, the OAS will see with enthusiasm and interest; but it is not its function to mediate in it, nor to make proposals, but it shall accompany dialogue with great enthusiasm”, he pondered.

[...]

## **OPENESS**

Meanwhile, Insulza emphasized the recent approaches that ended up in the openness of the neighbour Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alejandro Foxley to discuss a sovereign access in favour of Bolivia.

Insulza, who arrived to Bolivia at an express invitation of President Evo Morales, recognized the multilateral nature of the problem after admitting the validity and force of the resolutions of the hemispheric organism which, since 1979, exhort Bolivia and Chile to solve the dispute guided by the interest of the whole region.

“The OAS has considered, for a long time, this issue (the maritime reintegration) as of interest of the whole continent”, expressed Insulza Salinas, who before being a hemispheric representative was the Chilean Minister of the Interior and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the neighbour country.

However, he clarified that this “support” of the OAS does not have to do with the possibility of mediating in the process of dialogue that could solve this problem.

The President Morales Ayma held a three hours meeting with Insulza at the Palacio Quemado. In this encounter he addressed the agenda on Bolivia’s relation with the hemisphere, with emphasis on indigenous and Constituent Assembly.

The relations between Bolivia and Chile which, for 29 years, haven not reached the formal diplomatic stage, go through an expectative moment before restarting of formal approaches that could begin since May, with the installation of the join mechanism of political consultation, or further, in June in the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the South American Community that is to be held in Santiago.



**ANNEX 135: “CHILE AGREES TO INCLUDE THE BOLIVIA’S OUTLET  
ISSUE IN THE AGENDA”, *DIARIO LIBRE*, 18 JULY 2006**

**El DiarioLibre.com**

La Paz 18 July 2006

**Chile agreed to include the access to the sea for Bolivia in the Agenda**

La Paz. Chile agreed to include the Bolivian claim of the restitution of its access to the sea, for the first time in decades, in the bilateral work Agenda accorded today by the vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both countries, Mauricio Dorfler and Alberto Van Klaveren, respectively. The decision is reflected in a joint – communiqué issued in La Paz, at the end of the two days of meetings between the technical delegations presided by both government officials.

“We would like to talk about the maritime issue with Bolivia. We know how relevant it is for Bolivia” stated Van Klaveren in a press conference in the Bolivian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, after the meeting.

The authorities from Santiago had offered an agenda “without exclusions”, in the last months, but it is the first time that they are ready to discuss about the Bolivian territorial claim.

Bolivia and Chile do not have diplomatic relations at the Ambassador level since 1978 because of the vindication of La Paz to recover the access to the Pacific it lost in the war against Chilean troops at the end of the XIX century.

In the joint-communiqué, the vice-Foreign Ministers Dorfler and Van Klaveren claimed to have agreed “on making progress in the issues of mutual trust of both

countries within the framework of the wide and with no exclusions Agenda, supported by effective confidence building measures”.

“Among others, border integration, free transit, physical integration, maritime issue, the economic complementation, water resources” of the border are the “relevant issues” that Bolivians and Chileans people should discuss, from today, details the document.

The Chilean vice-Foreign Minister said that, as well as it is for Bolivia, the claim for an access to a maritime coast “is also an important issue” for Chile.

“What we are saying is that we are willing to hold this dialogue”, he said.

“He underlined that his Government is “fully aware of the commitment undertaken many years ago to engage in negotiations over an Agenda without exclusions with its Trans Andean neighbour. When asked if this agreement is a step towards the restitution of plain diplomatic relations between nations, he answered that Chile “is interested in developing the best relations possible with Bolivia.”

“We have always said that we are available for a diplomatic resumption or relations. This has been a permanent policy of Chile” an issue that was not discussed today.

Van Klareven foretold that the possible settlement of the pending issues between Chile and Bolivia “predicts a promissory future for the relationship” between the two neighbour countries.



“We are very glad to have agreed on a working program with Bolivia, which contains a number of issues which are of great importance for both countries, and that are going to benefit the citizens of the two countries”, he noted.

On the other hand, the Bolivian vice-Foreign Minister emphasized the importance to have closed a program of work with the Government of Santiago, after years of frustrated attempts by Chilean closed postures that there were no pending bilateral issues.

“What is important is that we finally concluded this stage of work that leads to an Agenda with no exclusions, common, a program of work in which all the relevant issues for each country will be incorporated”, he noted.

EFE



**ANNEX 136: “THE SURVEYS REFLECT THAT A HIGH PERCENTAGE  
OF THE CHILEANS DO NOT AGREE WITH THE PROPOSAL ‘SEA  
FOR BOLIVIA’”, *EL MERCURIO*, 24 JUNE 2007,  
PP. D18 AND D19**

[Extract]

**EL MERCURIO  
SUNDAY 24 JUNE 2007**

**Minister of Foreign Affairs Alejandro Foxley:**

**“The surveys show that a high percentage of the Chilean population  
disagrees with the proposal of ‘sea for Bolivia’**

[...]

**Diplomatic relations with Bolivia: “It depends on them”**

- At the OAS, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Garcia Belaunde declared that Peru is open to give an access to the sea to Bolivia in a zone of tripartite shared sovereignty in the area of Arica.

-With Bolivia we have defined an Agenda of 13 points and we affirmed that all of them are bilateral, not multilateral.

Is the “sea for Bolivia” included among those points? Yes, it is point 6.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Is Chile willing to give Bolivia a sovereign access to the sea?

We are providing to Bolivia an access to the sea through concrete measures as the habilitation of the Port of Iquique, besides the ports of Antofagasta and Arica.

What they want is sea, that Chavez's dream shall be fulfilled.

President Chavez recognized that this is a bilateral issue long time ago. Since this is a State Policy both for the President of Bolivia as for the President of Chile, it needs support agreed upon in the country.

Was not the support of Chileans enough when Evo Morales: the National stadium full of people screaming "Sea for Bolivia"?

There were people who thought that this was a request of all the people. Is not it?

We have surveys that reflect that unfortunately a high percentage of the Chilean population does not agree with the proposal, "sea for Bolivia", We do not want to set deadlines; we have an educational task at hand to explain to people that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century countries have to integrate genuinely, not only rhetorically.

Which possibilities are there for Chile to get full diplomatic relations with Bolivia?

It depends on them; they deem it is a topic to be addressed for the future.

[...]

**ANNEX 137: MEETING IN TARIJA: “GOVERNMENT DENIES THAT EVO  
MORALES HAS PROPOSED A FORMULA FOR ACCESS TO THE SEA”,  
*EL MERCURIO, CHILE, 25 JUNE 2007***

**EL MERCURIO**

**MONDAY 25 JUNE 2007**

**Tarija’s Meeting:**

**The Government denies that Evo Morales government has raised a formula on the access to the sea.**

**Heads of states only spoke of making the progress in the results of the agenda of the 13 points, as it was said**

Yesterday, The Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly denied that the Presidents of Chile and Bolivia, Michelle Bachelet and Evo Morales respectively had treated a formula to solve the maritime issue in the meeting that they held in the city of Tarija, Bolivia last 14 June.

High Ministerial sources in order to respond to the press releases that said that on occasion of this meeting, Morales gave to his Chilean counterpart a proposal for an access to sea without sovereignty.

“What Evo Morales said (to the Chilean President) in Tarija is that they must produce concrete results in the 13 points Agenda”, explained an official that had access to the details of the dialogue.

It was explained that the Minister of Foreign Affairs Alejandro Foxley mentioned on that occasion that they were working in enabling the port of Iquique, the Arica-La Paz railway, among other issues. “We did not address the maritime issue in terms of formulas nor was there a concrete proposal by President Morales, it was stated.

The Minister General Secretary of Government, Ricardo Lagos Weber also refuted those versions that he qualified as “speculations”.

According to the spokesman of La Moneda, “the agreements that we have with the Bolivian Government are reflected in the minutes of the meetings that have been kept on the 13 points of work that we have with Bolivia and of the meetings between Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, including, of course, the maritime the issue which is on the Agenda, but the proposal that has been mentioned there (in the publication) is a mere speculation.

The bilateral Agenda includes the maritime issue that is from interest of La Paz as point 6 of the agenda.

**ANNEX 138: “CHILE DENIES AGREEMENT WITH BOLIVIA BUT  
RESTATES ITS WILL FOR BILATERAL DIALOGUE”,  
*EUROPAPRESS.ES/INTERNATIONAL*,  
THURSDAY 10 AUGUST 2007**

Chile/Bolivia

**CHILE DENIES AGREEMENT WITH BOLIVIA BUT RESTATES ITS  
WILL FOR BILATERAL DIALOGUE**

SANTIAGO, 10 August (from the reporter of EUROPE PRESS, Claudia Riquelme).

The Chilean Government denied yesterday the existence of an agreement with Bolivia that allows this latter to recover its access to the sea which it has lost in the War of the Pacific on 1879.

The reaction of La Moneda comes after that the Government of Evo Morales dismissed the Bolivian Consul in Santiago, Roberto Finot, because he stated the existence of the denied agreement. Therefore, few hours after the announcement of the departure of the diplomatic, the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Choquehuanca, insisted in La Paz that Bolivia “As never before...is close to fulfilling its wish of returning to the coasts of Pacific Ocean” recover back its access to the Pacific”.

In Santiago, the vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alberto van Klaveren stated that “we cannot talk about an imminent agreement; there are positions here and the positions are quite known”.

“We have a complete dialogue with Bolivia, we have the Agenda of 13 Points on which we are making progress, and regarding the maritime issue, we have had very serious and productive conversations, but it is a dialogue”, stated the vice-Foreign Minister. However, he insisted in that “there are no hidden or secret formulas. It is simply a dialogue that keeps progressing at the pace it is able to progress”.



**ANNEX 139: “CHOQUEHUANCA: ‘BOLIVIA IS CLOSER TO THE  
PACIFIC COASTS THAN EVER”, *BOLPRESS*,  
8 AUGUST 2007**

[Extract]

The Government of Evo Morales dismissed Consul Roberto Finot because he made a statement in his personal capacity, stating that a solution to the landlocked condition was close. Today the Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Choquehuanca assured that Bolivia is “closer than ever to the coasts of the Pacific”.

“We have repeatedly announced that if we might have important and positive progress which should benefit us, they shall take us to the sea, and we are going to inform the media when timely. We will not make the negotiations through the media. As never before, Bolivia is close to fulfilling its wish of returning to the coasts of Pacific Ocean”, stated the Minister of Foreign Affairs after assuring that relations with Chile would not deteriorate because of Finot’s destitution and nor the bilateral dialogue of 13 Points between both countries.

[...]



**ANNEX 140: “THE BILATERAL MEETING ON THE AGENDA OF THE  
13 POINTS HAS NOT A NEW DATE. CHILE FREEZES MEETING  
WITH BOLIVIA”, *PAGINA SIETE*,  
26 NOVEMBER 2010**

Santiago suspended the Meeting of the Mechanism of Political Consultations of Bolivia-Chile which had to start on Sunday. The official version is a delay in the work of commissions.

The meeting of the Mechanism of Political Consultations of Bolivia-Chile, which deals with the bilateral agenda of the 13 points, was suspended without date by the decision of the Government of Santiago.

The news went from the Foreign Ministry and was confirmed by the Chilean Consulate in La Paz.

The Chilean Consul in La Paz, Jorge Canelas confirmed, on *Página Siete*, that the meeting was temporarily postponed.

“I want to clarify that the meeting has not been suspended, it has been postponed for a short time because the meeting needs more preparation. The meeting, which had to start the next week, had to be preceded by other meetings which could not be realized for different reasons. That is the only reason.”

[...]



**ANNEX 141: “INSULZA: IT IS TIME TO MAKE CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO  
BOLIVIA ON A SEA OUTLET”, *COOPERATIVA*,  
29 NOVEMBER 2010**

**Monday 29 November 2010**

**INSULZA: IT IS TIME TO MAKE CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO  
BOLIVIA ON ITS ACCESS TO THE SEA**

The General Secretary of the OAS said that the issue “has to be solved some time”.

However, he criticized the idea of Pablo Longueira to make a plebiscite on the solution before to reaching a bilateral agreement.

The General Secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS), José Miguel Insulza, said last Sunday on the Chilean National TVN that “it time” that Chile offers “concrete proposals” to Bolivia, in order to solve its centennial claim over the outlet to the sea.

“It is an issue that often comes up in Chile and that we have to solve one day. I do not know how it is going to be solved...I always said that it probably requires a certain almost of time to adjusting a solution, but the dialogue between Bolivia and Chile, has gone on for a much too long time and I think it is time to make concrete proposals”, he declared.

Insulza recalled that during his duties as a Minister of Foreign Affairs (from 1994 to 1999, during President Eduardo Frei’s Government) and when Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada was President of Bolivia (in his first term between 1993 and

1997) “there were several conversations - not secret, but neither public, which did not achieve any results. Probably there was not enough political willingness to solve it, or the two Presidents did not consider they had many alternatives. There was much progress made but finally it reached no agreement”, he said.

He was asked about the possibility to settle the issue by a plebiscite, as the Chilean Senator Pablo Longueira suggested, Insulza stated that this type of solutions has to be taken “when there is a political agreement that has been reached, which is the one to be submitted to a plebiscite. Things are submitted to plebiscites when they are reached through agreements, we do not start by the plebiscite”, he judged.

On the eve, the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs David Choquehuanca said that the Government of Evo Morales hopes to get “useful, concrete and feasible” proposals on the maritime claim in the meeting to be held next December by the vice- Foreign Ministers of both countries; Monica Soriano from Bolivia and Fernando Schimdt from Chile.

**ANNEX 142: “THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE BOLIVIAN ENCLAVE:  
‘ALTERNATIVES THAT DIVIDE THE COUNTRY ARE NOT  
BENEFICIAL’”, *CHILE-HOY.BLOGSPOT.COM*, MONDAY,  
6 DECEMBER 2010**

**Source:** [chile-hoy.blogspot.com](http://chile-hoy.blogspot.com)

6 December 2010

“Alternatives that imply dividing the country in two, we believe, are not alternatives which benefit Chile”, said Foreign Minister Alfredo Moreno when explaining the reasons that the Government of Sebastian Piñera wielded to discard, early this year, a coastal enclave for Bolivia which Bachelet and Morales had previously discussed as an alternative.

Yesterday, when asked about the mechanisms that his Government explores, Foreign Minister Moreno noted, in the interview of TVN that “we want to find all solutions that help provide a better access to the sea for Bolivia, but at all times looking out for Chile’s interests, and Chile’s interests will never be in something that could divide the country.

Since 2007, as La Tercera disclosed, Vice Ministers Alberto van Klaveren and Hugo Fernández worked on the alternative of a Bolivian enclave on the coastal territory of the first Region, more precisely, to the south of Camarones and to the north of Iquique. In mid-2009, Bolivia sent a technical team to that zone to see if the land fulfilled the conditions of this enclave, expressly manifesting its agreement to move forward on this mechanism. The Government of Bolivia asked

for about 4000 square kilometers of territory, a wharf for the exportation of minerals and the possibility to build an urban and touristic zone in that area.

In October 2009, upon the imminence of the shift of government in Chile, La Paz urged the Chilean Foreign Ministry to subscribe a minute in the progress made in the conversation on the maritime issue and the steps to be formalized in subsequent years would be recorded.

The minutes arrived to Santiago by late December, after the first presidential round. In that context, the Government of Bachelet decided not to sign the document and wait for the arrival of new authorities. In February, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mariano Fernández showed the minute to the Foreign Affairs team of the new government, who stopped the negotiations. The document, as sources of the current government note, was considered excessive. In Piñera's environment, it is held that the Head of State considered that the formula of an enclave could not be the definite solution to the Bolivian maritime aspiration, and that, on the contrary, it could become into a new dispute. In view of Piñera, the ideal solution to the Bolivian maritime issue is still a corridor north of Lluta River, which does not interrupt Chile's territorial continuity.

On that regard, the Head of the Chilean diplomacy although having refused to give details, reiterated that a formula of sovereignty for Bolivia was not on the table of discussion. "what we are looking for is to better its access to the sea and to look for all solutions that are possible to us, concrete to them and most importantly, useful ", said Moreno.



## Senators in La Paz

These new revelations emerge when the members of the commission of Foreign Affairs of the Senate are gathered in La Paz.

The parliamentarians will reunite today at 9 am with Foreign Minister Choquehuanca and then with their peers of the Bolivian congress, to conclude with a lunch with Alvaro Garcia Linera. In all these appointments, the Chilean delegation headed by Hernan Larrain hopes to address the maritime issue. “It is rational to keep looking for formulas while making progress in The Hague, but between Chile and Bolivia, without including Peru”, holds Senator Larrain.

Senator Eugenio Tuma said he was a supporter of “according the terms to give Bolivia access to the sea”. In the view of the parliamentarian, the only alternative is a corridor through the north of Arica. “to seek for transitional formulas, through enclaves and bailment, does not solve the fundamental problem”.

## Meeting in Paris

“we will spear all resources to defend Chile’s interests before The Hague”, said Minister Moreno after before traveling to Paris to attend the reunions of the team in charge of the defence for the maritime claim instituted by Peru.

Since Thursday, Chilean Agents, Alberto van Klaveren and Maria Teresa Infante are reunited with the Foreign lawyers hired by Chile, analysing the reply submitted by Peru in last November in reply to the Chilean counter memorial.

The reunion takes place in the offices of the Law Firm of French jurist, Pierre-Marie Dupuy. International experts, James Crawford, David Colson, Jan Paulsson and Luigi Condorelli were summoned to this meeting. This latter has just joined the Chilean defence.

**ANNEX 143: “BACHELET OFFERED BOLIVIA 28 KM”, *EL DEBER*,  
6 FEBRUARY 2011**

[Extracts]

[...]

The coastal enclave for Bolivia that the former President of Chile, Michele Bachelet and President Evo Morales accorded in “almost secret” negotiations between 2007 and 2009 had an extension of 28 kilometres although back then, they did not discuss sovereignty.

The former Bolivian Foreign Minister, Hugo Fernández, who headed the high level commission on the Bolivian end, disclosed the details of those negotiations, which were unknown until now, aiming at giving Bolivia access to the sea at an enclave located south of Camarones ravine and to the north of Iquique, in the province of Tarapaca.

He said that the formula “without sovereignty”, which was discussed in various work tables, drew the obligations of the 1929 Treaty, which provides that Chile was to consult Peru for the cession of territories which belonged to it before the War of the Pacific. More details on this approach were not disclosed.

Now, the man who headed the high level commission on the Bolivian end as Vice Foreign Minister of the Bolivian State talks from his home in La Paz about the details of that offer which was born from a Chilean protest which deserved the Bolivian counter proposal and which both countries debated within the framework of the Agenda of the 13 points which was subscribed in July 2006 and in which the maritime issue is included.

Fernandez recalls that the beginning of the negotiations with the Vice Foreign Ministry of Chile it was said that the proposal had to contemplate land to construct a city, an airport and roads, ports and a beach to sunbathe and make business.

“But there is something that the Bolivian people ought to know”, said the former authority, “we make it clear to Chile that whereas we were not going to discuss sovereignty at first, we will do it in the end. There is rule in diplomacy: nothing is accorded if everything is not accorded”, he said.

Fernandez recalls that when the “maritime issue” was addressed with Chile, he proposed “all solution must be seen in a school map. That is to say, nothing too small”.

“That is why”, says the Vice Foreign Minister, “in the proposal of the enclave, a grant of 28 kilometers of coastline was discussed“. ”An insignificant size for Chile but important for Bolivia”, as he said.

The affair was so serious that during the first semester of 2009 a delegation of three technicians of the Government of Bolivia secretly travelled to the province of Tarapaca to see in situ the features of the area that had been defined to negotiate. The Bolivians were accompanied by officials of the foreign ministry of Chile and the Direction of Boundaries and Limits.

Fernandez was not there because at that time he was a well-known person before the Chilean press, but he was monitoring the exercise. “The Technicians travelled in regular transportation, dressed as normal people, they were received

in Arica and they were then taken on a helicopter to the area of the enclave”, he recalls.

Fernandez says that there is a document in which the visit of the joint mission which conducted the specific study to then formulate it as a minute of possible solution is mentioned.

The draft of the Bolivian minute was revisited for its ratification while Piñera was taking office. But everything changed in February. Diplomatic sources of Chile note that the Foreign Ministry informed the new authorities about the joint declaration that Michelle Bachelet and Evo Morales attempted to signed and that the document was deemed as “excessive” by the representatives of President Piñera.

[...]



**ANNEX 144: “MORENO AND CHOQUEHUANCA MET THIS AFTERNOON  
IN LA PAZ”, *LA TERCERA*, 7 FEBRUARY 2011**

Moreno and Choquehuanca met in La Paz this afternoon.

“We will work hard, make efforts, so as to make progress on the issues we have with Bolivia”, declared the Chilean Foreign Minister.

La Tercera, 07/02/2011

The Foreign Ministers of Bolivia, David Choquehuanca, and of Chile, Alfredo Moreno, started a meeting in La Paz to address the Bolivian maritime claim, first meeting of this level to be held in this city in sixty years.

The Bolivian Foreign Minister announced that both Ministers and other two diplomatic officials met at noon for more than an hour and after that, they had lunch, before resuming dialogue with their respective commissions in the afternoon.

“I am glad to be here. “We will work hard, make efforts, so as to make progress on the issues we have with Bolivia”, said Moreno.

The Chilean delegation is also composed of Bilateral Directors, Pedro Suckel; Borders and Limits: Anselmo Pomés, and International Relations, Jorge Bunster; as well as technical advisers.

The Governments of Evo Morales and Sebastian Piñera are looking for a “useful, feasible and concrete” solution to the aspiration of Bolivia of access to the sea.

When asked about the declarations made by Former Vice Foreign Minister of Bolivia Hugo Fernandez, who had confirmed that former President Bachelet offered Bolivia an enclave of 28 kilometres of coastline, without sovereignty, located in the south of Camarones ravine and to the north of Iquique, Moreno stated that, “indeed, there have been conversations within the framework of what the former Minister of Foreign Affairs stated, but they were not sufficiently set so to be considered a formal offer”, he said.

Besides, the Chilean Foreign Minister explained that the idea was discarded by the Government because, “we considered that an enclave in the middle of our country, of that size, did not serve the interest of Chile.”

#### OBAMA’s visit

On the other hand, the Foreign Minister referred to the visit that President Barak Obama will pay to Bolivia. This visit could take place on 21 March.

On that regard, Moreno said that the United States Head of State “will make an important speech on the region”.

In that connection he said that “it is possible that both Presidents invest part of their time to address issues of the region and the world that are of interest to both countries”.

Minister Moreno also said, “we are pleased because he will be accompanied by his wife and daughters”.



**ANNEX 145: “EVO REQUEST CHILE TO SUBMIT A MARITIME PROPOSAL  
BEFORE 23 MARCH IN ORDER TO DISCUSS ABOUT IT”,  
*LOS TIEMPOS*, 17 FEBRUARY 2011**

Agency Efe 17/02/2011

La Paz

President Evo Morales urged his Chilean counterpart, Sebastian Piñera, to address a concrete proposal on the maritime claim of La Paz before 23 March, when the Bolivians remember that they lost a war against Chile in the XIX century, as well as their access to the Pacific sea.

Morales stated in a press conference that “it is about time that there are specific proposals so as to discuss them “now that both countries have established mutual trust and laid the foundations for a dialogue on the Bolivian claim of an access to the sea, and, for the first time, he set a deadline.

“It would be good to have a concrete proposal by 23 March. I take this opportunity to respectfully request the President, the Government, the Chilean people, and I will wait until 23 March for a specific proposal that may act as a basis for a discussion.” He added that “this would bring tremendous satisfaction for the Bolivian people”.

Morales stated that in the meetings held by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Choquehuanca and his Chilean counterpart Alfredo Moreno, in January, in Santiago and last week in La Paz, have been “grounds to move forward.”

132 years ago Bolivia lost her access to the Pacific in a war along with Peru against Chile, and on account of this fact diplomatic relations, at ambassadors' level, with Santiago have been broken off since 1962, except for a parenthesis between 1975 and 1978.

Each 23 March, Bolivia commemorates the defeat of its troops in the definitive battle of the conflict, the Calama defence, formerly Bolivian territory.

In 2006 Morales and the Chilean President, Michelle Bachelet, set an Agenda of the 13 points, which included the Bolivian maritime aspiration for the first time, and in which framework they have developed the bilateral dialogue in the last years.

The Bolivian Consul in Santiago, Walker San Miguel, said last weekend that “the most desirable would be to have written proposals” from Chile, because it is “the international diplomatic rule” that countries that reach trust standards put “the cards on the table” and they start a “negotiation process”.

Morales said that regardless of the maritime claim, Bolivian and Chile have to dialogue to complement themselves in several areas.

“We need them but they also need us. Perhaps we need more from them, perhaps they do not need too much from us, but in the end we need each other”, he stated.

Morales left in his Foreign Minister Choquehuanca “hands” the decision on the dismissal of San Miguel from the Consulate in Santiago in March to fulfil advisory functions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**ANNEX 146: “LAGOS REVEALS NEGOTIATIONS WITH BOLIVIA ABOUT  
THE SEA ISSUE AND FREI PROPOSES TO CEDE SOVEREIGNTY”,  
*LA TERCERA*, 14 OCTOBER 2011**

**LA TERCERA, Friday 14 October 2011**

**LAGOS REVEALS NEGOTIATIONS WITH BOLIVIA AND  
FREI PROPOSED TO SOVEREIGNTY**

The Chilean former President of the Socialist Party detailed the offer for a territory concession and spoke of dialogues he had held on the issue of sovereignty with the Bolivian former Presidents Sanchez de Losada [sic] y Mesa.

**By Phillip Durán**

“When I knew that (former President of Bolivia) Hugo Banzer was sick (in 2002) I talked with (his Vice-President) Jorge Quiroga and I told him that I wanted to go to his funeral. I wanted to express that I was willing to move forward with negotiations held with his successor”, said yesterday the former President Ricardo Lagos, who revealed some episodes of the maritime negotiation with La Paz during his Government.

Lagos took part in the presentation of the book entitled *Un futuro común Chile, Bolivia, Peru* by Sergio Bitar, in this presentation he also made displays the Senator and former President Eduardo Frei and the senator Hernán Larraín (UDI). In the text, Bitar proposes to give a sovereign corridor to La Paz (**see frame**)

When commenting on this approach, Senator Frei said that “a way to get something real (to solve the conflict) is to give a sovereign access to Bolivia in the north of Arica and with a territorial exchange”.

“We do not have to be very sharp, (Bolivia) will not settle with an enclave with no sovereignty” he added.

### **Negotiations**

During the presentation of the book and in front of an auditorium integrated among others by the under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Relations Fernando Schmidt and Peruvian Ambassador Carlos Pareja, Lagos also related a key dialogue he had with Banzer. His counterpart from La Paz at that moment proposed with “severity and simplicity” that he had “a problem”; he had to send 400 million dollars of natural gas through a gas pipeline to a Chilean port for export, but Chile will liquefy it there, increasing its value and Chile will be appearing to export 1500 million dollars.

“Easy I told him: I offer a concession for 50 years, renewable, we will register it, on behalf of Bolivia before the property register and then we will decide on the type of legislation we shall apply in that zone” added Lagos.

The Chilean former President talked about this concession not only with Banzer but also with his successor Quiroga. Later he also discussed it the third Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Losada [sic] four years after.

He explained that the Lagos’ idea was that the gas pipeline from Bolivia should cross near a similar one built by the mining company Inés de Collahuasi, at seven kilometers from the border with Peru. “To build the pipeline near would almost cost nothing”, said the former President.

But “Goni” as they called Sanchez de Losada [sic] in La Paz, decided that at the end of the corridor building a port was unfeasible. “I told him: let’s make the Geneva solution and he look at me for surprised, described Lagos, referring to the idea of a “direct access” from the corridor to the port of Arica, “as the one France has to its territory from the inside of the airport of Geneva.”

“Sanchez de Losada [sic] we continued dialoguing but the things got complicated inside and he told me “I need sovereignty”. I said to him that he needed to consult Peru. I do not know if he tried to crystallize it. Later, Carlos Mesa told me directly that he wanted sovereignty”, said Lagos.

Faced the strong demand that Mesa made in 2004 at the Monterrey Summit where Lagos replied with was an energetic offer of “diplomatic relations here and now”, the former President noted that he knew a little before that his homologous from La Paz introduced the issue. “Before the meeting I explained to George Bush that surely the issue would emerge and that it would be comparable to asking the U.S. to review the treaty through which Texas was annexed to the American territory. He understood immediately”, said Lagos referring to the past of Bush as Governor of that State.

### **Bitar proposal**

In his book launching yesterday, the former Minister Sergio Bitar proposes a “double” formula; first, an access with sovereignty for Bolivia, next to the border, preserving a border area between Chile and Peru, this, with a “highway on elevation or a tunnel” at the end of the corridor, all under condition of territorial exchange with La Paz; in second place, a free zone for Bolivia without sovereignty on the south of Camarones ravine.



**PRESS STATEMENTS AND PRESS RELEASE**





## **ANNEX 147: PRESS RELEASE OF BOLIVIA, 17 MARCH 1978**

(In, Secretariat General of Information of the Presidency, *La salida al mar: una necesidad imperiosa*, 1978)

### **BOLIVIA DECIDED TO SUSPEND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHILE**

1. Today, 17 March, the Government of the Force Armed of the National has decided to suspend diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of Chile, decision that has been just informed to the Representative of this country in Bolivia.

[...]

3. During these years, the Government of Bolivia has made strong efforts to find basic coincidences and fear terms aimed at finding a solution to the centennial Bolivia's landlocked situation.

[...]

5. Recent steps took at Bolivia's initiative aimed at sending an Ambassador in Special Mission to Santiago, also give evidence that the Government of Chile has left the essential commitment that historically explains the resuming of the dialogue, that was, at the same time, justified by the decision to put it into fundamental service for our sovereign return to the sea, thus being, totally distorted from its *raison d'être*.

To that effect, the confidential investigation, far from finding the required receptiveness to identify new factors which could give effective impact to the action of the Special Representatives, confirmed the existence of very disappointing positions, like the fact that Chile, beyond refusing to change any requirements contained in the document of 19 December 1975, had not made any effort, and did not consider that it had to make any effort to seek Peru's prior agreement, under the 1929 Protocol. This, obviously, as discussed in the statements of last 14 February, prevents to encourage the negotiations with real perspectives to conclude them in the practice.

6. Facing those facts and after exhausting all the instances and everything to do in order to persuade the Government of Chile to take attitudes that allow for guaranteeing evident advances towards the solution approached by Bolivia, the Government of the Armed Forces of the Nation considers as its duty to decide the suspension of diplomatic relations with that country due to, because of the noted antecedents, the same have lost, so long as Chile holds to its uncompromising stance, they have lost all meaning for the Bolivian people.

[...]

**ANNEX 148: PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS  
OF THE REPUBLICS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE,  
MONTEVIDEO, 23 APRIL 1987**

(In, Republic of Bolivia *Tricolor Historia y proyecciones de paz, desarrollo e integración del diferendo marítimo boliviano – chileno*, first edition, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, los amigos del libro editorial werner guttentag t. La Paz-Cochabamba, 1988)

**PRESS RELEASE**

From 21 to 23 April 1987, the Foreign Ministers of the Republics of Bolivia and Chile, H.E. Guillermo Bedregal and H. E. Jaime del Valle met in Montevideo, Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

Both Ministers had agreed on this meeting within the spirit of mutual approach that encourages their Governments, and for the purpose of knowing both countries' positions regarding the basic problem which concerns both countries.

The first meeting started with both Foreign Ministers' speeches, whose texts have been addressed to the press and on which the cordial and constructive willingness that inspires the Government of Chile and Bolivia is noted, as well as their common will to put their best efforts in seeking satisfactory solutions for both parties.

Consequently, His Excellency Foreign Minister of Bolivia made a speech on the approaches aimed at starting negotiations for seeking a solution to Bolivia's landlocked situation. Those approaches are embodied in two memorandums and two maps submitted, in that opportunity, to Minister del Valle.

The next day, the Chilean Delegation, for the exclusive purpose of clarifying and specifying the content and scope of the Bolivian approaches, and recording that that did not constitute a previous statement or opinion on the issue dealt with, formulated multiple questions to the Bolivian Delegation which are comprehended within an official record of 22 April which was submitted to the Bolivian Delegation.

Those questions were replied by Minister Bedregal in a document of the same date, also handed to the Chilean Delegation.

All the aforementioned documents, as well as, Minister Bedregal's statement, will be submitted by Minister del Valle to the consideration of Chile.
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At the end of the meeting, Excellences Foreign Ministers of Chile and Bolivia agreed on recording their gratitude to the distinguished Government of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, and namely, His Excellency, Foreign Minister, Mr. Enrique Iglesias, because of his fraternal hospitality and courtesies.

Montevideo, 23 April 1987

**ANNEX 149: PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF CHILE, 9 JUNE 1987**

(In, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, *Tricolor Historia y proyecciones de paz, desarrollo e integración del diferendo marítimo boliviano – chileno*, los amigos del libro editorial Werner Guttentag t. La Paz-Cochabamba, 1988)

Statement of the Foreign Minister of Chile: Under express instructions of H.E. the President of the Republic the Ministry of Foreign Affairs complies with its duty of informing the public opinion the following:

1. In the course of the past weeks, Foreign Minister del Valle completed a series of explanations aimed at explaining and considering the content of the proposal formulated by the Government of Bolivia with regard to its aspiration to a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. Among these meetings, the ones held with Honourable Board of Government, those held with the Major States of the Army and the Generals of Police of Chile, Ministers of State, former Foreign Ministers, business leaders, journalists and in general the representatives of different sectors of national life, can be noted.

2. After this intense stage of analysis, consultations and detailed information, within the spirit of seriousness and frankness which characterizes Chilean Foreign Policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs feels the responsibility to state that for Chile the merits of the proposal alluded to by Bolivia in both of its alternatives: i.e. the transfer of Chilean sovereign territory through a corridor to the north of Arica or enclaves throughout its coastline, are unacceptable.

3. Notwithstanding the aforementioned and consequent with the permanent will of approaching to the sister Republic of Bolivia, Chile understands that it can

collaborate with that country in seeking formulas that, without altering the territorial or maritime heritage of Chile, allow the creation of bilateral integration that effectively serves the development and well-being of the two peoples.

4. The Government of Chile has deemed as its duty to forward the reasons why it does not deem as just – with its silence and delay – to generate confusion in the national public opinion or to give place to false expectations to the Bolivian Government or people that time will frustrate.

Santiago, 9 June 1987

**ANNEX 150: PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE, 22 FEBRUARY 2000**

Republic of Bolivia

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship

**PRESS RELEASE**

[Extract]

1. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia and Chile met in Algarve, Portugal on 22 February 2000 to continue the dialogue that was started in Rio de Janeiro and La Habana in June and November 1999. They were accompanied by high officials from their Offices.

2. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs resolved to define a working agenda that will be formalized in the subsequent stages of dialogue and which includes, without any exception, the essential issues in the bilateral relationship; in the spirit of contributing to the establishment of a trusting atmosphere that should preside over this dialogue. The process achieved should be acknowledged by the new authorities of the Chilean Government to continue the discussions towards the establishment of that agenda.

3. On that occasion they addressed, with a clear constructive willingness and for the purpose indicated above, all the issues of main interest for both countries, with no exclusion.

4. The development of the dialogue will aim at overcoming the differences which have prevented the full integration between Bolivia and Chile, with the

firm purpose of searching and reaching solutions to the questions that affect its political and economical relations.

5. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs evidence the frank and friendly manner with which those meetings were held as well as the willingness of the parties to reaffirm the will to engage in the dialogue that has been launched.

La Paz, 23 February 2000



**ANNEX 151: PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES OF  
CHILE AND BOLIVIA, 27 FEBRUARY 2006. "REGARDING THE  
MEETING BETWEEN THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE REPUBLICS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE"**

[Extract]

Prior to the inaugural ceremony of the Paris Conference, the Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile held a bilateral meeting accompanied their respective delegations. Also both authorities addressed the following issues:

The Foreign Minister of Chile Ignacio Walker expressed the desire of the Government of Chile to build a future agenda to face past issues which are a result of the last five meetings, in which politics were established with regard to several issues; passports, no tax for the whole of the Bolivian products and he noted the existing atmosphere of dialogue. Likewise he expressed the desire of the Government of Chile to build a future agenda to face past issues.

On the other hand, he noted the necessity of dialogue continuity using an agenda without exclusions, which implies a gradual method involving full integration. Likewise, he noted the need to not begin a dialogue from zero because this fact had already complicated the efforts to reach full integration.

[...]

Finally he referred to the Visit of the President of the Republic of Bolivia, Evo Morales Ayma to the President of Chile investiture, highlighting the interest of the Government of his country to pay a Visit with a brotherly spirit between both nations.

Paris, 27 February 2006

**ANNEX 152: “CHILE’S POSITION IS FIRM, CLEAR AND FULLY  
SUPPORTED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW”, OFFICIAL  
WEBSITE OF GOVERNMENT OF CHILE,  
7 JUNE 2012**

**Source:** <http://www.gob.cl/destacados/2012/06/07/la-posicion-de-chile-es-firme-y-clara-plenamente-respaldada-por-el-derecho-intenacional.htm>

Accessed on the 07.19.2039:44 pm

**DECLARATION BY PIÑERA: “CHILE’S POSITION IS FIRM, CLEAR  
AND FULLY SUPPORTED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW”**

7 June 2012

Today in Antofagasta, President, Sebastián Piñera, referred to statements made by Presidents of Bolivia and Perú, Evo Morales and Ollanta Humala, respectively, about the borders between these countries and Chile.

On that regard, the Head of State added “the Chilean position is firm, clear and fully supported by international law, international treaties and the community of American countries”

Likewise, he stressed that "the Bolivian government must understand that treaties and agreements are there to be kept. Consequently, Chile will have the 1904 Treaty enforced and it shall always enforce it" In this context, he added that “within the framework of that treaty Chile reiterates, once again, its position of best willingness and disposition to advance through the paths of dialogue with

Bolivia, towards a higher integration and to search and find concrete, useful and feasible solutions for both countries”

[...]

**ANNEX 153: PRESIDENT PIÑERA RESPONDED TO EVO MORALES:  
“TREATIES ARE SIGNED TO ENFORCE THEM”, *OFFICIAL  
WEBSITE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE*, DECLARATION:  
27 SEPTEMBER 2012**

**Source:** <http://www.gob.cl/noticias/2012/09/27/presidente-pinera-respondio-a-evo-morales-los-tratados-se-firman-para-cumplirlos.htm>

27 September 2012

This morning during an activity in the region of Valparaíso, President, Sebastián Piñera, referred to statements made by the Bolivian President, Evo Morales on the Bolivian maritime aspiration at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

[...]

“And I would like to say to the Chilean people that not only does the Chilean President enforces treaties signed by Chile but he shall have them enforced and he shall defend our territory, our sea, our skies and our sovereignty with all the strength of the world”, he added.



## **COMMUNIQUÉS AND JOINTS-COMMUNIQUÉS**





**ANNEX 154: DECLARATION OF THE CHILEAN MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 7 JUNE 2011**

“Testimony of this positive atmosphere and these advances are statements that President Morales himself made up before 23 March, praising the bilateral dialogue process. Even the same day, 23 March, in an interview with a newspaper in Santiago, he stated that his speech to Chile “will be to continue building confidence”, and that “a problem of all these years, the maritime claim cannot be solved in short time.”

Facing a consultation to resort to an international court, President Evo Morales replied, as I say, on 23 March in the morning: “I do not think about it much.” Then suddenly the same day, the President of Bolivia in La Paz announced multilateration and the prosecution of his maritime claim, actually interrupting the dialogue and atmosphere of confidence achieved so far.

Bolivia’s claim to obtain a useful and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean through territories that are an integral and indivisible part of Chile and which were legally recognized by the 1904 Treaty, as was recorded in the new Constitution which I noted, unfortunately it is not possible or acceptable for my country and for the international legal order . Chile has clearly stated that it is not in a position to grant Bolivia a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, far less without a sort of compensation. There is not any example of other countries in the world that did something similar.

The territory of Chile, established over a hundred years ago, does not have to be divided. The realization of this claim by territories and whose dispute was

settled more than a century would disrupt the territorial continuity of Chile and affect consolidated and massive Chilean population areas.

Mr President, to conclude, I would say that what is required is a new effort to continue the dialogue, suddenly interrupted, as I pointed out, and re-focus it towards useful, feasible , specific, mutually rewarding solutions for Bolivian peoples, as Foreign Minister Choquehuanca has pointed. Only then we will find effective ways to benefit and progress our peoples. Any other way, seems to us, is useless and does not conduct to realize expected benefits.

Any settlement discussion regarding the Bolivian maritime aspiration must naturally be based on existing treaties and is a strictly bilateral issue and, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of this Organization. This is the same, as I said above, the OAS has indicated in every case of border disputes between any of the States.

On the other hand, to continue the path of the prosecution would imply that Chile would naturally present its case, and that international law and jurisprudence support him with clarity. Bolivia can follow that path, but those issues would naturally prosecute in the hands of the judges.

Chile has stated, and would like to reiterate its willingness to continue a dialogue to achieve, as pointed out mutually, acceptable solutions that involve benefits to both peoples, who look at the future and reflect the spirit of integration and solidarity which should prevail among nations that are sisters and neighbours. In that spirit, Chile has the best disposition for further exploration with Bolivia granting land and facilities to carry out the activities required and improve its maritime quality. Our position, otherwise we have said from the beginning clearly and publicly and corresponds to Bolivia decide the way. We have expressed our

position in a clear and public form since the beginning, and it corresponds to Bolivia to follow the path.

On our end, I take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate our invitation to advance together in the direction of mutual progress, based on the respect of our countries, the inviolability of the treaties we have agreed, and the search of agreements within the framework of an authentic integration, so that, since now, we commit all our efforts and our energy.”

Thank you so much.



**ANNEX 155: COMMUNIQUE N° 30-76 OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF PERU**

(In, *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores Embajador José De La  
Puente, 17 Julio de 1976-16 de Julio de 1978, 1978, pp. 26-29*)

[Extracts]

[...]

6. In the frame work of those backgrounds, the proposal that the Government of Peru has formulated to the Government of Chile, in as much as it considers that it collects the interests of Peru, Bolivian and Chile, is the following:

- a) The eventual sovereign cession to Bolivia of a corridor through the north of the province of Arica, parallel to the Línea de la Concordia, which shall start on the Bolivian - Chilean boundary and ends when reaching the Pan-American highway in the said province which unites the port of Arica with the city of Tacna. This transfer is subject to the condition detailed as follows.
- b) The establishment in the Province of Arica, following the corridor, of a territorial area under shared sovereignty of the three States; Peru, Bolivia and Chile located to the south of the Peruvian-Chilean boundary between the *Linea de la Concordia*, the Pan-American highway, the northern part area of the city of Arica and the coastal region of the Pacific Ocean.

7. The precedent condition enounced in point 6 b) which constitutes the fundamental grounds of the Peruvian proposal, complies with the conditions which are then required:

- a) Establishment of a tri-national port authority in the port of Arica;
- b) Granting Bolivia the right to build a port under its full sovereignty in accordance with the Peruvian interest to find a definitive, real and effective solution to the Bolivian landlocked status, for which it is important that the mentioned country have its own port;
- c) Bolivian sovereignty over the sea adjacent to the coast under shared sovereignty;
- d) The establishment by the three countries of an economic development zone in the territory under shared sovereignty, in which multilateral credit organization will be able to cooperate financially.

8. Consequently, the proposal that the Peruvian Government formulates to the Chilean Governments, shall serve as grounds for the prior agreement establishment under Article 1 of the additional Protocol to the 1929 Treaty and it has been submitted with the firm aim of finding the definitive solution to the landlocked condition affecting Bolivia.

9. The Peruvian proposal involves the full implementation of the pending clauses of the Treaty of Lima of 1929 and its additional Protocol and a guarantee to the respect of the servitudes that such Treaty established in favour of Peru.

10. All that is happening has been officially put into now ledge of the Bolivian Government, including the determined approaches related to the bilateral situations between both States, in the trust that this effort realized for Peru in pro of the Bolivian maritime aspiration shall contribute to solve this problem in a definitive manner and shall strengthen peace, friendship and cooperation between the peoples and governments of Peru, Bolivia and Chile. It should be noted also that such effort is inspired in the elevated aim of to promoting a solidary action aimed at encouraging the development of the region involved, which shall contribute also, to progress and welfare of its respective peoples.

11. In order for the public opinion to have a clear knowledge of the Peruvian proposal, a sketch is published in which the corridor that Chile should cede to Bolivian to the North of Arica is detailed. Similarly the location of the territorial area under the shared sovereignty between Peru, Bolivia and Chile, located also in the referred province of Arica is noted.

In synthesis the Peruvian initiative was inspired in the proposal of giving a solution based in a stable peace and in a realistic atmosphere and not in the mere legal figure that does not take account the geopolitical elements of security and the economic elements that secure its viability.





**ANNEX 156: COMMUNIQUÉ OF CHILEAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS, JAIME DEL VALLE, 14 JANUARY 1985**

(In, U. Figueroa, *La Demanda Marítima Boliviana en los  
Foros Internacionales*, 2007)

As Minister of Foreign Affairs I avoid referring to the declarations formulated by Mr. Gustavo Fernandez when leaving office as Bolivian Foreign Affairs Minister. Respecting those declarations I want to inform the public opinion that the Government of Chile did not undertake any commitments with Bolivia about fundamental aspects on the fulfilment of satisfy the maritime aspiration of that country.

In this connection, I reiterate once more that Chile does not have pending territorial disputes with the Republic of Bolivia; the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce subscribed in 1904 settled definitively that issue.

With no reduction to the meaning of the aforementioned, given the American spirit that inspires our Foreign Policy, the Government accepts the friendly proposal of the President of Colombia, His Excellency Belisario Betancur; on that the Bolivian and Chilean Foreign Affairs Ministers meet in Bogotá in order to agree formulas to achieve the fulfilment of Resolution 686, approved in the XIII OAS General Assembly of 1983 and which Chile subscribed with the corresponding reserves.

That encouragement allowed to concrete, in the 1984, various preparatory contacts aiming at agreeing on the scope of the scheduled meeting. In these negotiations it was determined that in the proceedings and steps to take ahead the Chilean-Bolivian conversations aiming at reaching the objectives referred in the

above paragraph were to be accorded in Bogotá. Among them, it was included a conference work in Buenos Aires.

Therefore, the interpretation and conditioning made know by the Bolivian official, deserve the following aid:

1. Any negotiation that could take place in relation to the maritime aspiration of Bolivia, should have a nature strictly bilateral, Chile refuses any attempt to make it multilateral.

2. The allusion found in the above mentioned Declaration of former Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernandez in stating to that “the negotiation aims at consolidating a permanent peace in the regions” constitutes in what refers to Chile, an unnecessary statement, since we are encouraged by an unbreakable will to pursue the strict compliance with Treaties and International Law.

3. The Government of Chile does not accept any type of condition prior to the beginning of the conversations with Bolivia, as Mr. Fernandez intends by pointing out eventual results established in advance.

4. Similar, the Chilean Government rejects considering the cession of any part of its territory without compensation fairly and duly agreed upon by the Parties.

5. In consequence, I shall meet in Bogota so long as the new Bolivian authorities state a constructive position and which respects what agreed in New York and Brasilia, with regard to the real objective of the meeting planned. We can only engage into a viable dialogue that way.

6. Finally, I wish to state, once again, the recognition of the people and Government of Chile to the Government of Colombia, for the interest shown to support the rapprochement between the two sister nations, offering its capital as site for the mentioned meeting.



**ANNEX 157: COMMUNIQUÉ OF CHILEAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS, JAIME DEL VALLE, 18 JANUARY 1985**

(In, U. Figueroa, *La Demanda Marítima Boliviana en los  
Foros Internacionales*, 2007)

[Extract]

In response to the friendly initiative of the President of Colombia, His Excellency, Belisario Betancur, a meeting between the Chilean and Bolivian Ministers of Foreign Affairs has been scheduled for 4 and 5 February to be held in the city of Bogotá.

Through the Communiqué issued on 14 January, the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs corrected the statements formulated by the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gustavo Fernandez, and detailed the real meaning which, after his having held several conversations with his Bolivian counterpart, had been accorded to assign to the meeting to be held in Bogotá. He also requested the authorities from the Government of La Paz for a statement on the nature and extent they assigned to the said meeting.

[...]

Under the current circumstances and in view of the lack of basic conditions required for a productive understanding with Bolivia, the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs is to decline his assistance to the aforementioned meeting in Bogotá.

18 January 1985



**ANNEX 158: COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE BOLIVIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN  
RELATIONS AND WORSHIP IN VIEW OF THE DECISION  
OF THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT OF NOT ATTENDING  
THE MEETING IN BOGOTA, 21 JANUARY 1985**

(In, U. Figueroa, *La Demanda Marítima Boliviana en los  
Foros Internacionales*, 2007)

[Extract]

Given the decision taken by the Chilean Government which breaks the commitment undertaken to participate in the meeting of Bogota on 4 and 5 February next, the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship declares:

1. The meeting of Bogota was to be held attending to a friendly invitation of the Colombian President, His Excellency Belisario Betancur, initiative that was taken with satisfaction and supported by member States the Organization of American States.

2. The conversations to solve the difficulties that divided Bolivian and Chile and to detail the proceedings and stages for the realization of these conversations were to formally start in such meeting. For the Bolivian Government it was always clear that the purpose of the conversations was this one and no other as the Chilean Government insinuates, forcing arguments and press reports.

3. The announced decision of the Chilean Government to not attend the meeting in Bogota breaches a process started with the greatest support of American countries and denotes a lack of willing of the current Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs to search for solutions to the issues that divide both countries.

[...]

21 January 1985





**ANNEX 159: JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF PRESIDENTS HUGO BANZER AND  
RICARDO LAGOS, 1 SEPTEMBER 2000**

(In, *Presencia*, La Paz, 2 September 2000)

**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF PRESIDENTS HUGO BANZER AND  
RICARDO LAGOS**

1. The Presidents of Bolivia and Chile, His Excellency Ricardo Lagos and his Excellency Hugo Banzer held a friendly conversation on occasion of the meeting of the South American Presidents in Brasilia. The Heads of States were accompanied by their respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

2. Both Presidents reiterated, the willingness of their Governments to engage in a dialogue on all issues concerning their bilateral relations, with no exclusions, for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of reciprocal trust, which allows for strengthening mutual relations on the basis of the framework and the positions held by both countries.

3. They decided, thus, to bring together the Ministers responsible of the areas of economic development, infrastructure, transport and energy of the respective countries, under the coordination of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, for the aim of examining the possibilities and mechanisms to put a program of integration and development into practice, to which other countries and organisms interested in its execution shall be invited to participate in the future.

4. They agreed, equally, to entrust to the existing mechanisms in the frame work of the bilateral relation – political consultations, agreements on economic complementation, boundaries committee, working group on technical and

scientific cooperation, and mixed illicit substances commission – to conduct an evaluation of the current situation and to propose the measures they deem as pertinent to make progress in the different issues.

5. The Presidents will evaluate the progress of the dialogue and the working of the initiatives mentioned above. To this end they will take occasion of the meetings of multilateral character to which they are usually summoned.

Brasilia, 1 September 2000

## **STATEMENTS BEFORE INTERNATIONAL FORUMS**



**ANNEX 160: STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATE OF CHILE AGUSTÍN EDWARDS, AT THE TWENTY SECOND PLENARY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 28 SEPTEMBER 1921**

[Extract]

**THE DISPUTE BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND CHILE**

[...]

M. Edwards, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. EDWARDS (Chile), *after addressing the Assembly in French*, said: I should like, on this occasion, to be allowed to make my own translation of what I have just said, not that I am in the least apprehensive that the official version would not reproduce my remarks with perfect accuracy, but from a desire to pay a compliment to the delegates from English - speaking peoples, and especially to the delegates from Great Britain, to which country I have been accredited for so many years as Minister Plenipotentiary .

It is with great satisfaction that we welcome the report of the Committee of jurists, of which the Assembly has just been informed, and according to which, in its present form, the request of Bolivia is not in order, because the Assembly of the League of Nations cannot, of itself, modify any treaty. The modification of treaties lies solely within the competence of the contracting States.

For the reasons adduced during the discussion of the agenda, we are persuaded that the Assembly is unanimously in agreement with the findings of the Committee of Jurists.

The invitation referred to in Article 19 of the Covenant, which contemplates only inapplicable treaties and international situations which endanger the peace of the world, cannot be given, because, as I had the honour to explain to this Assembly, the circumstances contemplated in that article do not exist.

Moreover, as I need hardly remind the Assembly, such an invitation could, in any case, only be given with the consent of the parties concerned.

But, if such an invitation can never be issued, Bolivia can seek satisfaction through the medium of direct negotiations of our own arranging. Chile has never closed that door to Bolivia, and I am in a position to state that nothing would please us better than to sit down with her and discuss the best means of facilitating her development. It is her friendship we desire. Our earnest wish is that she may be happy and prosperous. Lest it be thought otherwise, I may add that it is to our interest that she should be so, since she is our neighbour, and her prosperity can but conduce to our own.

But it is precisely because Chile has always been, and still is, conciliatory in her relations with Bolivia, that we cannot modify the attitude we have adopted from the outset in this matter.

If Chile were to accept an invitation from the Assembly, she would be helping to establish a precedent fraught with the most disastrous consequences for the League of Nations. The Assembly would find itself inevitably constrained to extend identical invitations to all the other States which have signed treaties of peace.

We hope the Assembly will see that Chile's attitude is dictated, above all, by her anxiety to parry a blow aimed at a principle essential to the existence of States and to the prestige of the League of Nations, which can only flourish provided it is not forced beyond the limits set for it by the Covenant.

One word more. Chile is not, and never has been, a warlike nation. Chile loves peace, and has always championed the cause of American fraternity. It is not necessary to remind you that the only treaty for the limitation of armaments that has ever been signed bears Chile's signature.

From this policy of peace and American brotherhood Chile will not swerve, for it is the outcome of our traditions, and it constitutes one of the brightest pages of our history.

(Applause)





**ANNEX 161: REPLY BY THE DELEGATE OF CHILE, AGUSTÍN EDWARDS,  
DURING THE TWENTY SECOND PLENARY MEETING OF THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 28 SEPTEMBER 1921**

[Extract]

**TWENTY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING  
THE DISPUTE BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND CHILE**

[...]

M. EDWARDS (Chile)

*Translation:*

In view of the Bolivian delegate's remarks, I am compelled to make the following statement:

The Bolivian delegation has considered it necessary to make a statement to the effect that it "reserves its rights." I trust we are right in thinking that this statement signifies that, in conformity with the opinion of the Jurist, who declare that "the modification of treaties lies solely within the competence of the contracting states," Bolivia has finally decided to exercise the only right it can assert: namely, the right of negotiations with Chile, not with a view to the revision of the Treaty of 1904, but, as I said before, to the consideration with Chile of the best means of furthering her development.

We find it impossible to believe that Bolivia intends, in making this reservation of right, to live definitely open, and to renew later, even in a different form, a request

which is devoid of any legal foundation. Such a reservation would not in reality constitute a reservation of her rights, but a reservation of her national obligation to respect the treaty of peace which has been in operation for seventeen years.

Further, this procedure, which consist in submitting successive and various request, and which cannot lead to a real understanding between the two countries, has but one object: the direct or indirect revision of a treaty of peace, which the Assembly is not competent to undertake.

Chile wishes to state that she will always oppose, as she opposes to-day, the inclusion in the agenda of the Assembly of any request of Bolivia with regard to a question upon which a ruling has already been given by a Committee of Jurist of high standing and complete impartiality, selected by the General Committee of the Assembly.

[...]

**ANNEX 162: STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF  
NATIONS ASSEMBLY'S HERMAN VAN KARNEBEEK, DURING THE  
TWENTY SECOND PLENARY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE  
OF NATIONS, 28 SEPTEMBER 1921**

[Extract]

**Twenty second Plenary Meeting**

**Wednesday, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1921**

President: M. van KARNEBEEK

[...]

**THE DISPUTE BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND CHILE**

[...]

The PRESIDENT

*Translation:*

Gentlemen, as the request presented by the Bolivia delegation has been withdrawn, the dispute can no longer be discussed here.

Permit me, however, in closing this debate, to say, on behalf of the whole Assembly, how heartily I concur in the view expressed by the distinguished head of the British delegation.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, we all agree that the statements we have just heard contain elements of promise which allow us to congratulate both delegations on the attitude they have to-day adopted towards the dispute which has divided them.

The Chilian [sic] delegate accepted the opinion of the Jurist, and, in language rightly applauded by the Assembly, he has expressed sentiments which open vistas in harmony with the spirit of the League of the Nations.

The Bolivian delegate has also loyally accepted the opinion of the Jurists on the legal scope of Article 19 of the Covenant; he has withdrawn his request, adding, at the same time, a reservation quite natural in itself, but which with trust will someday be merged into the advances made to Bolivia by Chile.

Under these circumstances, gentlemen, we have only two offer both governments our best wishes, and assure them of the sympathy with which we shall follow the joint efforts which they may see fit to make for the maintenance of good relations and the settlement of the dispute. (*Loud applause*)

## **ANNEX 163: STATEMENT OF THE CHILEAN ON 6 AUGUST 1975**

(In, J. GUMUCIO GRANIER, *El enclaustramiento marítimo de Bolivia en los foros del mundo*, Academia Boliviana de la Historia,  
Printed in Huellas S.R.L., p. 158)

“The Delegation of Chile attends the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Bolivia with a friendly feeling, formulating its best votes for the progress and welfare of its people. We share with jubilation this historic date which is also American and through which the political independence of the countries of South America finished....The Chilean Delegation agrees with the approval of the Declaration formulated by the Permanent Council on occasion of this Bolivian anniversary, and in doing so, reiterates the spirit of the Joint Declaration of Charaña, expressing, once more, its spirit of solidarity”.



**ANNEX 164: STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
CHILE SEBASTIÁN PIÑERA ECHENIQUE,  
22 SEPTEMBER 2011**

Thursday, 22 September 2011.

Statement before the Plenary of the UN

New York, 22 September 2011

Mr. President,

Secretary General,

Honourable Delegates,

First of all, I want to congratulate Mr. Ban Ki-Moon for his recent re-elections as Secretary General and His Excellency, Mr. President, for having been elected to lead this period of sessions.

[...]

To that respect, I would like to reiterate that there are no territorial issues pending between Chile and Bolivia. They were settled once and for all by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1904, that is to say, concluded more than 100 years ago. That treaty was validly traded more than twenty years after the conflict had finished between both countries; and besides, the parties proved it and their parliaments ratified it, and as Bolivia itself has recognized it.

The Treaty was the result of a free and consensual negotiation. Therefore, according to International Law, Chile as well as Bolivia have the right to respect and comply with it in good faith.

[...]

Thank you very much Mr. President, thank you ladies and gentlemen delegates.



## **JOINT DECLARATIONS AND DECLARATIONS**



**ANNEX 165: JOINT DECLARATION OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE SANTIAGO, 10 JUNE 1977**

On 8, 9 and 10 of June 1977, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of the Republic of Bolivia, General Oscar Adriázola Valda, paid an official visit to the Republic of Chile, attending to an invitation formulated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile, Don Patricio Carvajal Prado.

During his visit, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia was received in a special hearing by H.E. the President of the Republic, General Don Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, with whom he held a cordial exchange of views on matters of mutual interest.

The Foreign Minister of Bolivia visited, also, the Minister of National Defence, General of the Division Herman Brady Roche, with whom he held a frank and friendly dialogue.

During the negotiations held by both Foreign Ministers, on issues of a bilateral and multilateral order, they had the chance to analyse the progressive advance of the Bolivian- Chilean relations and they expressed their firm willingness to invigorate further the process of bringing closer all nature bonds between the two nations, with a view to laying the foundations of a common well-being, strengthening the friendship between the two peoples, and thus cooperate to making Latin American peace and solidarity more effective.

Moved by that spirit, as a result of their conversations, both Ministers accorded the following:

## **JOINT DECLARATION**

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Chile and Bolivia:

Reiterate the indeclinable adhesion of Chile and Bolivia to the principles of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States and they reassure their purpose of coordinating their actions in both organisms. Hence, they renew their adhesion to the principles of non-intervention, self-determination of the peoples, renunciation of threat or use of force and respect to the sovereignty of States.

They agree, therefore, on the application of the principle of peaceful solution to all international controversies and make vows so that existing problems or those which may exist in the Continent always have an adequate settlement through this means. Thus they express, at the same time, the great desirability that the mechanisms of peaceful solution to controversies reach a progressive improvement, at the universal system as well as the American-regional one, with the aim of invigorating the atmosphere of mutual respect, of through comprehension, and of reciprocal trust among States.

They express their decision of supporting the reforms of the OAS which have as their aim at revitalizing it and giving it more efficiency as instrument of security and continental cooperation.

Upon the situation of violence which moves the world, and specially, lately the Continent, with disregard to freedom, integrity and the life of human beings, outside every legal framework, they express their strongest disapproval and repudiation to terrorism as the most censurable way of violation of human rights.

They ratify the position formulated by developing countries at international organisms and forums, aimed at obtaining a reordering of the economic relations with developed nations on the basis of a constructive dialogue. In that connection, they note the importance of improving the conditions for access of products of developing countries to world markets. In agreement with these purposes, they highlight the importance of looking for formulas which allow for guaranteeing remunerative prices for the commodities, to whose effects they note that it is fundamental to eliminate actions which could distort the world market for the adequate commercialization of them. Likewise, they condemn all attempts of discrimination which may present at international financial organisms.

They express their trust in the fact that the Latin American Economic System will fulfil its aim of Latin American coordination, and that it will promote projects of interest for the region that contribute to its well-being.

They note that the dialogue established through the Declaration of Charaña corresponds to the effort of the two Governments of deepening and strengthening bilateral relations between Chile and Bolivia, through the seeking of concrete solutions for their respective issues, especially the one regarding the Bolivian landlocked situation.

In this connection, they note that pursuant to that spirit, negotiations have been engaged aiming at finding an effective solution that allows Bolivia to access the Pacific Ocean freely and with sovereignty.

Taking as a basis the constructive analysis that both Ministers made on the course of negotiations referring to the vital Bolivian issue, they resolve to deepen and activate dialogue, committing themselves to making everything possible so as to take this negotiation to a happy conclusion, as soon as possible.

Consequently, they reaffirm the need of continuing with the negotiations from their current status, aiming at reaching the objective they have undertaken, so as to consolidate the peaceful coexistence and the broad comprehension which may promote the understanding, as well as the coordinated development in the area.

They acknowledge the need of activating and promoting bilateral commercial exchange, on the basis of the effective use of new financial mechanisms which stimulate and facilitate the said exchange, within a framework of mutual balance and cooperation. To these ends, the Government of Chile offered a credit line of 10 million dollars destined to financing Chilean exports to Bolivia, of durable capital and consumption of goods, an offer which the Bolivian Government will submit to study by competent organisms.

They agree on holding, in 90 days, the first meeting of the Permanent Chilean-Bolivian Mixed Commission, installed in November the last year, with the purpose of providing a permanent conduit for the channelling of reciprocal interests and unobstructed and opportune treatment to the issues which may arise in the fields of economic and technological cooperation, physical integration and commercial and cultural development.

Finally, the Ministers express their purpose of maintaining a permanent dialogue aimed at achieving and coordinating matching positions, given that that will help promoting even further a fraternal approach between Chile and Bolivia.

Done in the city of Santiago, Chile, on 10 June 1977

PATRICIO CARVAJAL PRADO  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF CHILE

OSCAR ADRIÁZOLA VALDA  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
AND WORSHIP OF BOLIVIA





**ANNEX 166: “JOINT DECLARATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF  
BOLIVIA AND CHILE, NEWS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY  
OF CHILE, 7 FEBRUARY 2011**

On 7 February 2011, the second meeting of the Bi-national Commission of High Level was held in La Paz, Bolivia, led by Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile, David Choquehuanca and Alfredo Moreno. Such Commission also has as members Vice-Foreign Ministers and Mr. Rogel Mattos and Jorge Bunster, for Bolivia and Chile respectively.

Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile agreed on noting that this new instance of work is another expression of will which encourages both Governments to forward progressively and in a creative form in the construction of great complementarity and benefit of our peoples, that will permit us to create a bilateral relation of mutual enrichment, based on the respect, diversity and trust that we have been developing.

The High level Bi-national Commission examined the progress of the Agenda of the 13 Points, especially the maritime issue, water resources, the Arica-La Paz Railroad, the legal issues and economic development. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs have also set out future projects which, taking into account the sensitivity of both Governments, will aim at reaching results as soon as possible, on the basis of concrete, feasible, and useful proposals for the whole of the agenda.

Finally, both Ministers of Foreign Affairs agreed to work on arranging a future meeting between the Presidents of Bolivia and Chile, Evo Morales and Sebastian Piñera.

David Choquehuanca  
MINISTRO DE RELACIONES  
EXTERIORES DE BOLIVIA

Alfredo Moreno  
MINISTRO DE RELACIONES  
EXTERIORES DE CHILE

**ANNEX 167: DECLARATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC ON  
BOUNDARY ISSUES WITH BOLIVIA, GOVERNMENT OF CHILE,  
23 MARCH 2011**

**Source:** <http://www.gob.cl/discursos/2011/03/23/declaracion-del-presidente-de-la-republica-sobre-situacion-limitrofe-con-bolivia-2.htm>

Santiago, 23 March 2011

Statement by President of the Republic on the border dispute with Chile

The Treaty of 1904 validly signed and approved by Chile and Bolivia, 20 years after the signing of the Truce Pact of 1884, which clearly defined boundaries between both countries.

Consequently, Chile has no pending border disputes with Bolivia, all of them were clearly settled by that Treaty, which is fully in force.

[...]

Nevertheless, within the framework of respect for existing treaties between both countries and especially for Border Treaties, and according to the spirit of existing conversations, Chile confirms its willingness to bilateral dialogue in order to move forward in seeking to achieve concrete, useful and feasible solutions to both countries.



**ANNEX 168: DECLARATION OF MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE ANDRÉS ALLAMAND,  
30 MAY 2011**

Government of Chile

Ministry of Defence

Home, News

Minister Allamand: “Chile has prestigious, professional and prepared armed forces that are able to enforce international treaties and to appropriately protect Chile’s sovereignty and territorial integrity”

30 May 2011

[...]

He also urged Chileans to calmly see these Bolivian initiatives. Because “Chile has a great strength, first, on these issues is a very united country, secondly, all their positions are supported by international law, and finally, it has prestigious, professional and prepared armed forces that are able to enforce the treaties and to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.”

[...]



## **SPEECHES AND MESSAGES**





**ANNEX 169: SPEECH BY CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTER JAIME DEL  
VALLE PRONOUNCED ON 21 APRIL 1987**

(In, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, *Tricolor, Historia y proyecciones de paz, desarrollo e integración del diferendo marítimo*, Los Amigos del Libro, Ed. Werner Guttentag T, La Paz – Cochabamba, 1988)

[Extract]

[...]

It is about a matter that, as you have well emphasized, comprehends complex elements, which are important to analyse at detail.

My intention, as we have talked in last contacts held in different Latin-American capital cities last months, is not, on this occasion, to deepen the analysis of the approaches of form and substance that you were right to allege.

What I need to note, anyway, Minister, is the willingness and good faith with which Chile arrives at this meeting in order to explore possible formulas that may result, in a reasonable period of time, in positive and satisfactory outcomes to the benefit of both countries.

You are well aware that the Government of Chile has held constantly, in different places, that it considers that through the 1904 Treaty, negotiated and signed by Bolivians and Chileans, responsibly and respectfully, definitely established the boundaries between Chile and Bolivia.

The said bilateral instrument that has the title of 1904 “Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce”, established a legal status in the region, that

numerous Conventions and Agreements, signed since that time, recognized and confirmed.

It would be too long -and it is not my intention- to remember the numerous steps that our two countries have given throughout the years, which result in the establishment of an outline in which Chile has acknowledged in favour of Bolivia the right to the widest and free transit, embodied in the 1904 instrument.

The Americanist vocation of H.E. the President of the Republic caused him to string together the negotiations started under the Act of Charaña of February 1975.

[...]

As you may recall, the minutes subscribed, on that occasion, by the President of Chile and Bolivia embodied the commitment to move forward with the dialogue at different levels was expressly enshrined in order to find a formula for the many vital issues both countries faced, for instance, the one related to the landlocked status that affects Bolivia, within the framework of reciprocal benefit and also taking into account the aspirations of the Bolivian and Chilean people.

[...]

We have built together the subsequent stages, establishing in different scenarios a friendly and fraternal contact which allowed us attending this meeting and starting, what it could be, -that is our hope- a mature and sincere dialogue which, if it is properly conducted, could lead us to more crucial stages than the ones reached in previous negotiations.

Thanks [...]

**ANNEX 170: SPEECH BY BOLIVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER OF BOLIVIA  
GUILLERMO BEDREGAL, 21 APRIL 1987**

(In, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, *Tricolor, Historia y proyecciones de paz, desarrollo e integración del diferendo marítimo*, Los Amigos Del Libro, Ed. Werner Guttentag T, La Paz – Cochabamba, 1988)

“The Foreign Ministers of Chile and Bolivia attended this first official meeting which has a historical and transcendental nature, to establish in this capital city, Artigas’ land, a foundation for political and diplomatic negotiations that are mutually beneficial.

The presence of Bolivia at this meeting essentially reflects our testimony before Chile and the international Community, of the vocation that assists us to seek solutions to our problems by way of dialogue, understanding and brotherhood.

Chile and Bolivia were born to republican life within the framework of a common destiny, which is contained in the message of our liberators. The shared longing of our peoples to construct their future with projections to peace, well-being and development is also common.

The world is subject to rapid changes, most of them negative on account of the inequity of economic relations and of political powers which leave the mark we are to overcome. That is why it is imperative that our peoples work jointly and in solidarity.

Our countries are also heirs of a troubled history, hurt by violent traumas that have caused distancing, often war and consequently distrust. That history is not the best foundation to project of peace, integration and communitarian development and brotherhood.

We are certain that it is time to reunite ourselves, overcoming misunderstandings and obstacles that have divided us. We believe that the practice of confrontation, of disagreements and of irrational positions must end.

The Bolivian people come to this meeting to negotiate with Chile a matter, which is vital, urgent, and constitutes the primary purpose of international policy of my country. We have sincerely, in good faith and with no reserves considered the need and the means to look for a negotiated solution to the Bolivian maritime issue, in a life-giving, renewing, and deeply rooted in the new communitarian law of the Latin American atmosphere.

It is a proposal for looking for real and possible agreement with our counterpart that puts an end to the spiritual and factual circumstance which affects Bolivian development and which also cuts off the harmonious projection of our national communities to advance in history and break the current stagnation.

We have come here willing to negotiate a solution to the landlocked condition endured by our country and we firmly believe that this is the proper time to accord new initiatives which guarantee a frank and permanent understanding. We have traversed a path aimed at resolving existing differences, through a complete analysis of the issues that bond us, eliminating everything that separates us.

From the personal and informal encounters held with the attending Foreign Ministers we have achieved the creation of an atmosphere proper for understanding, reflection and dialogue which envisions the future as the common destiny of all Latin Americans.

The Bolivian delegation proposes the Government of Chile a serious and feasible, in our view, formula. We have made great efforts to place us in the perspective of our counterpart. We are respectful of freely consented international obligations, as well as fervent believers that American International Law is a living institution, ever able to be improved and to resolve our problems.

The concrete formula that we officially submit, on this occasion, to the Republic of Chile has taken into consideration the existence of legal orders between our countries as well as a Third neighbour State, intimately bond to our faith.

We deem our proposal as a fair ground of common interest, conceived to guarantee the success of this political and diplomatic negotiation which reflects the good will of our Governments. We suggest a useful, continuous, sovereign strip of territory of its own, which dialectically generates factors of reciprocal interest for the parties concerned and which primarily does not fall into an abyss of conceptual separation that could threaten the solution to this issue, which has been affecting our development for more than a century.

There are circumstances in the course of historical life, in which, on account of spiritual and rational greatness, emerge solutions which in the past could have been seen as mere illusions or simple thoughts of enlightened understanding in the past.

We trust that, in this historical moment, after having laid the foundation of our proposal, we could engage into a course of common action through a permanent bilateral commission to perfect the fundamental conditions of interest.

This commission shall immediately work with relatively short terms to enrich and make effective our proposal.

Mister Foreign Minister, Honourable Delegates,

Development, peace and integration are the fundamental objectives which strengthen this will of approach between our countries, which shall be lasting and permanent, so long as Chile, its people and its Governors, comprehend the importance, in its true proportions, of a solution on this matter, which shall, with no doubt, be the best historical example of the value that both dialogue and peaceful negotiation attain to the solution of situations which threaten the evolution of the human species.

Bolivian people believe that it is time and the conditions are given in order to these negotiations are not only one more, but these aim at reaching a solution of this problem, through a common agreement and with an accord considering peace, understanding and mutual respect and permanent interdependence of our nations.

The visit of his Holiness, John Paul II to Montevideo, at the beginning of this recent trip to South America, had moments of singular enhancement and of historical meaning when commemorating the signature of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Argentina and Chile when, thanks to the Pope's mediation, they achieved the consolidation of peace in this part of the continent, avoiding, in an instance which is close to hostilities, the tragedy of a fratricide confrontation. The presence of John Paul II, of the President of Uruguay and of the Foreign

Ministers of Chile and Argentina, gave that act an ethical value whose reflects can be perceived in the friendly atmosphere of this capital, a traditional centre of encouragement of the process of integration and understanding among the countries of the region.

In this atmosphere, the Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile, a few days after the act referred to, meet to define a decisive matter for their reciprocal interest: Bolivia's link to the sea by means of a sovereign, own and useful territorial strip. We are certain that this circumstance is auspicious to reach an agreement between our countries, hence starting a new stage of brotherly interrelation between them and giving an example to the world of how peaceful and constructive solutions can be reached for international problems when the spirit of agreement reigns over antagonism and solidarity reigns over mutual discrepancies.

My final words must express the acknowledgement of the President of Bolivia, Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro, of the members of the Government of my country, of the members of the Bolivian delegation that has attended this meeting, as well as, in general, the institutions and the people of Bolivia, Uruguay, its President and Foreign Minister, its authorities and all members of this admirable democracy, for their generous hospitality when welcoming us, those looking for a frank and creative understanding between the peoples of Bolivia and Chile.

Thank you.





**ANNEX 171: MESSAGE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE CARLOS  
MARTINEZ**

(In, MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES DE BOLIVIA, *Rumbo al  
Mar*, 1963, pp. 17, 30 and 33)

VI. Memorandum Trucco

[...]

It is the document that has been called “Memorandum Trucco” it is not an official note it is unsigned and it only contains an exposition of Chile’s views at that time.

“Aide Memoire”

Memorandum is a document widely used in Foreign Ministries and it serves to record something, so much so that in the diplomatic jargon they are called “Aide Memoires”. I repeat that it is never signed and in this case it was not either. It has no other nature than the simple exposition of views on a specific point in time.

[...]



**ANNEX 172: MESSAGE OF THE CHILEAN PRESIDENT PINOCHET, 11  
SEPTEMBER 1975, 531**

[Extract]

**AUGUSTO PINOCHET'S MESSAGE**

(In, "Message of President Pinochet", *El Mercurio*, Santiago,  
12 September 1975, p. 26)

[...]

**FOREIGN POLICY NATIONALIST, DYNAMIC AND PRAGMATIC**

For this reason, Chile has re-established and shall continue developing a nationalist, dynamic, and pragmatic foreign policy, through which it defends its legitimate political sovereignty, its tradition and historical-cultural identity, its natural resources, and its country's conditions in developing, through a strategy shared with the majority of the world nations which are in similar conditions.

To efficiently promote these ends, our Government has proposed itself to fully recover the position Chile deserves in the international concert, reflecting its real image. This refers to a cohesive country and in order, which intensely worries for its internal progress, but it also wants to contribute to the development of all peoples and keeping peace and international security.

Consequently, as the Declaration of Principles of the Government states, is Chile's willingness to keep relation with the countries of the world, whose Governments respect, as our, the guidelines principles of the International Law.

In this connection, I need to note the process of progressive extension of our diplomatic relations, whose rhythm and scope surpassed what was reached in the past regarding this issue. That has enriched our international coexistence and has laid the foundations for a future atmosphere of greater comprehension towards Chile, despite the redouble efforts of our opponents.

In a more specific way, the Government has proposed itself to reaffirm the links of friendship and fraternity which join Chile with the adjacent countries.

“Thus, with deep satisfaction I can note that the resuming of our traditional links with Bolivia, which has been suspended for over thirteen years. Since the Charaña meeting with the President of Bolivia, we have repeated our unchanging purpose of studying, together with that brother country, within the framework of a frank and friendly negotiation, the obstacles that limit Bolivia’s development on account of its landlocked condition. We trust we will find a just, timely and lasting solution.” The favourable perspectives of the direct contact already opened, make unnecessary and even harmful the intervention of third parties foreign to a matter that involves the sovereign States.”

[...]

“Thus, with deep satisfaction I can note that the resuming of our traditional links with Bolivia. Since the Charaña meeting, we have repeated our unchanging proposal to examine, within a frank and friendly negotiation, the obstacles that limit to Bolivia’s development on account of its landlocked condition. We trust we will find a just, timely and lasting solution.”

[...]

“The favourable perspectives of the direct contact already opened, make unnecessary and even harmful the intervention of the third parties foreign to a matter that involves the sovereign States.”

[...]



**ANNEX 173: HISTORIC MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA, GENERAL  
HUGO BANZER SUAREZ, ADDRESSED TO THE BOLIVIAN NATION,  
24 DECEMBER 1976**

**MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA, GENERAL HUGO  
BANZER SUAREZ, ADDRESSED TO THE BOLIVIAN NATION, LA PAZ,  
24 DECEMBER 1976**

(In, Bolivia, Secretariat of Press and Information of the Presidency, *Mensaje  
Histórico al Pueblo Boliviano*, La Paz, 1976, pp. 7-26.)

People of Bolivia:

To us Christians and to all men of good will, this is the date on which the birth of Christ is repeated as a permanent renewal of humanity in love, justice and peace.

In the historical perspective of the message that the son of God will submit to us, man and his temporal faith constitute the first instance in the process of absolute realization.

It is here, on earth, where we are to reach the highest degrees of improvement and consequently, of happiness. This is the world in which we are to transform the causes that determine inequality and suffering, precisely, exercising the quality which belongs to us on account of the divine source.

Perfection and happiness, as well as peace and justice, are essentially social concepts. They can, in no way, be fully present in the tiny and selfish dimension of the isolated and excluding individual. Humanity is thus, united due

to its origin as well as by the end that has been designed for it is a homogeneous and uniform whole. Unluckily, such unity has been breached by the greed founded on the belief of individual salvation, what has made history a dramatic and painful transit.

This precisely is not the time for major inobservance of Christian principles. The features of the past which determine the conditions in which we currently live, show that the breach started in earlier stages under the responsibility of the most advanced nations and certain human groups who now have the obligation of transforming themselves and at the same time of cooperating so that the rest of humanity reaches levels of progress and well-being compatible with its dignity and its nature.

The delay of the third forth parts of humanity becomes an international order in which industrialized nations, in total opposition to the universal sense of solidarity preached by Christ, keep relations of dominion with countries that produce commodities.

Those nations, today, far from mocking the dramatic nature of our development, must contribute sincerely, to the establishment of a new world order which allows undeveloped countries to overcome poverty without restricting freedom.

It must be understood that social tensions and conflicts which arise in the depressed areas of the world, are a result, in great measure, of external influence. Influence which is made manifest in economic crisis which are caused by powers or by ideological intervention of external centres which wish to impose, through violence, their ideas and forms of social organization.



The efforts that developing countries make with the purpose of improving the life of their respective communities are not enough if a deep transformation in international relations does not operate concurrently.

The social sense of development represents the essence of the stage in which we find ourselves. Insofar as social transformations do not weaken the country, systematically and permanently, we are making economy a means for all Bolivian people to reach well-being, distributed in all demands of life.

For the Government of the Army Forces there would not be any social policy deemed as acceptable if it did not have as its main hypothesis the best destiny for the people of the countryside. Bolivia is basically a nation of Quechua and Aymara. If that immense and admirable human contingent did not get to participate, effectively, in decisions as well as in the operational process of development, we will continue in the moulds of the colony, keeping in the womb of the very nation the secular submission of the national majorities.

With regard to cities and mines workers, I reiterate, that in the new society whose sense we are developing, they will also have a position of importance in the most general terms. The community as a whole will have the benefits of development, in accordance with the capacities and needs of each of its members.

Warned of the real meaning of the aforementioned condition and with the aim at overcoming external obstacles, given that they are perpetual, the Government I presided along with all the people, in August 1971, started a process of transformation and development so as to socially settle the postulates of justice, peace and solidarity.

On this date, which opens the hearts and raises spirits, under the sign of Christmas, we say once more that our final objective is to organize a community and fraternal society, with no differences or dreadful privileges.

Stability, economic growth, use of natural resources, in sum, every effort we are making is made so that the Bolivian man overcomes obstacles restricting his existence and so that he raises himself to the level of its whole dignity and of his intrinsic qualities.

Among the options to defeat the causes of poverty, development is the best one. Thus, since 1971, we have been transforming structures, accelerating the growth and redistributing wealth. Up until now we have made very significant progress. We still have, nonetheless, a long road ahead. But currently, the people have taken cognisance of their actual capacity and I know they are decided to conquer the greatest realizations.

In 1976 for instance, Bolivia in the course of sustained development of its gross domestic product has reached a rate of 6.7%. Inflation was just an annual 12%. Savings into the banking system have had an increase of 66% as a sign of Bolivian people's trust in their destiny. Monetary reserves reach one hundred sixty five million dollars. This is the ground which will allow us to concrete social justice we look for.

However, our development, today more than ever, suffers the consequences of landlocked situation, on account of this restrictive factor dependency sharpens, limiting the possibilities of our growth, raising the cost of our progress.

Bolivian people:

This is a timely occasion to note the fundamental guidelines with regard to maritime negotiations which are currently brought together; the imperative attention of the people, within the framework of continental and global expectations.

From the very moment in which the Army of the Nation undertook responsibility for the Government, interpreting the deepest aspirations of our people, it deemed promoting a coherent, realistic and intensely dynamic policy as an inexcusable duty, in search for the major objective of returning to the sea.

Aware that the fundamental definitions in such transcendental matter related to the life of the Republic require basic national convergences, conviction and practice from which the Government never strayed, we convened in April 1974, the Historical meeting of Cochabamba.

There, we proposed the country to unite Bolivian people around the Army Forces of the Nation in order to achieve the purpose of returning to the Pacific Ocean.

On that occasion, I observed that there are no miracles in history nor in international relations, noting that if we did not face concrete realities – which are often harsh- with the discipline and energy implicit in great realizations, we would be in risk of keeping a frustration which will painfully burden our conscience.

I assured, also, that returning to the sea with sovereignty demands for the firm and deliberate unity of all Bolivian people.

That message, expressed with a deep civic fervour, echoed in the hearts of Bolivian people, who are willing to serve their nation with love and sincere devotion.

From the convergence, which derived from the historical meeting, what was obtained a solid firm national support to conduct actions aimed at finding more just, realistic and feasible solutions aimed at overcoming our centenary geographic landlocked condition.

The mandate that the Government received to set forth on the road to the sovereign return to the Pacific Ocean is grounded in such an elevated consensus.

Loyal to our evidenced pacifist vocation, in a generous attitude and leaving behind all bitterness, in pursuit of regional harmony, we resolved putting into effect the frank and direct dialogue, with a view to the pursuit of an integral understanding aimed at putting an end to the landlocked condition of our Nation.

Supported in the legitimacy of the Mandate of Cochabamba, we proposed a peace, development and integration formula, which allows Bolivia to return to the Pacific Ocean with sovereignty.

Bolivia has wanted to give, in this connection, with no excluding selfishness, its support to the duty of sponsoring the major understandings that the growing and fraternal collaboration among peoples of this part of America demand for; peoples who have the right that their rulers offer them a future of hope, forged in security and progress.

The Bolivian formula is inspired in permanent moral values of the international community and, over all, in the postulates of justice, harmonious

coexistence, integration and stable peace in the Continent, which support hemispheric solidarity.

Once more I declare emphatically that in the Bolivian proposal there were no compensations, of any kind, and, I reassure that nothing has been specifically compromised, unless it is the indeclinable willingness of persisting in the search for fair, realistic and practical settlement formulas for the landlocked situation which asphyxiates our Nation.

Today, more than ever, I must insist that it is essential to place the Bolivian transcendental issue above all demagogic preaching or superficial analysis.

The factors introduced in the process of negotiation through the documents exchanged between Chile and Peru, conform a new framework whose scopes are of public dominion. For our Government, the negotiations in course are developing in accordance to clearly defined instances.

The Government of Chile provided its reply to the Bolivian proposal of 26 August 1975 timely. Both documents were placed on the table of negotiations establishing a global basis, within which, I reiterate, Bolivia has compromised nothing specific.

The government of Peru has also formulated its points of view:

It is time for the Bolivian Government to consequently, define its position, which is founded on the following principles:

1. We ratify our original proposition of peace, development and integration, which allows for the solution of Bolivia's geographic landlocked situation, through a free and fully sovereign access from the national territory to the Pacific Ocean.

2. In pursuit for a solution that honours international justice, fraternal collaboration and the broadest solidarity, I propose the Government of Chile to amend its proposal, eliminating the condition which refers to territorial exchange. I propose, likewise, to the Government of Peru, that it amends its proposal which refers to the establishment of a territorial zone under shared sovereignty.

3. The Government of Bolivia offers, in exchange, the contributions that are necessary, in equitable terms, for the establishment of a great pole of tri-party development on the coastal zones which will be transferred to Bolivian sovereignty, from which reciprocal benefits for Bolivia, Chile and Peru derive.

The abovementioned proposals have been officially transmitted to the Governments of Chile and Peru.

Both countries have agreed, so far, that the dialogue making it possible to reach the most constructive solutions must not be interrupted. We believe that the elevated spirit which the dealing with this grave Bolivian issue deserves must prevail.

On the other hand, I want to note, with special emphasis, that during the current process of diplomatic negotiations we have achieved success with no precedents. In a gesture that honours the two Nations, both Chile and Peru have acknowledged before the international awareness the right that Bolivia has to reintegrate itself with sovereignty with the Pacific Ocean. To stray from this conduct would signify to deny Latin American unity.

Furthermore, the two Governments have expressed their agreement on the need of solving without delay the current Bolivian landlocked situation.

It is factual, then, to enter into a new stage in which the Nations involved in the solution to the Bolivian landlocked situation are called to concur with the spirit aiming at eliminating roughness, because the joyous future of the three peoples, longing for cultivating their affinities and banishing all differences, is in their hands.

Bolivia counts on the legitimacy of its cause, acknowledged by its brother nations and visionary rulers of America and the world, who grants us their comforting words of encouragement.

Our claim is inseparably bound to the most praising Americanist ideals. That is why we have obtained concrete expressions of support.

I want to make special reference to the historical compromise contained in the declaration of Ayacucho, in which it is categorically held, that the solutions to the Bolivian landlocked condition are bound to the great determination of reassuring the postulates of freedom, justice, sovereignty, equality and solidarity.

So long as the Bolivian confinement lingers, it will not be possible to proclaim the force of justice in the Latin American sphere.

How could we talk of freedom if we face a condition of major external dependency? How could we reassure full sovereignty when there is a state with limiting factors to exercise this longed condition? And how could we find equality

if there are nations which cannot move forward towards their development and contribute to integration?

Overcoming the asphyxiating situation which has affected our country for almost a century obeys fundamentally to a vital need of encouraging the socio – economic development of Bolivia.

For all that, I appeal to the conception of the history that brother nations have and I urge their illustrious governors to work towards the supreme ideal of peace and collaboration.

The road to be traversed will not be flat. There will be various obstacles to overcome. Fortunately, our people do not know of surrender; their spirit has been forged in rough circumstances, and it strengthens day after day because they have faith in their destiny of greatness.

In moments of such a responsibility and transcendence for the future of the nation, I appeal to the nobleness of my people, to their moderation; I request that the fair judgement be imposed. I urge for the abandonment of personal positions and interests.

We are going through a time which must induce us towards the deepest reflexions.

I make a vehement call to the ones having the great mission of forming public awareness, so that they act with the greatest serenity and objectivity possible.



I convoke, in sum, to the unity of all Bolivian people under the sacred image of the nation, reiterating that any decision with regard to our return to the sea, will only emerge from the willingness of my people.

We are aware of the harsh battle we have to fight in order to return to the sea. May the difficulties inherent to this process not intimidate us or diminish the capacities of the Bolivian people to conquer this right. Sooner or later, Bolivian people, we will return with sovereignty to the sea.

Bolivian siblings:

When the sacred instant which reminds us of the birth of Jesus, the son who was sent to earth by the supreme Maker to redeem humanity, is approaching, the hearts are elevated upon the light of Belen which, throughout various centuries, illuminates the world signalling the road to its improvement.

Atop the feelings which the sweet image of the redeemer inspires, we find the true sense of our existence in the practice of solidarity and justice and in the cult of the transcendental values which make men the most perfect creature of nature.

From that level, which belongs exclusively to humanity, let us act in such a way that the qualities which were individually granted to us are brought together in a broad, generous, fair and unlimited social instance.

1977 is a new journey in the road of our history. We have set the fundamental grounds of the Bolivia we long for.

Convinced of the greatness, the creative capacity and heroism of the people, I am sure that our conduct will be the loyal practice of the Christian principles we proclaim so that, when confronting reality with theory, no one is ashamed of not having complied with his or her duty.

May peace, love and justice be the principles that motivate all of our acts and at the same time constitute the essential features of the new Bolivia we are constructing.

In our love to the son of God, whose message represents the merry promise of a new dawn, let us renew our faith in the permanent happiness of the Bolivian man.

Peace and happiness to all Bolivian people.

## **AIDE MEMOIRE**



**ANNEX 174: AIDE MEMOIRE SUBMITTED BY BOLIVIA TO CHILE  
ON 25 AUGUST 1975 (PROPOSAL)**

(In, BOLIVIA, MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES, MEMORIA  
DE 1975, LA PAZ, 1976, PP. 69-70)

[...]

**A) BOLIVIAN PROPOSAL**

25 August 1975

In order to give the grave issue of returning to the sea its true dimension and meaning, the Government of the Army has summoned the Cochabamba consultation, through which the view and will of the Bolivian people was unified with regard to this great national purpose. The creation of the Maritime Commission resulted from this understanding with no precedents in History, which undertook the duty of identifying alternatives to solve the landlocked condition of Bolivia.

The duties of this Commission served the Government as a general guideline which allowed to draw up with a feasible formula which fulfils the Bolivian need of having an own and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean.

After the preliminary stage of basic criteria identification and assessment by our mission to Santiago, the Foreign Ministry of the Republic instructed the Ambassador of Bolivia, authorized before the Government of Chile, to submit to the Foreign Ministry of that country a concrete proposal, with the fundamental guidelines so as to carry on the negotiation aimed at giving a solution to the

Bolivian Landlocked condition. That proposal was contained in the document dated 25 August 1975, which reads as follows:

1. The Bolivian Government, for the purpose of detailing the guidelines for a negotiation that allows for reaching solutions mutually convincing and adequate to the landlocked condition affecting Bolivia, has considered it opportune to submit to the Government of Chile the concrete criteria which, in its view, must serve as a ground for an agreement on this issue.

2. The cession to Bolivia of a sovereign maritime coast found between the *Linea de la Concordia* and the limit of Arica's Metropolitan area. This coast is to extend along a sovereign strip of land from the said coast up to the Bolivian-Chilean border, and include the transfer of the Arica-La Paz railway.

3. Adoption of a regime which signifies autonomy for Bolivia in operations concerning the realization of its foreign trade through the port of Arica, in accordance with the proposition formulated by the Government of Chile.

4. The cession to Bolivia of a piece of sovereign territory 50 kilometres along the coast and 15 kilometres wide, in suitable region to be determined, alternatively, close to Iquique, Antofagasta or Pisagua.

5. The coastal strip mentioned in the above point, will be connected to the current Bolivian territory in accordance with the following features:

a) Faculty to Bolivia to project, built, operate and keep all infrastructure necessary for the purpose of an effective connection (railways, roads, pipelines, etc.)

b) The construction works abovementioned will have an international nature, with power to unrestricted use, at all times and circumstances, by Bolivia and Chile.

c) Roads, railways, pipelines and other complementary constructions will be of property of the Bolivian State.

6. Interconnection between that coastal territory and the Bolivian one has as its only aim the creation of a transport infrastructure efficient for the development of the Bolivian economy. The legal regime to which these construction works will be subjected will be similar to the one established for the oil pipeline Sica Sica – Arica.

7. The Government of Bolivia will be willing to consider, as a fundamental affair of the negotiation, the contributions that may correspond, as an integral part of an understanding that consults mutual interests

[...]





## **REPORTS**



**ANNEX 175: INTERVIEW OF MAY 1920, BETWEEN ADOLFO BALLIVIAN,  
BOLIVIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON AND  
AGUSTIN EDWARDS, CHILEAN AMBASSADOR**

(In, J. GUMUCIO GRANIER, *El enclaustramiento marítimo de Bolivia en los foros del mundo*, Academia Boliviana de la Historia, Huellas, 1993, pp. 36-37)

[Extract]

[...]

The Bolivian Minister appointed in London, Adolfo Ballivian, submitted a draft memorandum for his Foreign Ministry's consideration for a friendly solution of the Pacific's problem between Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, which had to be addressed to the League of Nations and the European Foreign Ministries in order to achieve Bolivia's own and sovereign port access. In this draft, an analysis of Montes' memorandum submitted to the Conference of Paris was conducted, Chilean arguments issued by Ross, Bulnes, and Barros Borgoño were considered; historic, geographic, economical and industrious outlines of Tacna and Arica were submitted; and finally, Arguedas and Baldivia's works were added as annexes.

Weeks later, Adolfo Ballivian addressed a confidential note to Bolivia's Foreign Ministry to inform about an interview he had with the Chilean Minister appointed in London, Agustín Edwards, at his request. In that meeting, Edwards started stating he was not a professional diplomat and his frank ideas had to be taken into account like that; that he did not have instructions to deal with the issue of the Pacific, with a Bolivian diplomat, but he thought it was important to share his ideas with Ballivian. Edwards affirmed that in 1920, "it was foolish and

inappropriate to enter into considerations regarding the causes and consequences of the War of the Pacific, accepting all the *faits accomplis*, it was opportune and convenient to give an immediate and direct solution for all the parties interested; that, to that end, it was necessary that everybody discarded their ambitions or aspirations in order to reach a reconciling agreement that assures the tranquil life of the three peoples.”

Edwards was more emphatic and repetitive in the sense that Bolivia should understand that Chile would never consent that the “Question of the Pacific” be submitted to the League of Nations, because of its lack of jurisdiction and competence, and that Chile would sustain the efficacy of the treaties signed with Bolivia and Peru. The Chilean Minister added that, according to this, his country would conduct the plebiscite taking into account the example of the subdivision of territories provided in the plebiscites held in Europe in virtue of the Treaty of Versailles. As a result, Tacna and Arica would be subdivided into two regions. Chile was sure to win the plebiscite in Arica and it thought that Peru will do it in Tacna; however, he said that Chile expected a favourable and cooperative attitude from Bolivia in order to be able to win the plebiscite in Arica, whereupon Chile could give Bolivia a port to the north of Arica, and if possible, an independent area or enclave within the same port of Arica itself for the transport of Bolivian cargo.

Ballivian replied that he did not have instructions to raise the issue either; however, he was interested in Bolivia achieved a friendly solution to this issue, and that Montes approaches before the Conference of Paris; the announcements of both Chambers of the Bolivian Parliament and the memorandums of the Foreign Ministry pointed out the guidelines of the negotiation. In it, Bolivia could see a possible friendly understanding with Chile, but it wished neither to win nor to vanquish Peru, because it did not want to deal with an enmity and permanent

rancour of that country, which it will try to convince through an agreement based on mutual conveniences. Ballivian also mentioned the famous König's memorandum, where Chile officially stated that there was not any possible place for a port in the north of Arica due to the fact that the next possibility would be done in Ilo. The Bolivian diplomat reiterated that Arica did not mean anything for Chile and worse for Peru, and with regard to the Chilean concept that Arica was strategic for its defence, Ballivian stated that any Chilean enemy will attack it from that point in the future.

[...]



**ANNEX 176: PRELIMINARY RESERVED MEETING BETWEEN  
DELEGATIONS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE, SANTIAGO,  
4 DECEMBER 1974**

(In, R. PRUDENCIO LIZÓN, *Historia de la negociación de Charaña*, Plural Publishers, La Paz, 2011, pp. 25-26)

[...]

**3. CONFIDENTIAL BILATERAL MEETINGS**

After the meeting in Brasilia, where both Presidents Banzer and Pinochet have stated their interest on resuming negotiations on Bolivia's landlocked condition for the purpose of identifying possible formulas of solution which satisfy both parties and consider mutual interests, it was determined to form commissions of high level to realize short-term bilateral meetings. The commissions would comprehend the representatives of the Heads of State, army, and foreign ministries.

[...]

Therefore, once the activities of the Maritime Commission were concluded, the Government of Banzer decided to propose the resuming of dialogues between both delegations of high level. And to withhold it, it was considered to inform the public opinion that the Bolivian delegation was travelling to Santiago to subscribe an agreement related to the expansion of storage tanks of the pipeline from Sica Sica to Arica. Therefore, the meeting was agreed to be held in Santiago, with the participation of the officials of YPFB and ENAP, since 4 December 1974.

[...]

The issue of the resuming of diplomatic relations between both countries was also considered in this meeting, which were put off since 1962 due to Lauca River. The Bolivian Delegation stated that the relations could be resumed right after the conversations on the need to solve the landlocked condition. While the Chilean Delegation stated that with the meeting of Santiago they had already had started those conversations, so that they should deal with the issue of the normalization of diplomatic bounds between both States. However, at the end, they decided to put this point off to be dealt with in the future, because it was not considered so important. Finally, the delegation agreed that the next meeting to be held will be the second week of February 1975.

[...]



**ANNEX 177: REPORT TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND  
WORSHIP OF BOLIVIA, 13 MARCH 1978**

**CONFIDENTIAL REPORT**

**Republic of Bolivia  
Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs and Worship**

TO: Oscar Adriázola Valda, General of the Airborne Division  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WORSHIP

FROM: Lic. Willy Vargas Vacaflor  
Ambassador Extraordinary in confidential mission

OBJECT: MARITIME NEGOTIATION, GOVERNMENT OF CHILE'S  
PROPOSAL

DATE: 13 March 1978

INTRODUCTION.- The mission Your Excellency has wisely entrusted me, on behalf of the Supreme Government of the Army, was fulfilled in Chile on Friday 10 month. Two meetings were held, on the same day, at the Chilean Foreign Ministry. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vice Admiral Patricio Carvajal, Chile's Ambassador to Bolivia, the undersigned, the Bolivian Chargé d'Affaires a.i. in Chile and a female officer of the Chilean Foreign Ministry serving as secretary attended the first meeting which took place in the morning. The abovementioned people plus Ambassador Bernstein attended the second one,

taking place in the afternoon after the Minister of Foreign Affairs conversed with the President of the Republic.

The conversations were developed in an atmosphere of frankness, which allowed for identifying the basic clarifications necessary for a proper comprehension and confirmation of definitions, with regard to the issues that had been addressed. The natural diplomatic courtesy was no impediment to address, with sincerity and deepness, and putting enough emphasis on the aim at achieving essential explanations, the aspects consigned in the Instruction Statement, as well as those emerging during the dialogue.

The following is a succinct relation of the concrete matters which were examined:

1. Condition of the territorial exchange.- It signifies, for the Government of Chile, an essential condition and a *sine qua non* of the proposal addressed in 1975. That Government does not deem as possible, nor as applicable, a revision of that condition, under no circumstance, having to understand that the exchange will be “meter for meter, kilometre for kilometre” and that it refers to the continental territory, besides what may emerge from point 2 letter a) (maritime zones).

2. The so-called three edges.- whereas they make part of the proposal, they do not constitute essential elements , which means that an eventual agreement on them would not imply having conformed a common ground of understanding; given that the core issue is the “exchange”.

Chile agrees on the fact that an *aden-dum* incorporating elucidations that facilitate the negotiation may be added to the proposal; the benefit of this *aden-dum* must

be taken into account in confrontation with what emerges from what exposed in the above point.

a) Compensation over maritime zones.-

This element would be negotiable from zero to three miles, subject to compensation.

b) Lauca River.-

There seems to be a chance of considering this issue in a Special Commission, but in a manner parallel and simultaneous to the maritime negotiation, although it would not formally be a part of it. They forwarded their interpretation saying that it deals with the “whole of the waters emerging in Chilean territory to shape the International River”.

c) Demilitarization.-

Bolivia will, when timely, make a declaration, based on its own sovereignty, with regard to its pacifist vocation and to the idea that the military forces located in the corridor are only a means of vigilance and security of the police, of healthiness and a measure to guarantee commercial activity.

3. Other means of compensation for the corridor.- Chile does not consider other means of compensation because, in its view, the exchange must be territorial, equivalent and simultaneous, even if it is discontinuous. All economic development will not take place by way of compensations but rather as a complementation resulting from the best relations between the two countries.

4. Expansion of the sea front.- The Chilean initiative, originally submitted to the Peruvian Foreign Minister, with regard to an eventual agreement between Bolivia and Peru aiming at extending the maritime front to the north of Linea de La Concordia, giving as a compensation the nitrates deposits of Tacora and the channels of Uchusuma and Mauri, we were informed, was rejected by the Junta of the Government of Peru.

Chile does not deem as feasible, on account of various reasons, that it amends its original proposal with regard to the southern limit of the corridor.

5. Chile's negotiations after the Peruvian proposal.- Besides what referred to in the above point, the Government of Chile has not conducted, nor does it consider that it should conduct, any negotiation with Peru so as to achieve its consent within the framework of the 1929 Protocol and thus, Foreign Minister Carvajal expressed categorically, that it was for the concerned country (Bolivia) to conduct negotiations so as to soften the Peruvian position and secure an acceptance which makes feasible the negotiation with Chile, whose proposal, as it was reiterated, was based on a realistic and sincere position, in order to meet the claim for a sovereign access to the Pacific.

Naturally, since Chile has rejected (declined) considering the Peruvian proposal, it is awaiting for negotiations to advance in the identification of (Chilean – Bolivian) formulas which would be consulted when timely with Peru and that it had been with that purpose that Ambassador Phillipi had been appointed Special Representative. They furthered, however, no criteria with regard to how to move forward with the negotiation given the current circumstances.

6. Special representatives' meeting.- Chile has appointed Ambassador Phillipi for this meeting and is expecting that the Government of Bolivia proceeds

in the same manner. The understanding is that it is not a “tri-partite” negotiation and that the Peruvian delegate could be called upon in order to give place to consultations and his opinion could be required so as to provide viability to agreements that Chile and Peru could forward.

He agreed, in this regard, with the declaration of Foreign Minister de la Puente at his return from the meeting that the three Foreign Ministers held in New York (October / 77).

7. Pace and intensity of the negotiations.- If in order to conclude the transfer of the offered territory, which is the legal matter and concrete purpose of the negotiation, the main condition is the Peruvian consent and the unchangeable price the exchange, mediating the objective circumstance that Peru has submitted another restrictive condition, namely, the trapezoid under shared sovereignty, and with Chile not having performed, nor did it want to do so, any negotiation so as to secure the Peruvian consent, it was specified that it would be wrong to ask Bolivia for a definition on the exchange, (which we were repeatedly informed that it had been accepted). The core motives to reject the exchange were:

That the antecedents of the issue assigned to it the nature of an historical reparation.

Nonetheless, even if considering the whole of the exchange, it has lost political presentation before Bolivian public opinion and institutions, not on account of circumstantial event of internal policy (the election process taking place in Bolivia) but rather, fundamentally, on account of a compliance with a condition (letter m): consultation and agreement by Peru. That is to say, the proposal contained a standstill clause which if not complied with it was not valid. And now the Government of Chile ignores this undertaking and intends to transfer the said

responsibility to Bolivia, which cannot undertake it neither legally nor politically or diplomatically.

The rejection (declination) to consider the Peruvian proposal takes this negotiation back to zero, even more if, as we were informed, Chile does not consider the realization of a negotiation to acquire Peru's consent, which would allow for the transfer of territory.

On account of what abovementioned, it was said that it is not for the Government of Bolivia to guideline the "pace and intensity of the negotiations".

8. Satisfaction of Peru's historical moral.- This point having been posed, the following reply was receipt: "if the Peruvian claim referred to the return of the Huascar vessel and of a Pavilion where to hoist its flag in the Morro of Arica, the Government of Chile, as it did in the past, does in the present and will do in the future, rejects the request" and the idea that Chile did not include a different approach because of the subjectivity of the proposal.

9. Purpose of the presidential envoy, G. Amunategui.- The possibility forwarded by Mr. Amunategui of "meter for kilometre" is discarded because, with no explanation, it was reiterated that the exchange is an essential condition of "meter for meter, kilometre for kilometre".

10. Assessment of the status of the negotiations.- Previously clarifying that the purpose of the mission that had been entrusted to me was to achieve clarifications to specific points, for a realistic evaluation of the status of the negotiations, I thought it was timely to inform about the appraisal that personally deserved:

The negotiation, on account of the stiffness of the conditions which seemed to be impossible to overcome in the current circumstances, are stagnated in a vicious cyclic process, for, essentially, the exchange and the lack of titles for the transfer have undermined the probability of an understanding and it has become necessary to explore another or other alternatives, non-substitutive to the proposal of a sovereign access to the Pacific. Perhaps, a gradual approach, along with a transcendent formula, essentially political and of a broad extension of solidarity towards Bolivia, which does not demand for a territorial exchange as a condition nor, if possible, for Peru's opinion, was necessary in order to achieve this purpose.

11. Territory which links Bolivia to the Pacific, under a statue of autonomy.- In accordance with the instructions tentatively addressed, this issue was addressed in the morning meeting, so as to allow for its deepening at a higher level later. The reply was positive, in principle; for it was acknowledged that it was difficult to see that the negotiations move forward to an achievement of a final solution in the current circumstances in which they are found. During the afternoon meeting the attitude was reluctant.

Anyway, the scope of "autonomy" was characterized further, emphasising that the political agreement would allow for the creation of accurate legal formulas. The need for consultation in the terms of the Complementary Protocol of 1929 was left to consideration and under responsibility of Chile, so that the approach in question "may be viable" (expression used by Foreign Minister).

12. The Arica Vis Viri Railway.- The Chilean Foreign Minister has shown agreement with the leasing of this rail way, Bolivian administration of a sector of the port and storage houses for cargo, as a step towards closeness. I made him realize that in reality this would not signify an intermediate solution, because it does not connect with the spirit and scope of securing an access to the Pacific

through a territory that is longed to be sovereign and that it was preferable to move forward with the concept of autonomous territory which would naturally comprise the exploitation of port and transportation services.

13. Readjustment of rail fares.- The issue was introduced by the Chilean Foreign Minister explaining the reasons which assisted his Government so as to adopt new fares, whose readjusted level had yet not been the one in force in Bolivia. He said that it is a private enterprise we are dealing with and that it could not receive financial assistance from the State.

In reply I expressed that it was not understandable, since in moments in which our public opinion was hyper susceptible on account of the actual stagnation of the maritime negotiations, a measure of this nature was adopted and that it was going to have its negative effects on the social and economic sphere. I took this fact as an example of the fact that it was necessary to face the issues with a spirit of providing concrete and lasting solutions, given that the frequency in which they happen, doubtlessly hinder our relations.

Since it was a public service subject to a concession which was originally granted by the Bolivian State to a British enterprise, when Antofagasta was under its sovereignty and in cognizance that this concession was to expire soon; nonetheless, we would like to know, I expressed, if it was possible to expect the Bolivian rail enterprise could take the administration of it, in the same conditions, taking into account that the greatest volume of cargo is from and to Bolivia, in the Antofagasta – Ollague section.

There was no receptivity and it was agreed that the analysis of the issue would be performed in the mixed commission to be gathered the coming Monday.



14. Level of Diplomatic representations.- I must mention that the Chilean Foreign Minister expressed his concern for the designation of the Bolivian Ambassador, enquiring on which the decision to that regard is. Given the evasive reply, he expressed that it was necessary to establish if the desire is to keep the representations at a Chargé d'Affaires level.

This report, Mister Foreign Minister, is submitted as an objective synthesis of the conversations held. I have avoided every after the meetings interpretation, with the purpose of putting to your knowledge a version, as accurate as possible, of what has happened.

I put myself to your orders for any extension of this report or of the mission commitment entrusted to me, it is grateful to be able to express to you my most distinguished considerations.

La Paz, 13 March 1978



**ANNEX 178: REPORT REGARDING THE MEETING BETWEEN THE  
MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA AND CHILE, ORTIZ  
MERCADO AND SCHWEITZER, 1 OCTOBER 1983**

**CONFIDENTIAL  
NOTE TO FILE**

Mr. Jose Ortiz Mercado, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia, held an informal interview with the Chilean Foreign Minister Mr. Miguel Schweitzer, in presence of the Foreign Minister of Colombia, Mr. Lloreda Caicedo, and Ambassadors Alban from Colombia, Trucco from Chile, Fernando Salazar Paredes and Jorge Gumucio from Bolivia, on 1 October 1983 at 11:00 a.m. at the residency of the Ambassador of Colombia.

[...]

In view of the foregoing, both Foreign Ministers agreed on:

Keeping absolute reserve due to the care of the discussed issue.

Making Peru know the proposal and approaches agreed timely.

Deciding the names of the countries which could co-sponsor the Declaration, with Colombia.

Keeping informal dialogues between the permanent missions of both countries in the seat of the OAS as well as in the United Nations New York and Geneva, on the matter of common interest.

Both Foreign Ministers agreed on informing this conversation to their respective Head of State.

[...]

The meeting ended at 12:30.

(Illegible signature)

JORGE GUMUCIO GRANIER  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative  
of Bolivia before the United Nations

**ANNEX 179: UPDATE TO THE REPORT OF CHILE WITH REGARD TO THE  
CLEARANCE MEASURES UNDER ARTICLE 7°, N°2 OF THE  
“CONVENTION ON THE PROHIBITION OF USE, STOCKPILING,  
PRODUCTION AND TRANSFER OF ANTI-PERSONNEL MINES AND  
THEIR DESTRUCTION”, 30 APRIL 2011**

[Extract]

**Source:** <http://scm.oas.org/pdfs/2012/CP29003N.pdf> and  
<http://scm.oas.org/pdfs/2012/CP29003S.pdf>

**SANTIAGO, 30 APRIL 2012**

[...]

Model C Location of mined areas

Member State: Chile submits information on the term comprehended between 01  
January 2011 and 31 December 2011.

1. Areas containing mines

<b>Location</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Date of placement</b>	<b>Additional information</b>	<b>Number of mined areas</b>
<b>Northern zone</b>					
<b>Region “Arica – Parinacota”</b>					
Arica Commune	Mines A.P M – 35 Belgian	9.736	1973	Northern Waterfront Chacalluta	7
Arica Commune	Mines A.P. M.- 14 N.A	53.227	1975-1977- 1978	Northern Waterfront Chacalluta Sector	63
General Lagos Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	2.482	1977- 1978	Industrial Villa Sector	1
General Lagos Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	533	1977-1978	Ancoma sector	1
General Lagos Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	1.393	1977-1978	Nasahuento Sector	1
General	Mines	888	1977-1978	Lampallares	2

Lagos Commune	A.P. M- 14 N.A			Sector	
General Lagos Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	198	1977-1978	Pampa Blanca Sector	1
Putre Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	1.545	1977-1978	Portezuelo Achuta Sector	2
Putre Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	90	1977-1978	Casiri Sector	1
Putre Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	1.920	1977-1978	Chilcaya Sector	1
Putre Commune	Mines A.P. M- 14 N.A	38	1977-1978	Chapiquiña Sector	1

[...]

JUAN O. MENDOZA OYARCE  
CORONEL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF  
THE NATIONAL COMMISSION DEMINED





## **EXPERT OPINION**



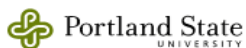
**ANNEX 180: QUANTIFICATION OF THE ECONOMIC COST RESULTING  
FROM THE LACK OF BOLIVIA'S SOVEREIGN ACCESS TO THE  
PACIFIC OCEAN, A REPORT FOR DIREMAR BY  
PROF. JOHN LUKE GALLUP & PROF. CÉSAR RODRÍGUEZ  
31 DECEMBER 2013**

**Quantification of the economic cost  
resulting from the lack of Bolivia's  
sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean**

A report for DIREMAR by

Prof. John Luke Gallup

Prof. César Rodríguez



December 31, 2013

## 1. Introduction

Bolivia lost its coastal Department of Littoral in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884). This report tries to quantify the economic impact of the loss of Bolivia's littoral.

The two major economic impacts of Bolivia's loss were losing access to the sea for international trade (and an excellent port), and losing the natural resources in Bolivia's former coastal province. The following three sections quantify the impact of Bolivia being landlocked at three levels, of decreasing breadth but increasing specificity.

Section 2 estimates the effect of being landlocked on Bolivia's standard of living. It is impossible to measure the impact of Bolivia being landlocked by looking at Bolivia's economic performance alone because there is no counterfactual: with only one economy to observe, there is no way to observe directly how the Bolivian economy itself would perform with coastal access.

Section 3 compares a more limited, but a crucially important, aspect of economic performance: the exports of landlocked versus coastal countries. Impediments to trade are the principal cause of worse economic performance in landlocked countries.

Section 4 examines the cost of transport for landlocked and coastal countries. Higher transport costs are an important cause of worse trade performance in landlocked countries, although they are an incomplete measure of the disadvantages. Transport costs are systematically higher in landlocked countries.

Section 5 examines the most economically important ongoing loss of natural resources in the former Department of Littoral: the world's richest copper deposits. We find that the value of copper production in this region has been equal to approximately half the value of all production in the Bolivian economy in the last half century and even higher in recent years. The section also quantifies the

value of lost nitrate deposits, which were a principal cause of the War of the Pacific. Section 6 concludes.

## 2. Impact of being landlocked on income levels and economic development

Most landlocked countries are among the poorest countries in their regions, with certain exceptions. Many of the poorest countries in the whole world are landlocked. Coastal countries as a group have much higher average income levels than landlocked countries. As shown in Table 1, the average income level in 2010, as measured by gross domestic product per capita (GDP p.c.), is 66% higher for coastal countries than landlocked countries.<sup>1</sup> This difference is statistically significant at a 5% level.

Table 1: Income levels in landlocked versus coastal countries

	Average GDP p.c., 2010	<i>N</i>
Landlocked	8,755	38
Coastal	14,525	129

Source: Authors' calculation from Penn World Tables 8.0.

Western Europe has the most exceptions to this pattern, with a number of landlocked countries as prosperous as their coastal neighbours. Think of Switzerland. A fundamental reason for its success is being in the middle of the wealthiest consumer market in the world. If we exclude European countries, the contrast between landlocked and coastal countries is much more stark. Non-European coastal countries' average income levels are more three times (311%) the average income of non-European landlocked countries, and even higher in comparison to Bolivia (337%).

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<sup>1</sup>All GDP per capita data from the Penn World Tables is denominated in purchasing power parity 2012 U.S. dollars (Feenstra *et al.*, 2013).

Table 2: Income levels in non-European countries

	Average GDP p.c., 2010	<i>N</i>
Bolivia	3,486	1
Landlocked	3,789	28
Coastal	11,765	99

Source: Authors' calculations from Penn World Tables 8.0.

Four continents contain landlocked countries: South America, Africa, Asia, and Europe. In each of them, except for Africa, the very poorest country is landlocked. Bolivia, Afghanistan and Moldova are the poorest countries in their respective Continents. As shown in Table 3, this pattern is especially clear in South America, where landlocked Bolivia and Paraguay are the two poorest countries.

In Africa, three countries, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, and probably Somalia (which lacks data) are poorer than the poorest landlocked country, Niger. However in all three of these countries, this is due to horrific civil wars which destroyed their economies. 10 out of 15 landlocked countries in Africa are among the poorer half of African countries.

Landlocked countries are more likely to be poor within their regions, but the rankings also show some clear exceptions to that rule. The successful landlocked countries have one of two distinctive characteristics. Either they border high-income countries that provide them rich markets, or they are natural resource exporters. Luxembourg has the highest income in Europe, and Switzerland is not far behind, but both of them are at the center of wealthiest unified market in the world and specialize in financial services, which does not involve trading goods. Many of the landlocked countries of Europe have high income levels, but all of them are tightly integrated into the river, rail, and road transport networks of Europe, giving them excellent access to lucrative markets.

Table 3: Landlocked countries of South America

Country	Rank (out of 11)	GDP per person (2010)
Bolivia	1	3,486
Paraguay	2	4,210

The median GDP per capita in South America is \$7,790

Being landlocked has not only meant lower income levels. The income *growth* of landlocked countries has also been systematically lower than in coastal countries. From 1960 to 2010, average growth in GDP per person was 2.0% per year in coastal countries, but only 1.1% per year in landlocked countries, about half.

Why do most landlocked countries have such persistently low incomes compared to coastal countries? Poor landlocked countries have less command over resources to build a productive economy, because they have little income to invest. They are likely to have less physical capital, less human capital, and less institutional capacity. Table 4 shows that on most scores, this is true for current landlocked countries: they have a lot less physical capital, a lot worse health (in terms of life expectancy), and somewhat less education and lower institutional quality.

Table 4: Economic Characteristics of Landlocked and Coastal Countries, 2010

	Landlocked	Coastal	Difference	Bolivia
GDP per capita	8,755	14,525	5,770 *	3,486
Capital stock per capita	27,961	45,065	17,104 *	8,949
Life expectancy	64.1	71.5	7.3 **	66.3
Schooling	7.3	8.0	0.7	9.2
Political risk index	65.4	66.8	1.3	59.8

Source: Author's calculations from Feenstra *et al.* (2013), World Bank (2013) and CRS Group (2013).

Production functions, relating physical and human capital to output, are estimated separately for coastal and landlocked countries (see Gallup and

Rodriguez, 2013, for details). The results present a picture of landlocked countries which invest in physical capital, get no benefit in terms of output levels whereas coastal countries get a big benefit. The lower productivity of physical capital in landlocked countries makes it unlikely for them to be able to follow the historical path for rapid growth and catch-up in developing countries: export of manufactures.

The diminished investment opportunities in landlocked countries are reflected in the amount of foreign direct investment they attract. In 2010, the typical (median) coastal country attracted 274% of the foreign direct investment in the typical landlocked country, almost three times as much.

### **3. Impact of being landlocked on trade**

Countries are considered economically landlocked when their economic development is constrained by several factors such as remoteness from major markets, poor infrastructure and border crossing difficulties that imply high transportation costs.

When a landlocked country exports its merchandise to the global economy, it must transport the goods through a neighboring country. The movement of goods from landlocked countries across transit neighbors has both direct and indirect costs. The direct costs are the fees that exporters must pay as their goods move across transit countries, which raise the costs of their goods abroad. The indirect costs include the time and bureaucratic procedures required to cross borders, which makes it difficult to honor the timeliness of delivery contracts signed by landlocked exporters. Both costs make landlocked exporters less competitive within the global economy.



The barriers to transporting goods for export can be overcome, in principal, but they make exporting much harder. Landlocked countries do, in fact, export much less than coastal countries. Coastal country exports per capita in 2010 are 357% of landlocked country exports, more than three times the level.

To isolate the impact of being landlocked from other explanations, we estimate a standard “gravity” model of trade. This model accounts for the distance between countries, their respective income levels, and a number of other factors in addition to whether they are landlocked. Being landlocked has a large additional negative impact on trade. Coastal countries have 232% of the value of exports of landlocked countries, after accounting for the other factors.

#### **4. Transport Costs**

Transport costs have become an increasingly important determinant of trade since the reduction of trade barriers due to the trade liberalization process in Latin America. When competing in global markets, higher transportation costs put landlocked countries at a particular disadvantage relative to their coastal neighbors.

For the period 2000-2010, landlocked countries have higher transportation costs, with average costs 13.8% higher than in coastal countries. This difference affects trade by making landlocked countries exports less competitive than coastal country exports.

Relatively small differences in transportation costs have large impacts on trade. Modeling this impact, we find that just a 1% increase in transport costs leads to a 3.7% decrease in total exports.

Bolivia has the highest transportation costs in South America, consistent with the general pattern of landlocked countries facing higher transportation costs. Bolivia’s transport costs are 20% higher than the South American average, and 50% higher than its immediate neighbor, Chile.

The results from the first part of this section show that being landlocked, more distant and with poor infrastructure (both from the exporter and the importer country) increase transportation costs. Being landlocked significantly affects trade directly and indirectly by affecting transportation costs. Other cultural variables, such as common language seems to have a positive effect on total exports. Improving infrastructure –as measured by ports’ efficiency- will contribute to reducing transport costs and hence increase the volume of exports. Finally, the export elasticity with respect to transportation cost is high and implies that a decrease of transportation costs by one percent would increase total exports by 3.7%.

### **5. Loss of natural resources in Bolivia’s former territory: nitrates and copper**

When Chile occupied Bolivia’s coastal Department of Litoral<sup>2</sup> at the start of the War of the Pacific in 1879, it gained control of the nitrate deposits of the region. In fact, the occupation of the province by the Chilean Navy was a reaction to the Bolivian government raising the tax rate on nitrate mines, many of which were operated by Chileans. The nitrate deposits were a significant prize. When Chile also occupied Peru’s southernmost provinces of Tacna, Arica, and Tarapacá, Chile obtained almost complete control of the world’s nitrate deposits. Nitrate from Litoral and Tarapacá were the principal worldwide source of inorganic fertilizer. Chile’s seizure of nitrate deposits directly gave it the financial means to win the War of the Pacific in 1884, while simultaneously depriving Bolivia and Peru of much of its foreign currency (Sater, 2007).

Valued in 2010 U.S. dollars, Chilean nitrate production rose from \$177 million in 1880 to a peak of \$1.8 billion in 1917 before gradually falling. The exact share of nitrate coming from former Bolivian territory is more difficult to determine. In 1880, 43% of the value of nitrate mines was in the Antofagasta

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<sup>2</sup> The pre-War of the Pacific Bolivian Department of Litoral is now the Chilean Antofagasta Region (Region II).

region, while in 1991, the region produced 100% of Chilean nitrate. Using the 43% figure, almost certainly an underestimate, Antofagasta nitrate was equal to an average 8.9% of Bolivian GDP throughout 1880 to 1930 (all nitrate figures from Gallup, 2013).

The current value of the whole of Chilean nitrate production from 1880 to 1984 is immense. The net present value, which is what production would be worth if it had been kept in a bank account yielding 5% interest, is equal to \$8.5 *trillion* in 2010. The share coming from former Bolivian territory is at least \$3.6 trillion.

The biggest resource bonanza of Bolivia's former coastal territory had not been discovered at the time of the War of the Pacific: the world's richest copper deposits. The world's largest open pit mine, Chuquicamata, was discovered and opened in 1915. Until 1960 it supplied about half of Chile's copper production.

Nitrates and subsequently copper have had a profound and central role in Chile's economic development. The most important role of copper for the Chilean economy has been as a source of exports and government revenue. Before 1970, copper represented about 75% of Chilean exports. Copper now contributes less, about half of export revenues, because Chile has expanded its other exports significantly since 1970. In the early 1950s taxes on copper constituted more than 30% of government revenue and are now about 25% (Meller, 2002, p. 18).

Chile now has the highest income level per person in Latin America. An important factor that moved Chile into this position was the boom in copper production and rising copper prices since the 1990s. Chile still has 36% of the world's known copper reserves (Meller and Simpasa, 2011, Table I.2).

The major copper mines in former Bolivian territory are Chuquicamata, Mantos Blancos, Escondida, Michilla, Zaldívar, El Abra, and Radomiro Tomic. Together they had an annual production of 2.16 million metric tons of copper in 2011, with a value of 19.2 billion U.S. dollars (Cochilco, 2013). Bolivia's total 2011 GDP was 24.4 billion U.S. dollars, making the lost value of copper in the

Bolivia littoral equal to 78.7% of Bolivian GDP. At the height of copper prices in 2006, the value of Chile's Antofagasta Region copper production was equal to 179.4% of Bolivian GDP. If Bolivian still held this territory and mined it as the Chileans do, the Bolivian GDP in 2006 would have been almost 3 times the level it actually was.

The price of copper fluctuates considerably, as does the level of production, which affect the value of copper production over time. From 1960 to 2011, the value of Antofagasta Region copper production varied from 14% of Bolivian GDP to 179% of GDP. Taking the sum of all Antofagasta Region copper production from 1960 to 2011, it was equal to 59% of the sum of all Bolivian GDP over the same period. That means that had this copper production been part of the Bolivian economy, the value of Bolivia's output per person would have been more than 50% higher on average every year since 1960.

The export income and government revenues from copper production have been quite fundamental to Chile's economic development, as assessed by numerous Chilean economists. One study refers to copper as the "main beam" of Chilean development.

The huge resources of Antofagasta Region copper production could have made a vast difference over the 20th Century in terms of Bolivian investment in infrastructure, education, health, or other contributors to its economic and social development.

## **6. Summary and Conclusion**

Landlocked countries as a group are much poorer than other countries. Excluding Europe, with its high level of development, coastal countries have 311% of GDP per capita of landlocked countries in 2011, and the average coastal country has a GDP per capita level 337% that of Bolivia.

In each continent with landlocked countries, South America, Africa, Asia, and Europe, the poorest country in the continent is landlocked with the exception

of Africa. There are landlocked countries which are prosperous and don't fit this pattern. All them have either of two characteristics. They are either natural resource exporters (Kazakhstan and Botswana) or they are well integrated into prosperous markets in neighboring countries (think of Luxembourg or Switzerland).

Coastal countries have greater productive resources in the form of physical and human capital. Coastal countries have a 61% larger capital stock per person on average than landlocked countries. Coastal countries have 7.3 years higher life expectancy and 0.7 years more schooling.

The differences in international trade between landlocked and coastal countries are, if anything, more marked than income differences. Coastal country exports per capita in 2010 are 357% of landlocked country exports, more than three and a half times the level

The advantage in export prowess of coastal countries remains remarkably stable when other explanatory variables are controlled for, including the income levels of the exporting and importing countries and the political and linguistic connections between the trading countries.

High transport costs are an important factor constraining landlocked countries. Worldwide, we find that landlocked countries' trade transport costs are 15% higher than coastal countries, although this only accounts for goods which are nevertheless exported. It does not include goods not exported because costs were prohibitively high. Bolivia has the highest transport costs in South America, 20% higher than the continental average.

An extremely valuable natural resource was lost by Bolivia in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884): the world's richest copper deposits. The Antofagasta Region of Chile, which is Bolivia's former coastal province, contains about half of Chile's copper reserves.

The copper production from the formerly Bolivian Antofagasta Region was equal in value to 79% of total Bolivian GDP in 2011. Since 1960, cumulative

cooper production in Antofagasta Region is equal to 59% of cumulative Bolivian GDP over the same period. If copper was a “key” to Chilean development, it would have had dramatically bigger effects on the poorer, more isolated, and less populous Bolivia.

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**CHILEAN OFFICIAL JOURNAL**





**ANNEX 181: OFFICIAL GAZETTE, PUBLICATION OF THE TREATIES  
SIGNED IN 1895 SUMMARY-EXECUTIVE POWER, MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SANTIAGO, 31 DECEMBER 1895, N° 5298**

**OFFICIAL GAZETTE  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE**

**OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL PRINTING, DE LA MONEDA  
STREET, N° 78**

**Santiago, Tuesday 31 December 1895**

**SUMMARY  
EXECUTIVE POWER**

[...]

**Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Worship, and Colonization**

Law which approved the Treaties of Peace and Friendship, of Transfer of Territory and Commerce signed between the Plenipotentiaries of Chile and Bolivia and the Additional Protocols of 25 May 1895.

[...]



**ANNEX 182: OFFICIAL GAZETTE, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
WORSHIP AND COLONIZATION, SANTIAGO,  
2 MAY 1896, N° 5397**

Santiago, 2 May 1896

Summary

Executive Power

Council of State

Sessions held from 4 to 15 April 1895

[...]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Worship and Colonization

Treaties of commerce, peace and friendship concluded between the Republics of  
Chile and Bolivia-



## **BOOKS**



**ANNEX 183: ALESSANDRI, PALMA, A., *RECUERDOS DE GOBIERNO*, VOL. I,  
NASCIMENTO, SANTIAGO, 1967, P. 182**

[Extract]

(Italics in the original)

[...]

There was, unfortunately, an incident which is unbearable, and which served Mr. Kellogg as an excuse for him to assert the purpose of his which harmed us so gravely.

When Lassiter, on 9 June, requested the suspension of the session and that the fixation of the voting date be postponed arguing that the Government of Chile offered a transactional formula which could prosper, it was because, unexpectedly, on 10 June, an offer arrived in Washington made by the Chilean government concerning a transactional formula, in order to solve the problem by *leaving Tacna to Peru and Arica to Chile, and a strip for Bolivia that would end in an inlet whose name neither Samuel Claro nor myself could find in the map by Cruchaga*. In the cablegram of our Government not allusion is made to Palos inlet as outlet for Bolivia.

Our Government, until then, has kept firm in the idea that good offices did not suspend the plebiscitary process, a position which it kept after of the aforementioned proposal was made, but Mr. Kellogg found a silver lining and hope there so as to determine the process in the manner in which he wished for, i.e. a political solution rather than a legal one.

According to Cruchaga and Claro, we understood the catastrophic effect and disturbance which the unexpected formula, untimely addressed from Santiago implied. We believed, as Lassiter and the North American Government requested that the session and the proceedings to fix the voting date be postponed. It was neither possible nor proper to continue legally dealing with the matter as a political solution that Mr. Kellogg longed for was both insinuated and offered simultaneously. Cruchaga and Claro in Washington, and Edwards in Arica, insinuated to the Government the need of suspending the plebiscitary process so as to give time to the study and solution of the untimely formula proposed by Chile. The Government insisted on ordering that the legal transaction continued and the session fixed in Arica for the 14 July, in which Lassiter's proposal was to be voted to declare the plebiscite inapplicable in the current circumstances not be suspended, in face of our reclamation for the fixation of the plebiscitary vote.

On my part, I addressed a cablegram to my son Jorge, who served as deputy, asking him to approach President Figueroa and to, serving the interest of my country as well as its righteousness, beg him to, in the face of the situation, order the suspension of the legal plebiscitary process for the Government itself had addressed a political formula. It was neither possible nor serious to follow both opposed paths.

[...]



**ANNEX 184: BELLO CODESIDO, E., ANOTACIONES PARA LA HISTORIA DE LAS NEGOCIACIONES DIPLOMÁTICAS CON EL PERÚ Y BOLIVIA 1900-1904, LA ILUSTRACIÓN, SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 1919, PP. 201, 205.**

NOTE N° 77 OF 30 NOVEMBER 1917

[Extracts]

[Page 201]

Supplementary agreement to the Peace Treaty ...a commitment ...confidentially an agreement to unite their actions to ensure by all means that either country could benefit from the dominium of Chile over the territory of Tacna and Arica.

[Page 205]

[...]

Meanwhile, instead of getting close to the realization of the expectations based on the 1904 Treaty, we now see that the situation created by that pact has weakened. Its direct communication to the Pacific by means of a railway granting it an outlet that it can consider of its own does not satisfy Bolivia's aspiration any longer. The demand for securing a coastal area granted by the Pacts of 1895 is born once again. Can the building in which the peace and friendship definitely and solemnly accorded in 1904 rest be destroyed like that?

The dangerous doctrine that treaties are mere *chiffons de papier* is not the one that prevails in the world today.

We do not believe that a complication that disappeared from our difficulties with neighbouring countries 14 years ago can be embodied. On the contrary, it is advantageous to make history, in recalling antecedents, clearing doubts up, in order to react against this Muslim calm that has been the characteristic note of our foreign policy and to contribute to leave the inaction that numbs the country in these matters of vital importance for their future destinies.

We cannot, and we shall not doubt of our friendship with Bolivia, its loyalty and consequence with the commitments that bond it with our country. Its aspiration for an own port has always been considered as legitimate and responsible. Regardless of the situation created by the Treaty of Peace with Chile, why could that aspiration not be translated into future agreements based on sufficient and equitable compensations?

Meanwhile, it is our view to realize the common purposes envisaged in 1904 in their whole extend.

[...]

**ANNEX 185: GONZALEZ VIDELA, G., *MEMORIAS, GABRIELA MISTRAL*,  
1975, PP. 7 863-866, 906, 907**

[Page 7]

**TWO WORDS**

In order to rightfully judge the successes and mistakes of a Governor, as it would be the case now, it is necessary to ponder, with a general view, the great number of geographic, racial, ethical, psychological and educational antecedents that influenced him, as well as the social and family atmosphere that moulded his youth. Besides, not only must we recall positive actions, but also negative or wrongful actions, considering the limitations of every head of State who endures the permanent drama between theory and reality, between what is ideal and what is possible.

For the purpose of cooperating to this evaluation of history, I have started, today, Thursday 2 November 1972, to word these Memories. I am currently seventy four years old, and it has been exactly twenty years since I left the Government.

[...]

[Page 863]

*Chapter IV*

**THE CONFERENCE HELD WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE  
“BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR”**

On 13 April 1950 in the afternoon, a transcendental meeting was held with President Truman at the White House. This meeting had political and international projections of unforeseen scopes.

The Minister of Foreign affairs, Horacio Walker, the North American Chancellor, Dean Acheson, and the Attending Secretary, Edward Miller, who served us as interpreter, attended this meeting.

The meeting addressed a secret commitment between the Governors of Bolivia, called “Bolivian corridor”, through which Chile made a cession to that country of a 10 kilometre wide territorial strip in the north of Arica, which would be compensated with the use of waters of Titicaca Lake, with the aim of generating hydroelectric energy for the north of Chile and irrigation for Pampa Tamarugal.

Far from making a reality of such an ambitious and transcendental plan, which was to solve not only the ancient Bolivian port issue, but which was also to change geographic, agricultural and industrial configuration of the Provinces of Tarapaca and Antofagasta, it was first necessary to have the support of the US for its funding, which was beyond the capacities of either of the two countries.

In this meeting, I had pleasant surprise that President Truman, with a sharp Americanist vision as well as with a firm determination to help solve the issues affecting countries in our hemisphere and to contribute to their economic development, showed not only a vivid interest but also an extraordinary jubilation which translated into enthusiastic congratulations for the President of Chile, for having proposed constructive, Americanist solutions, rather than conflicts and rivalry with other brother countries.

His enthusiasm, coupled with the courage and determination that he had always put in his decisions led him to compromise the full financial and technical assistance from the United States to planify, as a great projection, which would amount to thirty thousand hectares of irrigation in Pampa of Tamarugal, the electrification of the northern provinces with a capacity exceeding Chile's electric force, and the creation of a port north of Arica to end the Bolivia's landlocked condition.

The project was to be kept in secret with the Bolivian Chancellery, so long as it did not have the support of the US, the Peruvian approval and public opinions in Chile, Peru and Bolivia be heard.

That is why I emphasized to President Truman, along with thanking him and congratulating him for the enthusiastic and decisive welcome it had for the project, the need of keeping absolute reserve while consultations to the Foreign Ministry of Peru and studies for the ratification of the agreement with the congresses of Chile, Peru and Bolivia were conducted.

Filled with satisfaction and happy for the results of the meeting, in a great act of trust for Chilean journalists accompanying me in the meeting, Mr. Guillermo Pérez Arce from *El Mercurio*; Alfredo Silva Carvallo, from *La Unión*; Ramón Cortéz, for *La Nación* and Luis Silva for *El Diario Ilustrado*, I informed them about the purpose of my long meeting with President Truman and the success in my negotiations and I had them swear to keep silence until they were authorized by me to disclose information. I must record, in conceit for Chilean journalists, that all of them kept their word.

But Mr. Truman, in his irrepressible enthusiasm of seeing such a transcendental project come true soon as possible, incurred, soon after, in an involuntary

indiscretion during a press conference at the White House, when a journalist asked him about the favourable consequences that my visit to the US implied. Truman, with the spontaneity and frankness that characterize him, replied saying that I was an outstanding Mandatory, who had not placed issues on his shoulders but rather Americanist and constructive solutions, as the project of the “Bolivian corridor”.

*The news of the corridor hits like a bomb and paralyzes negotiations definitely*

That involuntary indiscretion of the President of the US caused a burning sensation and exploded like a bomb in the circles of opposition, both in Chile and Bolivia, and in the spheres of the Government of Peru.

The most violent and unfair attacks came from Santiago against the President of Chile and the Foreign Ministers that had participated in the negotiations, Horacio Walker, Germán Vergara and Germán Riesco.

In order not to interrupt the narration of my visit to the US, I shall make known in detail all antecedents and official notes exchanged with the Government of Bolivia that relate to the “Bolivian corridor” further on.

[...]

*Chapter V*

FINAL STATEMENT

I take the occasion of the publication of these Memories to declare in the most emphatic manner that everything relating to the “Bolivian corridor” is my exclusive responsibility. Its negotiation was inspired in the two fundamental postulates of my presidential programme: interdependency of nations of the American continent and economic complementation, as a foundation of peace and well-being of the peoples.

My Government programme, of 21 July 1946, textually declared:

*International action*

1° The international policy of Chile shall be oriented in the maintenance of world peace, strengthening of the Organization of American States and relations among all democratic states in the world.

[...]

The foreign Ministers that served during my Presidential Mandate, did so under my direct instructions. I would like to thank them for the sacrifice and courage they had to defend the Government against criticism they were subjected to, many which were bitter and unfair. I specially would like to thank my friends Horacio Walker, who accompanied me in my trip to the US and in the meetings with President Truman and who subsequently had to defend my Presidential Mandate

before the Parliament when referring to this initiative with the burning devotion and full dominion of such controversial issue, and Germán Vergara Donoso, who dedicated his life to the service of the Chancellery and who served on two occasions as foreign Minister, to then take office as Ambassador in Buenos Aires.



**ANNEX 186: MESA GISBERT, C., “EL MAR, EL LARGO CAMINO A CASA”**  
**REVISTA DEBATE BOLIVIANO: LA DEMANDA MARÍTIMA ANTE**  
**LA HAYA, FUNDACIÓN VICENTE PAZOS KANKI,**  
**BOLIVIA, 2013, P. 49**

[Extract]

[...]

**MY FIRTS MEETING WITH LAGOS**

On 14 November, in one of the halls of Tajibos Hotel, garnished with beautiful paintings by Bolivian painter Maria Luisa Pacheco, and very close to the early morning, I met with Ricardo Lagos in private. It was a meeting in which we synchronized easily because there was empathy between both of us. Lagos seemed to be, a man who is certain of himself, educated, with sensibility and full knowledge on the issue.

When addressing the matter I thought of not talking about the maritime issue or addressing it delicately; which seemed meaningless, so I told him from the very beginning that the events of October had changed things dramatically. In my opinion, it is not possible to get back into the negotiations that had been engaged into by my predecessors. The Bolivian emotionality had developed the most furious feeling against Chile and we need to accept the existence of a before and after 17 October, which blocked all viability to the “non paper” (which was not mentioned despite its being the obvious matter of concern) that had been discussed with Quiroga. I added that I thought it was the right moment to take the bull by its horns and that there was no other option than to consider a discussion on the Bolivian sovereignty.

Lagos replied that he agreed that sovereignty was “the question” but unlike me, he thought that it was at the end of the road and not at the beginning. I replied to him recalling the ninety nine years following the 1904 Treaty; both countries we have tried all possible formulas and none was materialized because the core of the issue was sovereignty, it did not make sense to go over a point which is inevitably the Gordian knot of the problem. Why not address it with courage? It could have been tricky to suppose that negotiations had been started now. Lagos told me that as well as the issue had a political meaning for me, it also did for him and that the Chilean people were not prepared to accept a discussion on those matters and that he was not in condition to gamble his political potential by going that far. Lagos

concluded the meeting with the classical Chilean proposal: “I am willing to talk about sovereignty immediately if you get Peru’s approval for a sovereign access for Bolivia that goes through territory formerly Peruvian. If there is a yes from Peru it shall imply a yes from Chile”. The 1929 lock establishes that Chile cannot cede to Bolivia territories that were originally Peruvian without the consent this latter’s consent, this has always been the golden reasoning for both countries (Chile and Peru) to trap Bolivia.

[...]

**ANNEX 187: QUEREJAZU CALVO, R., *GUANO, SALITRE, SANGRE*  
G.U.M., LA PAZ, BOLIVIA, 2009 PP. 478-479**

[Extracts]

[...]

Once the audience with General Campero was secured as well as the acceptance of Mr. Baptista, the plan was conducted with the greatest reserve. The three members of the Executive submitted to the illustrious politicians signed notes, so that they served as official credentials. He was authorized to make trips to the capitals of Peru and Chile and he was provided with resources for a mission that could last six months. He was reiterated that his mandate consisted only of “making a prior exploration, a cordial preparation of the general grounds that could serve as a treaty of peace, without compromising the official word of the Government”. In the said grounds, he was to attempt to “replace the conquest of the coastal territory for a legal purchase – sale agreement with fiscal franchises in the territory transferred, obtaining in exchange, a compensation at another point of the coast that it could acquire by free consent of the neighbors”.

The Government wanted to keep holding before the public the heroic semblance of being a supporter of regaining by means of arms what the invader wielded on national land, and not of being supporter of the dialect of pacifists. It asked Baptista to excuse his trip saying that he was going to the Pan American Congress of Panamá, summoned by Colombia.

During his first interview in Tacna, in early December 1881, Mr. Lillo surprised Mr. Baptista directly addressing the subject matter which concerned both countries, submitting the following document written by him:

“Memorandum of grounds for a definite peace agreement with Chile”

“With Chile occupying the territories of Tacna and Arica, in situation of immediately broadening that occupation and with no obstacle up to Illo ravine, the grounds for an agreement with Bolivia would be a rectification of borderlines which satisfies the old aspiration of the Bolivian nation, of expanding its dominion over those territories, owning an outlet to the Pacific in Arica.

“If Bolivia’s security demanded for a greater occupation of the territory to the north or east, Chile shall undertake to operate jointly with Bolivian forces, on those territories, establishing Bolivia’s dominion there Hence, Bolivia shall be able to navigate on waters of its own through Lake Titicaca.

“The transfer to Bolivia of the territory of Tacna, Arica and Moquegua, would be in compensation for the cession of the Bolivian Coastline that extends south of the Loa [River] that Chile requires to continue its territory to Camarones.” without the need of any compensation for war expenses.

“Chile undertakes to grant free transit, in perpetuity, through ports from Camarones up to degree 24, to Bolivian trade, both for internment and for exportation. At both, Bolivian and Chilean ports, the products of either state shall be interned free from all taxes.

“Chile undertakes to establish a railway, which departing from Iquique, Mejillones or Antofagasta, reaches the Bolivian uplands to serve the trade and industrial interests of the south of Bolivia. It shall also lend its financial support to the establishment of another railway which, departing from Arica, serves the interests of the Bolivian departments in the north.

“The treaty of peace to be concluded shall bond both nations, in the present and in the future, and they shall bond not only their trade and industrial interests but also, inasmuch as possible, their political interests, to lend their support to each other in the face of any international emergency.

“As a prior step to dialogue and reach the definite agreement, a truce could be stipulated between both countries which, in the event that peace is not agreed upon, could not be suspended but after four months of relation rupture.

“There are other details and additional matters with regard to a treaty of peace which would be easy to resolve without the plenipotentiaries – duly authorized and instructed by their respective Governments -tripping on any obstacle.

[...]



**ANNEX 188: MEMORIA DEL MINISTRO DE RELACIONES ESTERIORES  
PRESENTADA AL CONGRESO EN 1895, MEJIA, SANTIAGO,  
1896, PP. 11-12.**

[...]

**Bolivia**

Political and commercial relations between Chile and the Republic of Bolivia are still governed by the provisions of the Truce Agreement of 4 April 1884.

Considering the transitional nature of this international agreement, it has been a constant desire of both countries to consult the needs and conveniences of each State through a definite and permanent.

Whereas it is a fact that the indefinite truce has caused the same effects of a treaty of peace, for it has allowed to harvest good social and political relations which must prevail between neighbouring and brother States, and whereas fortune has also allowed for the creation and development of commercial interests and bonds, it is true that the general situation has been affected by uncertainty and instability.

The Truce Agreement put an end to the bellicose state of things but it did not create bonds that could unite the States in the future, nor did it open horizons that allowed them to be certain of their future. It created expectations, it prepared good understanding and it promised to realize, later, a lasting work of political and commercial peace and solidarity.

The mission that since late 1883 has been conducted by Bolivian Diplomats Belisario Salinas and Belisario Boeto had as its aim to either settle definite peace, if that was possible, or to lay the negotiation foundations that lead to the desired agreement.

[...]

The negotiation entrusted to Mr. Salinas and to Mr. Boeto were principally aimed at finding a definitive solution, with its Plenipotentiaries expressing from the very beginning that: “Bolivia could not resign itself to the absolute lack of an outlet to the Pacific Ocean”. Without the risk of being condemned to a perpetual closure and a painful existence even in the midst of its great elements of wealth.

[...]

The Chilean Foreign Ministry did not object to the comprehension of the political and commercial needs formulated by the Bolivian Diplomats, it was, nonetheless, asserted when declining its consideration back then, reserving the idea for later, among some other reasons.

[...]

Time elapsed has made it possible to avoid many difficulties.

[...]

Given such an appropriate situation, it has been easy to agree on definite peace this past May.



[...]

With the settling of these treaties, the coastal territory of Antofagasta is irrevocably incorporated to our territory, in the same manner and with the same boundaries with which we had govern it until the present, pursuant to the Truce Agreement.

In this same manner the whole of the territory of the Republic shall expand with no solution of continuity, from Camarones to Cabo de Hornos.



**ANNEX 189: MEMORIA DEL MINISTRO DE RELACIONES ESTERIORES  
CULTO I COLONIZACIÓN PRESENTADA AL CONGRESO NACIONAL I  
CORRESPONDIENTE A 1896, SANTIAGO DE CHILE,  
CALLE DE LA MONEDA, 1897, PP. 16-24**

**SANTIAGO DE CHILE. NATIONAL PRINTING, DE LA MONEDA  
STREET, N° 1455. 1897**

[...]

The Government of Chile, believes that is in its interest to make all possible efforts and do what is legal possible while observing commitments that have been made, to fulfil the national aspiration of the Bolivian people, not only on account of benefit that Chile would gain bringing under its sovereignty and dominion the coastline it currently occupies provisionally but also, in view of the political interest in fulfilling an urgently felt need of its neighbour. The fulfilment of that need is essential for its independence existence, as it is not only the importation and exportation of goods that Bolivia seeks but also to end its landlocked condition and to be able to communicate with the other nations as a sovereign State to, conclude treaties of navigation and trade. Neighbouring Bolivia, as Chile does, it cannot be indifferent to a nation perpetually upset by a disorder that will last until it secures the fulfilment of its need, its independent and economically effective international access to the Pacific Ocean. Within this conviction, the Government, after detailed consideration, has resolved in Council to adopt the policy to do everything possible, within the bounds of international honour aforementioned, to satisfy that natural hope of Bolivia and the first step in this regard would be, undoubtedly the completion of the treaties exchanged already by approving the Additional and Explanatory Protocols submitted to the National Congress today.

[...]



**ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES' DOCUMENTS**



**ANNEX 190: DECLARATION OF THE OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL ON  
OCCASION OF THE 150<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE  
OF BOLIVIA, ADOPTED ON 6 AUGUST 1975**

**Resolution 157 of the Permanent Council**

**The Permanent Council of the Organization of American States**

**Considering**

That the Republic of Bolivia celebrates on 6 August 1975 the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its independence;

That the General Assembly resolved in its 5<sup>th</sup> period of sessions (AG/RES. 176 (V.075)) “that the Organization shares the celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Bolivian Independence”;

That in the “Declaration of Ayacucho” subscribed in Lima on 9 December 1974, the Presidents of Bolivia, Peru and Venezuela, the Head of the Government of Panamá and the Representatives of the Presidents of Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Ecuador expressed that “reaffirming the historic commitment to strengthen unity and solidarity between our nations, we offer the greatest understanding to the landlocked situation affecting Bolivia, a situation that demands the most attentive consideration leading toward constructive understandings”;

That in the “Joint Declaration” formulated on 8 February 1975, in the border town of Charaña with the signing of the President of Bolivia, General Hugo Suárez and the Chilean President General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, “the Presidents reaffirmed their full support of Declaration of Ayacucho in which the spirit of

solidarity and the openness to understanding of this part of America is faithfully reflected”, and that “both Heads of States, within a spirit of mutual understanding and constructive intent, have decided to continue the dialogue, at different levels, in order to seek solutions to the vital matters facing both countries, such as the landlocked situation affecting Bolivia”,

That in the “Joint Declaration” of Panamá, signed in this capital on 24 March 1975, the Presidents of Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela and the Head of the Government of Panama agreed to express “the solidarity with the just aspiration of Bolivia to have an access to the sea”

[...]

**Formulates the following**

**Declaration on the occasion of the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Independence of Bolivia**

The landlocked situation which affects Bolivia is matter of Continental concern, therefore, all American States offer their cooperation in the finding solutions which, in accordance with principles of International Law and in particular those contains within the Charter of the Organization of American States, support Bolivia eliminate the difficulties that this landlocked condition has caused its economic and social development, reconciling mutual interests and promoting constructive relations.

Washington, 6 August 1975



**ANNEX 191: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 426 (IX-O/79), ADOPTED  
ON 31 OCTOBER 1979**

AG/RES. 426 (IX-O/79)

**ACCESS BY BOLIVIA TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN**

(Resolution adopted at the twelfth plenary session  
held on October 31, 1979)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

In a spirit of fraternity, and with a view to integration of the Americas,

DECLARES:

That it is of continuing hemispheric interest that an equitable solution be found whereby Bolivia will obtain appropriate sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, and

CONSIDERING:

That it is necessary to achieve the foregoing objective and to consolidate a stable peace that will promote the economic and social progress of the area of the Americas directly affected by the consequences of the landlocked status of Bolivia, and

RESOLVES:

1. To recommend to the states most directly concerned with this problem that they open negotiations for the purpose of providing Bolivia with a free and sovereign territorial connection with the Pacific Ocean. These negotiations shall take into account the rights and interests of the parties involved, and might consider, among other things, the inclusion of a port area for integrated multinational development, as well as, the Bolivian proposal that no territorial compensation be included.
2. To continue consideration of the topic “Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia” at the next session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 192: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80), ADOPTED  
ON 27 NOVEMBER 1980**

(P. 28)

AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80)

**THE BOLIVIAN MARITIME PROBLEM**

(Resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session, held on November 27, 1980)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN resolution AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79), adopted by the General Assembly at its ninth regular session, which declared that the search for an equitable solution whereby Bolivia would obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean was a matter of continuing hemispheric interest; and

CONSIDERING:

That, in the interest of the hemisphere, it is essential that that solution, while taking into account rights, aspirations, and interests, be found within the framework governing the relations among the parties involved, a matter that will be followed with interest by the countries of America,

**RESOLVES:**

To urge those states most directly concerned with the problem of Bolivia's access to the sea to initiate a dialogue, through the appropriate channels, to find the most satisfactory solution.

**ANNEX 193: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81), ADOPTED  
ON 10 DECEMBER 1981**

[p. 95]

AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME ISSUE AFFECTING BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the eighth plenary session, held on 10 December 1981)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN AND CONSIDERING:

Resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) and AG/RES 481 (X-0/80) adopted by the General Assembly, at its ninth and tenth regular sessions respectively which declared that the search for an equitable solution whereby Bolivia would obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean was a matter of hemispheric interest,

RESOLVES:

1. To reconfirm its support to the content of the above-mentioned resolutions.
2. To urge the states concerned to initiate, through the appropriate channels, a dialogue that will make possible the most satisfactory solution to the Bolivian maritime problem.



**ANNEX 194: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES .602 (XII-0/82), ADOPTED  
ON 20 NOVEMBER 1982**

(p. 36)

AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the eighth plenary session, held on November 20, 1982)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) of October 31, 1979, AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) of November 27, 1980, and AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81) of December 10, 1981, in which it is asserted that it is of continuing interest to the hemisphere to find an equitable solution through which Bolivia might gain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean; and

CONSIDERING:

That the need persists to attain the foregoing objective, in a spirit of fraternity and with a view to the integration of the Americas, and to consolidate a stable peace that will promote economic and social progress in the area of the Americas directly affected by the consequences of Bolivia's landlocked status,

RESOLVES:

1. To reaffirm resolution AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) adopted on October 31, 1979 as well as the subsequent resolutions AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) adopted on November 27, 1980 and AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/80) adopted on December 7, 1981.
  
2. To recommend once again to the parties directly concerned with the problem that they set in motion negotiations to provide Bolivia with a free and sovereign territorial link with the Pacific Ocean.
  
3. Either of the parties may request the inclusion of the topic "Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia" on the agenda of the next regular session of the General Assembly.



**ANNEX 195: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83), ADOPTED  
ON 18 NOVEMBER 1983**

AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the seventh plenary session, held on November 18, 1983)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN:

Resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) of October 31, 1979, AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) of November 27, 1980, AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81) of December 10, 1981, and AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82), of November 20, 1982, in which, respectively, it is declared and reiterated that it is of continuing hemispheric interest that an equitable solution be found whereby Bolivia may obtain sovereign and useable access to the Pacific Ocean; and

CONSIDERING:

That in a spirit of fraternity and with a view toward American integration, it continues to be necessary to achieve the objective set forth in the preceding declaration and consolidate a climate of peace and harmony to stimulate economic and social progress in the area of the Americas directly affected by Bolivia's lack of its own access to the sea,

RESOLVES:

1. To take note of the report of the Government of Bolivia concerning the maritime problem of that country, of the observations made by the governments of Chile and Bolivia on the decisions adopted on the matter by this Organization, and of the constructive spirit that inspires the two countries.
2. To urge Bolivia and Chile, for the sake of American brotherhood, to begin a process of rapprochement and strengthening of friendship of the Bolivian and Chilean peoples, directed toward normalizing their relations and overcoming the difficulties that separate them --including, especially, a formula for giving Bolivia a sovereign outlet to the Pacific Ocean, on bases that take into account mutual conveniences, rights and interests of all parties involved.
3. That either of the parties may request the inclusion of the topic "Report on the maritime problem of Bolivia" at the next regular session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 196: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 701 (XIV-0/84), ADOPTED  
ON 17 NOVEMBER 1984**

(P. 20)

AG/RES. 701 (XIV-0/84)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the eighth plenary session, held on November 17, 1984)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN:

Resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) of October 31, 1979; AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) of November 27, 1980; AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81) of December 10, 1981; AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82) of November 20, 1982; and AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83) of November 18, 1983, which repeatedly declared that it is of continuing hemispheric interest to find an equitable solution whereby Bolivia may obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean; and

The report presented by the Delegation of Bolivia; and

CONSIDERING:

That, under the sponsorship of Colombia, Bolivia and Chile held meetings to determine the procedure whereby and the context within which the process of

rapprochement and negotiation described in resolution AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83) of November 18, 1983, would be advanced,

RESOLVES:

1. To express its satisfaction with the fact that the governments of Bolivia and Chile have accepted the invitation extended by the Government of Colombia to meet next January in Bogotá to start conversations to settle their differences, and particularly to agree upon a formula that will give Bolivia a free and sovereign territorial outlet to the Pacific Ocean, in a process of rapprochement that would contribute to dialogue and normalizing their relations, on bases taking into account the rights and interests of all parties involved.
2. To reiterate its interest in the success of the negotiations aimed at solving the Bolivian maritime issue, with the participation of the states this matter directly concerns.
3. To declare that either of the parties may request inclusion of the topic “Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia” on the draft agenda of the next regular session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 197: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 766 (XV-0/85), ADOPTED  
ON 9 DECEMBER 1985**

(p. 22)

AG/RES. 766 (XV-0/85)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the third plenary session, held on December 9, 1985)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) of October 31, 1979; AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) of November 27, 1980; AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81) of December 10, 1981; AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82) of November 20, 1982; AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83) of November 18, 1983 and AG/RES. 701 (XIV-0/84) of November 17, 1984, which reiterate that it is of continuing interest to the hemisphere to find an equitable solution whereby Bolivia may obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean; and

CONSIDERING:

That initial talks began in response to an encouraging invitation extended by the Government of Colombia,

RESOLVES:

1. To take note of the report of the Government of Bolivia concerning that country's maritime problem, of the reply by the Government of Chile on this topic, and of other statements made.
  
2. To reiterate its appeal to the governments of Bolivia and Chile that they resume dialogue in a constructive spirit of American solidarity, with a view to finding a satisfactory solution that will provide Bolivia with a sovereign and useful territorial link and access to the Pacific Ocean taking into account the rights and interests of all parties involved.
  
3. That any of the parties may request that the topic, "Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia", be considered by the next regular session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 198: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 816 (XVI-0/86), ADOPTED  
ON 15 NOVEMBER 1986**

(p. 39)

AG/RES. 816 (XVI-0/86)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the ninth plenary session, held on November 15, 1986)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN:

Resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) of October 31, 1979; AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80) of November 27, 1980; AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81) of December 10, 1981; AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82) of November 20, 1982; AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83) of November 18, 1983; AG/RES. 701(XIV-0/84) of November 17, 1984, and AG/RES. 766 (XV-0/85) of December 9, 1985; and

CONSIDERING:

That the objective indicated in the abovementioned resolutions must be achieved in a spirit of fraternity and integration of the hemisphere, thereby stimulating economic and social development in the American hemisphere, particularly in the area affected by the consequences of Bolivia's landlocked status,

RESOLVES:

1. To take note, with satisfaction, of the report of the Government of Bolivia and of the response from the Government of Chile, which have begun a process of rapprochement with a view to creating an environment conducive to dialogue and understanding between the two nations, in an effort to resolve the substantive issues that fall within their interests.
  
2. To voice its hopes for the success of this process of rapprochement and its noble objectives.
  
3. To state that either of the parties may request that the topic “Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia” be placed on the agenda for the next regular session of the General Assembly.



**ANNEX 199: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 873 (XVII-0/87), ADOPTED  
ON 14 NOVEMBER 1987**

(p. 29)

AG/RES. 873 (XVII-0/87)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the tenth plenary session, held on November 14, 1987)

**WHEREAS:**

The dialogue aimed at finding a solution to Bolivia's land-locked status has broken off, a dialogue consistent with resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79), AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80), AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81), AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82), AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83), AG/RES. 701 (XIV-0/84), AG/RES. 766 (XV-0/85), and AG/RES. 816 (XVI-0/86), which had declared it to be of permanent interest to the hemisphere that an equitable solution be found whereby Bolivia must obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean; and

The objective indicated in the preceding paragraph must be accomplished in the spirit of brotherhood and American integration, in order to achieve the harmony that will stimulate economic and social progress in that area of the Americas directly affected by the consequences of Bolivia's land-locked status,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

RESOLVES:

1. To regret that the talks recently held between Chile and Bolivia have broken off, and once again to urge those states directly involved in this problem to resume negotiations in an effort to find a means of making it possible to give Bolivia an outlet to the Pacific Ocean, on the basis of mutual benefits and the rights and interests of the parties involved.

2. To state that either of the parties may request that the item "Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia" be included on the agenda for the next regular session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 200: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES. 930 (XVIII-0/88), ADOPTED  
ON 19 NOVEMBER 1988**

(p. 52)

AG/RES. 930 (XVIII-0/88)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the thirteenth plenary session, held on November 19, 1988)

**WHEREAS:**

The dialogue aimed at finding a solution to Bolivia's landlocked status continues to be broken off, a dialogue that had been taking place consistent with resolutions AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79), AG/RES. 481 (X-0/80), AG/RES. 560 (XI-0/81), AG/RES. 602 (XII-0/82), AG/RES. 686 (XIII-0/83), AG/RES. 701 (XIV-0/84), AG/RES. 766 (XV-0/85), and AG/RES. 816 (XVI-0/86), which had declared it to be of permanent interest to the hemisphere that an equitable solution be found whereby Bolivia may obtain sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean, and

The objective indicated in the preceding paragraph must be accomplished in a spirit of brotherhood and American integration in order to achieve the harmony that will stimulate economic and social progress in the area of the Americas directly affected by the consequences of Bolivia's landlocked status,

## THE ASSEMBLY GENERAL

### RESOLVES:

1. To regret, once again, that the latest talks held between Chile and Bolivia were broken off, and to again urge the states directly involved in this problem to resume negotiations in an effort to find a means of making it possible to give Bolivia an outlet to the Pacific Ocean on a basis that takes account of the mutual advantages and the rights and interests of the parties concerned.
2. To state that either of the parties may request that the item "Report on the Maritime Problem of Bolivia" be included on the agenda for the next regular session of the General Assembly.

**ANNEX 201: OAS RESOLUTION AG/RES.989 (XIX-0/89), ADOPTED  
ON 18 NOVEMBER 1989**

(P. 34)

AG/RES. 989 (XIX-0/89)

**REPORT ON THE MARITIME PROBLEM OF BOLIVIA**

(Resolution adopted at the ninth plenary session, held on November 18, 1989)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING SEEN resolution AG/RES. 426 (IX-0/79) and subsequent resolutions, which declared that it was of permanent interest to the hemisphere that a solution be found to the maritime problem of Bolivia; and

CONSIDERING that the objectives indicated in the aforementioned resolutions must be accomplished in a spirit of American brotherhood and integration in order to achieve a harmonious solution that will promote economic and social progress in the area of the Americas directly affected by the consequences of Bolivia's land-locked status,

RESOLVES:

To reaffirm the importance of finding a solution to the maritime problem of Bolivia on the basis of what is mutually advantageous to the parties involved and their rights and interests, for better understanding, solidarity, and integration in the hemisphere, urging the parties to engage in dialogue and leaving the subject open for consideration at any of the next regular sessions of the General Assembly at the request of either of the parties concerned.



**ANNEX 202: STATEMENT BY THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 24 OCTOBER 1979**

[Extracts]

**MINUTES OF THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES OF 24 OCTOBER 1979**

[...]

[Page 10]

**3. STATEMENT BY THE HEAD OF THE CHILEAN DELEGATION**

**PRESIDENT:** I now give the floor to the Chief of the Delegation of Chile.

**REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE (Mr. Daza):** Mr. President; Honourable Chiefs of Delegation, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General. First of all, I want to congratulate Alejandro Orfila for his re-election as Secretary General, and Ambassador Valerie McComie for his election as Deputy Secretary General.

... Paradoxically, it is not convenient for us that the port issue has an immediate solution, but, it is better to postpone it to the future.

[...]

[Page 24]

Honourable Delegates: As re-established at this atmosphere, only through dialogue, mutual understanding, and on the basis of serious suggestions, could the path to a sovereign access to the sea for Bolivia be opened.

Mr. President, Honourable Delegates: Based on the foregoing, it is clear:

- That Bolivia has an aspiration and not a right;
- That Chile has been willing to satisfy that aspiration;
- That the OAS has no jurisdiction to rule on Chilean territories whose borders have been defined by an International Treaty;
- That in any case, the exercise of the rights, emerging from a treaty, could constitute a threat for the peace.

[...]

[Page 25]

Honourable Delegates, once this atmosphere is established, only through dialogue, mutual comprehension and on the base of serious proposals, could the path for a sovereign outlet to the sea for Bolivia be opened.

This is, and not another, the viable path.

Let's seek, once more, in a perfect synthesis of fraternity and solidarity, the pathways that may set a reasonable and acceptable solution in order to share a



common destiny, looking at, without obstructions, a horizon full of possibilities and hopes for our peoples.

**PRESIDENT:** Thank you so much Mr. President of Chile.

[...]



**ANNEX 203: STATEMENT BY THE BOLIVIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 26 OCTOBER 1979**

[Extracts]

**MINUTES OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
COMMISSION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES OF  
26 OCTOBER 1979, GONZALO ROMERO, HEAD OF THE BOLIVIAN  
DELEGATION**

[Pp. 357 – 361]

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF BOLIVIA (Mr. Romero): Thank you Mr. President. I have the honour to read the report on Bolivia's maritime issue to inform this General Commission.

1. Historical Introduction

Bolivia endures, for more than a century, a forced geographic confinement condition, as a result of the war started by Chile in 1879.

On account of that war, Bolivia lost 158.000 square kilometres of territory, in its Department of Litoral. The coastal territory lost has an extension greater than 400 kilometres, with good ports as Tocopilla, Cobija, Mejillones and Antofagasta, and inlets as Paquica, Gualaguala, Cobre and Tames.

[...]

“In terms of bilateral relations, under continuous Bolivian mandate, Chile offered Bolivia its return to the Pacific. Among them we cite the following:

- Under the 1895 Treaty of Transfer of territories, Chile was bound to transfer Tacna and Arica to Bolivia, should the plebiscite agreed with Peru favoured it.

- Failing that, it committed itself to cede Vitor Inlet, up to Camarones Ravine or comparable territory.

- On January 1920, Chile committed to cede to Bolivia an access to the sea, north of Arica.

- In 1923, when Bolivia proposed the revision of the 1904 Treaty, Chile accepted to sign a new agreement which satisfies Bolivia’s claim, provided that would not require altering the territorial continuity of Chile.

- In 1950, Chile accepted to enter into direct negotiations ‘aimed at finding a solution that would grant Bolivia its own sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean and for Chile to receive compensation that was not of a territorial character and that took into account its interests effectively’.

- In 1956, Chile expressed, again, its commitment to solve Bolivia’s landlocked condition through ‘Strictly Confidential Negotiations.’

- In 1961, the Chilean Ambassador in La Paz ratified his country’s offers, through a memorandum addressed to the Bolivian Foreign Ministry.

- In 1975, new negotiations took place between Bolivia and Chile. The negotiations failed due to Chile’s insistence on territorial compensation, which finally resulted in the severance of diplomatic relations between both countries.

All these commitments were ruined by Chile, for it made offerings in accordance to its advantages, in instances of risk with regard to third powers. After these risks were over or when circumstances changed, Chile forgot its commitments.

On the other hand, were it true, as it has once been intended to hold, that Bolivia never had any rights over that coastal territory, how can it then be explained that in so many occasions Chile agreed on negotiating that issue.

[...]



**ANNEX 204: STATEMENT BY THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
TWELFTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF  
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 31 OCTOBER 1979**

[Extracts]

**MINUTES OF THE XXII PLENARY SESSION, 31 OCTOBER 1979  
OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

(OAS/Ser.P/IX.0.2, 3 November 1980, Vol. II, Part II)

**3. CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL OF THE RESOLUTION DRAFTS  
SUBMITTED BY THE GENERAL COMMISSION**

**a. Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean (AG/doc. 1147/79 rev.1)**

PRESIDENT: With regard to the resolution draft on Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean (AG/doc. 1147/79 rev.1). I give the floor to the Representative of Chile.

REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE (Mr. Daza): Mr. President, the resolution we have to consider deserves many observations.

We cannot accept that the situation deriving from the Bolivian aspiration to secure a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean be related to stable peace in the region. Peace can only be affected if States are not willing to respect each other and comply with the obligations that govern them. I reiterate here that the pacifist

vocation of my country and how absurd it is to hold that the legislative exercise of the rights conferred by a treaty could mean a threat to peace.

In the operative part, there is a recommendation for the States to whom this issue concerns enter into negotiations aimed at granting Bolivia a free and sovereign territorial connection to Pacific Ocean. My country has always been willing to negotiate with Bolivia. Hence, the call should specifically be addressed to Bolivia, which was the one who broke off relations with Chile and put an end to the negotiating process in course.

[...]

On repeated occasions, I have indicated Chile's willingness to negotiate with Bolivia a solution to its aspiration to have a free and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. The means to achieve that purpose is direct negotiation, conducted in the field of seriousness and mutual respect, without influence, suggestions or instructions imparted by others.

Once more, Bolivia has discarded this means and the pathway that it has looked for, through this resolution, attempting to put conditions and push Chile, implies an insurmountable obstacle to start a negotiation that fulfils its aspiration and that duly contemplates the dignity and sovereignty of both parties.

This Assembly has closed that door. It has strayed the possibility that Bolivia secures the fulfilment of its maritime aspiration.



So long as we keep insisting on the path noted by the resolution, so long as the preceding pathway is discarded – free and with-no- conditions negotiations between both countries, so long as Chile I pushed with awkward interference, Bolivia shall not have access to the sea through Chilean territory. The responsibility will not be Chile's. Thank you Mr. President.



**ANNEX 205: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE  
AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICAN STATES, ON 18 NOVEMBER 1983**

[Extracts]

**ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY,**

OAS/Ser.P/XII.0.2, 14 November 1983, Vol. II, Part I

**MINUTES AND DOCUMENTS  
VOLUME II**

**VERBATIM RECORDS OF THE PLENARY SESSIONS  
AND OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION**

[p. 368]

**GENERAL SECRETARY  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES  
WASHINGTON, DC. 1984**

**18 November 1983**

[...]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE (Mr. Schweitzer): Thank you, Mr. President, Minister of Foreign Affairs, distinguished Representatives:

[...]

Any negotiation with Bolivia aimed at satisfying the Bolivian desire to find a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean through Chilean territory is a matter of direct solution between Bolivia and Chile, and it will eventually require Peruvian participation, if it refers to the territories included in the Treaty of 1929, which Chile has subscribed with that friend country. Any negotiation of this type must also be the consequence of a process; a process involving the improvement and normalization of the relations between our two countries and which allows to create a positive political atmosphere which facilitates an action of such a nature. My country is and has always been willing to make a contribution to the beginning of this process.

[...]

[p. 372]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE (Mr. Schweitzer): Mr. President I would like to start by reiterating what has always been the position of my country in relation to the constructive spirit with which it has always participated in these Assemblies and collaborated with this organism.

[...]

In this connection, the proposal of a resolution that the distinguished Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs and friend has presented to us is supported of my Government, hence, and precisely reaffirming the postulates we have formulated

in these assemblies, we must express our reservation with regard to the preamble because we find that it alludes to resolutions which my Government has never accepted.

[...]

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I ask the Secretary to read.



**ANNEX 206: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF  
COLOMBIA AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 18 NOVEMBER 1983**

[Extracts]

(ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN STATES, GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
OAS/Ser.P/XIII.0.2, 14 November, 1983, Vol. II, Part I, XIII PERIOD,  
ORDINARY SESSIONS, Washington D.C. held from 14 to 18 November 1983)

[p. 70 - 371]

**4. Report on the Bolivian maritime issue  
(AG/ doc.1620/83) ( point 9<sup>th</sup> of the list of topics)**

[...]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF COLOMBIA (Mr. LLoreda):  
Mister President, distinguish Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Representatives, ladies  
and gentlemen:

[...]

We all have understood which beginning things have and this beginning could  
allow positive progress toward the goal of a closest understanding between  
Bolivia and Chile. I want to note that if this initiative, and is the hope that all we  
have, could get the simultaneous support of countries and, in general of the  
American community, my Government and in particular the President Betancur

could concrete in a short time the invitation that always has been open to the two Governments represented by their Ministers of Foreign Affairs, so that in a next date in Bogota or another place they choose they might start conversations, dialogues tending to the purposes enunciated in this resolution. That is to said the beginning of a rapprochement process searching to normalize the relations, the overcoming of the difficulties and the search of a formula that makes possible the hopes and the expectative of those sister nations.

[...]



**ANNEX 207: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF BOLIVIA  
AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICAN STATES, ON 12 NOVEMBER 1986**

(ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
OEA/Ser.P/XVI.0.2, 27 July 1987, Vol. II, Part I, XVI PERIOD OF ORDINARY  
SESSIONS, GUATEMALA, CIUDAD DE GUATEMALA, Held from 10 to 15  
November 1986, MINUTES AND DOCUMENTS)

[Extracts]

**General Commission  
Minutes of the Third Session<sup>3</sup>**

[...]

**Date: 12 November 1986**

[...]

[p. 317]

4. **Report on the Bolivian maritime issue (Resolution project presented by the Delegations of Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Panamá, and Venezuela. (AG/CG/doc.2/86) (point 15<sup>th</sup> of the list of topics)**

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<sup>3</sup> Formerly published as AG/CG/ACTA 129/86

The REPRESENTATIVE OF BOLIVIA, (Mr. Bedregal): Thank you Mr. President. I will briefly address this matter at this level.

Mr. President, we will deliberately abbreviate historical and legal references which illustrate the process which has imposed detrimental conditions and vital limitations to the development of Bolivia for more than a century. The general opinion, the majority of it and decidedly in forums and international meeting, acknowledge the just and legitimate cause to secure a direct and useful access to the Pacific Ocean.

[...]

[p. 318]

Bolivia wants to note that in paying heed to the appeals of the international community it has held promising reconciliatory contacts with Chile which would fulfil the general and sincere intention of securing a fair solution to our landlocked condition. We are pleased to note, Mr. President, Chile's readiness to progress the negotiations that lead the problem affecting my country towards a happy end.

[...]

**ANNEX 208: STATEMENT BY THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE AT  
THE THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 12 NOVEMBER 1986**

(ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
OEA/Ser.P/XVI.0.2, 27 July 1987, Vol. II, Part I, XVI PERIOD OF ORDINARY  
SESSIONS, GUATEMALA, CIUDAD DE GUATEMALA, Held from 10 to 15  
November 1986, MINUTES AND DOCUMENTS)

[Extracts]

**General Commission  
Minutes of the Third Session<sup>4</sup>**

[...]

**Date: 12 November 1986**

[...]

[p. 317]

4. **Report on the Bolivian maritime issue (Resolution project presented by the Delegations of Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Panamá, and Venezuela. (AG/CG/doc.2/86) ( point 15<sup>th</sup> of the list of topics)**

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<sup>4</sup> Formerly published as AG/CG/ACTA 129/86

[...]

[pp. 318-319]

The REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE (Mr. Del Valle): Mr. President, Chile would rather vote against the project of Resolution entitled “Report on Bolivia’s maritime issue”. This position is consistent with the one that Chile has invariably held in meetings before the OAS General Assembly. Here, I want to recall the Chilean opinion on this regard: there is no territorial dispute between Bolivia and Chile because our borders were determined through the Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded in 1904, whose intangibility we hold. From the aforementioned it can be followed that international organisms do not have any jurisdiction to consider any matter relating to an issue already settled through a bilateral treaty.

Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Chile has always made public its willingness to engage with Bolivia over any topics of common interest, even those related to Bolivia’s landlocked condition. We have to recall that it was by Chilean initiative that conversations were started between our two countries in 1975, with the aim of granting Bolivia an access to the Pacific. It has been my duty, since 1984, in my capacities as Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, to keep friendship contacts with the different Bolivian Ministers of Foreign Affairs. I have met with my distinguished counterpart, here present, the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs Guillermo Bedregal, we have met in three opportunities this year, without counting this one; in August, on occasion of the inauguration of the President of Colombia; in September during the General Assembly of the United Nations and, in October, in Lima, on occasion of the Latin American Council (SELA) meeting. As a result of those meetings and on account of the sovereign will of our Governments, we have started a process of reconciliation between Chile and

Bolivia. Consequently, few weeks ago was held in La Paz the first meeting of the Rapprochement Bi-national Commission, in which we considered about 30 issues concerning economics, trade, culture, etc; issues of common interest.

[...]

The above mentioned is demonstrated that only the bilateral means is conducive to the dealing of the matters of interest for Chile and Bolivia. The intervention of the OAS, Foreign Ministers – I must say it with the frankness that characterizes me- is an obstacle in this means and does not contribute, but rather disturbs the process of approach between our two countries. It is for these reasons that Chile, as in the former Assembly, will vote against the resolution draft that Bolivia has submitted and requests that the vote be nominal. That does not hamper, however, that I express my satisfaction for the positive manner in which this process of approach in which Chile and Bolivia has been developed, and I reiterate the concepts that have been issued in my speech in the plenary sessions of the Assembly. Thank you. Mr. President.



**ANNEX 209: STATEMENT BY THE BOLIVIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT  
THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF  
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 17 JUNE 1987**

(ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, OEA/Ser.G, CP/ACTA 699/87,  
10 June 1987, PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICAN STATES MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION HELD ON 17  
JUNE 1987)

[Extracts]

[...]

**OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF BOLIVIA ON THE INTERRUPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH  
CHILE ON AN OUTLET TO SEA**

Mr. PRESIDENT: I declare open this special meeting of the Permanent Council of the Organization convened under Article 15 of the Rules, at the request of the Representative of Bolivia in order to draw the attention of this body an official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his country on the interruption of negotiations with Chile in connection with an outlet to the sea.

I ask the Secretary to read out the note of 12 June, in which the convening of this session is requested.

**THE SECRETARY: [Read]**

**12 June 1987**

Mr President:

Under Article 15 of the Rules of the Permanent Council, I request your authority wants to provide for the holding of a special meeting of the said Council. The purpose of this meeting is to bring to the notice of the collegial body, the official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of my country, referring to negotiations interrupted by Chile in relation to forced Bolivia's landlocked situation.

I request the meeting is scheduled for Wednesday 17 June 1987.

Thanking you in advance for your respectful disposition, I am pleased to reiterate the assurances of my highest consideration.

(f) Armando Soriano Badani  
Ambassador, Permanent Representative

Mr. PRESIDENT: Thank you. I am pleased to give the floor to the Representative of Bolivia.

Mr. REPRESENTATIVE OF BOLIVIA: On the occasion, Mr. Chairman, I fulfil the mission of making known the official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship of my country in reference to the maritime negotiations with Chile.

The Government of Bolivia denounces before the public international opinion the bad faith of the present Chilean Government, which, after having accepted to



enter into negotiations on the landlocked Bolivia's condition, and, having also accepted to hold a formal Foreign Ministers meeting on that problem where Bolivia proposed an official solution to that matter, unexpectedly replied stating that said solution it is not acceptable for the State.

As the International Community is aware, the conversations between the Foreign Ministers of Bolivia and Chile, Misters Guillermo Bedregal and Jaime del Valle, aiming at seeking an agreement to overcome the landlocked situation that affects Bolivia, started in New York in September 1986, during the 41<sup>st</sup> United Nations General Assembly.

[...]

Thank to the kind acceptance of the enlightened Government of Uruguay, the abovementioned Foreign Minister meeting took place in Montevideo, from 21 to 23 April last.

As agreed, Bolivia formally made a proposal embodied in two Memorandums, expecting to finish with the unjust landlocked situation that has affected Bolivia for more than 100 years.

The Chilean Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle and the delegation accompanied him to Montevideo, received the Bolivian documents, and after analysing them delivered a document in which they raised explanatory questions in relation to the specific subject-matter of the Bolivian proposal.

The Bolivian Delegation answered those questions through a third Memorandum in which Bolivia responded and pointed out all the requirements requested by Chile.

Thus the Chilean Delegation headed by the Foreign Affairs Minister del Valle seemed to be satisfied and stated that its Government would study the Bolivian proposal with seriously and true Americanist trust.

[...]

When he returned to his country Foreign Minister del Valle issued different declarations and comments on the Bolivian proposal, deeming it as “serious, realistic and pragmatic”.

Afterwards, Mister del Valle informed publicly that his Government had established a Commission to examine the question and hoped that before the end of the year, Chile would have an answer on that matter.

While Bolivia and the International Community, in particular the members of the Organizations of American States, who had reiterated, in important resolutions issued since 1979 on, that the Bolivian maritime problem not only affected Bolivia but was an hemisphere problem, they expected a worthy response of Chile, the Chilean Government abruptly issued a declaration characterized by its blunder and incoherence, putting, in this way, end the diplomatic efforts stared under the best support of the American Community.

[...]

Negotiations relating to forced Bolivia’s landlocked situation, which were being done under the exhortations of the Organization have been unexpectedly suspended by Chile, with unilateral decision, which unusually intended revoke formal commitments embodied in official Notes of 1950, subscribed by the

Chilean Foreign Minister Horacio Walker Larraín and the Bolivian Foreign Minister Alberto Ostria Gutierrez, in which they agreed: “to find a formula that could grant to Bolivia its own sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, and to obtain for Chile compensation that is not of a territorial nature and gives due regard to its interests”.

This agreement, which commits the faith of the Chilean State in its bilateral relationship as well as in the field of the international community, has been disregarded with unexpected resolution, underestimating essential principles of international law.

[...]



**ANNEX 210: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF BOLIVIA  
AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICAN STATES, ON 12 NOVEMBER 1987**

(ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
OEA/Ser.P/XVII.0.2, 14 November 1987, Vol. II, Part I, XVII PERIOD OF  
ORDINARY SESSIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C., Held from 9 to 14 November  
1987, MINUTES AND DOCUMENTS)

[Extracts]

**MINUTES OF THE PLENARY SESSION**

**12 November 1987**

[...]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA (Mr. Bedregal): Thank you very much Mr. President, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, on repeated occasions, this Assembly has given an ear to the representatives of my country with regard to the vital problem affecting Bolivia ever since that territory was mutilated from the motherland on account of a conquest war in 1879, depriving it of its own and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, causing limiting conditions for its development and tensions and uncertainty which affect international neighbourship and brotherhood among the nations of the continent.

[...]

From all this, Mr. President, the strength and justice of this Bolivian claim has caused Chile to acknowledge on many occasions the need to reach an agreement. I refer to the commitments of 1950, through the formal exchange of notes of the Foreign Affairs Ministry in which Chile undertook to effectively “look for a formula that could make it possible to give Bolivia access to the Pacific Ocean, and for Chile to obtain compensations that are not of territorial nature and that effectively consult its interests”. Those are notes that in diplomatic history are called “Larrain- Ostria Gutierrez”, the heads of diplomacy back then.

This agreement that commits the trust of the Chilean State in its relation with Bolivia, as well as the whole of the international community, bestows upon Chile the obligation to engage in negotiations already settled on searching for solutions to this geographical confinement, under the conditions agreed upon in the 1950 Notes.

It is necessary to note, Representatives, in this circumstance that translates the validity of a formal commitment, frequently confused as a generous concession of good will which the current Government of Chile shows off with arrogance, denying those commitments. Consequently, my country invokes respectful observance of these agreements, the dealing of this issue in a responsible dialogue that faces the solution provided in the documents I mentioned.

[...]

THE PRESIDENT: thank you. I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile.

**ANNEX 211: STATEMENT BY THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE AT  
THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF  
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 17 JUNE 1987**

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE (Mr. Illanes): Thank.

[Extracts]

Representative of Chile (Mr. Illanes): Thank you very much, Mr. President. Mr. President, an essential duty, safeguarding legal and historic truth, forces me to reply to the views of the Bolivian Foreign Minister.

[...]

Indeed, as unreal as the alleged Bolivian right, is therefore Chilean obligation to grant this country a sovereign access to the Ocean. There is not controversy or dispute of any nature between our countries. With everything, it seems to concern the Bolivian representatives that that artificial dispute could be a disturbing factor of peace in our region. My country does not absolutely share those fears.

[...]

For the reason set out above, my country rejects, as it always did in the past, the negotiations that Bolivia develops for the purpose of modifying the 1904 Treaty. Moreover, it considers an intervention in its Foreign Affairs, any individual or group attempt of third States aimed at achieving that same and unacceptable goal.

It is true, Mister President that on different occasions Chile has shown itself willing to consider in a direct dialogue with Bolivia free of unjust international pressure, anything that Bolivia may have wanted to propose including, its aspiration for access to the Pacific Ocean.

[...]



**ANNEX 212: STATEMENT BY THE CHILEAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 16 NOVEMBER 1988**

[Extracts]

Representative of Chile (Mr. Illanes): Thank you very much, Mr. President. Mr. President, an essential duty, safeguarding legal and historic truth, forces me to reply to the views of the Bolivian Foreign Minister.

[...]

Indeed, as unreal as the alleged Bolivian right, is therefore Chilean obligation to grant this country a sovereign access to the Ocean. There is not controversy or dispute of any nature between our countries. With everything, it seems to concern the Bolivian representatives that that artificial dispute could be a disturbing factor of peace in our region. My country does not absolutely share those fears.

[...]

For the reason set out above, my country rejects, as it always has done, the proposals of Bolivia that have as their aim the modification of the 1904 Treaty. Moreover, it considers an intervention in its Foreign Affairs, any individual or group attempt of third States aimed at achieving that same and unacceptable goal.



**ANNEX 213: STATEMENT BY THE BOLIVIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 16 NOVEMBER 1988**

(ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY, OEA/Ser.P/XIII.O.2, 27 October 1989, Vol. II, Part I,  
XVIII PERIOD OF ORDINARY SESSIONS, San Salvador, El  
Salvador, Held from 14 to 18 November 1988, MINUTES AND  
DOCUMENTS, VERBATIM RECORDS OF THE PLENARY  
SESSIONS AND OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION,  
WASHINGTON, DC, 1989)

**Report on the Bolivian maritime issue (Resolution project presented by the  
Delegations of Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panamá, the  
Dominican Republic and Venezuela.**

**(AG7doc.2278/88 and AG/CG/doc.3/88) ( point 15<sup>th</sup> of the list of topics)**

[...]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA (Mr. Bedregal): Thank  
you very much, Mr. President, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Chairmen of  
Delegations, Honourable Representatives:

[...]

Mr. President, it is necessary to point out, that prior to resolution of 1979, the  
Bolivian maritime issue was also subject to important bilateral diplomatic  
negotiations, some of these procedures are valuable antecedents which will be  
mentioned briefly in this report. In 1895, according to the stipulations of the  
Treaty of Transfer of Territories, Chile was bound to grant Tacna and Arica if the  
result of the plebiscite agreed with Peru favour it, or otherwise, Vitor Inlet or  
another analogous.

In 1920, the vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia and Chile signed a Protocolized Act in which Chile stated to be willing to grant Bolivia access to the sea in the north of Arica as well as the railway line; territory submitted to the plebiscite stipulated under the Treaty of Ancon, which was the last chapter in the war between Chile and Peru.

In 1926, the American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, proposed in use and exercise of good offices that; “The Provinces of Tacna and Arica shall become part of the Geographic heritage of Bolivia to perpetuity”. This proposal was accepted in principle by Chile.

In 1950, notes were exchanged between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Gutierrez from Bolivia and Larrain from Chile, through which Chile undertook to negotiate the concession to Bolivia of an own, continuous and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean without compensations of a territorial nature.

In 1961, through the so-called Memorandum Trucco, the name of the Chilean Ambassador in Bolivia, who delivered an official document, Chile reiterated its offering in the same framework as the aforementioned Notes of 1950.

In 1975, since the Bilateral meeting of Charaña held on 8 February between the Presidents of Bolivia, Hugo Banzer Suarez, and of Chile Augusto Pinochet, a negotiation process started; through it the Chilean Government accepted to grant Bolivia an own sovereign, free, useful and with territorial continuity access in the north of Arica.

Finally, in 1986, the rapprochement process between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia, Guillermo Bedregal, now speaking at this meeting, and Jaime del Valle from Chile, was unilaterally and abruptly interrupted by Chile, in will refer on it later.

[p. 383]

Honourable Representatives, all these previous situations and diplomatic attempts, unfortunately did not reach the goal as was hoped. However, they are valuable antecedents that affirm the will to reach an agreement between the parties and, on for different reasons, show Chile's reluctance to conclude the negotiations with Bolivia, since the end of the War of the Pacific.

On the other hand, it also shows that Bolivia sought its return to the Pacific Ocean in accordance with the uses and the diplomatic practice established by the community of States. Bolivia affirms, like all peoples of America, that our Organization, it means the OAS, is morally and legally the right forum for a solution to its confinement. The American international law has never been sealed and has never mineralized in unshakable dogmas. It has not tolerated either, that Inter-American right, the abuse of rights and has always saved the good faith. To that respect, it seems essential to reiterate the legal basis which support the jurisdiction of the OAS in this matter, provided in Article 2 of the Charter of our Organization.

[...]

Bolivia maritime issue is still an unsolved problem. Thus, it made, and in fact does cause tensions and unease in the region.

[...]



**ANNEX 214: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 6 JUNE 1990**

[Extracts]

[...]

**MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE:** Thank you, Mr. President. I have heard with special interest the speech of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Bolivia. The democratic Government of Chile, headed by Mr. Patricio Aylwin, has the steady will of encouraging a great project of understanding, cooperation, and political, economical, cultural, and commercial development with the Government of Bolivia, according to the challenges of the emerging international reality. We share the wise invitation that Mr. President Paz Zamora made in his speech before this Assembly, when he proposed us to consider the Chilean-Bolivian relation with the perspective of the already imminent XXI century.

To focus our relations among our Latin-American countries with the spirit of the nineteenth century would mean to relive dramatic neighbourhood disputes which, with a lot of confrontations, hostilities and mistrust, have retarded the possibility of a more fraternal, prospered and developed Latin-America up to now; to assume them with criteria of the future would mean, otherwise, to leave in the past everything we faced and project the rich creative energy of our men and women in favour of a shared goal of progress and friendship between peoples which are brothers.

On this occasion, in which democratic Chile returns to the General Assembly, we would like to only talk about the present and future potentially promising of our neighbourhood relations. However, we would not avoid referring to, very briefly, our distinguished friend, Foreign Minister of Bolivia, because in a way that force us to have to remember, as he defends on the basis of justice, based on Bolivian point of view, what he thinks the legitimate right of its people is, we have also asserted reasons consistent with the legitimacy of our thinking.

Chile, in his democratic past and now, has supported the position that the issue proposed by Bolivia is resolved by a validly concluded and in full force treaty. This is a point that has not been really discussed. However, in this point, we think that for Chile is at stake more than this problem, the respect for principles which constitute the framework, the essential instrument, the structure which regulates the peaceful life of peoples submitted to international law, namely the Latin-American system, such as the faithful compliance with the treaties, the territorial integrity of States and the non-intervention on issues of exclusive sovereignties.

[...]

That is why it was a pleasure to have heard the Foreign Minister of Bolivia when he said they had limited himself to remember, in the harmonic way it has done, the prior antecedents. My country hopes to count with the American comprehension and solidarity so that they help to consolidate its democracy, and to develop a hemispherical policy of cooperation and integration. Consequently, we would not like that, in some way, an intervention of another nature on this issue, even well – intentioned, would impede the big possibilities, which in the bilateral framework the Chileans and my Government are convinced that they



exist, based on the incessant search of a cooperation and of a full meeting between Chile and Bolivia.

The position of the democratic Government is at the same time constructive and pragmatic; we long to put the issue of the joint development in the middle of our bilateral relations; we have the political will to do it and also we have the idea that the future perspectives which emerge from this will, mutually understood, would be huge.

Honourable President, Chile is willing to find the formulas that allow to the perfection of transit rights and facilities to aid Bolivia's access to the sea; it is willing to forward to a fully bilateral meeting, and is also willing to agree on a realistic, firm, and lasting cooperation in favour of our two nations. We would not like to enter into a useless controversy which causes scepticism and weariness once more. Instead of this, we would like to concentrate on the auspicious opportunities opened to our two countries and peoples in this new stage.

[...]



**ANNEX 215: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 5 JUNE 1991**

[Extracts]

[...]

PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Foreign Minister of Bolivia. I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile.

FOREING MINISTER OF CHILE: Mr. President, I briefly want to say that nothing is farther from my mood than intervening in this matter in which, as I stated many times, Chile has not recognized other competence than the bilateral one, when it is about an issue in which there are treaties involved validly concluded. As Representative of the host country of this Assembly, I want to be brief and precise in my concepts so that I would not like, for any reason, to interfere with the atmosphere of harmony and cooperation that the democratic Government of Chile wants to continue developing with Bolivia, atmosphere that I tried to bring to all guest countries in this Assembly.

It is enough to say that the arguments that support the Chilean position: the defence of its territorial integrity, a respect to its sovereignty, faithful compliance with treaty based obligations, to name but a few to the category of principles in the Charter of the OAS by the OAS. Due to all the above, I reiterate my cordial invitation to the Foreign Minister Iturralde to put an end to this sterile controversy and concentrate all our energy on the achievement of the noble.



**ANNEX 216: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 19 MAY 1992**

[Extracts]

[...]

FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE: Mr. President, Foreign Ministers, Representatives:

I have heard with careful attention the words of my friend, the Foreign Minister of Bolivia. In the content of his intervention there are two well defined parts, one which refers back former concepts which the OAS knows are no more than the reiteration of proposals which have successively been done throughout many reunions and hence I will omit referring to them, for obvious reasons.

We want to look into the future and we want to look at it with the feeling of brotherhood and harmony with which we have been doing it. It is enough for me, Mr. President, to recall that this issue has been addressed in the last Assembly of the Asunción in 1990 and in the Assembly of Santiago of 1991, and fortunately I think we are in conditions of telling this Honourable Assembly of the OAS that we have not lost time in these last two years. And we have not lost it because as it has been recalled by my colleague, President Aylwin, as soon as it took office on 11 March 1990 and returning democracy to our country, that Chile wanted to move on at the same pace as its peers in Latin America. And in view of any pretention which someone formulated inside our country, in the sense that Chile was to look towards Europe and towards other continents because it had emerged from a developing world, President Aylwin categorically declared that we want to

move at the pace of our peers in Latin America because we believe that integration is the final goal of our continent.

Consequently, it is from that integration that we have received specific instructions imparted by the President of the State to the Foreign Ministry so that we act not only with the sister Republic of Bolivia and fundamentally with the countries of the South Cone but also with the whole of the continent, at an intense degree of brotherhood, testimony that there are no problems in the south cone of the continent and that nothing can, in the current moment, weaken the state of harmony with which the South cone has been working. It is the way in which we have been finishing to all the boundary conflicts that we have, many of them have lasted more than a century.

With true satisfaction I declare, as an example, that through direct negotiations we have been able to solve, with the sister republic of Argentina 24 boundary issues which were pending, in terms of a testimony that has been an example for the other brother countries in the continent.

As the Foreign Minister of Bolivia also recognizes it, in that same harmonic form, through the mix commissions, we fortunately put an end to nine pending issues related to landmark or determination of landmarks in our boundary, so that it was praised not only in our country but also in the sister Republic of Bolivia.

The problems relating to the maritime issue to which my distinguished colleague refers, he knows perfectly well that they have been solved by way of treaty and our country has consistently reiterated the principle of the inviolability of treaties. It is for that reason that we have no interest in returning to the past, what interests us now is to walk arm in arm with Bolivia and all other countries of the Continent into the future. [...]

**ANNEX 217: STATEMENT BY THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF CHILE AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 9 JUNE 1993**

[Extracts]

[...]

PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia. I give the floor to the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Chile.

UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE: Thank you Mr. President. I have attentively heard the intervention of the distinguished and dear friend Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia, but I consider it is necessary to make known the opinion of my county on this issue, but within the framework of a new historic relation which benefits the bilateral dialogue between both nations and to which Chile attributes the highest importance and transcendence.

Mr. President, as we have said before, our Government has the firmest of wills to keep promoting with Bolivia a great project of understanding, cooperation and bilateral development. We have been doing so for the last three years, but not only with Bolivia, but rather with all countries in the region.

Nevertheless, the words of the distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia oblige us to reiterate that which Chile has held without variation: the territorial issues that Bolivia raises have been dealt with by a Treaty that was validly agreed to and is fully in force. Thus, what is at stake here is respect for the principles that form the structure that regulates the peaceful lives of those peoples

subject to international law, and, in particular, the Inter-American system, such as the faithful compliance with treaties, the territorial integrity of the States and the no-intervention in the sovereign affairs of others.

When referring to this issue, I would like to make some views on the framework that guides our country in its neighbouring or inter American policy.

The foreign policy of president Aylwin grants a special priority to its bonds with bordering countries. We are proud to say that we keep the most fraternal bilateral relations of friendship, based on mutual respect and unrestrictive attachment to international law and treaties.

In fact, with the sister Republic of Peru we have subscribed a transcendental package of treaties which address a broad range of aspects. These agreements reassure the new stage of friendship, mutual trust and cooperation between our countries.

In the same perspective, Chile and Argentina have concluded important agreements, in benefit of both peoples, among which, those on economical complementation, exchange of goods and services, development of bordering zones, as well as exploitation of natural resources are worth noting.

Our policy with our neighbours is inserted, within the decided Americanist vocation of Chile. To the achievements we have reached with brother countries just mentioned, I must add the treaties of free commerce signed with Mexico and Venezuela. The treaty of Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of investments, signed with this latter, as well as the negotiations that are kept with Colombia and Brazil. We also hope to start negotiations with the US for an agreement on free commerce.



Mr. President, with regard to our bonds with Bolivia, I must recall that the Government of Chile has also adopted a series of measures whose aims are meant to strengthen relations, integration and development between both nations.

With regard to the contacts between our peoples, we must also note the elimination of the requirement of tourism visas for the citizens of both countries.

The Mixed Commission on boundaries – well noted by the Foreign Minister Chancellor – despite the existence of pending boundary issues, has ended, with the satisfaction of both parties, the demarcation of 11 points on the border.

Important agreements on matters relative to areal traffic have been concluded, as well as the supervision and repression of drug traffic, the use of the oil pipeline Sica- Sica – Arica, etc.

Chile, as pro tempore Secretariat of the Rio Group, organized, in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, along with the Government of Bolivia, the Foreign Minister Chancellor meeting of the said Group. On that occasion, in a historical event, the Ministers of Foreign Relations of Chile and Bolivia subscribed, in the presence of Foreign Ministers Chancellors reunited there, on 6 April this year, an important agreement on Economic complementation, aimed at deepening the economic and social relations between both countries.

[...]



**ANNEX 218: STATEMENT BY THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF CHILE AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
COMMISSION GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 7 JUNE 1994**

[Extracts]

[...]

**PRESIDENT:** Thank you so much, Foreign Minister Antonio Aranibar. I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile Mr. Carlos Figueroa.

**FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE:** Thank you Mr. President. I have attentively heard the intervention of the distinguished colleague, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia. His intervention makes us move once more to make known my country's opinion on this issue and to reiterate the reasons which support our position.

Chile has invariably stated that the issue approached by Bolivia was definitely solved with the sign of the 1904 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce which was validly concluded and fully in force.

Here, Honourable President, the respect for principles which constitutes the structure that regulates the peaceful coexistence of the States, and, namely, the Inter-American system, the intangibility, and the loyal fulfilment of the treaties, the territorial integrity and the no-intervention in issues of exclusive sovereignty of other States.

Mr. President Our Government keeps the full disposition to continue, encouraging with Bolivia, a policy of understanding, cooperation, and bilateral development, which seeks to modernize even more the negotiations which emerge from the treaties we have signed; everything within the new approach which guides our links. And I also want to take advantage of this opportunity to illustrate Ministers and Representatives on some important advances we have achieved lately in this relation with the Sister Republic of Bolivia, within the conceptual framework which guides the neighbourhood or Inter-American policy of the Government of President Frei.

Since 1990's, once the democracy was restored in Chile, we have kept a franc and mutual dialogue with constructive sense. That allows us for materializing valuable initiatives of approach in different fields of our important and varied links. The differences existing in the demarcation of some points of the border were solved, agreements on air traffic, control and suppression of narcotics, and the use of the Sica Sica-Arica oil pipeline. Moreover, an Agreement on Economical Complementarity which attempts to deepen the economical-commercial relations between our countries was signed.

Since next July, the pavement of the international road which links Arica with the border of Bolivia (Tambo Quemado) will be finished, what will allow Bolivia to have an access to the sea for its products and people in Arica by 217 kilometres of paved road built by Chile. The gas enterprise YPFB from Bolivia, and ENAP from Chile, just signed an agreement to start the studies of feasibility of the oil pipeline which would allow to supply with gas to all the northern area of the country, where principally there is Chilean mining, sources of energy, thermo electrical plants, and the consumption for domestic use.

[...]

**ANNEX 219: STATEMENT BY THE BOLIVIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE  
SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 6 JUNE 1995**

PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia, and I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile.

FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE: Thank you Mrs. President. Honourable President, I have attentively heard the intervention of my distinguished colleague, Foreign Minister of Bolivia, and makes me refer, once more, to Chile's position on this issue and to point the reasons which support them.

Chile has invariably stated that the issue approached by Bolivia is solved through a validly concluded and fully in force treaty.

The 1904 peace and friendship treaty, signed between Bolivia and Chile was subscribed forty years after hostilities ceased and it cannot be ascertained, hence, that it was imposed by force, even more when Chile accepts in its a group of obligations which my country has complied with faithfully.

[...]

Therefore, Mrs. President, we expect for the comprehension of the Member States regarding this issue in order not to interfere with what it is being developed in the bilateral framework, because we are convinced there are important aspects of cooperation and understanding between Chile and Bolivia. The treatment of this issue by the Organization of American States plays the principles of intangibility of the treaties and its loyal fulfilment, the territorial integrity, and the non-

intervention in issues of exclusive sovereignty of other States at stake, in which the peaceful coexistence and the Inter-American system will be supported.

I want to say, Mr. President, that currently, the relations between Chile and Bolivia have developed on the basis of reciprocal dialogue, with a creating and constructive spirit, which has allowed to reaching the materialization of valuable initiatives of approach in multiple fields of the relations existing between our nations.

Particularly, I want to note some important progress made in the last period, with Presidents Sanchez de Lozada and Eduardo Frei.

The meetings of Political consultations, created in 1993, have been an effective mechanism of dialogue, which has studied a broad range of issues, identifying and looking for solutions to the problems affecting the bilateral relation or that hamper our approach.

The economic relation has been fruitful, within the framework of Economic Cooperation existing between Chile and Bolivia: agreements for the reciprocal promotion and protection of investments, for the promotion of exports, on sanitary issues have been signed, and other agreements are being negotiated.

With regard to physical integration, Chile has concluded the paving of the road between Arica and the border with Bolivia and it is waiting for Bolivia to complete the paving between that point and the Bolivian capital, La Paz.

On consular matters, since late 1994, the system of registration of passports for tourists of both countries was ended and in 1995, and Agreement on Visa Exemptions was signed for holders of diplomatic, official and special. By

initiative of the President, Eduardo Frei, actions aiming at promoting the approach between institutions of national defence and the police, with the spirit of bettering relations at a global level and to generate a greater trust between them.

[...]





**ANNEX 220: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 4 JUNE 1996**

[Extracts]

[...]

THE PRESIDENT: I thank the Representative of Paraguay and recognize the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE: Mr. President and Ministers, the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of Bolivia causes me to refer once more the position of my country on this matter as the motives that support it.

As you are aware of Foreign Ministers, we have always held that situation posed by Bolivia was settled with the signing of the Treaty of Peace of Friendship of 1904, which was validly concerted and is fully in force. The intangibility of treaties is a fundamental piece of the American legal regulations and constitutes the foundation for our peace and understanding.

Within this framework, however, the Government of Chile reiterates its firm willingness to keep developing the project of bilateral understanding and cooperation which both nations have undertaken, naturalized through permanent dialogue on account of specific reasons which show the level that relations have reached and which our country's willing to deepen interiorly.

[...]



**ANNEX 221: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 3 JUNE 1997**

[Extracts]

[...]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF BOLIVIA: (...) Is it not possible that Chilean, Bolivian and Peruvian, united in this effort of creating an atmosphere of trust and solidarity and inspired in noble purposes, design a future of prosperity for our peoples all together? Such an approach would make it possible to develop an economic and integration dynamic of great benefits.

To the rest of our brothers in the hemisphere, Bolivia pleads that they preserve their support to this cause; that the noblest American ideals be highlighted. There is a chance that this time of great transformations gives us to look for progressive approaches and lasting solutions to the issue causing this presentation. We urge our neighbours not to waste this historical opportunity which the strengthening of our democracies and the new dynamics of economic integration give us.

Bolivia shall insist on an equitable and fair solution to its problem. Bolivia will return to the sea some day, we say it confidently, because as long as there is a drop of water in this planet Bolivia shall continue reclaiming that its maritime status be restored. Thank you Mrs. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much Mr. Minister. I now offer the floor to the distinguished representatives. I recognize the Representative of Paraguay.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF PARAGUAY: Thank you Mrs. President. Paraguay, as the only landlocked country in the Continent, shares the preoccupation and angst of the sister and neighbour Republic of Bolivia on account of its condition as a landlocked country and acknowledges that that fact constitutes an obstacle for the full development of our nations. Thank you, Mrs. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I now give the floor to the honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF CHILE: The intervention of the Foreign Minister causes me to refer to the position of Chile on this matter and the reasons that support it. I do so, in the understanding that it is an informative point, for the OAS, as any other international organism, has no mandate to consider affairs that relate to the sovereignty of member states.

The Government of Chile has invariably noted that its territorial limits with Bolivia were definitely settled with the signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce of 1904, which was validly concerted and which is fully in force. I want to recall that this treaty of territorial limits was signed by the Bolivian Government in use of reason and understanding, with the support of the Congress of that country, twenty years after the war which is alluded to, with no military presence, or pressure of any sort. Even President Montes, who signed the Treaty, ratified it and then he was re-elected under the political flag of signing an agreement with Chile.

Consequently, there is no limit dispute or pending matter on the sovereignty of Bolivia and Chile. With no prejudice to the aforementioned, I believe it is important to inform the Assembly that, through that Treaty and other subsequent

agreements which Chile gave Bolivia transport and communication facilities which did not exist up to that date, linking the Altiplanic capital with the ocean when building by its own the Arica-La Paz railway and helping to articulate internal railways; It granted port facilities, opening the ports it chose: Arica and Antofagasta, it allowed the installation of customs offices in Chilean ports, which is still in force, and the storage of merchandise for free, as well as the coupling of minerals found in the territories of the ports. All facilities were granted for the installation of the Sica Sica-Arica oil pipe line whose initials were changed so as to allow Bolivia to export and import products through that means.

[...]



**ANNEX 222: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 8 JUNE 1999**

[Extracts]

[...]

THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE: Thank you, Mr. President. The statement by the Foreign Minister of Bolivia forces me to reiterate some consideration we have formerly expressed on this matter; I am forced to address once again some arguments that even the Foreign Minister of Bolivia has forwarded. I do so as an informative point- that is the title of this issue in the Agenda- because the charter of the Organization of American States does not grant the Organization competence or mandate to consider affairs that affect the sovereignty of member states.

[...]

I want to recall that an important part of the boundaries of our continent were the result of similar agreements, most of them subsequently gave place to painful conflicts. To encourage projects of revisions of treaties would cause, in our region, an unacceptable instability. Which boundary will we revise then? If there are so many historical situations like this one in America. Why should we revise only one, whose settlement was the result of a conflict and subsequently of treaties? Besides, that fact continues to be stable and it is a substantive part for the peace which the Foreign Minister of Bolivia salutes, with enough reason, for our region.

[...]

[p. 202]

In 1998, the first reunion of the Committee of Boundaries Chile-Bolivia was realized, created in 1997, whose aim is border facilitation between both countries, both for infrastructure as for the resumption of any interrupted dialogue. We have always said it, and we reiterate it, we are willing to resume diplomatic relations with Bolivia. We do not interrupt them. We are willing to resume them immediately and with no conditions, certain that such normalization will contribute to the creation of a better atmosphere in which we will study our issues. The lack of diplomatic relations is an obsolete resource which does not serve any constructive purpose. I say we are not willing to do it with no conditions, because we are open to considering, in exchange of those relations, the cession of sovereignty over treaties in force or nor are we willing to accept the intervention of third parties in affairs which, on account of their nature, are of bilateral.

[...]



**ANNEX 223: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 6 JUNE 2000**

[Extracts]

[...]

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF CHILE: Thanks Mr. President and heads of Delegation, the Foreign Minister of Bolivia has submitted a report on the Bolivian maritime issue to the General Assembly. I would like to reiterate the position of my country with regard to the introduction of this issue as a point in the agenda.

As we are all aware of, the Delegation of Chile opposed to the registration of this matter which concerns us, at the OAS Agenda, as we have argued, lacks of competence to address a matter that may compromise the integrity of the sovereign territory of one of its member States.

There is no territorial dispute between Bolivia and Chile, for all matters concerning territorial sovereignty were definitely settled with the Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1904, fully enforced, and the boundary, as a consequence, between our countries has been definitely fixed. The aforementioned does not prevent that, in a strictly bilateral manner and without the interference of international organisms or third parties, we consider practical aspects which concern bilateral relations and that allow, with a spirit of dialogue and integration, to look to a promising and constructive future.

Mr. President, only as a piece of information I would like to refer to some important matters in the Bolivian-Chilean relation. I must highlight that we have moved forward in the improvement and modernization of the regime of free transit. In the last years centres of accumulation of minerals have been created and conversations have been held for the habilitation of new ports which facilitate the regime of free transit in favour of Bolivia.

**ANNEX 224: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE AT THE  
FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, ON 5 JUNE 2001**

[Extracts]

[...]

CHAIRMAN OF THE CHILEAN DELEGATION: Thank you Mr. President.

My delegation has heard with interest the presentation by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Bolivia with regard to the purpose termed “report on Bolivia’s maritime issue”.

On that particular matter, Mr. President, I must first reiterate the invariable position of my country with regard to the issue, in the sense of not acknowledging any competence to this organism to consider the matters that affect the enforcement of international treaties and the territorial integrity of its member states.

We reiterate also that there are no pending territorial or boundary issues between Chile and Bolivia. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1904 ended all dispute of issues between our countries and constitutes a fundamental pillar in determining our bilateral relations. This treaty has been fully implemented and is unquestionably in force, and the Chilean Bolivian boundary has been definitely fixed.

[...]

In all these meetings, Mr. President, our Heads of State have held a frank and friendly dialogue aimed at actions to attempt that the bilateral relation be enriched with new contributions, advance in the process of physical and economical integration, and carry out projects in different fields which support to establish an adequate atmosphere for a progressive and lasting understanding between our countries.

[...]

In a strictly bilateral basis and through a process of building mutual trust, Chile reiterates it is opened to consider creative and realistic formulas that may allow the improvement of facilities of Bolivia's access to the sea, without detriment to the principle of full respect the intangibility of the treaties of boundaries.

[...]

We are persuaded that the frank and deep dialogue between the two countries and the establishment of confidence measures are the only appropriate way for the maturation and concretion of projects of cooperation and full integration, that definitely, Mr. President, only concern our countries in a strictly bilateral basis.

Thank you so much.

**ANNEX 225: STATEMENT BY THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS OF CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN  
STATES, ON 10 JUNE 2003**

(OAS/Ser.P/XII.0.2, 3 October 2008, Vol. II, Part I, XXXVIII ORDINARY  
PERIOD OF SESSIONS, MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA, Held  
from 1 to 3 June 2008)

[Extracts]

[...]

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF CHILE: Thank you, Mr. President.

The intervention of the Foreign Minister of Bolivia submitting the termed “Report on Bolivia’s maritime issue” refers to, as we have repeatedly noted, aspects that relate exclusively with the bilateral relation between our two States and which are foreign to the competence of this forum.

Once more, we want to reiterate that Chile there is no territorial dispute between Chile and Bolivia. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1904, signed twenty years after the end of war and almost a century ago, is in force and the boundary between both countries has been total and definitely marked.



**ANNEX 226: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 8 JUNE 2004**

(OAS/Ser.P/XII.0.2, 3 October 2008, Vol. II, Part I, XXXVIII ORDINARY  
PERIOD OF SESSIONS, MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA,  
Held from 1 to 3 June 2008)

[Extracts]

CHAIRMAN OF THE CHILEAN DELEGATION: Honourable President, dear colleagues, Chairmen of Delegation, we have followed the intervention of the Foreign Minister of Bolivia, at submitting his "Report on the Bolivian maritime issue", in which a series of considerations regarding the relations with my country are formulated, over which my Delegations wants to approach their points of view.

With no prejudice to our conviction, which has been expressed at former General Assemblies, on these issues, in view of their nature, impact and consequences, they must be addressed in the bilateral channel, I would like to reiterate the determination of the Government of Chile to dialogue with the Government of Bolivia on common interest issues, within the framework of a broad and constructive spirit, and looking into the future.

Mr. President, when the Government of President Lagos started in March 2000, it was accorded that a dialogue incorporating essential issues in the relations between both countries would be engaged into. Since then, and for more than three years, the relation has been intense and active. Dialogue and contact have

been fluent, permanent and broad, which allowed addressing all issues of the bilateral relation.

The fundamental axis of this dialogue have been improvement of the conditions and facilities of Bolivian access to the sea and the liberalization of bilateral commercial exchange with broad asymmetric advantages in favour of Bolivia.

The agenda that both countries have addressed has been consequent with these purposes and it has included issues of road infrastructure, transportation, agriculture, mining, water resources, local and human development, border facilitation, physical integration, scientific and technical cooperation, culture, fight against drug traffic and police, customs and migratory cooperation, economic and trade complementation, among others.

The idea that motivates my country in this direction is our full determination to construct with Bolivia a future relationship, which looks constructively into the XXI century from a perspective of integration and satisfaction of common interests. We are convinced that in a globalized world, Bolivia's prosperity can only bring benefits for Chile. The growing demands of our peoples demand that we act jointly and solitarily.

[...]

Despite this unfavourable atmosphere, President Ricardo Lagos offered the immediate reestablishment of diplomatic relations so that both countries can easily address a constructive agenda and the Government of Chile kept and keeps a positive determination to deepen the Agreement on Economic Complementation with Bolivia.



All these efforts have not echoed. Furthermore, last April, a Bolivian decree prohibited exports of a third country to Chile.

Notwithstanding this atmosphere, which was neither created nor desired by Chile, we have persisted in our effort to keep communication channels open and to better aspects that have been of interest to Bolivia. Last February, a new meeting of the Mechanism of Political Consultation, Bolivia – Chile, was held in Santiago and it was conducted by our Vice Ministers. In March, an Agreement on Customs Cooperation was signed. On 6 May, in La Paz, meetings on specific issues which take an important place in our agenda- as free transit and port enablement - were held.

Mr. President, from this perspective that looks forward to the future, I want to reiterate what I noted when I first had the chance to preside, as minister of Foreign Affairs, the Chilean Legation in the General Assembly of the OAS, which was held in 2000, in Windsor, Canada. I said, on that occasion: “Chile is open to consider imaginative, modern, practical and realistic formulas which allow making progress on the improvement of Bolivia’s facilities to access the sea”.

What I said in June 2000, I reiterate it today, June 2004.

With that same determination, transparency, responsibility and respect, I want to reassure consideration expressed in former occasions when these matters were invoked here at the OAS.

For my country, bilateral dialogue is the only means to engage into a process which concerns Bolivia and Chile. It is not for the organization to consider affairs relating to the sovereignty of Member States and which affect the validity of

international treaties, whose intangibility constitute one of the pillars on which relations between states rests.

The 1904 Treaty of Peace and Friendship put an end to all controversy or situation between our countries and establishes an important foundations to define their bilateral relations.

This treaty is fully in force, its provisions are complied with permanently, free transit is a concrete reality, a very important part of Bolivia's foreign trade with no detriment to Chile, and the border has been fully and definitely demarcated.

Pursuant to this legal instrument, the two countries have developed initiatives of integration which unites them and we are certain that they will be able to continue improving those facilities with a view proper to the XXI century.

[...]

**ANNEX 227: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE, AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
OF 7 JUNE 2005**

(OAS/Ser.P/XII.0.2, 3 October 2008, Vol. II, Part I, XXXVIII ORDINARY  
PERIOD OF SESSIONS, MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA,  
Held from 1 to 3 June 2008)

[Extracts]

(147 – 148)

PRESIDENT: Thank you Minister and I now give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile, His Excellency Ignacio Walker.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CHILEAN DELEGATION: Honourable President, dear colleagues, Chairmen of Delegation, I would like to first express our concern and solidarity regarding the difficulties that Bolivian peoples and Government are going through in these times of disturbances derived from some social conflicts.

Sincerely, as all the ones who are present here, we wish the best for the sister Republic of Bolivia, and that this situation overcomes soon and in the best way, as the Statement we just concluded to settle by acclamation points.

With regard to what my colleague stated, Foreign Minister Juan Ignacio Siles, I would like to formulate some considerations.

As we have pointed and reiterated in several opportunities in this forum, the relations with Bolivia, to which Chile is linked geographical and historically, have special importance and a significant projection. In fact, despite the obstacles which affect the bilateral dialogue, our relation, which has the 1904 Treaty of Peace and Friendship as fundamental framework, has been deepening and enriching as an evident proof that the reality is richer and more powerful than the circumstantial plans.

We have attentively heard the Foreign Minister of Bolivia. We understand the demands to which they reply very well, but obviously we do not agree with their vision and interpretation.

As all of you know, the construction of a positive and future relation with Bolivia has constituted one of the objectives of importance of foreign policy, to which the Government of President Lagos has dedicated great efforts, his best efforts.

To this respect, this encourages us to the belief that, in terms of future, our destinies are inseparably linked and we have to walk together by roads which take prosperity and welfare to our peoples. This is, and not another, the demand of the XXI century.

During your Government, the President of Chile has reunited sixteen times with four Heads of State of Bolivia which lead the destinies of that bother and neighbour country since 2000 up to now: Hugo Banzer, Jorge Quiroga, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and Carlos Mesa.

My predecessor in this office held other various meetings with each one of the Foreign Ministers of Bolivia, keeping an active dialogue with each of them. In

each of these opportunities, Chile has proposed initiatives to enrich the bilateral relation and develop an agenda which will be projected until the XXI century.

The spirit with which Chile always approaches this dialogue was fully open to considerations of creative and realistic formulas which improve Bolivia's access to the Pacific, ensuring the guarantee of free transit established in the 1904 Treaty, as well as the progress of the bilateral relation at all levels.

[...]



**ANNEX 228: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 3 JUNE 2008**

[Extracts]

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF CHILE: Thank you President.

I would like to start addressing some of the points mentioned by Foreign Minister Choquehuanca, particularly at the beginning of his intervention, and I am going to quote them almost textually because what he has stated corresponds, in my view, to reality.

The Foreign Minister of Bolivia said that there has been substantial progress between Chile and Bolivia over two years, with a shared agenda of thirteen points. We fully agree with that statement. He, who has created a climate of mutual trust, which at first did not exist, and which, in fact, is central to addressing fully and integrally the thirteen points we agreed as a shared agenda, also points out that we also agree.

[...]

[P. 166]

And on account of the same fact and with the same frankness, I want to note some points of disagreement with what Foreign Minister Choquehuanca has said today. He have differences which I believe it is necessary to elucidate.

The first thing that I want to note is that in the relation between Bolivia and Chile, although it may sound obvious, the agenda that both countries have decided to take on, including all issues which have been referred to here, constitutes a matter of bilateral importance. As we have said in different opinions, I must insist in the fact that in the view of the Government of Chile, all issues mentioned by the foreign Minister of Bolivia are strictly bilateral matters. Hence, I must also express Chile's disagreement, in fact its rejection, to the involvement of multilateral instances in matters that are strictly bilateral: which, by the way includes this multilateral Organization.

I say it also, because I feel that it is not logical- neither from the legal viewpoint nor from the one of the path we have traversed- to even pose this issue on this occasion. I say fraternally, but that is how we think, how we feel, and this shall be our position on this matter. It is a permanent position of Chile on a matter reign by treaties in force and which, furthermore, do not grant third parties a right to an initiative or intervention.

A proposal of accompaniment as the one proposed by Foreign Minister Choquehuanca, is, in our view, a step backwards rather than one forward that contradicts the effort made to move on with this constructive relation, in a broad dialogue and with a view to the future. Once more, I would like to ascertain that I, at least, have confidence and optimism with regard to the substantial advance of the thirteen points of the agenda.

I want to also clarify, as I have said, that in that agenda of 13 points, it is effective and obvious that one of the issues included is the termed, maritime issue. in thirteen Point Agenda it is both current and obvious that one of the issues included is the so-called maritime issue. Under this point the aim is to try to find, in a constructive spirit and with creativity, possible formulas that might grant Bolivia a



better access to the Pacific Ocean, reserving Chile's legal and political positions on this topic. For that reason one cannot identify a sovereign access to the sea as an aim of this process, as my country would not have agreed to develop that point on the agenda on those terms.

[...]

[p. 168]

For the first time in the history of both countries, we have included the maritime issue in our official bilateral agenda. But, we say it here because it is so. This is a step that in Bolivia and Chile was qualified, with all justice, as a historical step.

[...]



**ANNEX 229: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 3 JUNE 2009**

[Extracts]

[...]

The PRESIDENT: Thank you, Minister Choquehuanca. Ambassador Mariano Fernandez, Foreign Minister of Chile.

HEAD OF DELEGATION OF CHILE: Thank you Mrs. President.

I would like reiterate before this assembly the appreciation and respect that the Government of Chile has for the Bolivian people and Government. We monitor the efforts to actively promote social inclusion and to broaden the process of citizen participation in Bolivia. That is why I declare before this Assembly that Chile supports with conviction the value of Bolivia's democratic institutionalization as the framework of dialogue and political conduction.

Chile and Bolivia are carrying out a process of a broad dialogue and with no exclusions which their Governments value and develop within the framework of a broad and with no exclusions agenda of 13 points.

It may sound ironic but I say it seriously, we have excellent, non-diplomatic relations, between Bolivian and Chile. But I want you to remember that Chile does not accept that the issues of this bilateral agenda be of competence of the OAS, and on this occasion, I express with equal clarity, as in the past, this fundamental principle.

We have expressed, on different occasions that the relation with Bolivia constitutes a priority in our foreign policy, as it can be evidenced by the different meetings held between President Michelle Bachelet and President Evo Morales.

In fact, in 2008 there were seven presidential meetings, evidencing the level of importance of our dialogue and the great mutual trust that has been created between both Governments and between both heads of State. That shows that the bilateral relation records a great capacity of convergence which allows to making gradual progress, with mutual respect and with no pauses, in all issues of concern for both countries.

The mechanisms of political, economic and physical integration cooperation show concrete results inspired in them. In that connection, we are making actions aimed at broadening the application of the regime of free transit to the port of Iquique, in virtue of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce of 1904, adding to it the benefits that Bolivia enjoys in the ports of Arica and Antofagasta.

We must note, similarly, the meaningful and evident progress made between Chile and Bolivia in issues as that concerning Silala River, mentioned by my colleague, David Choquehuanca, on which we have concluded the wording of an initial draft agreement which could be subscribed soon as an important milestone in our bilateral agenda.

Likewise, we are working to re-enable the Chilean section of the railway that unites Arica with La Paz. We want the rail to operate in the most effective and proper way possible.

I also note the careful work conducted by both governments in the Working Group on bilateral issues and the Mechanism of bilateral political consultation, instruments that have allowed for broadly systematizing the and with no exclusions the agenda of the thirteen points. By late this month, the meetings of the said mechanism were held in Bolivia, in which, I am certain, we will keep making progress.

On the other hand, I believe it is important to highlight that, within the Agreement of Economic Complementation N° 22, the Government of Chile grants Bolivia tariff preference with no reciprocity to 100 % of the goods produced in Bolivia with the exception of three products.

In other areas, the Government of Chile has accorded with Bolivia a broad range of bilateral cooperation programs, also mentioned by colleague Choquehuanca, in the sectors of defence, infrastructure, education, customs, culture, local government, and fight against illegal traffic and of genre, promoting its efficient implementation.

Chile and Bolivia have defined a programme of physical integration which articulates a series of investments and projects whose mechanisms of border facilitation would be too many to list on this occasion.

All these deeds are an integral part of a project of interoceanic corridor, a commitment of higher importance in the sphere of South American physical integration contained in the Declaration of the city of La Paz, signed between Bolivia, Chile and Brazil in December 2007.

In this connection, I cannot avoid mentioning the coming inauguration of the said corridor by late this year, which, along with connecting the three countries, shall

promote economic development and integration of their inhabitants. That oceanic corridor, in which other countries of the region converge, must play a strategic role in the process of insertion of Latin America into the current world and, also, it must effectively facilitate integration and dialogue of our region with Pacific Asia.

The words mentioned review an unequivocal nature of the sense of dialogue we want to keep with Bolivia, with mutual trust, strengthening the mechanisms of cooperation, concertedly acting in matters of common interest and giving this dialogue a key projection towards other issues in the future. Hence, we shall keep working through convergence and promoting the consensus required by our purposes.

I have no doubt that, moving on as we have done, we soon find goals that are satisfactory for Bolivia and Chile.

The Government of Chile is convinced that bilateral dialogue with no conditions reassures the constructive pathway which is currently led by President Michele Bachelet and President Evo Morales.

Mrs. President, I have briefly addressed a broad and constructive agenda which we are carrying on with Bolivia in a strictly bilateral manner. We trust that our capacity to keep a constructive, sincere and broad dialogue and to face the challenges of the present and the demands of prosperity and friendship which our peoples long for.

To end this display on our relation, we reiterate that this Assembly has no mandate to address matters that concern Chile and Bolivia, hoping that attending countries will understand it in that way.

Thank you.

The PRESIDENT: Thank you, Minister. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Venezuela has asked to address the matter.

[...]





**ANNEX 230: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 8 JUNE 2010**

(OAS/Ser.P/XII.0.2, 8 March 2013, Vol. II, FORTY SECOND ORDINARY  
PERIOD OF SESSIONS, COCHABAMBA, BOLIVIA,  
held from 3 to 5 June 2012)

[Extracts]

[...]

PRESIDENT: Thank you, Foreign Minister of Bolivia, and I give the floor to the Foreign Minister of Chile Alfredo Moreno.

CHAIRMAN OF CHILEAN DELEGATION: Thank you so much Mr. President.

I would like to start considering the intervention of the Foreign Minister of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, David Choquehuanca. His words, Minister, are an incentive and a reflection of the perspective of constructive dialogue that the Government of Chile aims at developing in its link with Bolivia.

As core of my intervention, I clearly want to state that the relation with Bolivia is for our Government a central point of our foreign policy. Our efforts will deepen at a level of political dialogue, keeping a steady and transparent position regarding the maritime issue, which we understood it is part of a strictly bilateral level, and such it goes beyond the competence of this Organization, as

we pointed on 7 April before the Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure, when the issue was submitted.

[...]

Dear Foreign Minister, we will look for demonstrating with concrete facts that our interest towards your country is real and of first importance. By such eagerness, we will identify and conclude actions with special emphasis on the improvement of free transit and on Bolivia's access to the Pacific Ocean through Chilean ports as the 1904 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce establishes. In this way, we will be able to provide a clear projection towards a future of greater convergences to this relation. Moreover, in this futurist perspective, we will intercede for the deepening of the economical-commercial link of the physical integration, and will intercede with decision for the generation of new spaces of cooperation.

[...]

**ANNEX 231: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
BOLIVIA AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 7 JUNE 2011**

**2. Report on Bolivia's maritime issue**

THE PRESIDENT: We now address point 2 of the agenda referring to the report on the maritime problem of Bolivia. As you recall, resolution AG / RES. 989 (XIX-O/89), adopted in 1989, provided that the consideration of this issue should be kept open for any of the regular sessions of the General Assembly, if so requested by one of the parties involved.

In this regard, the Government of the Plurinational State requested on 4 March 2011, before the Subcommittee on the Agenda and Procedures of the Preparatory Commission, the inclusion of this issue in the agenda of the regular session of the General Assembly. Also, the representation of Chile to the OAS expressed its statement on this subject, which is recorded in document AG/doc.5218/11.

For the corresponding presentation I am pleased to give the floor to His Excellency Mr. David Choquehuanca Céspedes, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

HEAD OF THE BOLIVIAN DELEGATION: Thank your Mr. President.

Distinguished representatives, I start the presentation of this report by expressing my deep appreciation to the Government and people of El Salvador for their hospitality and warmth expressions. I greet this important forum that allows us to jointly confront global problems of our hemisphere.

On occasion of the fortieth regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS, held last year in Lima, when presenting the report on the maritime problem of Bolivia, I reiterated once again the invitation to the Government of Chile so that together we could find a quick and definite solution to the Bolivian land-locked condition, with conviction of the spirit of mutual trust that my country understood had been consolidated.

My invocation was presented by interpreting the deep, unchanging and permanent conviction of the conscience of the people of Bolivia of their inalienable and imprescriptible to regain sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean and its maritime space.

As you know, since 17 July 2006, i.e. , almost five years ago, Bolivia and Chile began a relationship through the so-called Agenda of the 13 points, conceived as the expression of the decision of President Bachelet and President Morales, allowing mutual recognition of the existence of a problem and the political will of both leaders and countries to include the maritime issue in section VI of the agenda, with the firm decision to reverse the history that has been written between Bolivia and Chile over the past 132 years .

In this centenary issue that hurts the heart of South America itself, I should let you know, Chairmen, and Representatives, that Chile not only repeatedly recognized explicitly the existence of a dispute with Bolivia but also came to negotiate the return of Bolivia to Pacific Ocean.

These negotiations began in 1895, subsequently in 1896, to be repeated in 1920, then in 1923, 1946, 1950, 1961, 1975 and 1987. On the last occasion, as I said, in

July 2006, the Agenda of the 13 points incorporated maritime issue to be addressed and solved.

In July 2010, on occasion of the XXII Mechanism of Political Consultations, the two officials stressed the importance of bilateral dialogue as a means of understanding between the governments of Bolivia and Chile, which reads as follows:

They reaffirmed that the process will reflect a policy agreed upon by both Governments and, considering the high levels of mutual trust achieved at this meeting confirmed to preserve this climate so that it encourages bilateral dialogue in order to address the broad theme of Point VI of the Agenda of the 13 points in this context, and to propose how to achieve concrete, feasible and useful solutions in the next and subsequent meetings of political consultations that benefit the understanding and harmony of both countries.

This significant text surely pointed out the pathway in which the maritime issue could have solved through direct negotiation.

Unfortunately the next meeting of the Mechanism of Political Consultations which was to take place in the city of Santiago in November 2010, a date that was set and recorded in advance in minutes signed by both countries, was unilaterally suspended by the Government of Chile, without this country informing about an alternative date for its realization, which in fact meant for my country a negative from Chile to present or consider concrete, useful and feasible proposals to solve the maritime issue.

Following the unilateral cancellation of the meeting of the Mechanism of Political Consultations, in December 2010, the presidents of Bolivia and Chile, during the

XL MERCOSUR Summit in Foz do Iguacu, Brazil, decided to form the Binational High Commission, headed by the two Foreign Ministers to accelerate the achievement of specific, feasible and useful suggestions. This Committee met twice without reaching the target proposed by the agents, because the Chilean government did not submit a formal proposal for negotiations.

In the broadest desire to achieve results that would allow progress for the two countries, the President of my country, publicly and in a respectful and fraternal context, requested the President of Chile that a proposal be submitted “before March 23”, stating that the proposal “will not be the solution”, but will enter a process of negotiation. The answer Bolivia received was that “Chile works by results and not by date.”

Mr. President, dates are probably not important determinants but time is lagged without any result. My country is demanding concrete results from more than 100 years ago with no response.

The historical facts of the past 132 years show that the heads of state of Chile remained and unfortunately maintain in a rigid and inflexible attitude towards the maritime problem of Bolivia, probably for the sole purpose of justifying the unjust invasion imposed by force, the interests of oligarchies and foreign capital. Bolivia, however, permanently maintained a peaceful attitude and it is firm in its claim, in the belief that it will enable its sovereign return to the sea.

Historically, in the endless negotiations to resolve the Bolivian maritime problem, the most important moment came in 1895 when Bolivia and Chile signed three treaties: that of Peace and Friendship, of Transfer of Territories and a third with regulations for Bilateral Trade, they were ratified and in their most significant

parts reflected Chile's commitment to cede territory to Bolivia to ensure its access to the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. President, how Chile ignored commitments in 1895 is explained by itself. Chile sent as plenipotentiary to Bolivia to Mr. Abraham König, who, on behalf of his government and through a simple note, disregarded his country's commitment of 1895, dismissing the possibility arguing that "...Chile has occupied the Coast and has taken over it with the same title that Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine Empire..." and that the rights of Chile "...are born from victory, the supreme law of nations..." to add "...the littoral is rich and worth many millions, we already knew that. We keep it because it is worth it, because if it were worth nothing there would be interest in its conservation..."

It is difficult to try to understand the way in which Chile argues the intangibility of the 1904 Treaty as a simple diplomatic note that had no legal and moral effects and even more to ignore the treaties of 1895. I wonder if the intangibility of the Treaties, the criterion of Chile, applies only in cases of self-interest at the expense of other States.

Mr. President and Representatives in 1904, Bolivia was imposed a settlement by use of force by Chile, after 25 years of military occupation of Bolivian territory, the total intervention of its customs, ports and trade, and the threat of returning to the state of war and military hostilities, regardless of the fact that in Latin America there was already clearly awareness of the ban on the use of force in international relations.

The First Pan-American Conference, held in Washington in 1889, proclaimed that in Latin America there were no *res juris* territories and that wars of conquest between American nations were unjustified acts of violence. It was established

also that any cession of territory made under the threat of war or in the presence of armed forces is not recognized and will be considered as void, and finally, that every nation victim of a robbery of this kind may require that the validity of the cession be subject to arbitration .

Well, Bolivia was forced to sign the Treaty of 1904 after the Pan-American Conference of 1889, when the Chilean armed forces occupied the Bolivian coastal territory and Bolivia as a country military seized at that time lacked, for that fact, of freedom of consent.

The legal regime imposed on my country , in clear and in sufficient recognition its loss of its maritime territory granted to Bolivia, theoretically, the largest free transit system through territories and ports of Chile, whereas in practice and reality that is not met.

The Free Traffic System has not been honoured in accordance with the obligations assumed by Chile in 1904 it meant and continues meaning a unilateral attitude of Chile expressed in the limitations in the transit of people and goods. Contrary to what established the Republic of Chile in recent years proceeded without consulting Bolivia, to grant concessions to private companies to manage and operate the ports of Arica and Antofagasta, causing freight rates to be increased continuously and significantly, with regulations, which besides being more demanding are constantly modified, with consequent damage.

What free traffic you can we refer to if one of the States that are committed to the fulfilment of the same actions does harm with obstructionist actions? Clear examples of this show that despite having mandatory clauses until the present, Chile has not completed and perfected enabling the Port of Iquique for free transit, despite the six years since Bolivia's formal request and that for sixteen years now



the Arica-La Paz rail way has not been operating. Now my country must negotiate the rights granted by Agreements and which Chile applies intentionally.

Mr. President, history between Bolivia and Chile has been marked by a constant and relentless defence that Bolivia has had, and has, to do with its natural resources against the interests of Chile.

The ambition of private interests by the rich deposits of saltpetre, borax and copper led to the War of the Pacific. Subsequently the transfer of waters of Lauca River, made unilaterally by Chile to provide water to the north of that country, has led to the gradual desertification of the Bolivian Andean highlands. Upon the refusal to find an agreed solution, Bolivia broke off diplomatic relations with Chile in 1962. To date, the Government of Chile has not repaired the blatant disregard of international law.

Another example of the lack of interest in Chile to find arrangements under international law with Bolivia are the waters of Silala Springs, located in Bolivia, deriving from Chile, through engineering, to ensure water supply an important region in the north of that country, without having recognized the historical and current debt or compensation generated by its use in different economic activities, certainly very profitable.

But there are not only violations of bilateral manner, I should also mention that, despite the obligations assumed by Chile in the Ottawa Convention of 1997, of which Bolivia is also a party to the demining process of its border with Bolivia, I can inform that fourteen years after it Chile has not yet met its obligation . In this case Bolivia also patiently waiting for the compliance of Ottawa to demine the binational border, while attending an unfortunate netting process from another

part of the bilateral border. I wonder then if this is the way that members of the international community understand peace and friendship.

Mr. President and Representatives, the integration of our peoples must be forged on a solid foundation of unity, complementarity, mutual trust and cooperation. No military victory gives unlimited rights when they are the product of force nor any treaty or international agreement which has been signed under pressure and threat should be considered time invariant .

Mr. President, the concrete fact that Bolivia was unable to find a definitive solution to its enclosure after 132 years in the diplomatic channels, through direct negotiations, as recommended by resolution AG / RES. 426 ( IX-O/79 ) of the OAS , of 31October 1979, clearly leads to the sovereign possibility of Bolivia to explore other options granted by international law in the multilateral contexts and, if necessary, to go to the legal entities under the mechanisms of the peaceful settlement of disputes to achieve a final solution to its just demands . Or according to the Delegation of Chile my country must wait 132 years?

If Chile really believes in the ability of dialogue with Bolivia, why is it that after 132 years there are no, on Chile's end, concrete, feasible and usefully written proposals that may be made known to us all? Why is breached the agreement reached in 2010 between the two countries? If there is genuine desire to reach a solution to Bolivia's landlocked condition, I fraternally request the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Chile for immediate establishment, today, of a process of bilateral and formal negotiations on the basis of a written proposal, specific, feasible and useful, with all Member States of the Organization of American States as witnesses.

For 132 years we have claimed our right to return to the sea through the power of dialogue and reason. All the countries here have witnessed many meetings we have had, both with presidential and governmental authorities. What no one can doubt is the openness and capacity for dialogue that Bolivians have demonstrated. However, the Government of Chile has considered a foreign policy with Bolivia translated into meetings between senior officials and media purposes and an evasive diplomacy to solve problems. Instead, all they do is to exacerbate them.

Bolivia has not waived or renounces the dialogue with Chile, as was expressed by President Evo Morales on 23 March 2011. Therefore, here, today , in this hemispheric forum, Bolivia argues that it can solve the maritime problem through direct dialogue, but also wishes to express its absolute rejection to false argument that says there can be no dialogue while other procedures that international law itself provides are used. The international jurisprudence confirms this.

Mr. President, can we deny that perhaps in the past and present Chile maintained and maintains litigation counted for settlement with the mechanisms established by international law either through an arbitration or the Papal Court in The Hague. This did not prevent or preclude that it can maintain a direct dialogue and negotiation to achieve solutions to them.

At the most basic concept of justice and fairness, I ask: If Chile is able to sustain a relationship with other sister states in the framework of international law and civilized manner, why it is not able to do the same with Bolivia? Is there really a reason to justify that position by Chile? And furthermore, is there any reason to justify the reference to the military?

Bolivia as a pacifist state, which through its Constitution promotes the culture of peace and the right to peace, clearly expresses its right to go to the international

courts that apply to resolve its centenary maritime claim, without this giving threats or use of force samples.

Therefore, Bolivia strongly reaffirms its commitment to the Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, unanimously approved by Resolution 37/10 by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1982 that expressly states that: “The recourse to judicial settlement of legal disputes, including referral to the International Court of Justice, should not be considered an unfriendly act between States.”

Bolivia calls upon the Government of Chile, with the guarantee of the member countries of the Organization of American States present at the General Assembly, to not raise flags new attacks but, on the contrary, to address this issue in the field of justice and close an old wound and an old historic debt in order to build a continent that looks straight into the XXI century, allowing us to build a zone of peace and complementarity, as agreed by our Presidents in different integration mechanisms

Regional integration will not be possible to the extent that this open wound that affects all of South America is not closed. Bolivia is a country in nature, location, and decision convinced of the need for integration. But how to integrate if we cannot accept that we must overcome our differences using the only weapons that my country knows: international law, dialogue and justice?

Bolivia will not close the door to dialogue and therefore I propose today, once again, with the utmost good faith between States, the possibility of achieving bilateral formal negotiations today. Bolivia brotherly proposes to Chile as many times necessary, as it has throughout history, direct negotiations for the return of its maritime quality.

Precisely last year, on occasion of the fortieth regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS in Lima, Peru, I proposed the establishment of a roadmap, from the point VI of the Agenda of 13 points, based on the Maritime issue, in order to follow specific steps in a formal and direct negotiation with Chile, through the establishment of a formal process to find concrete, feasible and useful solutions to the marine issue. Unfortunately Chile did not understand the historical dimension of the proposal. I hope it can do it today itself.

Mr. President, at the multilateral level that corresponds to this hemispheric forum , Bolivia welcomes the intention of the 11 decisions issued so far by the General Assembly of the OAS, which was declared and reiterated the enduring hemispheric concern to find an equitable solution including, as provided in resolutions AG / RES. 686 ( XIII-O/83 ), AG / RES. 701 ( XIV-O/84 ), AG / RES. 873 ( XVIII-O/87 ) and AG / RES. 901 ( XVIII-O/88 ) of 1983, 1984, 1987 and 1988 , respectively , the request for a formula that can give Bolivia a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean on the basis of what is mutually advantageous and the rights and interests of the parties involved.

In the same context, Bolivia makes a fraternal appeal to member states of the OAS to an act of justice and democratic evolution undoubtedly express their conviction that solutions should be sought and agreements in the shortest time; not only through direct dialogue, but also through mechanisms that international law provides States.

Picking up the feelings and thoughts of my people, your children, youth, the elderly, men and women, of all Bolivians, who not give up or waive our right to access the Pacific Ocean, I thank the Member States OAS for their continued support, the Secretary General, Dr. José Miguel Insulza, for his statements last

year demanding a solution to the Bolivian landlocked condition, the various authorities and former Chilean authorities who are holders of a solution and of course , the Chilean people in its greatness who have expressed support for the just demand of the landlocked condition that affects Bolivia.

Mr. President, I ask once again to the Organization of American States, through its President, that, under the principles set out in its Charter, is constituted in the hemispheric body assurance efforts and aids conducive to achieving emanating purposes of resolution AG/RES. 426 (IX-O/79) and subsequent 10 resolutions of the General Assembly, in instituting legal source enduring and significant case law in the Organization.

You cannot ignore the nature of hemispheric interest of the solution to the Bolivian maritime problem appealing to the false argument that it is not a multilateral problem, trying to ignore the form and substance of 11 OAS resolutions. Or do you also think that the OAS is only a valid regional forum when it answers to our own interests?

International laws, the peaceful settlement of disputes and direct dialogue with all stakeholders in a problem are valid and consistent ways to resolve the landlocked condition affecting Bolivia. We do not try to deny reality itself.

Until Nairapacha is Jichapacha!

Jallalla the Organization of American States!

Thank you very much

San Salvador, El Salvador, 7 June 2011

**ANNEX 232: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 7 JUNE 2011**

**The PRESIDENT:** Thank you. The Presidency decided not to put an exact time limit for these interventions. However, as reference I want to mention that Foreign Minister Choquehuanca took the floor during twenty eight minutes with twenty seven seconds. So then what the setting and the understanding of the topic we are discussing that would be the maximum margin of intervention too for Foreign Minister Alfredo Moreno of Chile. Obviously, if he is please to make a brief intervention, this will be also welcome.

The Foreign Minister of Chile, Mr. Alfredo Moreno, has the floor.

**The CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION OF CHILE:** Thank you, Mr. President. I will be brief.

Part of the nations which are part of this Organization has already celebrated the bicentennial of its independence and the other part is about to do it. I think we all feel pride when we realize how the last border disputes have been taking back which took place during many problems of delimitation with which virtually all the newly independent States of America were born.

Sometimes these problems were resolved peacefully, but often led to armed conflicts in the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth century. That is how our borders were delineated, which were expressed in treaties and they allow us to commemorate a bicentennial in peace and peaceful coexistence between our peoples.

In 1904, it means, two decades after the end of the armed conflict in the war of the Pacific and twenty five years after the last battle in which Bolivia participated, Chile and Bolivia signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship which set definitive boundaries between both States. This Treaty neatly describes the boundary trace along the common border between Chile and Bolivia, and there are no territories subject to Dispositif clause or to any precarious State.

Chile committed itself by the Treaty to obligations, compensation and facilities, which have been strictly accomplished, so unfortunately it must decline, energetic and very clearly, for lack of veracity, what the Foreign Minister Choquehuanca stated. Among these obligations, I can mention the broadest and free transit through Chilean ports for Bolivian trade, payment of various debts and Bolivian construction of a railway between Arica and La Paz, with cost of Chile's side.

Later, with the aim of strengthening their ties of friendship, Chile and Bolivia have signed various agreements that extended and deepened the rights granted to Bolivia. Just to mention one example, regarding free transit in 1937, both countries signed the Convention on Transit which made applicable free transit even of armaments. The guarantees that Chile grants to Bolivia are higher than those recommended by the Convention of the United Nations for landlocked countries.

Regarding the resolutions of the General Assembly of the OAS adopted in 1979 and 1989, to which Bolivia has alluded in this forum, Chile has consistently held that the issues affecting the territorial integrity of Member States are strictly bilateral issues. No Member State can claim the right to intervene in bilateral issues without the consent of the countries concerned. Therefore, once again, each



year we have objected the inclusion of this item on the agenda, as stated in the respective minutes.

This is the same position that Chile and the remaining members have had when at the Assembly the border problems of other nations of this Organization have been known. It has never intervened in what corresponds to solve the countries involved, which should make it through respect and use of the treaties in force which bind them.

In the same line, in the case of Bolivia and Chile, for more than twenty years ago, the situation is radically different from the eighties, when these resolutions were given. The recommendations made by this House have only been a call for dialogue between these countries and want to say that Chile fully shares this goal. My country, within the framework of a solid, stable, and strong democracy, has shown sufficient signs of solidarity and inclusive spirit.

It is in this spirit that we invite Bolivia, now when our two countries and the Continent will celebrate the enjoyment of its democracy, to return to the path of dialogue and respect treaties that bind us for over a hundred years ago.

Mr. President, the States are sovereign to establish the legal framework of their own choosing to regulate its internal order. We respect the independence and freedom of each country to define their own destinies. However, Bolivia enacted a new Constitution in 2009 which gives the Government a constitutional mandate to denounce, or, in its case, to renegotiate those treaties which hinder their country sovereign access to the sea.

Indeed, I will mention Articles 267 and the ninth transitory to the Constitution of Bolivia, as I already explained, was enacted only in 2009 and which express the following:

- Article 267 of the new Constitution, called Maritime Vindication, states: " The Bolivian State declares its inalienable and indefeasible right to the territory that gives it access to the Pacific Ocean and its maritime space" and
- The 9th. Transitional provision 9th of the same Constitution states: "The international treaties before the Constitution, and which not contradict it, will remain in the internal legal system as law. Within four years since the election of the new executive body, this will denounce, and in its case, will renegotiate the international treaties that are contrary to this Constitution."

Naturally Chile reserved such constitutional requirements in 2009. Any State may rely on rules of internal order to denounce a treaty of borderline nature, worse if these internal standards were created a century after the treaty. This is a basic principle that has been widely recognized and collected by international law.

Mr. President, it is Chile's willingness to reach the best relations with Bolivia. Despite the fact that Bolivia suspended its diplomatic relations with Chile in 1978, situation that continues; until last 23 March we had a working agenda with Bolivia, named the Agenda of the 13 Points, with progress and visible and productive results.

The Government of President Sebastian Piñera took office just a little over a year. In that period, the contacts and links with Bolivia intensified and major approaches were concluded. It is enough to mention that the Presidents of both countries reunited eight times last year. During this period, significant progress

was made, namely on the issue of rehabilitation of the railway from Arica to La Paz, in the process of using the Port of Iquique, requested by Bolivia, and in the distribution of the waters of Silala River, despite that the latter was subsequently rejected by Bolivia even though it had the approval of the Bilateral Commission of which it forms part, and which was adopted in the same Commission by Bolivia itself.

Last December, the Presidents agreed to raise the level of bilateral dialogue at a Special Commission headed by the Foreign Ministers accompanied by permanent technical teams. This agreement implies, without further explanation, why it did not continue with meetings at the level of Deputy Foreign Ministers, as it was replaced by agreement of both Presidents, due to a higher level meeting.

This Committee met for the first time in January in Santiago and then in February 2011 in La Paz, being the first time in decades that a Chilean Foreign Minister takes a bilateral visit to that country. And I want to tell you that I did it with affection and conviction that this is the way to resolve any dispute that separates us.

Testimony of this positive atmosphere and these advances are statements that President Morales himself made up before 23 March, praising the bilateral dialogue process. Even the same day, 23 March, in an interview with a newspaper in Santiago, he stated that his speech to Chile “will be to continue building confidence”, and that “a problem of all these years, the maritime claim cannot be solved in short time.”

Facing a consultation to resort to an international court, President Evo Morales replied, as I say, on 23 March in the morning: “I do not think about it

much.” Then suddenly the same day, the President of Bolivia in La Paz announced multilateralism and the prosecution of his maritime claim, actually interrupting the dialogue and atmosphere of confidence achieved so far.

Bolivia’s claim to obtain a useful and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean through territories that are an integral and indivisible part of Chile and which were legally recognized by the 1904 Treaty, as was recorded in the new Constitution which I noted, unfortunately it is not possible or acceptable for my country and for the international legal order . Chile has clearly stated that it is not in a position to grant Bolivia a sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, far less without some sort of compensation. There is not any example of other countries in the world that did something similar.

The territory of Chile, established over a hundred years ago, does not have to be divided. The realization of this claim by territories and whose dispute was settled more than a century would disrupt the territorial continuity of Chile and affect consolidated and massive Chilean population areas.

Mr President, to conclude, I would say that what is required is a new effort to continue the dialogue, suddenly interrupted, as I pointed out, and re-focus it towards useful, feasible , specific, mutually rewarding solutions for Bolivian peoples, as Foreign Minister Choquehuanca has pointed. Only then we will find effective ways to benefit and progress our peoples. Any other way, seems to us, is useless and does not conduct to realize expected benefits.

Any settlement discussion regarding the Bolivian maritime aspiration must naturally be based on existing treaties and is a strictly bilateral issue and, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of this Organization. This is the same, as I said above, the OAS has indicated in every case of border disputes between any of the States.

On the other hand, to continue the path of the prosecution would imply that Chile would naturally present its case, and that international law and jurisprudence support him with clarity. Bolivia can follow that path, but those issues would naturally prosecute in the hands of the judges.

Chile has stated, and would like to reiterate its willingness to continue a dialogue to achieve, as pointed out mutually, acceptable solutions that involve benefits to both peoples, who look at the future and reflect the spirit of integration and solidarity which should prevail among nations that are sisters and neighbours. In that spirit, Chile has the best disposition for further exploration with Bolivia granting land and facilities to carry out the activities required and improve its maritime quality. Our position, otherwise we have said from the beginning clearly and publicly and corresponds to Bolivia decide the way. We have expressed our position in a clear and public form since the beginning, and it corresponds to Bolivia to follow the path.

On our end, I take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate our invitation to advance together in the direction of mutual progress, based on the respect of our countries, the inviolability of the treaties we have agreed, and the search of agreements within the framework of an authentic integration, so that, since now, we commit all our efforts and our energy.

Thank you so much.



**ANNEX 233: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF  
CHILE AT THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES,  
ON 5 JUNE 2012**

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PERIOD OF SESSIONS, COCHABAMBA, BOLIVIA,  
held from 3 to 5 June 2012)

[p. 204]

[...]

**PRESIDENT:** Having heard the statement of Foreign Minister of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, David Choquehuanca, we are going to take the floor to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Chile, Alfredo Moreno. Please, go ahead.

**THE CHAIRMAN OF CHILEAN DELEGATION:** Thank you so much, Mr. President.

I am drawn to speak, on behalf of the Government of Chile, after having heard the long words of the Foreign Minister, who has exposed us a version on the relations with my country, which I need to answer in front of all of you.

As I expressed in the same forum last year, our region enjoys peace, the most valuable good that the nations can enjoy, and on this, a set of treaties of boundaries between our States plays a very important role, several of which were signed after the conflicts, certainly the great majority. A good part of those agreements are defined as treaties of peace and friendship, which symbolize the

spirit to leave behind a past, sometimes painful, and move towards a future of hope and good understanding.

The current generations we received, the legacy of many last generations, we must honour the undertaken commitments with whom they were assumed.

In his intervention, the Foreign Minister of Bolivia has submitted his interpretation of the causes of the War of the Pacific of 1879. This version is not supported by the history, and did not respond to the circumstances which originate the conflict, which Chile tried to avoid.

In 1904, that is to say, 20 years after the conclusion of the armed hostilities, both States signed the Treaty which fixed the definitive boundaries between both States. The former Bolivian Minister of Defence, Mr. Ismael Montes, he precisely raised the project of this treaty as a flag of its presidential candidature in 1904, being elected by a vast majority of citizens of 76% of the votes.

As the entrance to this room for this meeting have given us lavish backgrounds, including the publication called "Graphic Memory, Maritime Vindication of Bolivia", published this year by the Minister of Defence of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, and distributed in this Assembly to the Delegations, we would like to say that, along with pointing that it comprises a segregated and mistaken view of the history of relations between the two countries, we want to make a general reservation to its content.

Moreover, before going lunch, we received another publication, the magazine titled "Sea for Bolivia", published in May 2012 by DIREMAR, precisely distributed outside this room before the beginning of this meeting, and



which referred to the same elements I already pointed, we also want to make a general reservation to its content.

Sirs, Chairman of the Delegation, Chile has shown in its history that it is willing to search formulas that allow it for improving Bolivian access to the sea, and that there many the conversations and diplomatic negotiations held during last century, for the purpose of attempting to satisfy those aspirations whose failure cannot be attributed to my country.

Bolivia has breached the relations with Chile in two occasions in the last fifty years, and until now we do not have normal diplomatic relations. Despite this, when Chilean authorities started their management, they invited Bolivia to establish a dialogue on very clear basis. The conversations should be developed with full respect to the 1904 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and therefore, initiatives, which imply a cession of Chilean sovereignty, would not be considered.

[...]