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Disputes Over Small Territories:
A Study of the Spatial, Political and Philatelic Aspects of Such Disputes

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Geography

At Massey University, Manawatu Campus, New Zealand

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Figure 1.

Houses in Old Goa, India: a Reminder of Portuguese Colonial Times



Photograph: the author

Abstract

“Most governments are now alive to the advertising and propaganda value of postage stamps”

Sir Dudley Stamp (1966)

Professor of Geography

Seventy years after the formation of the United Nations, the world continues to be plagued by civil disorder, territorial claims and border disputes. Currently, there are some 150 claims and disputes still outstanding.

Previous published work has revealed that postage stamps have played a key role in the propaganda associated with territorial disputes in Latin American countries. This dissertation aims to ascertain whether this finding holds true for disputes outside of Latin America and to what extent postage stamp propaganda can influence these various disputes.

This study then describes and examines the background of 20 selected territorial claims and two special situations in small territories in Europe, European Colonies and Asia. The disputes form a cross section of those which have occurred over the last 125 years. A brief historical and geographical review is included along with the known causation and the actual or possible solution to each dispute.

Written and visual evidence is collected and presented to illustrate the role played by postage stamps in the propaganda associated with these selected small territorial disagreements. When appropriate, the relevant postal history is described and postage stamp examples illustrated.

The results indicate that, in the disputes studied, violence and loss of life was endemic at some stage in the dispute. Potential or real economic gain was not the obvious prime trigger factor which initiated the dispute. Further analysis of the findings indicates that postage stamps do play an important role in the propaganda associated with territorial claims in Europe, European Colonies and in Asia. Specific examples are identified in which the role of the stamp proved to be a key item in exacerbating the discord further. No clear evidence could be demonstrated to indicate that the effects differed significantly in geographic or political terms between Europe and her Colonies. There is some evidence that stamp usage for political purposes may be more frequently used in recent years than in the past. In Asia, Japan has not utilised stamps for propaganda purposes in her territorial disputes.

Postage stamps are a powerful source of political propaganda and can play an important role in territorial claims.

Acknowledgements

“No man is an Island, entire of itself”

Meditation XVII

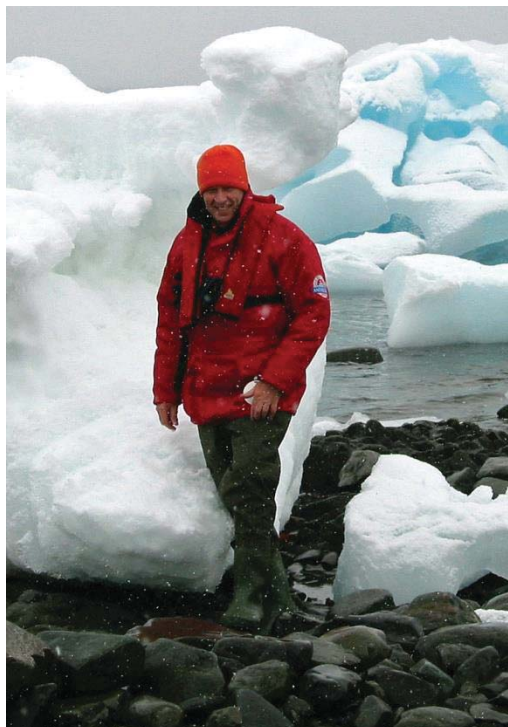
John Donne (1571-1631)

My long suffering wife, Mairi, has been a major support in the production of this dissertation. Not only has she acted as a proof reader but a constant source of encouragement, stimulus and common sense. She never raised a word of complaint as I spent much time entombed in my study among the books, papers and computers. I am, as ever, in her debt.

My lifelong interest in things geographical and subsequent university studies was encouraged and stimulated by Professor Keith Thompson and Professor John Flenley of Massey University to whom I shall always remain grateful.

I give thanks to Professor Mike Roche and Dr. Russell Prince for their guidance and wise council in the development of this dissertation.

Figure 2: The Author in the South Orkney Islands



Preamble

“Postage stamps have started wars, propagated vicious political ideologies, publicized tourist resorts and industries, idolized tyrants and immortalised generally unknown persons”

Edward A. Kehr (1947)

U.S. Stamp Dealer

Figure 3: Politicians, Disputes, War, Boundaries and Postage Stamps¹



1. See page 180

Abbreviations

1. WW1: World War One (1914-1918)
2. WW2: World War Two (1939-1945)
3. Nazi: National Socialist German Workers Party
4. UK: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
5. BCA: British Central Africa
6. USA: United States of America
7. SG: Stanley Gibbons Ltd.
8. SWA: South West Africa
9. kms: kilometres
10. UN: United Nations
11. EEZ: Exclusive Economic Zone
12. UNCLOS: United Nations Convention on the Laws of the Sea
13. UDI: Unilateral Declaration of Independence
14. B.A.T.: British Antarctic Territory

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Chapter 1

Introduction, Methods and Materials

“Happy is the country which has no history”

19th Century proverb

Political geography is a branch of human geography. It is concerned with the organisation of people into political groups, their interaction and how space is converted into territory. It also involves the relationships between peoples, states and territories. It may involve their former colonies and often also involves their boundaries and the disputes over these border lands or even the complete territory itself (Day, 1982). The causes of such disputes, their demarcation and the policing of boundaries will also come within the ambit of the specialty. Within the term political geography comes several subsets. We are concerned here with one of these namely, geopolitics. This term and its background will be developed in a later chapter. Geopolitical disputes involve not only space and place but widen to include the inter-relationships between people, their ethnicity, language, territorial concepts and the idea of a national state. It has been said that extreme nationalism per se will lead to continued fragmentation of countries into smaller and smaller units. This may be coming apparent already in countries like Moldova and Georgia. Borders thus seem to be ever changing and continually disputed.

Currently there are over 150 territorial and boundary disputes in the world (Conant, 2014). These range from Argentina's claims to large areas in Antarctica to Mauritius's claim to the uninhabited or uninhabitable island of Tromelin in the Indian Ocean. Of these 150 disputes many involve small or relatively small parcels of land or border regions. Some of the larger of these disputed areas are sparsely populated or are unpopulated.

There is an expanding literature on the use of semiotics to analyse messages contained in postage stamps (Scott, 1995). These studies have revealed the impressive capacity postage stamps have in containing such messages on their very small surface area. This attribute has been used widely to promote a range of activities from delivering health messages to the promotion of tourism. Hoyo (2010) has identified some of the types of messages carried on stamps. These include the following:

1. Human composition e.g. ethnic features
2. Cultural identity e.g. dances, dresses, art works
3. Geographical features e.g. maps of national territory, mountains
4. Foreign relations e.g. NATO, UN
5. Historical development e.g. heroes, mythology
6. Political regime e.g. type of state: kingdom, republic

7. National economy e.g. resources, industries, tourism
8. Achievements e.g. science technology, space activities

Previous published work has confirmed the key role stamps can play in political matters. The pioneering research work by Professor Jack Childs (2003, 2005 and 2008) has outlined the importance of the messages carried by postage stamps in the context of Latin American disputes.

This dissertation is concerned with the causation and background of territorial disputes in specific small territories. It examines and focuses particularly on the role that postage stamps and labels have played in the propaganda associated with these disputes. The methodology employed to achieve this has been to select specific disputes and use these as case studies and from this information carry out further analysis of the data revealed. Thus for each selected dispute the following were obtained and/or carried out:

1. A brief geographical description of the area involved
2. A brief background history of the area
3. Information on the causation of the territorial dispute and the solution (if any).
4. A search for postage stamps and other propaganda literature relevant to the dispute.
5. An examination of the role stamps have played in the specific dispute and relevant postal history.

The selection of case studies was determined by the following questions:

Are postage stamps used as propaganda in disputes outside of Latin America?

Is there a difference in the propaganda effects of postage stamps between European countries' disputes and disputes in their respective colonies?

Do current disputes utilise stamp propaganda more than earlier disputes? Is there a temporal effect?

Do the prior findings about propaganda stamp use described for Latin America hold good for Europe and Asia?

Thus, disputes involving territory in Europe per se and the colonies of the UK, Germany and Portugal have been included. Japan's disputes with Korea and Russia over specific islands have been used to give an Asian perspective. The unusual situation experienced by the Ruthenians in which they lived under shifting national borders and were subjected to long standing boundary disputes has been added for completeness. Finally, to provide a contrasting viewpoint, the situation in Chinde has been added. In this example there was a territorial transfer without a dispute. It hence provides a good example, as a control, to assess the use of stamps in this specific situation.

To convey the relevance of stamps in the disputes, I felt it was important to illustrate as many as possible rather than just give long verbal descriptions of them. Similarly, I have added as many photographs and other mementoes such as arms and flags to try and bring to life the territories under discussion. I have thus created a long list of figures, for which I apologise, but I do feel is justified.

Chapter 1.1

Materials and Methods

"Nothing's so hard but search will find it out"

Robert Herrick, 1591, Seek and Find

The main material required to support this dissertation was the acquisition of appropriate and relevant philatelic examples as primary source evidence. The initial step, however, was to actually identify such evidence from the vast amount of philatelic material that has been issued over the last 150 years.

The most important source found was the published stamp catalogues and in particular those published by Stanley Gibbons (SG) (Stanley Gibbons Publications Ltd., London, UK). The issues particularly used were publications Parts 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 12, 18. For SG Part 7, Germany, some 6,000 stamp entries had to be assessed and reviewed, while in Part 5 (includes Czechoslovakia) a further 3,111 stamps were appraised. Important material may not be listed in these catalogues as it may be in the form of original mail envelopes and cancellations and local mail issues. These are not included in the SG catalogues. The Smithsonian Institute's National Postal Museum in Washington, USA has a web site which allows access for research purposes in to postal matters and stamps¹. This proved to be an important and helpful arena. A final resource is that of stamp dealers advertising historical and rare material that they have for sale and that could be relevant to the topic. Their web

¹ www.postalmuseum.si.edu

sites were searched locally and internationally. Sales sites such as e-bay and Trade Me were also searched for unusual material along with post cards and envelopes. An important additional resource was the past issues of *Gibbons Stamp Monthly*, an international stamp journal (Stanley Gibbons Publications, London). Issues for the last five years were searched in the Wellington Public Library and relevant references recorded.

Once all the suitable material was identified and listed, an attempt was made to obtain as much as possible from stamp dealers, philatelic clubs and stamp and collectable fairs. My own prior personal collection contained some of the wanted stamps. Postage stamps are in the public domain and thus I was able to scan the material obtained using a Cannon Pixma Scanner and digitize the images so acquired. The results were graphically manipulated using Adobe Photoshop Elements 7 (Adobe Systems). A jpeg image was thus obtained and was incorporated in to the text as was appropriate. Despite this method some 19-20th Century material was too old and did not convert well.

Many of the photographs used as illustrations in the disputed areas were taken by the author on visits to the countries involved. These are credited as necessary. A Nikon D1500 Digital SLR camera was used for this photography.

There are a number of key topics that helped guide the literature search. The role of postage stamps in relation to boundary disputes was obviously of prime importance. The literature review also aimed to explore current knowledge about small territorial area disputes themselves and their origins. Disputes in certain places had a vast literature associated with them and was readily available such as the current Japanese-Korean dispute, while others such as Ouidah in West Africa had minimal data currently present. The Geopolitical Theory behind disputes was another area needing extensive review. The important published findings and work to date on how postage stamps have semiotic impact are reviewed. These important areas have been reported and outlined in specific chapters (qv).

Chapter 2

Territorial and Boundary Disputes

“Divide et impera”

(Divide and rule)

Latin proverb

The world is divided by physical barriers such as continental land masses, seas, lakes and mountain ranges. Within these physical constraints further divisions occur due to language, religion, culture, affluence and natural resource differences. Added to this, change of divisions can occur by emigration, natural disaster, climatic change, war and insurrection. Finally human formed and politically created barriers are added to the mix. These latter, however, have proved to be the least stable. They tend to be ever changing and lead to frequent disputes and disagreements over sovereignty and boundary demarcation. This is especially so in South America where the boundaries, while defined, were not actually surveyed prior to or at the time of independence of the countries from Spain. Even 125 years after losing its access to the Pacific Ocean following the border war with Chile, Bolivia still regrets the fact. In 2012, Bolivia issued a postage stamp reminding the world of its lost sea coast and no doubt further irritating Chile. Border and boundary differences are very sensitive issues and readily result in discord. This is well illustrated in the tension which developed between Haiti and the Dominican Republic over the production of a postage stamp and encapsulates the theme of this dissertation. The specific stamp included a map indicating the border between the states. This was placed on the map further west than was acceptable to Haiti. This resulted in major diplomatic protests from Haiti. The response to this from the Dominican Republic was to send troops to the border area and move out Haitian citizens. Under diplomatic pressure, the stamp was withdrawn from circulation by the Dominican Republic and this led to an immediate relaxation of tension.

States are defined by several factors which include their names, constitution and boundaries. These may provide the basis for nationalism, irredentism and conflict (Brunn, 2000). What in fact legitimises a state's claim to territory? There are five guiding principles in International Law that are used to resolve sovereignty disputes (Shaw, 1991). First, there is peaceful transfer. This is the cessation of territory by means of renunciation by one state in favour of another (Jennings, 1963). The next principle is that of subjugation or acquisition following military annexation. However, this requires, in addition, a treaty or international recognition of the fact (Shaw, 1991). Prescription is the process of acquiring territory through continuous and undisturbed exercises of sovereignty over a period long enough to conform to the standards of the international community (Fern, 2005, Jennings, 1963). *Terra nullis* is a term used for a state's claim over territory that does not belong to anyone else or

is not subject to the sovereignty of any other state (Jennings, 1963). Finally, claims based upon a continued display of authority require the intention and will to act as a sovereign power and actually exercise and display such authority.

There have been some outstanding examples of disputes settled by these principles. The island of Palmas dispute between the USA and the Netherlands was settled in favour of the Netherlands on the principle of “continuous and peaceful displays of sovereignty” (Jennings, 1963). The dispute over Clipperton Island, a Pacific atoll, was between France and Mexico. The island was named after John Clipperton, an English pirate, who had based himself there in 1705 (Eastern, 2015). France claimed it discovered the island in 1885 and carried out the necessary proclamations. Mexico, on its part, said Spain had discovered the island and hence she was the successor owner. The Court ruled that France had manifested its sovereignty by formal assertions of the title and should possess the island. Clipperton fits well into the description of disputes over small territories as it is only some 12 kilometres in circumference, uninhabited and is covered in guano.

In contrast, Rushworth (1996) stated that only 20 land boundary disputes had been arbitrated since 1920. Four of these were by the International Court of Justice and the remainder by *ad hoc* tribunals.

It is with these changes and disputes that we are concerned with in this study. Some disputes appear long standing and insoluble such as Jammu and Kashmir, that date from 1947 or earlier. Others are long standing but flare up frequently after periods of trouble just simmering below the surface. Within this group the Palestine West Bank and Gaza would be good examples. The third group are those who are at an immediate crisis point such as the Ukraine in 2015. Obviously there is a temporal aspect to these disputes and what is a crisis today may well become chronic with time. To this end I have looked at the views of three news journalists at three short time periods to view how they listed their priorities with regard to disputes in the years 2011, 2014 and 2015 (Table 1). While this table conveys the purely subjective views of those concerned with current events it does reflect crisis changes. The annexation of Crimea has given way to a flare up of fighting in Donetsk and the prominence of pro-Russian activities may have influenced concerns of Russian expansion in Moldova and the North Pole. This would make the minor dispute in Davis Strait more significant than it really is as it is adjacent to the underwater marking of the North Pole by Russia.

I have not addressed situations where political union and reunification occur as these reflect an agreed situation to the merger and rarely cause disputes. I have, however, included the situation of Chinde, where a concession was actually given up and returned long before it was actually required to be on the expiry of the lease. This is a contrast with the situation in Hong Kong where the lease was held until the last moment.

However, annexation or forcible acquisition of a state by a stronger one is a unilateral act of seizure and will require recognition by the majority of other states to give it any form of legitimacy. While some new states acquire the trappings of sovereignty they may remain in a half and half situation, never being recognised universally or by obtaining United Nations membership. I would cite Kosovo as being in that situation due to the intransigent position of Serbia.

A topic of increasing interest and one which is likely to give rise to disputes is that of sea boundaries. The 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is now subscribed to by 157 states. It sets rules for the exclusive economic zones of states (EEZ). The convention entitles coastal states to 200 nautical miles of sovereign access to the living and mineral resources within their EEZ. They can then conserve or exploit the fish stocks or exploit minerals within their zone. Chapter 8.1 explores this subject further.

Border disputes cannot be studied without an understanding of key geopolitical theories and concepts. These will be discussed in a later chapter. The inclusion of territorial disputes drawn from the 20th and 21st centuries requires us to look at these in light of the classical geopolitical theories and to the concepts raised by the new geopolitics of the early 21st century. Much has changed since Razel (1904) put forward his concepts that a state has to grow, to expand and to establish living borders that were dynamic and subject to change.

Table 1. Territorial Dispute Priorities of Three Journalists over a Five Year Period

2011	2014	2015
Connor Diver (2011)	Eve Conant (2014)	George Dvorsky (2015)
1. Palestine	1. Ukraine: Crimea	1. Ukraine: Donetsk
2. Taiwan	2. East China Sea	2. Transnistria
3. Falkland Islands	3. Jammu and Kashmir	3. South and East China Sea
4. Cyprus	4. Palestine: Gaza, Golan, West Bank	4. North Pole
5. Tibet	5. Western Sahara	5. Hans Sound, Canada
6. South Georgia	6. Transnistria	6. Western Sahara

Chapter 3

Small Territory Disputes and Geopolitical Theory

“Boundaries are perhaps the most palpable, political geographic phenomenon”

Minghi, 1963

It is to Professor Rudolf Kjellman (1864-1922) that we credit the term “Geopolitik”. He coined the term in 1899 as a loose synonym for international politics and its relationship to geographic space (Tunander, 2005). Kjellman was influenced by Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) who had brought in the term ‘anthrogeographical’ indicating the combination of anthropology, geography and politics. Ratzel claimed that nation states had many features of living organisms such that they had to grow, to expand and to establish living frontiers or borders that were dynamic and subject to change (Haggman, 2008). However, his principle work was on ethnography. His essay “Liebensraum” (1901), is cited as a starting point in geopolitics and developed the concept of biogeography². Ratzel defined the term “raum” or room/ space and hence the term lebensraum (living space). This states that borders become insignificant in that a developing state or one that is advancing is likely to require annexation of territory that is controlled by other less powerful states. While this concept may have been focused on the USA, it was also directed at Europe where boundaries were more rigid. His Law of Expansion (Liebensraum) was referring to German expansion and Prussian sovereignty (Cahnman, 1944).

From these beginnings the concept of “classical” geopolitics evolved and developed. This was based upon the contention that Great Powers and aspiring great powers competed for the control over territory, resources and important geographical sites such as rivers, canals and other sources of wealth and influence (Klare, 2003). Halford Mackinder, the Scottish Reader in Geography at Oxford University, developed a comprehensive theory designed to explain the new world map that imperialism had created (Mackinder, 1904). He developed the concepts of “heartland” with Russia holding the key location. He recognised that geographical boundaries were subject to change or flux and the map of the world was continually being redrawn (Kearns, 2004). However, Mackinder maintained that the heartland remained the key position within geopolitical interaction.

Alfred Mahan, an American naval officer, developed the concept that sea power was a major factor in geopolitics (Mahan, 2008). He related this to Great Britain and France in that they obtained mastery of the world’s commercial activities and hence great overall power due to their sea power. Spykman (1938) developed Mackinder’s theories further claiming that it was not the core of the heartland that was important but the “rimland”. This referred

² Ratzel F., Die Lebensraum. Eine Biogeographische Studie.

to their position on the sea at the edge of continents. States such as Japan had greater contact with the outside world and were more likely to become superpowers.

Much of the geographical literature by the beginning of the 20th century was concerned with land boundary delimitation and demarcation (Minghi, 1963). By the 1960s interest had moved from boundary studies to border studies (van Houtum, 2005), although we would have to accept the former can be regarded as a sub area of political geography in its own right. In other words attention changed from the study of the territorial line to the more complex concept that it is a site in which socio-spatial differences occur.

The changes described above were in keeping with a move from “classical” geopolitics to the concept that there was an alternative approach that was regarded as a “new” geopolitics. Interest in classical geopolitics appeared to wane during the Cold War period. Partly this reflected Ratzel’s lebensraum and its perversions under Nazi rule. Some argued that classical theory had parallels in Marxist-Lenninist theory, unacceptable in the Cold War era. In terms of border studies, while Ratzel may have been the founding father, the approach had changed. The “new” attitude was that borders are regarded as socio-territorial constructs. The making of borders is the product of our own social practices and habitus and this has led to regarding them as being beyond a product of states (van Houtum, 2005).

With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, together with the fall of the Berlin Wall, major challenges occurred to the Classical Geopolitical conceptual infrastructure in the form of “critical geopolitics” (O’ Tuathail and Dalby, 1994). Critical geopolitics questioned the theoretical basis of the existing power and knowledge. Critical geopolitics also refused to accept that the traditional models explained the effects of geography on internal relations, but argued that there is a “politics” to the use of geographical concepts in arguments about international relations (Sharp, 2008). Further, it is claimed that geopolitics is not a discrete and relatively contained activity confined only to a small group of “wise men” who speak the language of geopolitics (O’ Tuathail and Agnew, 1992). O’ Tuathail (1992) has outlined three aspects of critical geopolitics he considers is in keeping with this much wider scope of activity.

1. A disciplinary geopolitics which studies the intellectual and institutional production of geographical knowledge and governmentality.
2. A practical geopolitics which studies geographical reasoning by foreign policy elites.
3. A popular geopolitics which studies the writing of identity and danger in the various media and popular culture.

How should one regard changes in world order in light of O’ Tuathail’s first two interpretations of critical geopolitics? First, there is now a multiplier structure of the world order rather than one based on the superpower concept. A state’s influence is not

dependent on their military capabilities or their affiliations. It is based upon their economic rise and growth, investment and financial settings. Economic globalisation and compacts such as the Group of Twenty nations which represent a wider spectrum of countries had come to the fore. In addition, the private and civil society put forward alternative policy agenda which can erode the position of states. An example of the new geopolitics was the backlash of countries against the USA trying to circumvent the UN Conference on Climate Change. States are unwilling to give their assent to ideas formed behind their backs and imposed upon them. Military aspects are important; power in a military sense does not necessarily bring superiority as has been shown in Vietnam and Afghanistan. Nuclear weapons are no longer as important as they were per the “old” geopolitics as the disaster they would bring is now fully recognised. “Soft” power is being seen as more effective than “hard” power. The new critical geopolitics may represent a state-centric world, de-westernised, with a global economy and with sustainable development (Falk, 2012).

O’ Tuathail (1999), has claimed that the emergence of the globalisation of economic activity and global flows of trade and investment has resulted in the remaking of states and establishing their sovereignty. The other aspect is a world no longer dominated by territorial struggles between competing blocs but the emerging transnational problems like terrorism, nuclear proliferation and clashing civilizations. To this could be added the new phenomenon of mass emigration and economic migrants. Finally there are those who see degradation of the Earth as more important as people struggle with resource depletion, global warming and widespread pollution.

How does the new geopolitics impinge on our views on disputes over small territorial areas? The work of the classical geopolitical period referred to above was concerned with the location of borders, their origins and how they evolved over time (Minghi, 1963). In addition, the political consequences of change and the outcome of military disputes were subjects of attention (van Houtum, 2005). The latter resulted in the physical demarcation of borders being over emphasised and their relationship to warfare. This has been summarised by these authors as the “*where*” of boundary problems and disputes and the “*what*” are the consequences. The “*how*” is the social construction of the border and its situation in times of peace and normality and this concept moves into the realm of the new geopolitics. Classical thinking was also concerned with the distinction between natural and non-natural borders. This gave rise to the notion that there were good and bad borders. “Good” equated with natural such as rivers, seas while “bad” comprised human produced or artificial borders.

In the current geopolitical view, all borders are human made and hence focus is placed upon symbols signs, identifications and histories. In other words postmodernism involves emphasis on the symbolism and construction of borders. However, the main thrust is now on the “*why*” of borders. The questions raised are as to why there are borders in the first place, are there alternatives? The question then widens to ask what drives the need for

borders in the first place. Is it the need for possession and ownership and social demarcation (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2002). The same authors ask further questions as to the morality in protecting ourselves and denying access to others. This is a pertinent point when discussing immigrants and in relation to the actions of Hungary in 2015 and the Syrian refugees. Walzer (1983) had previously stated that communities should not be allowed to make a claim of territorial jurisdiction and rule over people who share the territory.

The new geopolitical approach addresses such matters as the moral consequences of borders and whether their maintenance will help create a more equal world (van Houtum 2005). This requires measurement of cultural and political gradients across the new geopolitical frontiers as part of the study of borders (Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 1998). International borders may be fading fast in some parts of the world. In Europe borderlands are being seen as regions of opportunity. New territorial arrangements may need to be considered such as transition zones, regions of integration, shared territories and layered sovereignties (Blake, 2000). Be that as it may, the sudden influx of immigrants into Europe in uncontrolled and unprecedented numbers during 2015 has set a new challenge in the management of boundary areas.

Aribogan and Bilgin (2009) have suggested a new dimension that may be highly relevant to our views on boundary disputes. They claim there is a move from geopolitics to "energeopolitics". There is a high likelihood of a struggle and military confrontation for the hydrocarbon resources of the world in places like the Middle East, the Barents Sea, the Arctic Region, the Caspian Sea and Central Asia (Patrushev, 2008). Currently no major power is capable of matching the United States in terms of military power in the protection and pursuit of raw materials. However, a new regional and superpower coalition of China, Russia, India and Brazil which covers 75% of the world's population and 80% of its natural resources is emerging.

It should be added that there have been recent efforts within political geography to bring back the international boundary as a legitimate basis for study in its own right. For all the advances made in the study of the social processes, this traditional area has been neglected (Bauder, 2011).

It is O' Tuathail's third aspect of critical geopolitics that is very relevant to our current study. O' Tuathail (1999) has outlined this theme further by stating that popular culture involves the mass media and their frequent development of national identities and constructing images of people and places. This, he argues, is exemplified by the images portrayed of such places as Bosnia during the period of strife there. Sharp (1993, 2005) has developed this theme even further by reporting that theorists have considered popular culture to be an important source of information. Thus, cultural influences are used to create images of international geography and by doing so reduce complex processes to simple images. This leads to political decisions appearing to be quite easy or natural or even predetermined.

Sharp (2005) has further stated that media such as movies, magazines and computer games can themselves influence state practice.

Franco (1969) has extended the meaning of popular culture to include the multiple aspects of daily life which enrich ones existence. In her opinion these collectively contribute to the national identity of a people. Bryant (1989) has written extensively on the theme that coins and stamps are objects of popular culture. This leads us directly into consideration of postage stamps as mechanisms for a country to present and manipulate a national image.

To date academic publication on the role of stamps in light of critical geopolitics theory is limited. Nuessel (1992) and Child (2005) are the earliest authors of scholarly publications in the field. Scott (1995) using his semiotic approach has now established one useful way of analysis of stamps and their meaning when they are used with a geopolitical purpose.

Professor Jo Sharp (2005) has written that critical geopolitics is a powerful form of geographical reasoning and provides a common sense approach to political representations. It is with this approach that hopefully this dissertation will provide evidence and information to support the analysis of the role of postage stamps as political representations in the territorial disputes outlined in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3.1

The Link Between Postage Stamps and Territorial Disputes

“Stamps constitute the tip of the iceberg of the nexus of cultural and historical forces of the society to which they give expression”

David Scott, 1995

The work of the American philosopher Charles Pierce (1960), established three classes of signs viz. icons, indices and symbols. These findings have been applied to stamp design by David Scott (1995) who applied this theory to postage stamp design naming it as a semiotic approach to designing stamps. While the primary role of the stamp is to indicate the country of origin and the postage paid, the secondary role has been as a commemorative one. The semiotic approach suggests the “icon” can be a pictorial sign such as a classical landscape. This is used frequently in Swiss stamps. The “index” is the pointer sign as to the country of origin which can be its name, abbreviation or map. The “symbol” is represented by a conventional sign such as the number or letters for the value. Scott has developed this theme further by outlining the primary and secondary roles of the postage stamp. He states that the first function of the stamp is as a symbolic representation of the country such as the monarch’s head or national flag. The second function can be allegorical and this is typified by the frequent use of Marianne in French stamps. Finally, the third function represents some aspect of a country such as a commemoration, anniversary or celebration.

It is this third function with which we are concerned here. History and culture themes can be very well expressed via stamps either by metonyms (part representation of a whole image) or as a full picture.

By the 1920s a wider scope for design had developed. Improved printing techniques had evolved and the ability to use multiple colours on one stamp produced a radical change in stamp format and design. The postage stamp had now become recognised as a state document and a miniature commemorative poster. It could thus have a profound role in the expression of the national aspirations and identity of a state as well as a medium for ideological messages (Scott, 1995). From then on saw a burgeoning in the number of postage stamps with a political or propaganda function. In addition, the postal cancellation was shown to have considerable scope for education, advertising and propaganda. Carlos Stoetzer (1953) has written on this subject pointing out that the postage stamp is widely circulated. It goes from hand to hand, from town to town to the farthest corners of a country and even to the farthest corners of the world. It is a symbol of the country from which the stamp is mailed, a vivid expression of that country’s culture and civilisation and of its ideas and ideals. By the use of symbols, slogans and picture it conveys its message far and wide (Stoetzer, 1953a). Henio Hoyo (2010) has developed this theme in saying that

postage stamps work as “carriers” of an official national imagery, promoted by the state and comprising messages about the history, features, composition and development of such nations. This being so, political change in a single state will be reflected in the iconography and messages of that state at different times (Raento and Brunn, 2005). Indeed, as I have illustrated in the study of Fiume this appears to hold true in that situation (Fiume qv). Hoyo (2010) has argued that for an historical or political event, countries will view the events differently and illustrate them differently. Again this seems to hold true for the border dispute between Nicaragua and Honduras as described below. This is not surprising as they possess contradictory and conflicting views.

Strauss (1975) has taken this concept further arguing that postage stamps work at a subliminal level with reinforcement each time the stamp is encountered. He believes that they are a particularly effective form of psychological propaganda because they work by visual effect (Strauss, 1975). Pierce (1996) has touched upon the subject of postage stamps and territorial disputes in a short paper. He mentions disputes between Guatemala and Belize, India and Pakistan and other Latin American disputes. However, the pioneer in the academic study of semiotics as applied to postage stamps has been Professor Jack Child. He has published widely on the topic (2003, 2005, and 2008). His seminal book, *Miniature Messages*, describes in detail the messages conveyed in stamps. He is the first to detail the use of stamps in border and boundary disputes. He has concentrated his publications on Latin America and only refers to other areas in general terms.

It is relevant at this stage to describe the classic example of border disputes and their relationship to postage stamps to illustrate the above theme as and as referred to beforehand. There had been a long-standing border dispute between Honduras and Nicaragua. The roots of this dispute lay in the manner in which independence was obtained from Spain. Borders were achieved using the principle by which territory remained with the possessor at the end of a conflict unless it was otherwise provided for by a treaty (*uti possidetis*) (Shaw, 1991). Prior to final independence the Central American republics were united as the United Provinces of Central America. Civil war saw this State fragment into the now recognised individual republics and hence raised the likelihood of future boundary problems.

In 1904 a mixed boundary commission was formed to settle the disputed border area. By 1906 they managed to settle one third of the border but could not agree on the final two thirds. King Alfonso XIII of Spain was asked to arbitrate, as a representative of the former colonial power. His decision deprived Nicaragua of a large area of the disputed territory. Nicaragua seemed to accept this decision at the time but later on challenged it. In July 1937, Nicaragua produced a stamp featuring a map on which the 1906 arbitration area was labelled “*territori en litigio*” (territory under litigation) (figure 4, 5). Once these stamps were circulated a group of Hondurans living in Managua, Nicaragua stormed the post office in an attempt to destroy the stamps (Child, 2008). The ensuing riot resulted in deaths and

injuries. Meanwhile in Honduras, the police had to prevent mobs from attacking the Nicaraguan Embassy in Tegucigalpa. With pressure from neighbouring countries, Nicaragua eventually withdrew the stamps and replaced them with a new issue. The conflict remained unresolved until 1957 when the Organisation of American States and the two combatants agreed to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The ruling reaffirmed Alfonso's original findings and the final border was established. In 1960, Honduras then produced a set of stamps celebrating the event. In particular, of interest, is the stamp showing King Alfonso against the background of the award (figure 6). Nicaragua did not respond.

Figure 4: The offending Nicaraguan stamp of 1937 that caused upset to Honduras



Figure 5: 1943 stamp of Honduras, arrow indicates the disputed area. (SG 443)



Figure 6: Honduras stamp of 1960 celebrating the original boundary arbitration (SG 611)



The one other classical example from the South American context involves Bolivia and Paraguay. Both countries fought a war over the border region of the Chaco during 1932-35. The border was not well defined and it was thought that there may be oil deposits in the region. Bolivia issued a stamp in 1928 with a map defining the contested area as “Chaco Boliviano” (figure 7), repeating the propaganda again in 1933. Paraguay responded with its own stamps marking the area “Chaco Paraguayo” and carrying the slogan “El Chaco Borel ha sido, es y sera del Paraguay” (The Northern Chaco has been, is, and will always be Paraguayan) (Child 2008) (figure 8). The New York Times recorded at the time *“The war between Bolivia and Paraguay was not caused by stamps, but stamps with maps did grievously aggravate the situation”* (New York Times, 1937). When the war was finally over and Bolivia suffered military defeat and loss of territory, Paraguay issued a further series of stamps with the slogan *“An honourable peace is more valuable than all military victories”*.

Figure 7: Bolivian stamp of 1928 claiming the Chaco³ (SG223)



³ Note inscribed Chaco Boliviano

Figure 8: Paraguay Map Stamp⁴ Claiming the Chaco from Bolivia (SG 319,445)



In the *Introduction* section the role of nationalism in relation to the concept of a ‘territory and a nation’ was introduced. The role of the imagination was argued to be an important aspect in creating the concept of nationalism for a country or territorial region. The development and maintenance of this imagination and an emotional feeling for a nation may require reinforcement. The instruments commonly used to achieve this are by the use of symbols and slogans. To this end, flags, coats of arms and national maps as well as national anthems are promoted. Other more subtle ways are by the use of passports, bank notes and coins which carry these reinforcing messages. It is in this role that the humble postage stamp has been used.

However, the stamp is not seen by some governments as a humble object and much time and effort is put in to their production. Some of the best artists and designers are employed to produce stamps for special events and commemorations and great detailed work and special printing is employed. Often strong colours are used such as red and dark blue. Easily recognised symbols are used such as the swastika in third German Reich stamps. Details must include the postal value as these stamps are often directed at the overseas arena rather than for home consumption. Certain countries even publish their criteria for postal acceptability. Mexico is one of these countries (Sepomex, 2008). Among their listed requirements are the following: “*must be closely related with cultural identity*”, “*have*

⁴ “C” signifies rural mail (campiña). Postal agents received a fee on sales.

important meaning”, “avoid topics that can be offensive for a person or country”. This section can be summarised by a quotation from Denis Altman’s book “Paper Ambassadors – The Politics of Stamps” (1991):

Stamps are both a part and a reflection of the creation of national consensus, a symbol of governments’ determination to maintain control of postal services and to create certain images of the nation, both at home and abroad. For newly independent governments the issuing of stamps is one of the first available acts to proclaim their sovereignty. Equally, changes in name or political status are often first recorded on stamps. Thus, governments often use stamps to proclaim national unity, to assert their sovereignty over disputed areas or to proclaim state ideology.

However, blatant propaganda especially during wartime can produce counter responses. Germany produced pseudo stamps which imitated a British issue depicting the Royal Family (figure 9), inferring that the UK had become communist and was a Soviet puppet state following the Tehran meetings. The British response, as shown in figure 10, is to indicate instead of a “German Empire” with Hitler as flourishing Leader, Germany had become a “Ruined Empire” (Futsches Reich), with a skeleton leader. Stamps simulating actual German issues were used also as parody stamps (figure 11). Parody stamps were also produced for occupied Norway (figure 14). Similar attacks on Britain were illustrated in figure 12, suggesting the end of empire in Jamaica and similar stamps were produced for other territories. These had on first appearance that of the true stamp but were actual forgeries. The Germans posted them on letters to addresses in neutral countries. Following the First World War a simple overprint on a German stamp (figure 13) indicates that German East Africa was now in British Occupation and thus carries a simple but strong message. Figures 15 and 16 give further examples of propaganda and parody stamps.

Figure 9: German Propaganda Stamps of World War II with Communist and Jewish Symbols along with the Legitimate Stamps



Figure 10: British Propaganda Stamp of WW2: German Empire/ Ruined Empire



Figure 11: British Anti-Nazi Propaganda Stamps



Figure 12: German WW2 Propaganda “Parody” forgeries of British Stamps; Liquidation of Empire- Jamaica, Rangoon (Burma)



Figure 13: British Occupation of German East Africa



Figure 15: German Propaganda Stamp and Postcard⁵; “One People, One Country, One Leader”

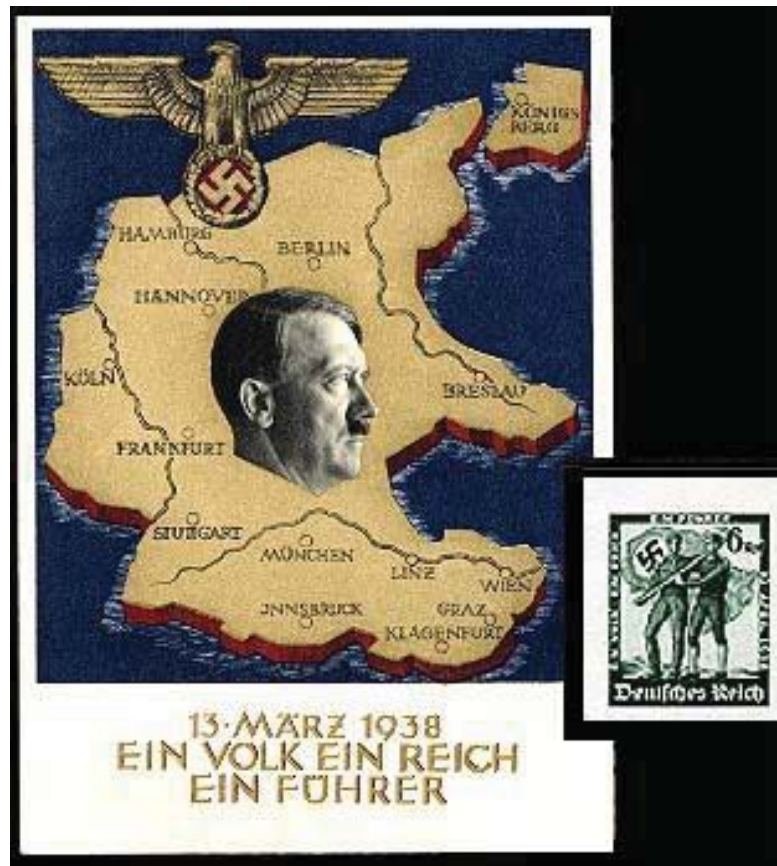
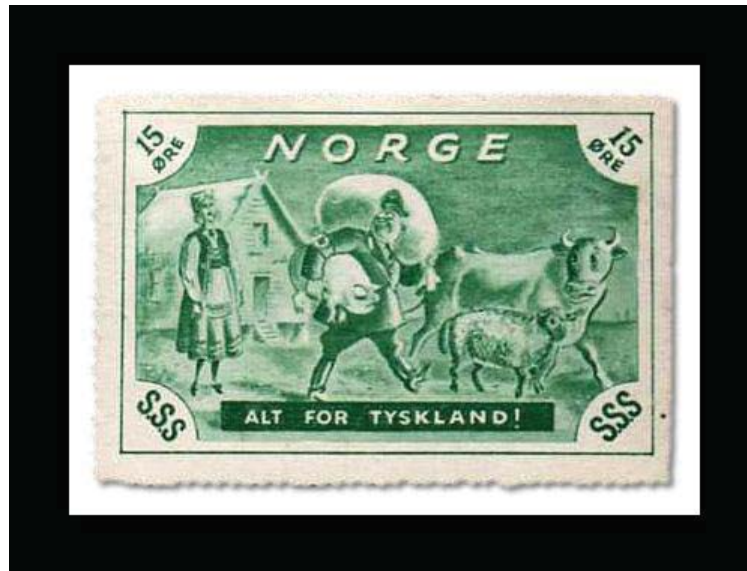


Figure 16: USA produced Propaganda Parody of Himmler Intended to Upset Hitler



⁵ 1938 annexation of Austria

Figure 14: British parody stamp for use in Norway⁶



The Era of the Stamp

It was one man's passion, persistence and zeal that brought the revolution in the British postal services and the innovation of the era of adhesive postage stamp. Rowland Hill was responsible for the introduction of the famous Penny Black on the 6th May 1840 (Watson, 1990). Subsequently, the use of adhesive postage stamps spread to every corner of the world and they have been utilised by every national postal authority.

While the basic purpose of the postage stamp has not changed – the prepayment of postal charges – the fundamental principles of design and printing technique have continually developed and improved. Stamps have remained miniature messengers but their design has reflected political, social and cultural change. The stamps of the 19th century tended to illustrate the various nations' Kings, Emperors or Presidents. The formation of Empires saw the postage system spread around the world and with it new presentations and national symbols appearing on the stamps. The decline of Empires corresponded to technological improvement and the appearance of scores of independent new countries. A quantum leap in technology occurred in the 1980s with the advent of computers and photographic digital techniques which lead to changes in stamp design and production. Thus nearly every topic imaginable began to appear on stamps with history, geography (Konecny et al., 2014),

⁶ "All for Germany" stealing of Norway's produce

wildlife and social science topics predominating. Political themes can be traced from 1869 (USA Declaration of Independence) up to 2013 (Referendum stamps of the Falkland Islands).

However, the idea and practice of very cheap universal postage began to fade and has not been able to be maintained. Conventional postage stamp mail has had also to face the challenges of metered mail, e-mail, vending machine mail (Frama) and other types of digital communication.

It has been argued that the day of the postage stamp is in decline. Worldwide, conventional postal services have experienced a fall in the volume of mail and a resulting reduction in postal deliveries and their frequency. This is attributed to the rising costs of mail and the increasing use of electronic mail. In addition, mail services are being privatised in many countries and hence governments are losing control of not only mail, but the electronic media to large corporations. Despite this, the annual production of new stamps is increasing. The number of postal authorities is also increasing. Smaller and smaller units are producing their own stamps. The Channel Islands alone, for example, have separate stamp issues for Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney. The glib response and answer to this is that these are money making schemes and the stamps are produced for philatelists. However, most Western philatelic societies report a steady decline in membership and a lack of interest by young people. Conversely, there is a burgeoning interest in postage stamps in countries like China and Korea. It is said that half the world's stamp collectors now live in China. Indeed, the electronic age and the internet have found new audiences for philately. There has been a proliferation of special interest groups e.g. thematic or topical collectors. The Governments in many countries still have committees that are responsible for the standards and quality of that nation's stamp production. There is little doubt that many territories do produce stamps for financial gain such as San Marino or Tristan da Cunha. The new territories of the former Soviet Union have been very quick to produce large numbers of stamps to announce their existence and these are the very places where boundary and territorial disputes are arising. Armenia and Azerbaijan would be a good example of such a dispute.

We are concerned here with the role of the postage stamp in politics and territorial disputes. It is proposed that for these very reasons that Governments will be reluctant to discontinue stamp production for financial, nationalistic and propaganda reasons. Stamps are still widely used in Developing Countries to promote health messages such as breast feeding, immunisation and oral rehydration (Dawson, 2004).

I would concede that the current era of the stamp is one of change, it is still, however, a potent force in the propaganda of many large and small countries. Stamps still have the potential to be used effectively in territorial disputes and for special purposes but their other secondary uses have been modified and targeted mainly at the philatelic market. Even in the 21st century stamps are being used in the continuing propaganda war between the UK

and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. The example of Figure 17 must surely have had the intended effect on the Argentine Government.

Figure 17: Falkland Islands stamp Celebrating Margaret Thatcher, 2013



Chapter 4: Fragments of Europe

Chapter 4.1: Rockall

57° 35' 50"N, 13° 41' 13"W

“In Victorian times it was said that to have visited Rockall was the epitome of heroism and reflected well on the bravery and moral character of the traveller.”

MacDonald F. (2006)

“Nuair a thig Rocabarra ris is dual gun tied an Saoghal a sgrios”

“When Rocabarra returns, the world will likely be destroyed”

Scottish Gaelic Myth

It is hard to comprehend that there were fragments of Europe that had not been claimed as territorial possessions by the onset of the 20th century. The tiny fragments of land that constitute Rockall, however, were one such place (figure 18). Rockall comprises the main islet and smaller outcrops. It is a pyramidal shaped rock consisting of granite of volcanic origin dating some 55 million years of age. It is not bereft of life as fluke worms, mites and periwinkles have been found there. The Rock is visited by fulmars and gannets that rest there on Atlantic journeys (figure19). As would be expected, therefore, it has a guano covering. Hasselwood Rock is located some 200 metres to the north of the main outcrop and reaches only one metre above sea level. Helen's Reef or Skerries lie two kilometres to the north east. They represent the cones of a folded extinct volcano even older than Rockall itself and composed of igneous rock. It takes its name from a brigantine “Helen” which foundered on the reef and sank with a great loss of life in 1824. Rockall's position is almost halfway between Britain and Iceland (figure 18). It specifically lays 300 kms. west of St Kilda and 366 kms. from the island of Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland. It is also 430 kms. from the nearest point of Ireland at Donegal.

Figure 18: Rockall's Position in Relation to UK and Iceland



Source: Wikipedia

The Rock itself is 25 metres in circumference with a summit of 17.15 metres above sea level. It is subject to severe wave action and waves of over 30 metres have been reported. Rockall lies on the Rockall Bank an Atlantic Ridge separated from the European Continental Shelf by the Rockall Trough (figure 22). To the east is situated the Rockall plateau, an extensive, shallow area that is the only micro-continent known in the North Atlantic. The plateau's margins were formed by the successive rifting and spreading phases that opened the North Atlantic (Roberts et al., 1979).

The first map to indicate the position of the islet was a Portuguese one of 1550. It carried the name "Rochol". It was known to the inhabitants of St. Kilda as Rokabarra or Rocabarraigh in Scottish Gaelic meaning phantom island or rock and dates from 1716. The derivation probably is from *Sgeir Rocail* the Gaelic meaning "crashing" or "roaring" rock.

Figure 19: Rockall's Pyramidal Rock, with beacon and guano covered



Source: Wikipedia

The first expedition to the island was in 1811 by Basil Hall, a Royal Navy officer, on HMS Endymion and it was he who gave it the English language name "Rockall". Hall's name has been given to the only ledge on the rock (Hall's Ledge) which measures 3.5x1.3 metres. On the 18th September 1955 at 10.15 am GMT, Rockall was formally claimed and annexed by the United Kingdom (figure 20). A subsequent act of Parliament created it as part of Harris, Inverness-shire and Scotland (Isle of Rockall Act 1972). The purported reason for the annexation of the island was to protect the newly established rocket range on South Uist and the tracking station on St. Kilda. Rockall was feared to be a location for those who would spy on the activities and the missile launches.

Three further visits are of interest. In 1985 SAS officers spent 40 days on the rock to further establish British authority (figure 21). They arrived on HMS Tartar and landed with their gear by helicopter along with their guard hut! This was followed by the Greenpeace occupation and their claim that the island was now a global island by the name of Waveland and was a new microstate. The party stayed 42 days on the islet and stated that the purpose of the

visit was to prevent oil and gas exploration. The last long stay was in 2014 and it lasted 45 days but the purpose of this stay was to raise money for a charity.

Britain enlarged her exclusive economic zone by another 200 nautical miles after the annexation. However, there was immediate disagreement about the claim to Rockall by Iceland, the Irish Republic and Denmark on behalf of the Faroe Islands. They all claimed the territory despite having made no claims prior to Britain's action. Following a government change in Britain, the new Labour administration signed the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). This Convention included the following: "rocks which cannot sustain human habitation or economic life of their own shall have no exclusive economic zone (EEZ) or continental shelf". Britain had to then pull back to its prior fishing limit based upon the distance from the island of St. Kilda (figure 24). The other three parties to the dispute had also signed the Law of the Seas Convention, and thus the actual ownership of Rockall Island from that point on became of much less important. The UK continental shelf extends across the Rockall Plateau; hence Rockall itself is now not relevant to the definition of continental shelf as defined by UNCLOS "the natural prolongation of a states territory to the outer edge of the continental system".

The claims thereafter were based on the continental shelf. The main area of dispute is the Hatton- Rockall Plateau. Denmark (Faroes) claimed the Faroes-Rockall Plateau, while Iceland claimed the extended continental shelf in the Hatton-Rockall area but not the actual rock. The UK and Ireland both claimed an extensive area of continental shelf off their respective coastlines. It should be recalled that the EEZ is not related to exploitation of the continental shelf. The latter may differ quite markedly and jurisdiction of the shelf is required for gas, oil and mineral exploration and does not infer fishing rights. Several conferences have been held between the four countries regarding continental shelf claims. To date no agreement has been reached in order to go to the United Nations with a solution and enact legislation. However, the UK and Ireland have come to a bipartisan agreement on the continental shelf between the two countries. This agreement has not been acceptable to Denmark and Iceland. Figure 23 shows the agreed delineation between Ireland and the UK. It will be noted that two exploration wells have revealed hydrocarbons as either gas or condensate. One is off the Island of Benbecula in Scotland (gas) and the other at Dooish in the agreed Irish section (gas condensate).

The annexation of a tiny rock in the Atlantic Ocean and the subsequent disputes that it triggered has turned out to be a highly significant event. While it was hailed as the "final expansion of Empire" (MacDonald, 2006), it may have turned out to be a financial salvation for the UK or another step towards the independence of Scotland. The initial reason given for the annexation of Rockall, namely protection of the missile range, may have been true but one suspects it to be a half-truth. It was the period when the North Sea oil fields were developing and their true potential may not have been realised. Even then it may have been realised that the Atlantic seaboard had mineral potential.

Following the signing of the Law of the Sea Convention, the dispute rapidly turned into not one over a speck of land but one over an enormous seabed area. Greenpeace with their anti oil drilling manifesto were quick to realise what could be happening in the Atlantic.

MacLaughlin (2014) has reviewed the potential for Scotland. He stated that the Rockall Bank has proven resources, proven hydrocarbon system, proven oil and gas traps and proven oil and gas reservoirs. Seven wells have been drilled within the Scottish Rockall Basin which all realised hydrocarbons. Two wells drilled to the west of the Island of Lewis found hydrocarbons. In addition there are functioning wells to the west of Shetland. These have a potential to produce one million barrels of oil per day. These and other findings have prompted Fisher (MacLaughlin, 2014) to state that “the world’s largest oilfield lies to the west of Lewis in the Rockall Basin”. Can one wonder why there has been a stampede to claim the Rockall Basin?

Philatelic Propaganda

Clearly such a speck of land could not justify any form of postal service. While it may have been declared a microstate by Greenpeace and a flag produced (figure 25), there have been no legitimate postage stamps issued by the UK. This has not stopped the entrepreneurs who have produced stamps for Rockall. These come under the title of “cinderellas” but have simply shown the rock and have had no direct political symbolism. One could argue that their mere existence has a message other than financial gain suggesting that there was still some doubt over the ownership of such a remote rock. These stamps were advertised for sale, however, at US\$5 each (figure 27).

Some 54 years after the UK claimed and annexed Rockall, the Faroe Islands produced a set of stamps nominally celebrating the geological origins of the country and its rise from the sea bed (figure 26). These stamps were issued at the point when oil and gas reserves in the area of the European Atlantic seabed were becoming a reality and the potential for vast wealth to be generated was being discussed. With the continued continental shelf disagreement with the UK, Ireland and Iceland unresolved these stamps are a pertinent remainder of the Faroes interest and claim to a share of the plateau within the vicinity of Rockall. The thrust of the stamps is to portray a bathymetric view of the disputed areas of the Rockall Plateau and these are very similar to those used in deep sea drilling (Roberts, 1978).

Figure 20: Raising the British flag on Rockall 1955



Source: Wikipedia

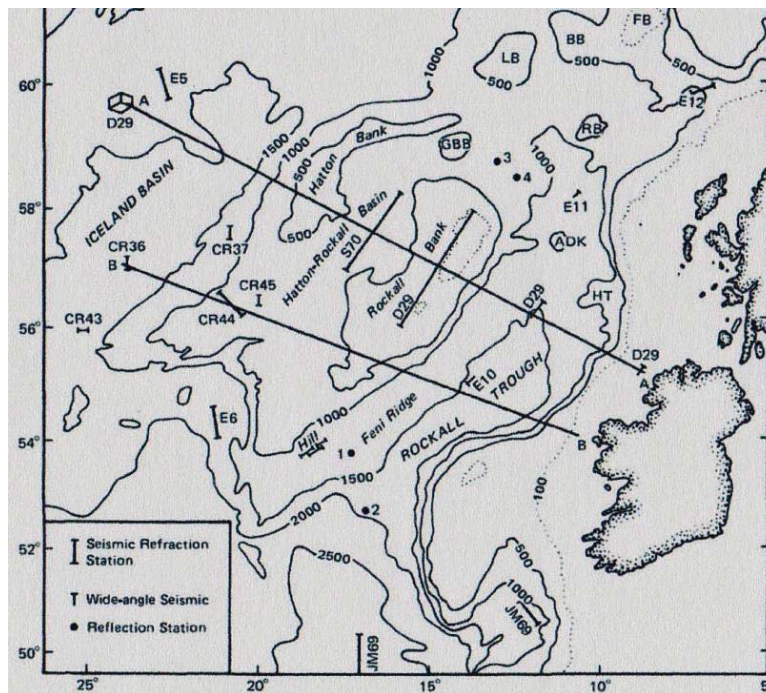
"By authority of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of her other realms and territories, Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith. And in accordance with Her Majesty's instructions dated the 14.9.55. a landing was effected this day upon this island of Rockall from H.M.S. Vidal. The Union flag was hoisted and possession of the island was taken in the name of Her Majesty. [Signed] R H Connell, Captain, H.M.S. Vidal, 18 September 1955."

Figure 21: 1974 Royal Naval occupation of Rockall via HMS Tartar



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 22: Bathymetry of the Rockall Plateau



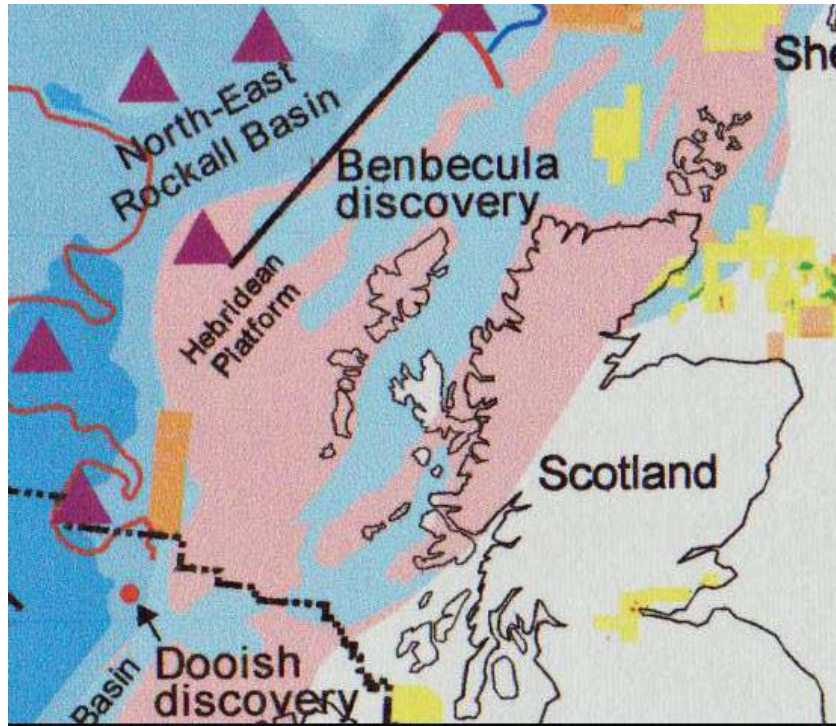
After Roberts et al. (1979)

Figure 23: UK fishing zones pre and post UN Convention signing



After Macdonald (2006)

Figure 24: Recent Hydrocarbon Discoveries in the Rockall Basin



After Roberts et al. (1978)

Figure 25: Greenpeace's Flag of Waveland (Rockall)



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 26: “Cinderella” stamp of Rockall



Figure 27: Faroe Island stamps (2009) and the Continental Shelf Dispute





www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rockall

To face the Isle of Rockall
From fear of foreign foe
We speed across the planet
To find on this lump of granite
One rather startled gannet
In fact, we found Rockall.

Chapter 4.2

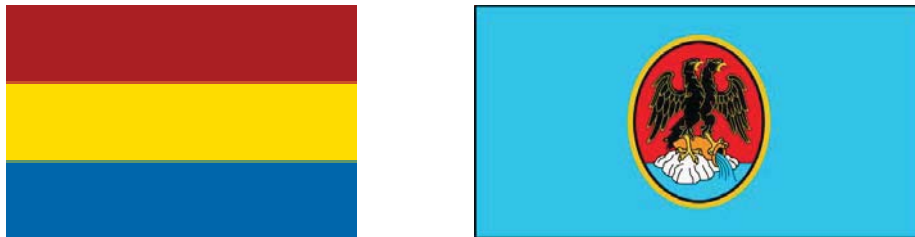
Fiume (Rijeka)

“Terra Fluminus Sancti Viti”

“The River Land of Saint Vitus”

Roman Name

Figure 28: Flag of the Free State of Fiume and the City Flag of Rijeka (Fiume), Croatia



Fiume, “the River”, existed as a territory of 28 square kilometres and comprised the City of Fiume, a rural hinterland and a small corridor to Italy. It was situated on Kvarner Bay, an inlet of the Adriatic Sea which provided it with an excellent deep water harbour. It is now the Croatian city of Rijeka (figures 28, 29).

Figure 29: Venezia Giulia and Fiume 1918-1919, Islands of Veglia and Arbe included



Source: Philatelic Atlas

Fiume gained autonomy in 1719 as a free port for the Holy Roman Empire by a decree of Emperor Charles V. In 1776 during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa it was decided to transfer the area to the Kingdom of Hungary and this occurred in 1779. While being part of the Kingdom of Hungary, it remained a *corpus separatum*, a distant part of the country being an exclave surrounded by Croatia. Perhaps strictly a pene-enclave as it did have access to the sea. It thus had the status of possessing special legal and political standing. While failing to be a sovereign or independent city state considerable autonomy was granted. A Governor was appointed by the King of Hungary on the advice of the Hungarian Prime Minister and self rule was through an elected legislature.

Croatia had been strictly excluded from the political arrangements for Fiume although it was linked to Hungary through the crown of Saint Stephen. Despite this, the Croatian Josip Jelacic and his followers occupied the City in 1848, but Fiume regained its status, however, in 1868. Until 1924 it existed as an autonomous region and thus almost a separate state. The 19th Century population were mainly Italian with minorities including Croats and Hungarians. While the official languages were Italian, Hungarian and German, the *lingua franca* was Chakavian. This was a local dialect based on Venetian and Croatian.

The demise of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War 1 resulted in the status of Fiume becoming disputed. It was claimed by the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) and by the King of Italy. Initially it fell under Croatian influence. The basis of Italy's claims appears to lie within the Treaty of Rome (26 April 1915) signed in secret between Great Britain and Italy during the First World War when Italy changed to the Allies side. The Italians argued that the natural geographic boundary of Italy included the Julian and Dinaric Alps and hence the Adriatic littoral lay within the geography of Italy. The treaty envisaged Italy annexing Dalmatia and Fiume becoming part of Croatia.

On October 28th 1918 the Italian flag was raised on the civic tower in Fiume and two days later a plebiscite was called for annexation to Italy. The Allies immediately sent in troops to intervene and to stop lawlessness and a clash between Croats and Italians. This force consisted of British, French, USA and Italian troops and amounted to 2,600 men. They remained in occupation between 17th November 1918 until 12th September 1919. A National Council was formed to take over the executive branch of government while the Allies formed the administrative power.

On the withdrawal of the Allied Force, an Italian poet and fascist, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and his para-military force entered and occupied the city. For the next year he negotiated with the Italian Government without success. On September 8th 1920, he declared that the State of Fiume was an Italian Regency. He named it the Regency of Carnaro and in addition he occupied the islands of Arbe (Rab) and Veglia (Krk) in Kvarner Bay and included them in the Regency (figure 30). The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Italy signed a treaty on 12th

Figure 30: Flag of the Regency of Carnaro (Regime of D'Annunzio): 1919-1920



November 1920, The Treaty of Rapallo, by which both parties agreed to acknowledge the “Free State of Fiume” as an independent state. D’Annunzio refused to acknowledge the Treaty. The end of the Regency came about when the Italian battleship Andrea Doria shelled D’Annunzio’s headquarters and he capitulated and was thereafter expelled from the city. From December 1920 the Free State was established and elections were carried out. Riccardo Zanella was elected President as leader of the pro Autonomy Party over the pro Italy Party. A state of lawlessness continued and on March 3rd 1922 it culminated in an attack on the Governor’s Palace. The President and most of the deputies managed to escape to Croatia and remained there. Mussolini who was now in power in Italy formerly dismissed the Government and placed Gaetano Giardino as Military Governor of Fiume. The Treaty of Rome (27th January 1924) solved the problem. Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes agreed that Fiume should be annexed by Italy and Susak should be absorbed into the adjacent part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This took effect from 16th March 1924. However, the Government in exile regarded this treaty as invalid and continued their activities in exile under President Zanella in Croatia.

During the Second World War, Italian troops took over and occupied the Yugoslav area of Susak (Kupa). Towards the end of the war and the surrender of Italy in 1944, the “Liburna memorandum” recommended a confederate state should be formed from the three cantons: Fiume, Susak and Ilirsk Bistrica, plus the islands of Krk (Veglia), Cres (Cherso) and Losinj (Lussino). Yugoslav authorities took over Fiume (Rijeka) in May 1945 and did not support this memorandum and thus terminated the principle of autonomy for the region. The Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 resulted in Rijeka (Fiume) and Istria becoming part of Yugoslavia.

The final turn of the wheel followed the Yugoslav War of 1991 and the break up of the country. Rijeka (Fiume) and Istria then became part of the Republic of Croatia. It is now the

principle seaport and the third largest city in Croatia. The population has become 82% Croat with some Italian and Bosnian residents. However, the unique Venetian language is still spoken by 20,000 people.

The territorial disputes over Fiume are complex and have inflicted much anguish on the people of Fiume (Rijeka). There have been at least nine ruling regimes before, hopefully, there was a final settlement within Croatia. The history of Fiume is a good illustration of the effects that Empires, world wars, treaties, nationalism and politics can inflict upon a small territory. Why has Fiume had to experience such change?

The early days can be explained by the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was too large to be ruled by a single figure and was a patchwork of small and large states. Winder (2013) argues that a major role of the Emperor was to settle such disputes. One can soon imagine that Hungary's lack of an outlet to the sea could be easily solved by giving Fiume to Hungary. However, Hungary was 500 kilometres from Fiume. The collapse of the Austro-Hungary in 1919 released the aspirations of many ethnic groups and the potential for new states, especially those that later formed Yugoslavia. The port of Susak with its excellent deep water harbour was obviously a drawcard financially and strategically. However, while this is a major factor, the ethnic mix of the population in Fiume with a majority of Italians in the city area and a majority of Croats in the rural parts and especially in Susak added a further dimension. The rise of Fascism and nationalism in Italy added yet an additional facet to the problem. Gabriele D'Annunzio's intervention and his establishment of a Fascist State complicated matters even more. It did force Italy's hand to act and form an agreement with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Following World War 2 the change in population ratio in Rijeka certainly suggests a degree of ethnic change perhaps not by "cleansing" but by the voluntary emigration of Italians.

Porciani (2012) has succinctly summarised the prior history of Fiume in these words: *"Fiume is a microcosm of all themes of nationalism, going back to its complex relationship with the Habsburg Empire"*.

Figure 31: Stamps produced for the Regency of Carnaro (Regime of D'Annunzio) 1919-1920



Figure 32: D'Annunzio on Fiume stamp



Figure 33: D'Annunzio in Lancer's Beret⁷



⁷ Photocopy of stamp from the article of Migliavacca, 2015. An example of this stamp was sold for \$25,000. It was supposedly issued in 1920. Until recently only one cover with this semi-stamp was known, it was autographed by D'Annunzio himself to give it the needed "pedigree" and attest its "uniqueness". In recent times two postcards with the same unique D'Annunzio stamp have surfaced on the market (Migliavacca, 2015).

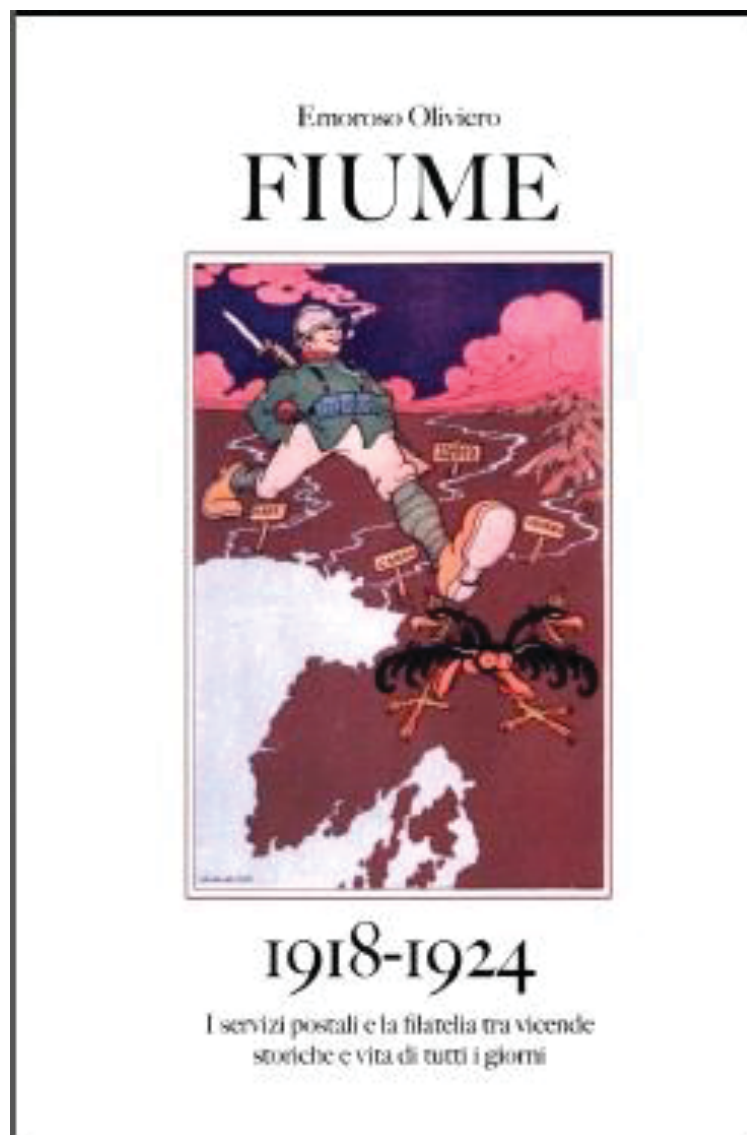
Postal Propaganda

The history of Fiume and its troubled and administratively changing years are well reflected in the postage stamps produced for the area over the last 150 years. Postal services commenced with postage stamps from the Austro-Hungarian Empire which were used from 1850 until 1st May 1871 (figure 34). Subsequently following the Ausgleich agreement with Hungary, stamps of the latter were used (figure 35, 36) (Glenny, 2012). Examples of these stamps are illustrated with postmarks confirming their use within Fiume. The Allied occupation of 1918 saw the overprinting of the Hungarian stamps and the creation of Fiume specific stamps for the first time (figure 37). Interestingly the Allied administration then instructed the National Council to produce postage stamps that “must not bear any political notes that might influence the future solution of the question of Fiume (Rijeka)” (figure 38). This is a clear recognition of the effect postage stamps may have. Despite this the first of these stamps bore a picture entitled “Liberty”. Another carried a picture of Romulus, Remus and the wolf. Thus, an Italian bias was already introduced.

The Regency of Fiume, which claimed to be the first fascist State, relected these political leanings in the stamp design. The designs were sketched by D’Annunzio himself and designed by Marussig and de Carolis. It is probaly unique that a political head of state was directly involved in stamp design. These stamps abound in propaganda signs and fascist symbols (figure 32). D’Annunzio’s expansion of the Regency by the addition of the islands of Arbe and Veglia is celebrated and announced by specific overprints in November 1920 (figure 39). One of the stamps in figure 32 shows D’Annunzio himself. Apparently a further stamp was prepared of him but on this occasion he wore a Lancer’s beret to disguise his bald head (figure 33). A single example of this has been found and doubts are raised as to its legitimacy. Certainly, D’Annunzio has been accused of producing these stamps to fund his Regency as well as for political effect (Migliavacca, 2013).

Overprints featured initially in the Free State issues but definitives appeared in 1923 (figure 40). The incorporation into Italy saw further overprints come into play (figure 41). The final stamps are the further overprints of the Italian occupation of Susak (1941) (figure 42). Yugoslav stamps appeared in 1945 as the occupation and postwar settlement occured (figures 43, 44). Finally, there is an example of a recent stamp from Croatia, currently the final home of Fiume and its stamps (figure 45). Emoroso (2013) has well reviewed this postal era and he stresses that the fascist ideology is very well reflected throughout by the militaristic stamps of Fiume and especially by D’Annunzio himself. The front cover of Emoroso’s book, in itself, reflects the aggressive approach of Italy (figure 46).

Figure 46: Poster for the Postal History of Fiume 1918-24



Source: Oliviero Emoroso (2013)

Political History of Fiume/Rijeka through its Postage Stamps

Figure 34: Stamp of Austria-Hungary used in Fiume in **1870**



Figure 35: First Stamp of Hungary used in Fiume **1871**



Figure 36: Hungarian Stamps used in Fiume in **1900**, note no overprint but cancellation in Fiume



Figure 37: Overprinted Hungarian Stamps used during the Allied Occupation of Fiume 1918-1919



Figure 38: “Liberty” Allied Occupation Definitive Stamps 1919, special Newspaper stamp (1919)



Figure 39: Separate Issues for the Islands of Arbe (Rab) and Veglia (Krk) 1920, D’Annunzio’s Regime



Figure 40: Fiume Free State Issues **1920-1924**



Figure 41: Incorporation of Fiume into Italy **1924**, overprinted stamps



Figure 42: Italian Occupation of Fiume and Kupa Zone **1941**



Figure 43: Yugoslav Military Government 1945



Figure 44: Yugoslav Occupation 1945 Stamps of Italy Overprinted



Figure 45: as Croatia 2014



Chapter 5

The Greater German Reich

“Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”

Von Fallerasleben, 1798-1874

The union of the German States and the creation of the German Empire, the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire released an explosion of nationalism. This resulted in the creation of new and independent states in Europe and elsewhere. The Treaty of Versailles aided and exacerbated these national aspirations but yet still left some groups frustrated, resulting in the persisting problems still encountered well into the 21st century. While the Second World War resulted in a new set of geopolitical dilemmas it did bring about the solution to some of the past lingering difficulties.

The eventual acceptance and signing of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany led to the loss of 13% of Germany's pre-war territory and a loss of 10% of her population along with the transfer of all her overseas colonies. Alsace-Lorraine went to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, the industrial Saar was placed under the League of Nations administration for 15 years and Denmark received Schleswig. The Rhineland was demilitarised. Poland received parts of West Prussia and Silesia. The largely German City of Danzig became a free city under the protection of the League of Nations. Memel was placed eventually under Lithuanian control. Hultschin (Hlučín) went to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia.

The next sections discuss some of these disputed boundary and territorial changes and their outcome in the short and long term. The proposed and eventual map changes the Treaty decisions engendered were the subject of advertisement, propaganda and political interference. This was mainly due to the referenda that were required and held in some areas. The philatelic medium was frequently used to announce these events and their timing. Some of the many stamps are illustrated here and commented upon in each section.

Chapter 5.1

The Prussian Territories: Memel and Marienwerder, Allenstein

“Tempora mutantur nos et mutantur in illis”

“Times change and we change with them”

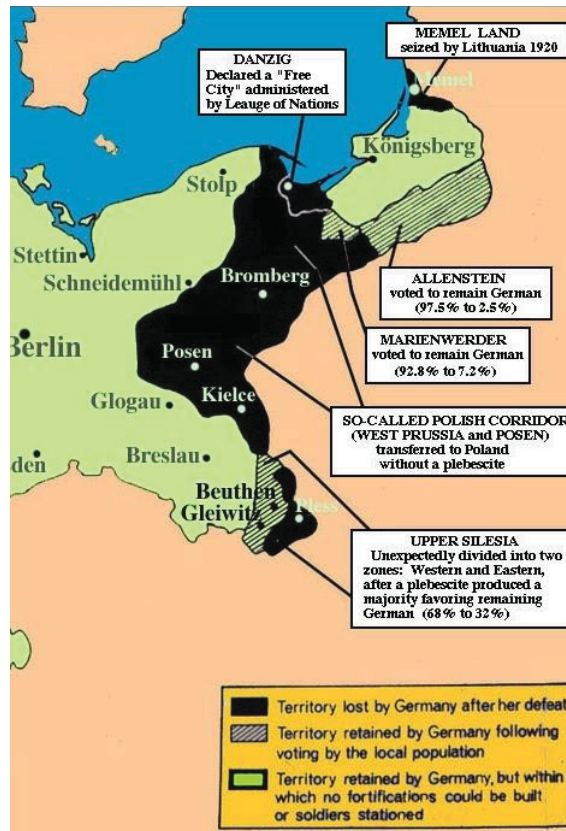
Latin proverb

Following WW1, the Treaty of Versailles declaration allocated most of Western Prussia to the Second Polish Republic. This was to form the so-called Polish Corridor which gave Poland access to the sea via the Free Port of Danzig (figure 47). Thus Marienwerder lost some of its land to Poland. Territories east of the Vistula took part in the plebiscites to determine whether they remained in Germany or became part of Poland. Three of these territorial settlements are discussed below.

The land settlements described below were, in reality, non-settlements, as they resulted in further strife. Hitler used the separation of Germany and the Polish land corridor as one of the reasons he ultimately invaded Poland, along with the unproven reason that the Poles were maltreating the residual German population.

It would seem from the results that there was an overwhelming support for retention of the eastern areas within Germany. However, closer examination suggests that there were factors that influenced the voting (figure 48). Debo (1992) has suggested that the outcome of the voting was highly influenced by the ongoing Polish-Soviet Russian conflict. The newly formed Polish state was very vulnerable to Soviet occupation and it is suggested that even those of Polish ethnicity would vote for Germany rather than live under a communist government (figure 49). A further aspect is the reported mass persecutions of Polish activists and even murders that were carried out (figure 50) (Historical Abstracts of 20th Century, 1986). The Polish people of Masuria were, in particular, victims of these persecutions. The actual boycott of the plebiscite by the Poles and the pro German stand of the British are two other factors reported. The British prejudice was said to be due to the UK's wish to prevent France having an undue influence on the new Polish State. The factors related to the voting in Allenstein and Marienwerder are discussed in their respective sections.

Figure 47: Post WW1 settlements



(Source: American Philatelic Society)

Figure 48: Protest against the Polish Corridor



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 49: German Propaganda Poster



"This is what it would be like for us in Poland. We farmers vote for Germany"

(Source: Library of Congress)

Figure 50: Memorial to Bogumil Linka



Bogumil Linka⁸ murdered by German militia for his support for Poland during the Plebiscite

Source: S. Czachorowski

⁸ Bogumil Linka campaigned for the areas of Warmia and Mazury to pass to Poland without a plebiscite. He was then charged with treason.

Chapter 5.1.1

Marienwerder (Kwidzyn)

The name Marienwerder (Mary's Little Island) refers to the district and to the town by that name. The town was founded in the 14th Century and it had been previously the seat of the Bishops of Pomerania within Prussia (figure 51). The Governate of Marienwerder (Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder) was an administrative region of Prussia from 1815 until 1945. The capital of the Governate was the town of Marienwerder (Kwidzyn). Between 1815 and 1829 it was in the Province of West Prussia while between the years 1922-39 it joined East Prussia. As a consequence of WW1 and the subsequent Treaty of Versailles most of West Prussia was awarded to Poland including much of the Marienwerder region. The remaining parts of the territory east of the Vistula River were placed under the jurisdiction of the Inter-Allied Commission between the years 1920-22. One of their first actions was to prohibit the sale of German stamps from March 12th 1920 and to issue a new set of stamps (Keppel, 2015).

Figure 51: Arms and Flag of Marienwerder



Marienwerder took part in the East Prussian Plebiscite and the region voted with a 93% majority to remain in Germany. It was restored, therefore, to Germany on the 16th August 1920 as a result of this vote. As in the other parts of the East Prussian, the plebiscite resulted in strife between the rival factions. Criticism was levelled at the Polish authorities for blocking goods and supplies to the area and causing difficulties at the border crossings. The British Commissioner was accused of prejudice against the Poles and the whole Commission had its impartiality questioned.

After Germany's conquest of the Polish Corridor in WW2, the title of Marienwerder Governate was re-instated. It was, however, dissolved in 1945 following Germany's defeat. The region was handed over to Poland in March 1945. The Potsdam Conference assigned the region to Poland and this was finalised and formerly agreed to in the German-Polish Border Treaty of 1990. Following the handover to Poland the area was renamed Kwidzyn and it became part of the Olsztyn Voivodeship within Poland.

The plebiscite and subsequent retention of the area by Germany appeared to be an attempt to carry out the democratic process. This concept has been challenged and there was some loss of life. The major factor was that Poland was at war with the Soviet Union at the time of the plebiscite and hence the timing of the plebiscite was considered inappropriate. The later transfer of the area to Poland in 1945 and the expulsion of the German people were far from a democratic process. Indeed, this was another example of “ethnic cleansing” which went on without protest by the rest of the World.

Figure 52: First specific plebiscite issue for Marienwerder 1920 (SG 1, 5, 11)



Figure 53: Second overprinted issue of plebiscite stamps, Marienwerder, 1920 (SG 15, 24, 20)



Figure 54: Overprinted Marienwerder Plebiscite stamps (SG15, 18)



Figure 55: Third issue of Marienwerder plebiscite stamps (SG 38)



Postal Propaganda

The Plebiscite produced some 42 postage stamps for use in Marienwerder. The first group were issued for use between March and May 1920. They were designed specifically for the advertising of the plebiscite and were not German stamp overprints. They were designated “Commission Interalliée” and also inscribed “Marienwerder” at the bottom. They had semiotic features. An allegorical figure, *Populi Voluntas* (The Will of the People) seems to represent the Allied Commission perhaps offering honest and scrupulous supervision over the plebiscite. To her side she is flanked by flags of the Allied nations (figure 52) and holds the fasces as a symbol of justice. By March 27th, further stamps were issued and on this occasion they were overprinted standard German issues (figure 53, 54). These stamps remained in circulation until the 11th May 1920. They carried the same inscription as the first issue in their overprint. Finally between the 11th July and 3rd August 1920 a further set of specific stamps were introduced. The inscription was changed at the bottom to read “Marienwerder/Kwidzyn” at the bottom (figure 55).

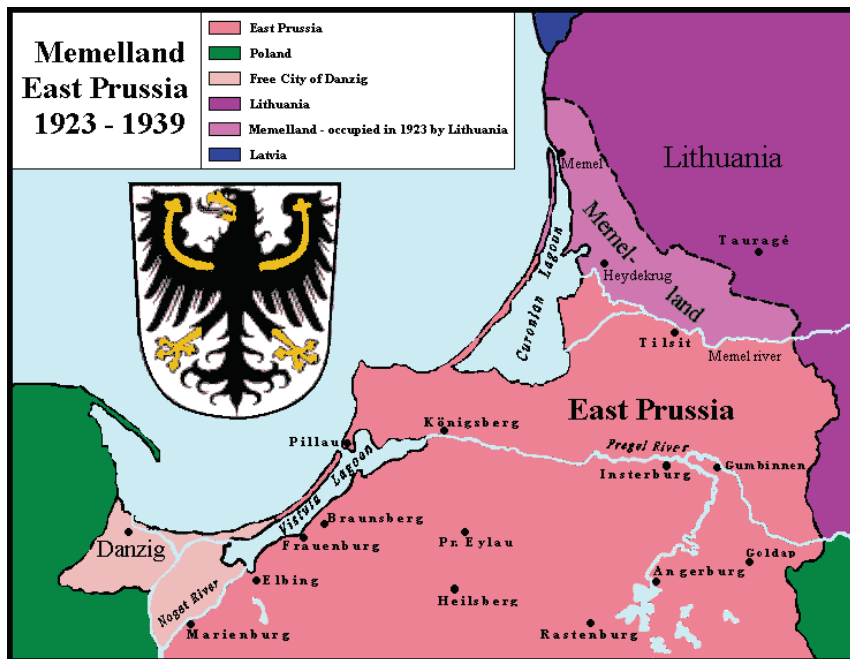
It is a unique feature that Marienwerder had specific stamps designed for the plebiscite and not just overprinted stamps alone. The issuing of a revised format of these first stamps with the area name in Polish added does suggest that there may have been a protest about bias in the initial stamp format with the German language used for the name hence excluding the use of “Kwidzyn”. Clearly, some thought had gone into the initial stamp and an effort to reassure both sides that it was a fair process. It does appear unusual that 42 stamps were required over a period of one year (13 March - 3 August 1920) to cover the period of the plebiscite.

Chapter 5.1.2

Memel (Memelland, Memelgebeit), Klaipeda

Geographically Memel formed the most northerly part of East Prussia (figure 56). Between the years 1701-1920, the area known as Memel or Klaipeda was administratively under the Duchy of Prussia, the Kingdom of Prussia and finally the German Empire. It was the Teutonic Knights who had constructed Memel Castle and the city in the past.

Figure 56: Memel: geographic location



Source: Wikipedia

After WW1, like the Saar and Danzig, Memel was made into a separate territory by the Treaty of Versailles and placed under the control of the League of Nations and managed by a Council of Ambassadors (figure 57). A plebiscite was to be carried out in due course to determine its long term future. French troops were sent for its administration and protection. The population while predominantly ethnic German also comprised a Prussian Lithuanian sector and a group of people who saw themselves as Memellanders. With Lithuania adjacent to Memel a demand came from some to unify Memel with Lithuania. An Act of 1918, the Tilsit Act, proposed such a union. The idea of an independent state was then raised, a concept that became popular with many locals and the planned move to a Free State.

Figure 57: Flag of Memel



As the concept of an independent state for Memel was developing, the idea proved totally unacceptable to Lithuania. On the 9th of January 1923, Memel was occupied by Lithuanian militia and this action was referred to as the Klaipeda Revolt. The French troops put up no significant opposition and it was argued that the French were distracted by the then current Ruhr Crisis. The French troops were thereafter withdrawn from the territory. Lithuania formerly annexed Klaipeda/Memel on the 19th January 1923. This action was eventually confirmed and accepted by the Council of Ambassadors in 1924 and formed the basis of the Klaipeda Convention between them and Lithuania accepted the de facto situation. The agreement gave Klaipeda a great deal of autonomy and democracy within Lithuania and confirmed the status of the two official languages there. The ethnic divide was also a religious divide with 95% of the Lithuanians being Lutheran and 90% of the Germans being Roman Catholic.

Memel remained under Lithuanian control until March 1938 when a treaty of cessation of Memel to Germany was signed after a Nazi ultimatum. After it was annexed by Germany on the 23rd March 1939 ("Returned to the Reich"), it was then reintegrated into East Prussia only six months before the outbreak of WW2. However, it was converted into a fortified naval base prior to this time.

The Battle of Memel took place on January 28th 1945 in which the Germans defended Memel against the Red Army. After the defeat of the Germans, Memel (Klaipeda) was occupied by the Soviet Union and formerly annexed to Kalingrad on April 7th 1948. It was then cleared of its German population who were expelled to East Germany. Those who were previously described as Memellanders were sent to Siberia. Klaipeda was then transferred to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) in 1948. Since the fall of the Soviet Union it has remained part of the Republic of Lithuania, since its own independence in 1990, and is placed within the counties called Kaipeda and Tauraga. The boundary on the River Memel separates Klaipeda from Russian Kalingrad.

With the numerous changes of administration experienced by Memel/Kaipeda, the postal history has become complex. I have illustrated these changes by examples of postage stamps used in the territory during the various time periods (figures 58-69). It is, perhaps, only the locally overprinted German stamps of 1939 that have been used for political propaganda. However, the actual change in the stamps, themselves, does advertise the political changes the territory has experienced. The figure70 is an example of mail from Memel using French overprinted stamps.

The Territorial Administrative Changes in Memel reflected in Postage Stamps

Figure 58: Kingdom of Prussia



Kingdom of Prussia: Stamps used until 1867. Note the cancellation "931" is specific for Memel.

Figure 59: North German Confederation



North German Confederation: Valid in Memel until 1870. Note Memel cancellation.

Figure 60: German Empire



German Empire: Stamps used until 1918: Memel cancellation for 1886.

Figure 61: League of Nations Administration



League of Nations: French protection and French stamps overprinted 1920-23. Ordinary mail and airmail varieties. Note the use of German currency.

Figure 62: League of Nations



League of Nations: German Empire stamps Overprinted in 1920

Figure 63: Lithuanian Occupation



Lithuanian Occupation: Both overprinted French and Lithuanian stamps were used in 1923. Note initial currency in Markes (Markiu). Name now changed to Klaipeda.

Figure 64: Lithuanian Occupation (currency change)



Lithuanian occupation: Currency change 1923. Centu and Litas.

Figure 65: Union of Memel and Lithuania



Union of Memel with Lithuania: Issued by Lithuania on 12 July 1923 celebrating the union of Memel with Lithuania, series of 13 stamps.

Figure 66: German Occupation (Third Reich)



Germany, Third Reich: Returned to Germany on the 22nd March 1939. German stamps cancelled in Memel

Figure 67: German Occupation of Lithuania



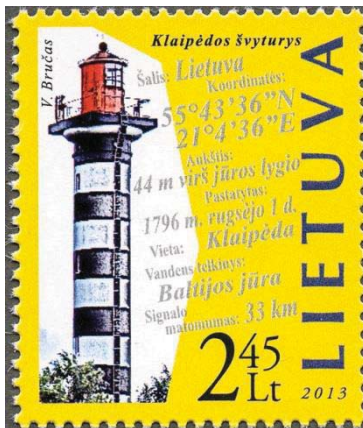
German Occupation of Lithuania: Local overprint “Memel is Free” on Lithuanian stamps of 1939 that celebrated 20 years of Lithuania’s Independence.

Figure 68: Occupation by the Soviet Union



Occupation by the Soviet Union: Later transfer to Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Stamp celebrates 10th anniversary of Lithuanian SSR (SG 1901).

Figure 69: Independent Lithuania



Republic of Lithuania: Celebrating Klaipėda as part of Lithuania; Independent from 1990.

Figure 70: Envelope posted in 1921 from Memel



Postal propaganda

Memel/Klaipeda is a good example of a small territory over which much political strife has occurred. This political history is reflected in the stamps illustrated in figures 59-70. The territory has ranged from being part of Prussia/Germany to part of Lithuania, then to a quasi independent status to a period of Russian control. It has finally become a part of a fully independent Lithuania. In doing so it has lost the autonomy it once had but it has ended up as part of a democracy. There has been loss of life due to an armed take over and war time fighting. The clearance of its citizens to Siberia was another tragic part of the history of the city and territory.

The postal history is complicated but does clearly reflect the political history and disputes over its administration and ownership. The frequent use of the overprint to reflect political status or changed status was used by France, Germany and Lithuania. Postage stamps were used by the Germans for direct political ends. It is an irony, probably deliberate, that Nazis used the 20th anniversary stamps of Lithuania to announce the “freedom of Memel” in an overprint. There were no real political stamps were issued by the Soviet Union involving Memel within the Soviet Republic of Lithuania. The stamp illustrated in figure 68 merely forms part of an omnibus series on Soviet Republics.

Finally, the independent and democratic Republic of Lithuania celebrated the historical basis of Memel (Klaipeda) in its 2013 issue. Overall, the stamps used in Memel reflect many functions from purely postal use to direct political propaganda.

Chapter 5.1.3

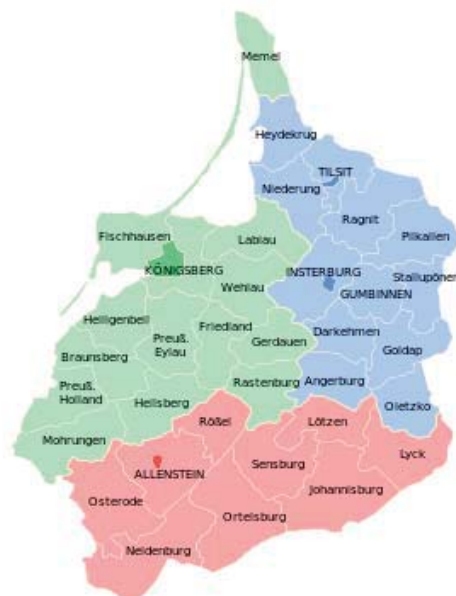
Allenstein (Olsztyn)

Figure 71: Flag and Arms of Allenstein



The land area called Allenstein (“The Castle on the River Alle”) joined the Prussian Confederation in 1440; it later rebelled and was restored to Prussia. Polish troops captured the town eventually in 1463. By 1772 Allenstein had become part of the Kingdom of Prussia and developed with the surrounding land, into an administrative Province of East Prussia during the period 1905 until 1945. On the formation of the German Empire in 1871 it had remained, however, as a part of Prussia. Allenstein was an East Prussian Province from 4th November 1905 until 1945. The major town and capital of the region was the actual town of Allenstein (Olsztyn) (figure 71, 72).

Figure 72: East Prussia: Allenstein Administrative Region in red



Source: Philatelic Atlas

With the onset of WW1, Russian troops captured Allenstein, but it was soon recovered by Imperial German forces following the Battle of Tannenberg. At the end of WW1 Allenstein was administered by the Allies. The Treaty of Versailles dictated that a plebiscite should be held to determine the future of the area. The question asked was whether Allenstein should remain as part of East Prussia and hence Germany or to become part of Poland. In the vote held on the 11th July 1920, 97% of the population voted to remain in Germany. The area then became part of the Weimar Republic of Germany. However, problems started before the plebiscite got under way. Allied forces had to release imprisoned Masurians who had tried to reach the Paris Conference to express their views. British and Italian troops had to be deployed to protect pro-Polish voters in Allenstein from pro-German agitators. The Commission had to remove the Major of Allenstein after attacks on the local Polish Consulate and the police were involved in an anti-Polish attack during a theatrical performance. A pogrom was organised against ethnic Poles in the Bischofburg District.

On 22nd of January 1945, towards the end of WW2, Allenstein was attacked by the advancing Russian Red Army and the town was sacked. The German population fled as the Russians advanced. Later in 1945, following the end of World War 2, Allenstein and the remainder of East Prussia was divided between Poland and the Soviet Union (Kaliningrad). This action had been pre-arranged during the discussions held at the Potsdam conference. The now Polish town was re-named Olsztyn. The return of the area to Poland after the war along the lines agreed at the Potsdam Conference led to much death and suffering to the German inhabitants and led to their exile in Germany proper.

Stamp Propaganda

In order to advertise the post WW1 plebiscite, German stamps were overprinted on the 3rd April and were in use until the 20th of August 1920 for international mail. The actual wording used to advertise the vote is displayed in figures 73, 74, 75. It will be seen that two sets of overprints were used and examples of these are given in the figures. Overall some 28 stamps were produced for Allenstein. Once the Allenstein/Olsztyn region was returned to Poland, stamps were issued to celebrate the return of the western territories at ten yearly intervals (figure 76). It will be noted in figure 74 that Olsztyn is mentioned specifically. The only Third Reich contribution is to commemorate the Tanneberg Memorial and Allenstein Castle (figure 77). The former of these stamps commemorates the battle which liberated Allenstein and the surrounding area from the Russian Army in WW1.

The stamp issue for Allenstein was the first ever specifically for that region. The stamps were overprinted German stamps covering a range of values. One overprint is very clear as to the fact that the plebiscite is under the auspices of the Treaty of Versailles. The stamps

appear neutral and unbiased except that they are all from Germany. Following the end of WW2 and the takeover by Poland, the issued stamps are relatively free from propaganda other than showing the coat of arms of the areas returned. The 1955 stamps illustrate townscapes of the regions involved. The plebiscite stamps are certainly another example of postage stamps being used specifically for political reasons as it had not, to date, been considered necessary to produce stamps specifically for the Allenstein region. The issues by Poland celebrating the return of the “western territories” must be considered to have a political motive in light of the previous history of the area.

Figure 73: Plebiscite July 11th 1920



Figure 74: The overprint wording of the Allenstein Plebiscite stamps



Figure 75: The range of Plebiscite stamps with their overprints

1920 SG 1-9, 15-23, 10-14, 24-28





Figure 76: Poland's 10th and 20th anniversary celebration of the return of the western territories (SG 945, 1561)



Figure 77: Germany 1935, celebrating Allenstein Castle with East Prussian map
and Tannenberg Memorial (SG 573, 574)



Chapter 5.2

Eupen and Malmedy

“Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these ten years”

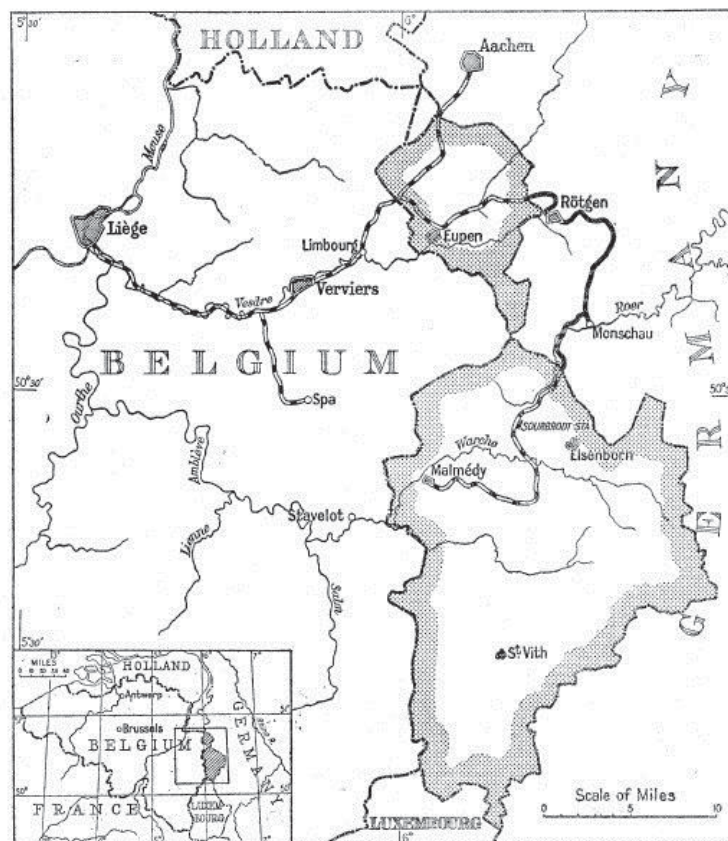
William Pitt (1759-1806)

Northern Eupen was originally part of the Duchy of Limburg, a dependency of the Duchy of Brabant and latterly controlled by the Habsburgs as part of the Austrian Netherlands. The Southern part belonged to the Duchy of Luxembourg. Prior to the First World War (1910) the population was only 26,156 while the area of Eupen was 97 square kilometres. Malmedy at that time had a population of 34,768 and an area of 450 square kilometres. It initially belonged to the Bishopric of Tier which in turn was part of the Principality of Stavelot-Malmedy. All of these areas were subject to the rule of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1795, the French forcibly took over the territories and incorporated them into the French Department of Ourthe. The Congress of Vienna (1815) awarded the area to Rhenish Prussia as part of the long term peace plan for Europe after the French revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars. Prussian administration lasted from 1815-1919, with the latter years being as part of the German Empire. The population of these areas was thus German speaking (figures 78, 79).

Figure 78: Flag and Arms of 1. Malmedy 2. Eupen



Figure 79: Map of the location of Eupen, Malmedy and St. Vith



After Elliott (2013)

Saint Vith (Sankt Vith, St. Vitus) is a municipality in the Province of Liege with an area of 146.9 square kilometres. It is a third German speaking area of Belgium. It originated as an important market place in 1350 and remained a part of Luxembourg until the defeat of Napoleon. Following the Congress of Vienna, Saint Vith was transferred to the ownership of Prussia. St Vith was the scene of considerable action during the 1944 Second World War's Battle of the Bulge in which the town was largely destroyed.

At the end of the First World War, on the withdrawal of German troops, British troops occupied Eupen and Malmedy prior to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. As a consequence of Articles 24-39 of the Treaty the territories were ceded in September 1920 to Belgium pending the result of a plebiscite and a five year transition period. The plebiscite asking the question whether the areas should remain in Belgium took place between the 26th January and the 23rd July 1923. In reality the plebiscite was not a secret ballot, but those who objected to the transfer had to register by name. Mass intimidation appears to have taken place with only 271 people out of 33,726 registering an objection to remaining in Belgium. In light of this result Eupen and Malmedy were transferred to Belgium along with St. Vith on the 6th March 1925. However, in 1926, discussions took place between Belgium and Germany for the return of the cantons to Germany for a sum of 200 million gold marks.

Belgium was in a financial crisis at the time. France objected to this move so strongly that discussions were soon terminated with no agreement in place.

During the 1930s with the rise in National Socialism in Germany, there was a challenge to the Treaty of Versailles decisions and this affected Eupen and Malmedy. The political parties split into the Socialists favouring continued association with Belgium and the National Socialists (Nazis) arguing for a return to Germany. Once again, Eupen and Malmedy changed hands as Germany reincorporated the territories in to the Reich during World War 2 after Belgium was invaded (figure 80). A formal decree was issued by Hitler annexing the territories. A side effect of this decree was that, now as German citizens, the men were eligible to be conscripted into the German Army. 8,700 were recruited of whom 3,200 died during the war.

Figure 80: Re-incorporation of Eupen and Malmedy into Germany, 1940 (SG 737)



The war time period caused Malmedy became infamous during 1944 as the site of the massacre of 84 United States prisoners of war by the German army. St Vith was subjected to severe bombing by the Allies during this period. At the end of the war, Belgium took back control of the areas.

In 1956 the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium agreed to border adjustments and made a reconciliation agreement that included Eupen and Malmedy. Subsequently special language rights have been introduced for the German speaking population (figure 86).

In summary, the control of Eupen and Malmedy was decided by military strength and while initially the Versailles Treaty was the legal and nominal reason for the transfer, it may have been more a punitive act than a political necessity. The preliminary discussions on the sale of the regions between Germany and Belgium would support this notion. Hitler's immediate annexation in 1940 again was due to Germany's military might at the time. However, the future of the two areas appears to be settled now by mutual agreement between Belgium and Germany.

Stamp Propaganda

During the initial transfer to Belgium in 1920 seven stamps were overprinted “Eupen and Malmedy” and values expressed in German currency (figure 81). With the development of closer ties the currency then became Belgian and stamps for each canton were issued (figure 82). A German stamp of 1940 is included which celebrates the return of the territories to Germany. There is little overt use of the stamps for propaganda but the production of specific stamps for the two territories in 1920 does suggest a political reason rather than a postal one. The exception to this is the German stamp of 1940 which is clearly of a political and celebratory nature. Following liberation and the reclaiming of Eupen and Malmedy, the Belgian stamp with the Victory overprint would have been used in the two disputed areas.

Examples of postage stamps used in the two areas do reflect the political history described above. The sequence of postal and political administrations for Eupen and Malmedy between the years 1861-1944 is reflected in figures 83, 84, 85. The stamps do not carry the canton names specifically but the ruling administration: Prussian, North German Confederation, German Empire, German occupation and Belgian occupation.

Figure 81: First overprinted stamps of 1920,⁹



⁹ Note German currency and St. Vith postmark

Figure 82: Replacement overprints of Belgian Occupation of Eupen and Malmedy 1920-1, prior to annexation in 1920



Figure 83: Stamps of Prussia 1861, North German Confederation 1868, German Empire 1902



Figure 84: Belgium excluding Eupen and Malmedy: German Military Zone (Western Command) 1916, Military occupation of Belgium 1916, Belgium after German surrender of 1918



Figure 85: Issued during German occupation of Belgium, 1943, and at Liberation 1944



Figure 86: Tri-lingual Belgium



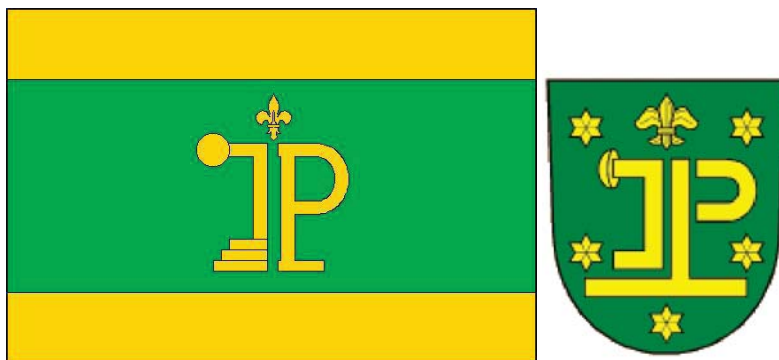
Photo the author

Chapter 5.3

Hultschin (Hlučín)

Evidence of human settlement in the area of Hultschin goes back some 4,000 years. Historically it was a part of Silesia and today it is a part of Moravian-Silesian Region of the Czech Republic. The main town is also called Hlučín and the region occupies 316.9 square kilometres and has some 73,900 inhabitants (figure 87).

Figure 87: Flag and Arms of the Town of Hlučín



In the Middle Ages it was the part of Moravia known as the Bishopric of Olomouc. In 1269 it was split from Moravia by King Ottokar II of Bohemia who created it as the Duchy of Ostrava for his son, Duke Nicholas. From 1526 it fell under German influence and became part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Treaty of Breslau was signed on the 11th June 1742. The treaty was between King Frederick II of Prussia and Empress Maria Theresa of Austria and by it the area around Hultschin was transferred to Prussia within the south west corner of the Province of Silesia. It became part of the German Empire in 1871 (figure 88).

Figure 88: Czech Map of the Hlucinsko (Hultschin) Region



Source: Wikipedia

Following World War 1 it became part of an international dispute as it was inhabited by a majority of Moravian Czech speaking people. They had, however, become “germanised” over the years and had an affinity to German culture and language. By Article 83 (Part III, section VII) of the Treaty of Versailles the area of Hultschin was to be handed over to Czechoslovakia. On the 4th of February 1920, the Czech Army occupied the Hultschin area as a result of the treaty agreement. This provoked a strong reaction from the inhabitants. No consultation had taken place and no plebiscite had been required hence the people had no say in the decision. The Plebiscite in the remainder of Silesia did not apply to Hultschin (see figure 91). However, an informal local referendum was carried out amid local demonstrations against the takeover. It was claimed that 93% of the population were in favour of remaining with Germany and at that time the local population was said to be 49,500. It is claimed that over 4,000 people left Hultschin and moved to Germany proper because of the alteration in sovereignty. No clear border was defined until 1924 when the Council of Ambassadors were involved in the border delineation. The early post annexation did not go well. German language schools were shut down and the Czech language promoted. The first election as part of Czechoslovakia resulted in the German parties receiving 74% of the votes despite the majority of people being Moravian speakers. In 1935, the Sudeten Party won 65% of the vote.

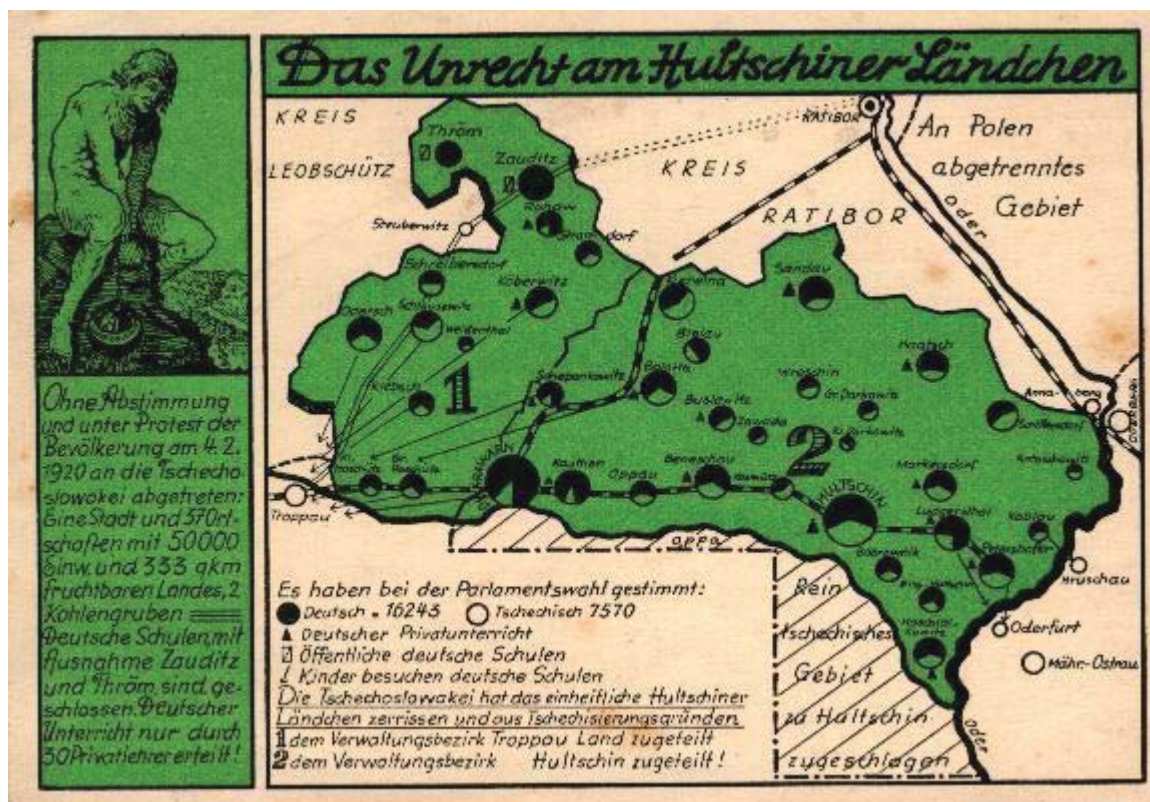
Figures 89, 90 show cards protesting at the loss of German Territory. The first is labelled “The wronging of Hultschin People” and is described as showing a naked man on a rock with

his wrists shackled to a heavy weight on which is written 'Czechoslovakia'. The German translation of the text reads: "Without a plebiscite and despite protests of the population, on the 4th February 1920, Czechoslovakia seized one town and 37 communities with 50,000 inhabitants and 333 square kilometres of productive land and two coal mines. With the exception of Zanditz and Throm all German language schools have been closed and German instruction is only available through 30 private centres". The second card is labelled "Lost but not forgotten". The poem translates as:

"You must carve in your heart the words, as in stone

What we have lost will be regained".

Figure 89: German Protest Card against Czechoslovakian Occupation, 1920; "The wronging of Hultschin People"



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 90: Protest Card against the loss of German Lands



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 91: Areas of Silesian Plebiscite excluding Hultschin



Source: Wikipedia

The lands were, indeed, recovered by Germany during the period of the Third Reich. On the 1st October 1938 the area was occupied by troops of Nazi Germany in accordance with the Munich Agreement. It was **not** attached to the Reichsgau Sudetenland but it went once again to the Prussian Province of Silesia (Upper Silesia from 1941). The rump of Czechoslovakia was then occupied by Germany on the 15th March 1939. The arrival of the German Army units in Hultschin were greeted as liberators and this probably reflected the continuing humiliation felt at the way Hultschin had been dealt with by the Treaty of Versailles (figure 97).

Following Germany's unconditional surrender in 1945, Czechoslovakia once again took control of Hultschin and the Sudetenland. The expulsion of those of German background to Germany then took place adding further misery to those experiencing the post war period there. The dispute over Hultschin is unique in that there seemed little support for the transfer to Czechoslovakia in 1920. This could have been due to the fact that as an independent state, Czechoslovakia was an unknown factor and as the population seemed happy under German rule, the status quo appeared satisfactory to them. Little had changed by 1938 and the people appeared to welcome the troops as they entered the area (figure 168). The Nazi Party had been active and successful in the political arena judging by the voting results. The issue seems to have been permanently settled by the expulsion of the German population from Sudetenland and Hultschin in 1945 and the "ethnic cleansing" of the area seemed to have been tolerated by the Allies. "During their first conversation Roosevelt told Beneš that he ought to expel as many Sudeten Germans as possible. ... Beneš raised the transfer issue again in his final talk with Roosevelt. The American president reaffirmed, in no uncertain terms, his unconditional support for the transfer of Germans to the Reich, both from Czechoslovakia and Poland" (Douglas, 2008).

Postal Propaganda

Czechoslovakia started producing stamps in 1918. Initially overprinted stamps of Austria and Hungary were used there and hence she was not in a good position to use the stamp media for propaganda purposes. However, even from 1945 onwards when Czechoslovakia was a prolific stamp producer, stamps were not used to further their views on the territorial dispute. Indeed, the opposite approach may have been used in order to leave the matter well alone. Germany was quick, however, to overprint Czech stamps to draw attention to the changed political situation in 1938 and progress with her further demands in Europe. The postcards shown are interesting historic documents.

Surprisingly, Germany did not issue a specific postage stamp to celebrate the return of Hultschin, but did so for the Sudetenland as a whole and the Munich Agreement (figure 92). Local Czechoslovak stamps were subjected to an overprinted propaganda slogan “we are free” along with swastikas (figure 93). Similarly figure 94 shows a complete envelope with additional political markings. These overprinted stamps had only local use and were not approved for international postage and are hence not listed in the major stamp catalogues. Figure 95 is interesting as it illustrates a postcard which had a German stamp and was posted in Hultschin a week after the transfer to Germany. Finally figure 96 illustrates what is classed as a cinderella stamp and was produced as an irredentist stamp to support the return to Germany.

Figure 92: German stamps celebrating transfer of Sudetenland and Hultschin, 1938 (SG672, 673)



Figure 93: Overprinted Czech stamps with slogan and swastika used locally



Figure 94: Local mail on overprinted Czech stamps – 1938



Figure 95: a postcard sent one week after the German occupation of Hlucín

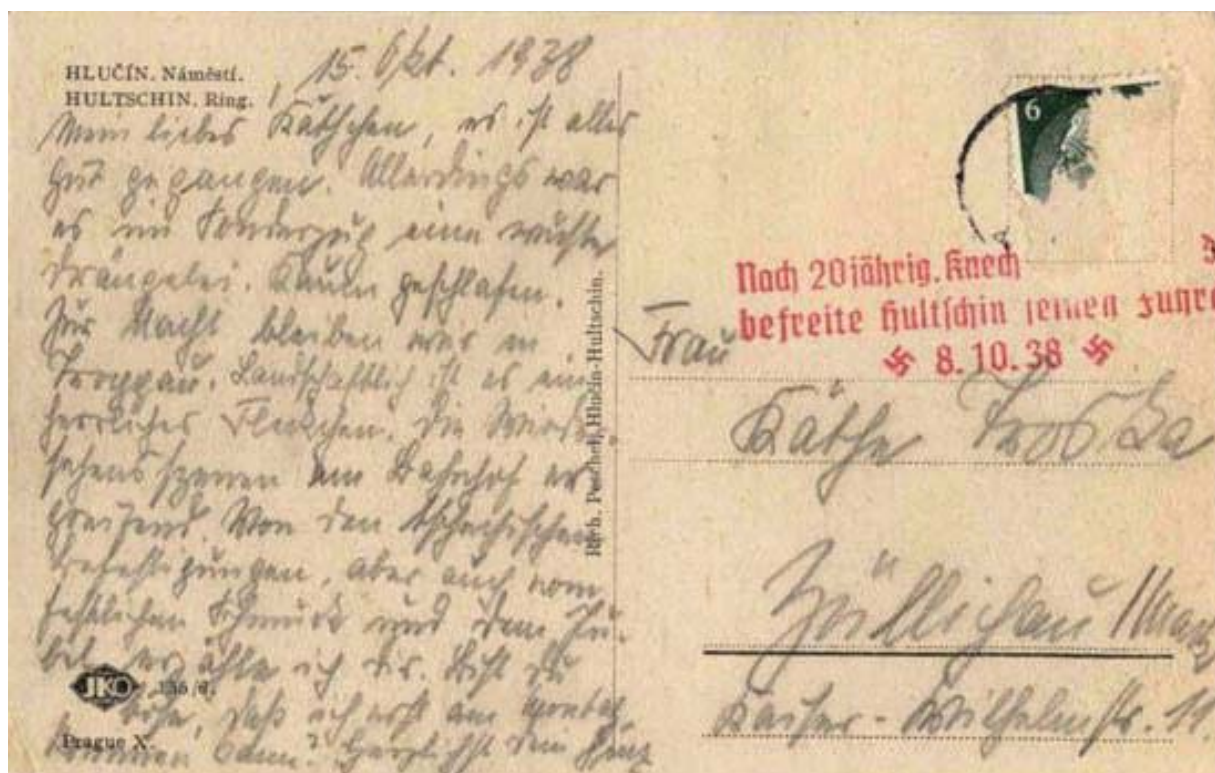


Figure 96: Irredentist unofficial stamp found in a family album



Figure 97: Propaganda photograph of German troop welcome, 1938



Source: Wikipedia

Chapter 5.4

Silesia

Silesia was originally a Polish province that became a possession of the Bohemian crown in 1335. It passed with the Bohemian crown to the Austrian Habsburgs in 1526. Prussia took control in 1742 after the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Austria retained only the districts of Krnov (Jagerndorf), Orava (Troppau) and Cieszyn (Teschen).

Silesia was thus divided into Upper Silesia (German/ Polish) and Lower Silesia (Czechoslovak/ Polish). There was, in addition, an industrial, linguistic and religious divide. After the defeat of Germany and Austro-Hungary at the end of World War 1 various claims were made on Silesian territory. The Treaty of Versailles called for a plebiscite to determine whether the people of Upper Silesia wished to belong to Germany or Poland and those in Eastern Silesia to Czechoslovakia or Poland.

Chapter 5.4.1

East Silesia (Lower)

“Divide et impera”

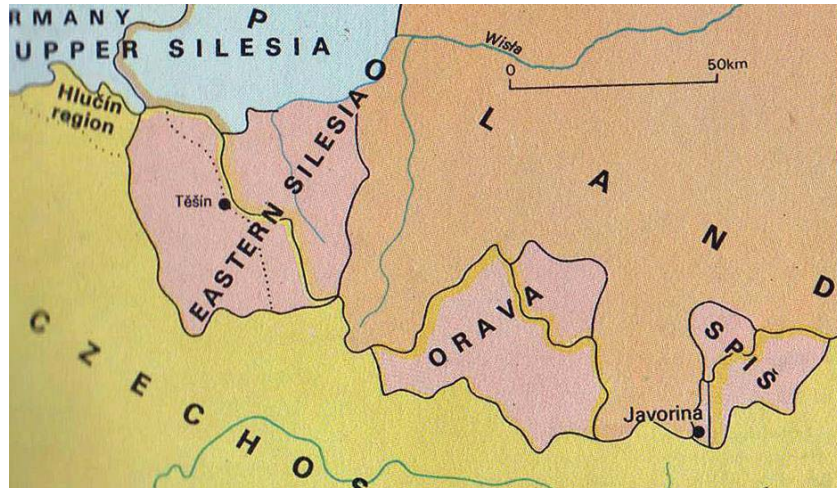
Latin Proverb

Figure 98: Flag and Arms of East Silesia



On the founding of Czechoslovakia on the 28th October 1918, the country contained parts of Tesin, Orava and Spis (figure 98, 99). There were both Czech and Polish people in each area. The two countries could not agree on the border demarcation as it proved to be a complex dispute. The ethnic mix was in favour of Poland, but the economic value in terms of coal mines lay on the Czech side. The only railway connecting the two provinces of Czechoslovakia ran through the vital town of Teschen. At that same time Poland decided to have elections for the national Parliament (Sejm). With little tact, it announced that Eastern Silesia would be included in the voting area and thus represented in the Sejm (figure 100). Czechoslovakia protested at this and asked for the voting in this area to cease as the region was still disputed and sovereignty had not been established. The Poles declined.

Figure 99: Constituent areas of Eastern Silesia



Source: Orbis Philatelic Atlas

Figure 100: Opening of the First Session of Parliament (Sejm), 1919 (SG 121)



On its part the newly established Czechoslovakia was struggling to contain the German population in the Sudeten parts of Bohemia. This move by Poland appeared to be the last straw for the Czechs who then sent Josef Snejdarek with 5,000 Czech troops into the disputed areas on 23 January 1919. They faced the Polish forces led by Franciszek Latnik at Skoczow. The majority of the Polish troops were already engaged fighting the Ukrainians over Galicia and were depleted. The Czech forces advanced and took control relatively

easily. The Poles retreated across the Vistula River. A peace conference was then held in Paris on the 3rd February 1919, the Conference set preliminary borders and Czech units left the part given to Poland after the agreement came into force. The Polish forces then occupied the Polish designated part. The peace conference was reconvened in April 1919 still under the umbrella of the Treaty of Versailles. On this occasion, France vetoed the prior agreement and demanded a plebiscite be carried out in the region to decide the ultimate delineation of the boundary. However, by June 1919, the Allies had decided to arbitrate rather than carry out the plebiscite. While preparations were, in fact, carried out for the plebiscite, it did not eventuate. An inter-allied Commission via a Conference of Ambassadors allotted 1,009 square kilometres of around Teschen (Tessin), 358 square kilometres of Orava and 217 square kilometres of Spis to Poland. This resulted in a division of the city of Teschen with the actual line of division across the River Olza. Cieszyn became the Polish town and Cesky Tesin the Czech one. The coal mines remained on the Czech side along with the railway (figure 99). The final demarcation line was drawn at the Spa Conference in Belgium on 27th July 1920. However, this created Zaolzie, which was an area of a substantial Polish minority. The final decision was left to the League of Nations who through the International Court of Justice made the final decision on the border on the 12th March 1924. Finally a Treaty was signed between the two countries on the 24th April 1925.

The Zaolzie Strip was located where the present Czech, Slovak and Polish borders meet and situated in the Beskedy Mountain range. Politically it is a part of Silesia and has been referred to as the “third part” of Czech Republic. The population was a mix of Czechs, Poles, Germans and Jews. The latter suffered badly during the Second World War. The strip gained its name from its being “beyond the Olza River” hence Zaolzie.

In 1938, the Munich Agreement saw Czechoslovakia divided and then occupied. However, it is often not recognised that with Germany’s agreement, Poland also became an occupying power. She invaded Czechoslovakia and occupied the remainder of Teschen (figure 99) and the Zaolzie strip. In reality this was short lived as Germany occupied Poland itself in 1939. Status quo was re-established following WW2, when the area of Teschen and Zaolzie, occupied by Poland, was returned to Czechoslovakia. The 1945 boundary reverted to that of 1920. However, over the next fifty five years minor boundary adjustments have been made in the area, all by agreement. The last of these adjustments was carried out in 2002.

The settlement of the East Silesian dispute appears to involve a number of facets. The initial decision, by the Treaty powers, to remove East Silesia from Germany was a difficult one. While there were a majority of other ethnic groups present, Germans still were living there in numbers. In retrospect, the German population has prospered better than in many other disputed areas where they were eventually physically removed. Current information is that the descendents of those Germans who remained in the Polish sector of East Silesia are now able to vote in German elections and seemed well settled in Poland. This voting privilege is available despite the fact that many of the people are now Polish speaking.

Armed force was used initially by the Czechs in 1920 to coerce the parties in the settlement issue but in 1938, the Poles used force to re-establish themselves in Teschen and Zaolzie. An ad hoc peace settlement was brought about after this initial use of force. France's wish to have a plebiscite seems strange and despite the fact it was organised and a date set, the Allies decided on arbitration. The division of a main town down the middle is difficult to comprehend and it was the obvious trigger for Poland to reclaim the town when Czechoslovakia was at a very low state in 1938. However, the Polish population of Zaolzie was perhaps a greater stimulus. This dispute thus had a number of ingredients and took some sixty years to settle. Even then it was part of the change in country status when Czechoslovakia dissolved into two separate states.

Figure101: "Teschen comes to Poland", Polish stamp celebrating the "return" of Teschen and Zaolzie, 1938

(SG 349)



Stamp Propaganda

In preparation for the plebiscite that did not eventuate, both Czechoslovakia and Poland prepared stamps to advertise the plebiscite and their claims. These consisted of overprinting their current stamps with the letters “SO”. This stood for “Silesie Orientale” 1920 in French. Examples of these stamps for both Czechoslovakia and Poland are given below (figures 102, 103, 104, 105, 106).

The stamps of East Silesia and Poland at this period are good examples of the use of postage stamps for the purpose of propaganda in a border and territorial dispute. It is for this reason I have included several examples of stamps in each category. The stamps produced by Poland to celebrate the election and parliament do contain patriotic and militaristic symbols such as the eagle. Included is a portrait of W. Trampczynski who was the Marshal of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) from 1919-1922. This was a clear provocation to Czechoslovakia with relations to East Silesia. The stamps overprinted by Czechoslovakia are those in routine use and could not be classed as provocative. Czechoslovakia, itself has recognised the Silesian part of the country in two postage stamps. The first celebrates the national dress of Teschen and the second the flag/arms of Silesia (figures 178, 179)

It appears that certain stamps were being produced by Poland to stress the importance of Teschen to Poland. Figure 176 is a good example as it illustrates the town square of Teschen. The plebiscite was cancelled before its release was due hence the issue was withheld from general circulation. The other overprinted plebiscite stamps of Poland do show a selection of national symbols and the 5K. stamp shows a war-like Polish Uhlán¹⁰.

By far the most semiotic stamp or miniature messenger is that celebrating the retaking of Teschen and Zaolzie by the Poles (figure 101). Elliott (2008) has described this stamp in detail. He claims it contains the personification of the Motherland (white robed woman) representing Poland, the occupying power, standing in front of a Polish map. The three figures in the foreground represent the annexed territory. The left hand figure carries a pick axe which refers to coalmining. They are stepping over a border post suggesting the border post is no longer valid.

The inscription on the stamp reads “The Return of Trans-Olza to the Motherland”. It is referring to Trans-Olza, the territory across the Olza River, in other words Teschen and Zaolzie. Elliott (2008) sums up these symbols by saying they are referring to Poland as a benign image with the Motherland holding a sword, but it is pointed down, not raised. She is wrapping her robe around her children as they return home, crossing the old border that had once separated them, and walking into her loving embrace. It would seem that this stamp fits all the criteria for being a classic example of the semiotics of politics in boundary disputes (Child, 2008).

¹⁰ Uhlans were light Polish cavalry armed with sabres and pistols. They carried lances with swallow tailed flags.

The post war Czechoslovakia recognised its Silesian and Teschen parts by the issue of two stamps (figures 107, 108). The first depicts the national dress of Czech Teschen (1957) and the second celebrates the 150th anniversary of the Silesian Museum at Opava (1964), by a stylised version of the Silesian coat of arms (compare figure 98).

Figure 102: Czech stamps of 1920 with “SO 1920” overprint (SG D47, N41, E4, 9)



¹¹ These stamps were prepared but not issued to the public

Figure 103: Polish stamps with "SO 1920" overprint (SG 61, 59)



Figure 104: East Silesia (SG 66, 65, 64) 1920



Figure 105: 1920 New Polish stamp for proposed plebiscite with propaganda intent but unissued



Figure 106: Envelope with stamps promoting the plebiscite⁴



⁴ This letter is of interest as it is sent from the Polish part of Teschen to the Czech town of Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary) at the period of tension between Poland and Czechoslovakia. It carries several of the proposed plebiscite stamps

Figure 107: National Dress of Czech Tečín (SG 1011) 1957



Figure 108: Silesian Coat of Arms (SG 1430) 1964



Chapter 5.4.2

Upper Silesia

“The whole art of war consists in getting at what is on the other side of the hill”

Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)

Figure 109: Flag of Upper Silesia



Upper Silesia is situated on the upper Oder River and its southern border is formed by the historic Moravian Region. In 1327 the Upper Silesian Dukes had sworn allegiance to King John of Bohemia and like the Eastern (Lower) Silesia came under the Austrian Habsburg Empire. By the mid 14th Century there was an influx of German settlers. After this period the Protestant Reformation resulted in many parts of Silesia becoming Protestant despite the Hapsburgs being Roman Catholic. In 1742 most of Upper Silesia was occupied by the Kingdom of Prussia as a result of the First Silesian War and then annexed by the terms of the Treaty of Breslau. The smaller portion remained under Austria as Austrian or Lower Silesia (qv). From 1815 the Prussian area was given the name of the Province of Silesia. The establishment of the German Empire in 1871 saw Upper Silesia pass into its control but it remained as a part of Prussia. However, by this time it developed into an industrial area due to its plentiful supplies of coal and iron ore (figure 109).

After World War1 the eastern part of Prussian Upper Silesia came under Polish rule as the Silesian Voivodeship, while the mainly German speaking western part came under the Weimar Republic. From 1919-21 three uprisings occurred among the Polish population of this German part. The third uprising culminated in the Battle of Annaberg which occurred between May 21st and 26th, 1921. This was biggest battle of the uprisings. It took place on a hill near the village of Annaberg close to Oppein in the then Weimar Republic territory. The battle took place between irregular Polish Silesian units and German Frei Korps¹³. Initially, the Poles made rapid gains and took the hill, but a counter offensive by the Germans was successful and drove them back. Heavy losses were incurred by both sides and fighting spread out to neighbouring villages. Pressure from both general commands for a cease fire eventually stopped the fighting. Allied troops were called upon to intercede and eventually separated the sides.

¹³ As Weimar forces were restricted to a mere 100,000 men, the Frei Korps was formed from remnants of the German Imperial Army.

To settle the ongoing problem a plebiscite was arranged in March 1921. This resulted in a favourable overall vote to the pro-Germany side with 60% voting against merging with Poland, however, there was a clear dividing line between the population voting distributions. Subsequently there was further unrest in the Polish dominated areas. The Conference of Ambassadors decided that the south east part of the territory (3,146 square kilometres) should belong to Poland and the rest to Germany (figure 110). Details of the border arrangements were finalised and railway crossing traffic organised. A German-Polish Accord on East Silesia was signed on May 15th 1922 in Geneva. The Weimar Republic then formerly ceded the eastern parts to the Polish Republic.

Figure 110: Partition of Upper Silesia



After Elliott (2013)

After World War 2 almost all of Upper Silesia that had not been ceded previously to Poland in 1922 was transferred to the new Republic of Poland. The German speaking population either fled or were expelled as agreed by the Allies at the 1945 Potsdam Conference. Polish emigrants arrived from other regions of Poland to settle there and mixed with a residual of German/ Polish speaking people.

The dispute over Silesia proved to be a difficult one to solve. It cost many lives and the events have had repercussions for nearly a century. The ethnic and language mix probably was the main underlying cause of prolonging the problem. The events have remained in the national conscious of Poland and remain so to this day as illustrated by the bronze monument in Katowice (figure 117) as a memorial to the events of 1919-21. The three uprisings are represented by the wings in the edifice. In the 21st century the descendents of the residual German population in Silesia are having something of a cultural awakening and re-examining what it means to be Silesian in a Polish State. With the advent of the European Union and with Poland and Germany in closer relations this has made these events possible.

Stamp Propaganda

In preparation for the plebiscite of 1921, the Conference of Ambassadors, the plebiscite organisers, produced definitive postage stamps which were printed in Paris. They were in three languages – French, Polish and German. They carried the words “Commission de Gouvernement Haute Silésie/ Gorny Slask/Ober Schlesien”. German stamps with the overprint “CIHS” or “CGHS” were issued for the official use of the Inter-Allied Commission (Commission de Government Haute-Silesie). A total of 63 different stamps were produced. Examples of these are produced below (figures 111, 112). While these stamps were used to advertise the plebiscite, there was no philatelic propaganda from the rival nations. There was plenty of propaganda, however, and figure 116 illustrates examples of rival post cards from Germany and Poland. Following the settlement, Poland immediately produced postage stamps for use in the region of Upper Silesia (figure 113). They were suitably illustrated by a miner. Following the liberation of Poland after the Second World War, a 1946 stamp commemorated the Silesian Uprisings (figure 114) and finally the 50th Anniversary of the Uprisings was celebrated in 1971 (figure 115) by a further stamp issue. Germany remained silent from the postal perspective over the loss of Silesia.

Poland through its postage stamps has continued to commemorate the events of the Silesian Risings in a nationalistic style. The 1946 stamp has many aspects indicating semiotic features. The eagle, the national symbol, is present representing Poland along with the soldiers with weapons to portray the Polish armed forces. The 1971 stamp is probably a truer representation of the irregular troops who actually fought in the uprisings. It is surprising that the Third Reich did not celebrate, by postal means, the annexation of Silesia during the Second World War as they did with other captured regions.

Again, in Upper Silesia, postage stamps have been used not only to advertise the plebiscite but also to make political and nationalistic propaganda. On this occasion the Allied Commission overprinted stamps for its own use during the plebiscite. This seems a unique event and perhaps their use of these stamps was intended to establish and reinforce their neutrality during the voting. Postal use may have been incidental.

Figure 111: Upper Silesia 1920 (SG15, 4) Plebiscite Stamps



Figure 112: Inter-Allied Commission Overprints 1920 (SG O29, O39, O43)



Figure 113: Polish Issues for the district of Upper Silesia 1922-3 (SG 186, 189, 198)



Figure 114: Silesian Uprisings (1919-21, 1939-45) SG 564 (1946)



Figure 115: 50th Anniversary of the Silesian Insurrection, 1971 (SG2058)



Figure 116: Plebiscite Publicity Posters from Poland and Germany



Source: Wikipedia

"Vote for Poland and you will be free"



"We want good work and good money. We miners vote for Germany"

Figure 117: Silesian Uprising Monument, Katowice



Source: Wikipedia

Chapter 6

Out of Africa

6.1: Fortaleza de São João Baptista de Ajudá, Ouidah

(The Fort of Saint John the Baptist of Ajuda in Ouidah)

“In giving freedom to the slave we ensure freedom to the free”

Abraham Lincoln, 1862

The Fort of São João in Ouidah was a Portuguese territory surrounded by the town of Ouidah in the area known as Dahomey (figures 118, 119). It remained as such until 1961 when it was annexed by force by the Republic of Dahomey. It was until that date the world's smallest political unit. It was only one square kilometre in area initially but was steadily eroded to its final size of two hectares. However, it was located only four kilometres from the sea. The population reached five in 1921 but fell to two inhabitants by 1961. They were the sole representatives of Portuguese sovereignty within the colony. It was at one stage a colony within a colony as the French colony of Dahomey surrounded the Fort.

The story of São João (Ouidah) dates from 1580 when the Portuguese reached the area. In 1680 the Portuguese Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe was authorised to build a fort. The land on which it was built was given to Portugal by the then King of Dahomey. The Fort became an important centre of the African slave trade, especially with regard to the trade of slaves to Brazil (Verger, 1976). The Bight of Benin was a major source of slaves and supplied 20% of all those sent across the Atlantic. Ouidah was the most important port of embarkation and perhaps as many as one million people were sent during the 200 years 1670-1860. The majority of these slaves were sent to Brazil and especially to the Province of Bahia. The trade was conducted by Brazilian based merchants rather than metropolitan based Portuguese. This in turn gave rise to a resident Brazilian community in Ouidah. The actual founder of the fort was the merchant Joseph de Torres who hailed from Bahia in Brazil and the actual establishment of the fortified Portuguese trading post occurred in 1721 (Law, 2001).

The Portuguese authorities expected the construction of the Ouidah Fort would contribute to the increase in the slave trade to Brazil. At this time there was a demand for labour in the gold rich mining area of Minas Gerais. The fort links were directly with Brazil rather than with the Portuguese headquarters in São Tomé. Around the fort the district of Docomè developed and became the area of settlement for the families of those associated with the fort. It thus developed into the original site of the Brazilian community of Ouidah. The effective founder of this community was Felix de Souza a Brazilian born Portuguese who set up as an independent trader in 1754. Inter-marriage with the local African community

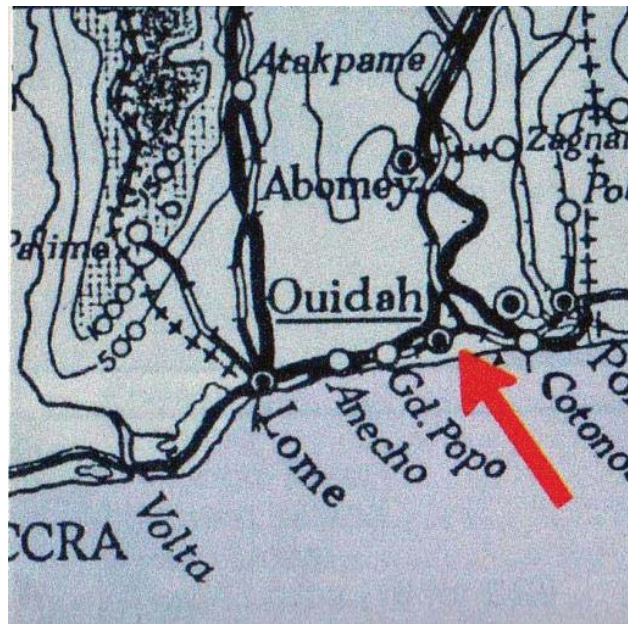
occurred but the consolidation of the Brazilian community occurred as a result of the re-migration of freed African slaves from Brazil and those expelled after slave revolts.

Figure 118: Map and Location of Benin (formerly Dahomey)



(source: Wikipedia)

Figure 119: Position of Ouidah on the Bite of Benin, Republic of Benin



Source: Stamp Magazine

With the separation of Brazil from Portugal in 1822, a dispute occurred over title and ownership of the Fort at Ouidah. It was ceded to Portugal as part of the independence negotiations with Brazil in 1825. However, de Souza continued to be the Governor of the Fort.

The abolition of the legal slave trade took place in 1807, but was not really effective in West Africa until 1815. Some slave trading to Cuba went on until much later even up to 1870. The Ouidah Fort lost, thus, its importance and was eventually neglected, but still continued to be claimed as a Portuguese possession. Portugal re-occupied the area in 1865, but failed to establish a wider protectorate. The French were next to show an interest in the area and conquered it in the period 1891-1894. A French Colony of Dahomey was established in 1902. The French expansion and occupation of Ouidah caused further loss of land and the Portuguese enclave was reduced to the immediate area of the Fort leaving it with only two hectares of land.

Following the independence of Dahomey from France and the creation of the Republic of Dahomey, a claim was made to the area. With the lack of response from Portugal, the Dahomey Government gave a final ultimatum to the two inhabitants to surrender the Fort. They responded by attempting to burn the fort down rather than surrender it. On the 31st of July 1961, Dahomey took it over by force and soon captured the two Portuguese occupants. They were expelled unharmed from the country via neighbouring Nigeria.

In 1975, following political change in Portugal, the annexation was officially recognised by Portugal. Indeed, Portugal paid for the restoration of the Fort. It now has a small square with four corner towers. It comprises a church and the old officer's quarters. It was

converted to a museum by the now renamed Republic of Benin (1975). The museum has proved a great tourist attraction and has displays about the history of the Slave Trade, Voodoo religion and the Afro-Brazilian connection.

In summary, the tiny enclave of Ouidah had an importance far greater than its area. Its presence as the Portuguese and Brazilian headquarters for the Slave Trade resulted in the making of vast fortunes for the owners and merchants. When the immoral trade finished, the possession had no real value other than political although some trading in palm oil eventuated. The continued presence of the Portuguese would have been an irritant to the newly independent Dahomey Government and the obvious presence of the colony, despite its minute size, in the midst of a newly independent state could have been an unacceptable reminder of the Slave Trading past. The intransigence of Portugal at that time to decolonisation did not help to settle the issue of Ouidah.

The lesson from the history of Ouidah indicates that while the physical space of Ouidah was minimal its geographical location at the end of the Slave Road and its position near the sea were instrumental in its one time success. The links established with Brazil have lasted in terms of a continued Afro-Brazilian culture in West Africa and a bond with South America. However, the funding of the Museum by Portugal suggests that eventually there has been an amicable outcome. The Museum of Ouidah appears to be the one other positive outcome of this political and historic episode (figure 123).

Stamp Propaganda

The enclave never produced separate postage stamps as it was linked to São Tomé which issued its territorial stamps. However, Portugal did produce issues which carried the title “Imperio Colonial Portugues” which were intended for African colonies (see figures 120, 121). In addition each colony had its own stamps or overprints. The exception was Ouidah presumably because of its tiny area and population and its dependence upon St Thomas and Prince Island.

Dahomey, however, produced two stamps to mark the first anniversary of the annexation and the expulsion of the Portuguese (1962, SG165) from Ouidah. At this point Dahomey had only been an independent country for two years. The stamps show the burned out fort and the date of the takeover (figure 122). It is labelled “Evacuation du fort et fin de l’occupation portugaise a Ouidah 1680-1961” (The evacuation of the Fort and the end of Portuguese occupation at Ouidah, 1680-1961). It further stresses that the fort was set on fire by the Portuguese and not the invaders. This stamp, issued in 1962, is the sole philatelic reminder to celebrate the capture of Ouidah Fort and the expulsion of the Portuguese. It is, indeed, the only philatelic reminder of the existence of the Portuguese territory. The stamp is clearly

of a political nature and reflects Dahomey's independence and success over the Portuguese. It is, of course, of a retrospective nature.

Figure 120: Stamp of St Tomé and Príncipe, the Portuguese colony responsible for Ouidah (SG 227)



Figure 121: Postage stamp used for Portuguese African Colonies circa 1898 (SG 7)



Figure 122: Stamp of Dahomey celebrating the First Anniversary of the Annexation of Ouidah Fort (SG 165)



Figure 123: The restored Fort of Ouidah



Source: Wikipedia

Chapter 6.2

Caprivi (Caprivi Strip, Okavango Panhandle or Iteng)

“I vow to the my country – all earthly things above

Entire and whole and perfect the service of my love”

Spring-Rice (1859-1918)

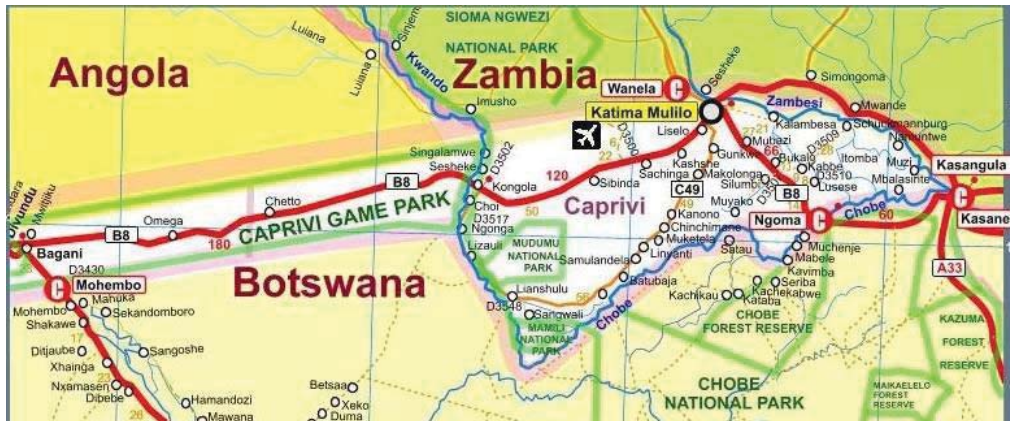
The 450 kilometre strip that forms the Caprivi stretches from Runda in the west to Katima Mulilo on the Zambian border and to Hobe on the Botswana border (figure 124, 125) and it is now an integral part of Namibia. The area is named after Georg Leo Graf von Caprivi de Caprerade Montecuccole, a Prussian Count who succeeded Bismarck as Chancellor of Germany. His name is derived from his father’s landed titles from the Italian – Slovenian borderlands on the Adriatic Sea (figure 126). Fortunately the name of the territorial strip was shortened to Caprivi.

Figure 124: Location of the Caprivi Strip in relation to the rest of Namibia



Source: Philatelic Atlas

Figure 125: Enlarged area of Caprivi with adjacent national borders



Source: Namibia Tourist Guide

Figure 126: Count Georg Graf von Caprivi, German Chancellor



Source: Wikipedia

The Caprivi Strip was originally part of the northern borderland of British Bechuanaland (now Botswana). The panhandle shaped land area was detached from Bechuanaland to fulfil an agreement in the 1890 Heligoland – Zanzibar Treaty (for details see under Wituland). Following the signing of the Treaty, the land was transferred and then annexed by Germany as part of German South West Africa. Germany was anxious to access the Zambezi River and

hence have a navigable route to the German East African territory of Tanganyika. However, they had not accounted for the fact the Victoria Falls made the river unnavigable.

The Caprivi Strip has had an eventful political history subsequently. After World War 1, the Treaty of Versailles dictated that the German colony of South West Africa, with Caprivi, would be placed under the sovereignty of King George V in the form of a mandate to the Union of South Africa and under the League of Nations. It was thereafter called South West Africa (Sudwes-Afrika, SWA). South Africa attempted to incorporate South West Africa as its 5th Province but did not actually enact the legislation required. She did, however, refuse to accept the transfer of the League of Nations mandate over to the United Nations. The matter was even dealt with by the International Court of Justice. During this time the Whites only of South West Africa were represented in the South African Parliament.

Caprivi next came into prominence during the Rhodesian conflict of 1970-1974. The period of the unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia (UDI) and the subsequent movement to African rule saw the strip used as a refuge for the fighters until the eventual independence of Zimbabwe. Similarly the African National Congress (ANC) from South Africa used the strip as an access route into South Africa in their fight against the Apartheid regime (1965-1994). Finally, during the Angolan Civil War the strip provided an access route for the warring factions. South African involvement in this conflict was aided by the use of the Caprivi Strip.

The Apartheid policies of the South African Government determined that there should be “homelands” or “Bantustans” set aside for the African population of SWA as well as South Africa. To this end most of Caprivi was to be self governing and this came about in 1976. The trappings of “independence and nationhood” were created in the form of a flag and a coat of arms (figures 127, 128) (Hammett, 2014). By this stage an armed conflict developed in SWA in the aspiration for independence from the South African mandate and apartheid policies. The country finally gained its independence on the 21st of March 1990 and Caprivi was re-incorporated into the new Republic of Namibia.

Figure 127: Flag of the Caprivi Homeland

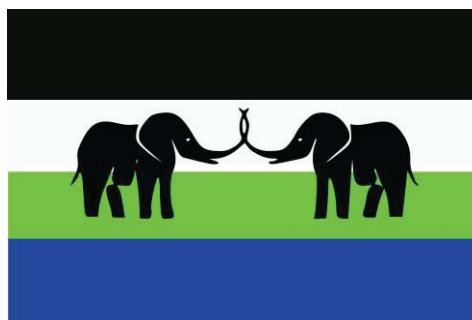
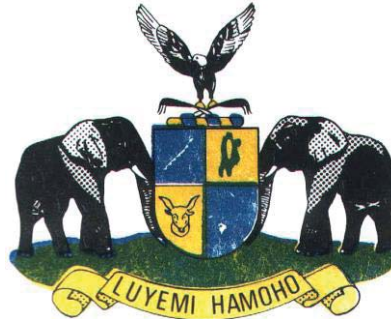


Figure 128: Arms of Caprivi Homeland



This did not prove to be the end of problems for Namibia. The formation of the Caprivi Liberation Army occurred and this was led by Mishake Muyongo with the aim of secession from Namibia. The situation came to a head on 2nd of August 1999, when the group occupied the State Radio Station, Police Station, the army base and the Wanella border post. Namibian armed forces quashed the attempted secession within a few days. This appears to have ended the movement.

The final vestige of the colonial land exchange was the long running dispute between Namibia and Botswana over the border area. This was concerned with the Chobe River boundary and to which country the mid-stream island of Kasikili/Seddudu belonged. The dispute went to the International Court of Justice for resolution. The settlement depended on the thalweg of the Chobe River. That is the river's lowest level and hence its middle flow. If the thalweg was to the north then the island would belong to Botswana, if it were to the south then the island would be within Namibia. The International Court found in favour of Botswana, thus the Caprivi Strip was reduced by one island.

In retrospect, the transfer of Caprivi caused more trouble than it was worth. It proved of no special value to Germany in terms of Zambesi River transport and navigation. Following World War 1, Germany lost the territory to South Africa along with the rest of South West Africa. It should be remembered at this stage that South Africa already owned the enclave of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands. At the time of the exchange it appears little thought was given to the needs of the several tribes who were indigenous to the area. The racial policies of the Republic of South Africa created the pseudo-state of Caprivi until the eventual independence of Namibia. The difficulty of access to the area and its odd shape created an ideal location for the various independence movements and terrorist activities.

There has been little evidence of the political use of postage stamps during the Caprivi land transfer. The one stamp of interest is the 1986 stamp of SWA that was issued prior to the thwarted liberation movement in Caprivi.

The only possible advantage of Caprivi to Namibia is the rapidly expanding tourist potential of the Okavango delta and river area for ecotourism. Indeed, Botswana has developed the area of the delta for Safari excursions. Perhaps this was the real basis for the border dispute over the river island.

Stamp Propaganda

With the agreed and amicable exchange of the Caprivi Strip there was no call for special postage stamps to advertise the fact. Indeed, commemorative stamps were uncommon at that time. Prior to the transfer, British Bechuanaland had not acquired purpose made stamps and used overprinted Southern African colonial stamps (figure 129). When the transfer occurred, German stamps overprinted German South West Africa (Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika) (figure 130) came into use. Later the standard "Omnibus" issues for all German colonies were introduced (figure 131). Later specific stamps for South West Africa were produced by the South African authorities. Of interest, is a South West Africa stamp produced in 1986 showing a map of the Caprivi area, presumable to stress SWA ownership of the area pending independence in 1990 (figure 132). It also has a political message in regard to the dispute with Botswana over the actual river boundary. This series of stamps includes stamps showing life in the Caprivi and in particular ox-drawn carts. There were no other stamps illustrating or referring to Caprivi during the period prior to the independence of Namibia.

Figure 129: Stamps of British Bechuanaland, Original Source of the Caprivi Strip



Figure 130: German Stamps Overprinted for South West Africa



Figure 131: Examples of German Colonial Omnibus Stamps Including South West Africa



Figure 132: Caprivi Strip clearly illustrated on a 1986 map stamp of South West Africa



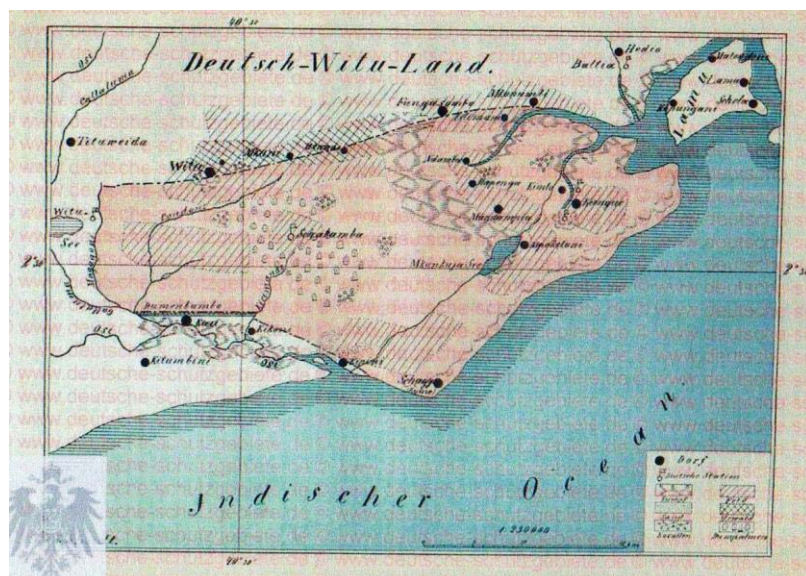
(Swahililand, Deutch Witu)

"The day of small nations has long passed away. The day of Empire has come"

Joseph Chambers 12th May 1904

The Sultanate of Wituland also known as Swahililand or Malakote (meaning slave), was an area of some 3,120 square kilometres in East Africa and located inland from the Port of Lamu (see maps figure 133, 134). The Sultanate was founded in 1858 and its capital was named Witu. It soon became a haven for escaped slaves from Zanzibar which had at that time become a centre of the Omani slave trade. By acting as a home for the escaped slaves Wituland became a target of attacks from Zanzibar. Following numerous raids, the Sultan of Witu sought protection from Germany to halt these Zanzibar attacks. Clement and Gustav Dehardt, German traders and brothers, (figure 135) were appointed as Germany's representatives in negotiations with Sultan Ahmed ibn Fumo Bakari. The treaty which was negotiated established a German Protectorate with effect from the 27th May 1885. Prior to the signing, Chancellor Bismarck of Prussia had sent the warship Gneisenau to the River Tana. The German party then marched for three days inland to be present at the formal signing of the agreement and the establishment of the German Protectorate.

Figure 133: German Archival Map of Wituland circa 1889



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 134: Map of the Location of Wituland and the Port of Lamu, East Africa



Source: The Soldiers Burden

Five years later on July 1st 1890 the Anglo-German Treaty was signed. This was also known as the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty. It came about because of the competing colonial aspirations of both countries. This treaty impacted, however, directly on Wituland. The German Empire exchanged Wituland Protectorate for the possession of the British held island of Heligoland in the North Sea.

Figure 135: Clement and Gustav Denhardt, German Representatives and Merchants



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 136: Celebration by Germany of the 50th anniversary of the cessation of Heligoland 1940 (SG738)



The Caprivi Strip (qv) was transferred also to German South West Africa. Germany also ceded a small area on the Kenyan coast adjacent to Witu that Britain needed in order to build a railway from the coast to Lake Victoria. Importantly, Germany agreed not to interfere with Great Britain's planned actions in Zanzibar and with the islands of Unguja and Pemba. However, the Zanzibari island of Mafia and its small associated islands were to be ceded to Germany after due payment to the Sultan of Zanzibar, Sultan Sayyid. Similarly, Britain agreed to give Germany a free hand with its colonial aspirations around the coast at Dar-es-Salaam. Thus the treaty outlined the respective spheres of interest of both countries. The final aspects of the treaty related to delineating the common border between German Togo and the British Gold Coast and the border of Walvis Bay and German South West Africa. The German and British spheres of influence in that part of Africa were also outlined.

It is popularly quoted that Britain exchanged Heligoland for Zanzibar. This is clearly wrong and on studying the wording of the treaty it is stated clearly that Germany would have to buy the Island of Mafia from the Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar. Germany would furthermore not dispute what influence Britain could exert over the two main islands of Zanzibar. This was, in reality, to establish a Protectorate. The Caprivi Strip was the main exchange item. With hindsight it does seem extraordinary that the two Empires could sit down and decide their respective spheres of "influence". The latter could now be best described as dividing up the spoils with little concern for the people living there.

The transfer of Wituland took place on the 18th of June 1890 and Germany's Protectorate ended on the 1st of July 1890. The renouncement of the treaty by Germany was not well received by the Sultan of Wituland. Indeed, he vehemently protested about the exchange and transfer to Britain and Wituland's inclusion in British East Africa. Subsequently disorder in the Sultanate broke out. Rioting occurred and the deaths of nine Germans were a resultant of these riots.

In Germany there was outrage that part of their colonial empire should be exchanged for a small North Sea island. The loss of Wituland and the withdrawn claims to parts of Uganda and Zanzibar along with the German deaths triggered this protest. However, in reality the Sultanate of Zanzibar was never a British or German colony. It became a British Protectorate and sovereignty nominally always remained with the Sultan until his overthrow and the termination of the protectorate in 1963.

To address the disorder in Witu and to appease the Germans, the British Government ordered the Royal Navy to send a squadron of nine ships to the port of Lamu. A punitive action was then carried out to avenge the deaths of the Germans. When the force reached the town of Witu they were attacked by Sultan Fumo and his 5,000 warriors. There was much loss of life among the Sultan's warriors and they were forced eventually out of the town. After this expedition the East African Company arranged to garrison the town with a detachment of Indian police. In 1893 a further Royal Navy expedition was needed to address further resistance to British rule. Wituland eventually lost its independence movement and was absorbed into the British East Africa. Currently it is part of the Republic of Kenya.

Postal Propaganda

In 1889, 60 different stamps were produced (figures 137, 138) ostensibly for use in Wituland. However, their actual postal use and legality have never been established. It appeared that they were produced by the German authorities for use in Wituland (Malakote) but the transfer to British rule occurred before their release. Subsequently, they were not issued by Britain. The stamps are not listed in recognised stamp catalogues. They appear to have little political or propaganda value, other than establishing that Wituland was a state. The large number suggests that they were probably produced for financial gain and for philatelists. The early stamps that were used in British East Africa are seen in figures 139 and their equivalent for German East Africa in Figure 140. Figure 141 shows an envelope posted from the nearest German post office.

The period around 1890 the uncatalogued postage stamps seem to have played little or no part in the politics of the Witu and Caprivi exchange. That is not to say that stamps were not intended to advertise the establishment of German territory but it does seem that the Anglo-German Treaty had a greater priority. The respective Empires were still expressed by their flags (figure 142) and the usual campaign medals for deeds for Empire (figure 143).

The one stamp of direct propaganda value related to the Witu territorial exchange was that issued by Germany. This celebrated the 50th anniversary of the cessation of Heligoland (figure 136). This was released during the Third Reich period in Germany (9th August 1940) and as with most of the Nazi stamps of that time had a political message. Ironically it also celebrated Hitler's Culture Fund. The base rate of 6 pfennigs had an additional 94 pfennigs added towards the "culture" fund.

Figure 137: Stamps attributed to Wituland but never authenticated for postal use (1890).



Figure 138: Wituland (Malakote) stamp 1890



Figure 139: British East African Stamps used in the area of Witu from 1890 (SG 1, 9)



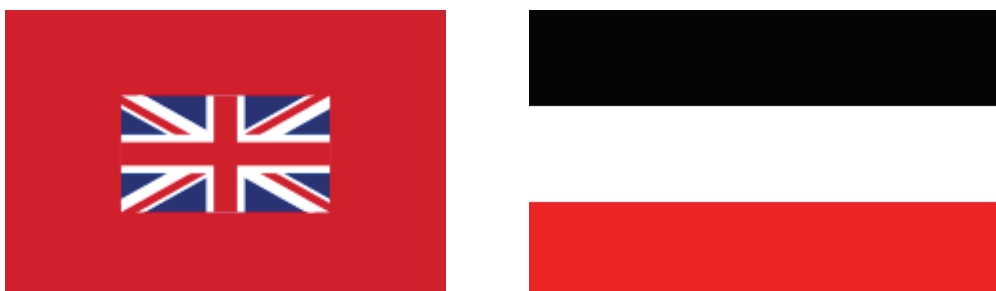
Figure 140: German East African stamp (SG1). Postal Services commenced on October 4th 1890



Figure 141: Letter sent from Lamu Postal Office on 16-2-1891¹⁴.



Figure 142: British flag used in Wituland and German Empire flag used when a German Protectorate



¹⁴ The office was open from 22-11-1888 until 31-3-1891 and was the nearest German post office to Witu.

Figure 143: The East and West Africa Medal 1887 to 1900¹⁵



¹⁵ Medal with Clasp WITU 1890 that was awarded to Petty Officer 1st Class H. Gardner of H.M.S. Kingfisher. It is shown by kind permission of the copyright holders the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Chapter 6.4

The Kionga Triangle (Quionga)

“Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right, but our country right or wrong”

Stephen Decatur 1816 in a toast

Portugal's initial interest in East Africa lay around Mombasa in present day Kenya. By 1729 Portugal had lost its foothold there and their presence thereafter was concentrated in Mozambique. During the latter part of the 19th Century, Britain, Germany, Italy and Portugal entered into discussions with the Sultan of Zanzibar regarding expansion of their respective Empires. The Sultan claimed ownership and possession of the entire East African coastline down to Mozambique. He would only concede to Portugal the land south of the Minagani River that runs into Tungi Bay (figure 144). For economic and strategic reasons Portugal wished to occupy the rich agricultural land that lay north running from Cape Delgano to the Rovuma River (the Kionga Triangle). Portugal claimed that there had been an understanding between her and Germany made in 1886 that the Rovumba River would be their mutual boundary line.

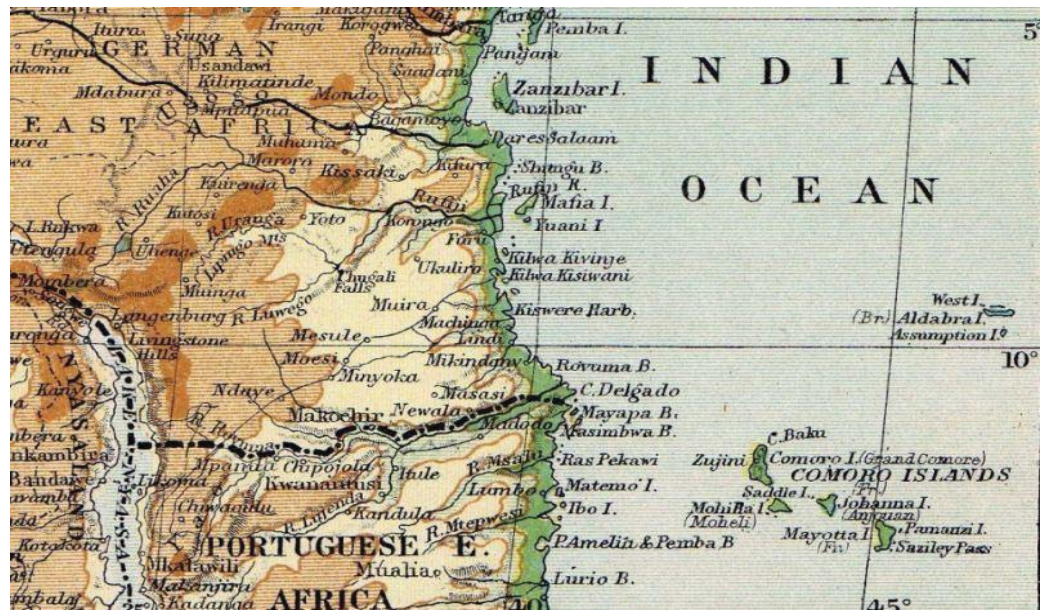
The Kionga Triangle was the small section of land that remained between German East Africa and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) (figure 145). It comprised some 1000 square kilometres and had about 4,000 inhabitants of the Makonde Tribe. The ownership of the triangle remained unresolved, although some German occupation had occurred. In 1887 the Portuguese Navy bombarded some of these German settlements in an attempt to oust the Germans. The conflict remained unsettled and it was eventually agreed to go to arbitration. The outcome of the arbitration between the interested powers was that the land to Cape Delgano, but no further north, was confirmed as allotted to Portugal. The Sultan alone was to decide the future disposal of all other lands. Portugal protested at this decision stating it was totally unacceptable to them. Germany acquired the area north of the Rovuma following the arbitration and this land eventually became part of Tanzania. In 1887 Germany occupied the Kionga area after the German Navy landed troops there. Thereafter, and dating from the arbitration talks, Portugal had harboured a feeling of injustice about being deprived of the Kionga area, which had been exacerbated by its subsequent annexation by Germany in 1887.

At the outbreak of the First World War (WW1), German Forces made intrusions into the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. On August 24th 1914, a German military expedition seized the outpost of Maziua in Mozambique, situated some 400 kilometres inland. Germany eventually withdrew and apologised to Portugal. However, Portugal immediately sent troops to Angola and Mozambique to reinforce their borders with the German colonies of South West Africa and German East Africa.

After King Manoel II was deposed in 1910, the new Portuguese Republic was declared a neutral state at the onset of WW1. However, under President de Arriaga there was de facto support for the Allied cause. On the 23rd February 1916, with Britain's encouragement, Portugal seized German ships which were anchored in Lisbon harbour. The resultant of this action was a declaration of war by Germany on Portugal on the 9th March 1916. Portugal was thus brought into WW1 conflict with the subsequent loss of 8,145 Portuguese lives.

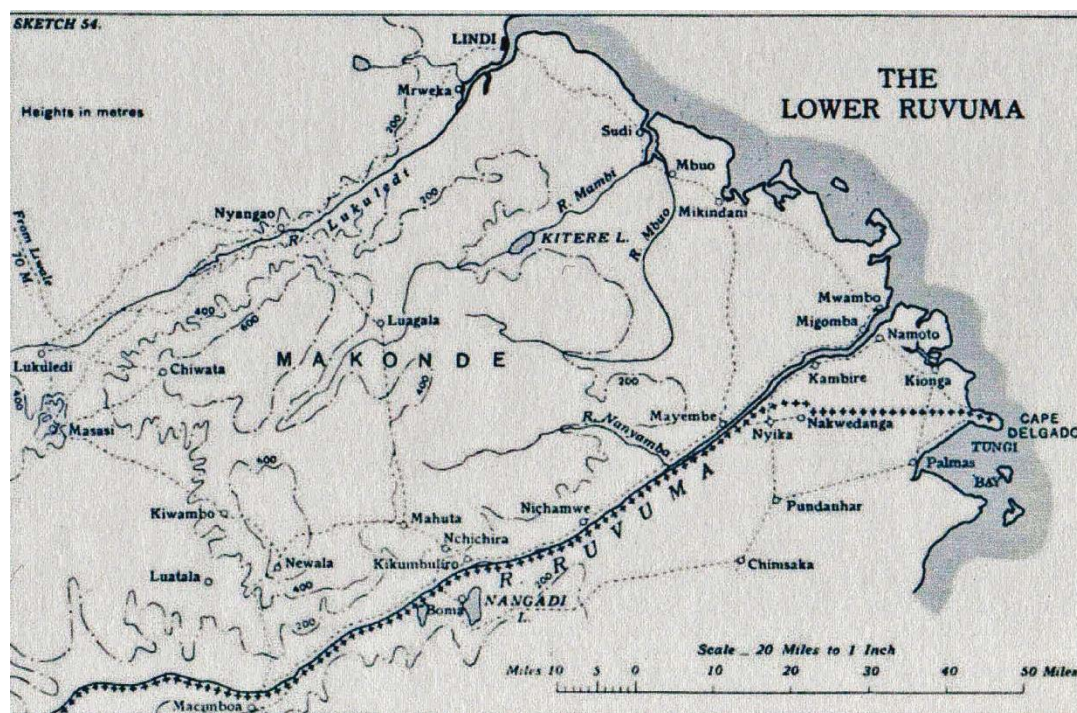
Following the formal declaration of war with Germany, Portugal directed the local commander, Major da Silveira, at Palmas, Mozambique, to send a force of 400 European and African troops into the Kionga Triangle. They moved in unopposed with no loss of life and built defensive positions along the south bank of the Rovuma River. They took command, therefore, of the town of Kionga with its 4,000 inhabitants and an immediate surrounding area of 550 square kilometres. In a second stage operation, attempts were made to gain more land in German East Africa across the Rovuma River. The Portuguese force sustained a major defeat by the German Forces in the area of Newala with a heavy loss of life. They then withdrew back to Kionga.

Figure 144: Map of East Africa prior to the First World War indicating Colonial Boundaries



Source: Collins World Atlas

Figure 145: Enlarged Area of the Lower Ruvuma River, the de facto Border and the Kionga Triangle, 1914



Source: Wikipedia

At the end of WW1 and the signing of the Versailles Treaty, Article 118 made Germany renounce all claims to territories outside of Europe. Portugal not only wanted to protect and preserve her colonies of Angola and Mozambique but hoped to gain a large portion of German East Africa. In reality the only gains she made was the permanent retention of Kionga. The remainder became the British Protectorate of Tanganyika and the Belgian Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi. Kionga was then incorporated into Mozambique and subsequently part of the independent Republic of Mozambique which was proclaimed on the 25th June 1975.

Kionga represents a small slice of land between two large territories. The map (figure 145) of the border region clearly shows that the Ruvuma River would form a natural border or barrier between the two colonial powers. Presumably the established artificial border paid no heed to the ethnic and cultural background of the indigenous people in the wider “borderland” area.

The angst the Kionga occupation caused to Portugal seems out of proportion to its economic value, population numbers and location. In light of the vast land grabs made by the European colonial powers it seems trivial. However, there appears to be more political intrigue going on behind the scenes than one would first think. The secret plans of Germany and Great Britain to divide up the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique may have even reached the form of a secret treaty. Indeed, Britain had a stated goal of having a continuous colonial territory from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope. Similar ideas had been expressed by Germany to join South West Africa to German East Africa. Other ideas muted were to use the colonies of Portugal as neutral buffer area to protect British interests in

Southern Africa. Portugal had perhaps every reason to be anxious about her colonies. Attempts by Portugal to join the two colonies together were thwarted by the British Government who gave Cecil Rhodes a charter to form the British South African Company and hence Northern and Southern Rhodesia were eventually formed between them and ultimately the modern states of Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Portugal, herself, had used her invasion of German East Africa, not only to secure Kionga, but to make a land grab for parts of German East Africa. This would have fulfilled her long held ideas of regaining the region of East Africa north of Mozambique. Portugal was rebuffed, of course, by the military defeat and setback north of the Rovuma River. Belgium too had ideas of expansion and seized the German areas of Ruanda-Urundi which she was granted later by a mandate from the League of Nations. This area, of course, now forms the independent states of Rwanda and Burundi, the scenes of future ethnic strife.

Postal Propaganda

The four different valued postage stamps (0.5, 1, 2.5, 5 cents) labelled “Kionga” were produced by overprinting a single value of a Lourenco Marques stamp (SG 177). Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) was the capital of Mozambique and at that time had its own stamps from 1893-1921. The stamps carry two overprint messages other than those for postal use. The first draws attention to the fact that Portugal was no longer a monarchy but a republic. The addition of “Kionga” in red makes it a very busy stamp (figure 146). Clearly this was a political message to inform the world that the area was now Portuguese. However, figure 148 does indicate that the stamps were actually used if not only mainly for local purposes. Germany, unlike Portugal, did not produce specific stamps for its mail within and out of its East African protectorate. Figure 148 illustrates an example of a German stamp overprinted “Deutsch-Ostafrika”. These stamps would be used in theory within the Kionga triangle prior to the Portuguese invasion. The nearest post office listed, however, was that of Mikindani which was opened on 30th of October 1894. This office, however, was located on the northern side of the Rovuma River.

The philatelic material reflects the invasion by Portugal and the early use of the ‘Kionga’ overprint. These were issued only seven weeks after the occupation. The double overprint with the use of “Republic” reflects the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1910. The actual use of the stamps is certainly confirmed by the illustrated letter despite its use locally. These stamps seem to have been rarely used and only a total of four different values were overprinted. For example, only one letter has been found that was sent to the USA. This amounted to a printing of only 20,000 (Chapman, 1987). Politics rather than postage appears to be their *raison d’être*. Therefore, stamps played no real part in the political process other than eventually informing the world that Kionga was now Portuguese.

Figure 146: Stamp of Laurencio Marques with double overprint of "Republic" and "Kionga", 1916 (SG 4)



Figure 147: Letter showing the use of a Kionga overprinted stamp posted locally within Mozambique.



Figure 148: Overprinted German Stamp for use in German East Africa, 1893 (SG3)



Chapter 7 South

South Georgia, South Sandwich Islands, South Orkneys and New Swabia

Much has been written about the boundary and territorial issues and claims associated with Antarctica and with the current moratorium, there is less immediate political confrontation. Similarly, the Falkland Islands have been much in the news since the war in 1982 and Argentina's continued claim to the Islands. However, much less has been written about the disputes over South Georgia, the South Sandwich Islands and the South Orkneys. I have been fortunate to visit all three island groups and hence felt that it gave me some insight into the areas under dispute. I have also been to Antarctica twice but not to the area that is still called New Swabia on some maps. Review of the history of this area offers a different perspective on Antarctic claims.

Chapter 7.1

South Georgia

“..the wild rocks raised their lofty summits until they were lost in the clouds and the valley lay covered in perpetual snow”

Captain James Cook 1775

Figure 149: Mount Paget (2934 m.), South Georgia



Photo by the author

South Georgia was named by Captain James Cook after King George III when he made the first landing there on January the 17th 1775. Cook claimed the islands for His Majesty and Great Britain. The island was probably first sighted, however, by Antoine de Roche, a London merchant, in 1675. The next to view the island was the Spanish sailor Gregorio Jerez in 1756 when he sailed passed in *Leon* from his base in Saint Malo (Malvina).

South Georgia is located 1,400 kilometres (kms) from the Falkland Islands and 1,500 kms. from South America. The main island is 140 kms. long and 40 kms. wide. There are 11 other islands numerous islets and rocks. It is a raised alpine structure which has been uplifted and has not a volcanic origin. The main spine is formed by the Allardyce Range with the highest point being Mount Paget at 2,943 metres (figures 149, 150). It is therefore rugged with ice fields and glaciers which cover two thirds of the main island. The coast is fjorded in parts.

Figure 150: Map of South Georgia



Source: South Georgia Government

While Britain had claimed sovereignty to the islands from 1775, it altered this claim in 1908 by the issue of “Letters Patent” which formalised constitutional arrangements. The islands became part of the Falkland Island Dependencies. This arrangement lasted until 1985 when they were formed in to the British Overseas Territory of South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. A Governor was appointed who is based in the Falkland Islands. However, in August 1927 the Argentine Government laid claim to the Island of South Georgia. By 1937 Argentina announced that its claim extended to the South Sandwich Islands and all the territories that formed the Falkland Island Dependencies and this included the Antarctic sector. To support this claim, Argentina stated that its claim was superior to British

discovery based on the principle of *Uti Possidetis Juris* and that the Antarctic region had never been a terra nullius. It was stated that Argentina had always possessed an Antarctic appendage. In effect this amounted to an assertion of squatter's rights without actually squatting (Pyne, 2004). In international law they claimed that when Argentina became independent from Spain it would have the same borders as the colonial state and thus the territories were not truly a no man's land when the British claimed them as Spain had possession already. In addition, Argentina claimed also their titles derived from the 15th century Papal decrees.

Britain while holding the territory de facto, realised that it held the best land site and richest waters to exploit whaling. It therefore issued licenses to private companies to operate whaling activities from South Georgia. Both Argentine and Chilean companies commenced commercial whaling ventures in the Scotia Sea. However, Norway was in the forefront of all these activities throughout the Antarctic and Subantarctic regions and dominated the trade from 1904. Six whaling stations were built on South Georgia with the largest at Grytviken. This station had been established by the Compañía de Pesca, a Norwegian Company with some British capital, based in Buenos Aires (figure 151). Later the introduction of pelagic whaling which did not require land bases saw the collapse of the shore bases by 1930. Sealing had been carried out on the Island in the late 1800s prior to whaling until the near extermination of the seals occurred.

Figure 151: Old Whaling Station, Grytviken, South Georgia



Photo by author

South Georgia became known for the exploits of Ernest Shackleton and his famous journey to South Georgia on the boat *James Caird*. During another expedition he died of a heart attack and was buried on South Georgia (figure 152)

Figure 152: Sir Ernest Shackleton's Grave, Grytviken, South Georgia



Photo the author

Britain used the ice vessel HMS *Endurance* to patrol the waters of her Territories (figure 153). In 1982 she was withdrawn to Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands without an immediate replacement. While *Endurance* was at Port Stanley on the 19th of March 1982, a group of Argentines that included Argentine marines in civilian attire arrived in Leith Harbour, South Georgia. They posed as scrap metal merchants involved in the removal of the old Whaling Station. Subsequently, 100 Argentine troops were landed on ARA *Bahia Suceso*. They took over the station and then moved to Grytviken seizing control of the establishment there on the 3rd of April.

Operation Parquat was the codename for the British plan to recapture South Georgia. The *Endurance* set sail for South Georgia carrying 60 men of the SAS and Special Boat Squadron (SBS). The men were placed on South Georgia to reconnoitre the strength of the Argentines. Reinforcements were sent on the ships *Brilliant* and *Plymouth* and a Wasp Westland ASW helicopter from the former spotted the Argentine submarine *Santa Fe* on the surface. It was attacked and damaged forcing it to limp back into Grytviken harbour. The British forces bombarded the area and then were landed at Hound Bay near Grytviken and the Argentines

forces including the submarine crew promptly surrendered on the 25th of April (figure 154). One Argentine sailor on the submarine was shot dead as it was believed he was sabotaging the ship. The *Endurance* remained in South Georgia to provide a naval presence and guard the local waters.

Scenically South Georgia is a stunning island. It teems with wildlife, penguins, seals and even reindeer. Despite the harsh climate it is one of the most impressive places. Figures 161, 162 show some of the sights of the southern area, while figure 163, 164 shows the Norwegian whalers' church which is beautifully maintained. The graveyard is a reminder of the past history of the whalers, Sir Ernest Shackleton and the Argentine sailor who lost his life during the conflict.

Why should such a beautiful place as this be the subject of political claims? In the earlier days the vast amount of money made out of seal and whales' oil might justify the competition. Today the economy is supported by postage stamp sales and the fees paid by tourists and visitors as a landing fee. The latter has increased greatly as South Georgia is included now in many Antarctic cruises. Eco tourism is an ideal use for the island. It is not suitable for large scale settlement and nobody lives there permanently. Does the future potential of fishing or minerals justify trying to take the island by force as the Argentines attempted? In my view exploitation of the island for oil or gas would be tragic. Is the Argentine claim purely political? Is the claim used to deflect the population's attention from the unstable political and economic situation in that country? Argentina is such a vast country it is difficult to believe it needs these small pieces of land for economic reasons.

Figure 153: H.M.S. *Endurance*, photograph and postage stamp of 1992 (SG 221)



Source: South Georgia Government

Figure 154: King Edward Point – Army Barracks and Base, Grytvicken



Photo: the author

Postal Propaganda

The events of the War are depicted in the stamps produced by the two sides. The first stamp of interest is that produced by Britain to establish South Georgia as an entity. While issued from the Falkland Islands and overprinted it depicts mountain scenes from South Georgia namely Mount Sugartop (figure 155). A good reminder of Britain's long claim lies in the stamp celebrating the centenary of Captain Cook's visit to South Georgia and the centenary of possession (figure 156). The invasion of South Georgia and the Falkland Islands was celebrated by the Argentines by their issuing of a very large stamp (figure 157) two months before they lost control of the Falklands and almost a year after South Georgia was retaken. This highly political and propaganda stamp shows a map of the South Atlantic and the Argentine flag and celebrates the first anniversary of the invasion of the Falkland Islands. It also indicates the Argentine claim to the South Sandwich Islands as well as South Georgia and the Falklands. The stamp also reflects Argentina's economic state as the value of the stamp is 20,000 pesos. Revaluation of the peso took place two months after the stamp issue.

The philatelic centred spat between the UK and Argentina commenced in 1933 when Britain issued stamps celebrating the centenary of the occupation of the Falkland Islands and the possession of South Georgia. The Argentine Government protested to Britain at their release. They further protested to the Universal Postal Union that they would not be valid for postage carried through Argentina and would require additional stamps and would be subject to an additional fine.

Prior to the invasion of South Georgia, Argentina has released other stamps indicating her claim to South Georgia. In 1964 a four peso stamp illustrated by another map indicating not only her claim to South Georgia but to BAT, the Falklands, the South Shetlands and South Orkneys. Stamps produced by the UK from 1933 onwards mainly for the Falkland Islands did include South Georgia and were a direct reminder to Argentina that South Georgia was in British possession. There was no subtle semiotics in these stamps but a direct political message to Argentina.

A further potent political reminder to Argentina was the issue of a mini sheet of stamps by South Georgia to celebrate the 25th anniversary of her Liberation (figure 158). It also recalls the names of the ships involved in the retaking of the island. Again the non-subtle message is that the British Forces were ready for any further incursions by Argentina.

A letter addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations by the Government of Argentina and a reply from the UK Government was made public in February 2016 (Merco Press, 2016). The letter stated that Argentina “rejects the attempts by the United Kingdom to issue postage stamps on behalf of the so-called and illegitimate “governments” of the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands and the alleged British Antarctic Territory”. In reply the UK Chargé d’Affaires to the United Nations, Philip Panham, said that “the UK firmly rejects the complaints of the Argentine Republic concerning the issuing of postage stamps by the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands and the that the islands are illegitimately occupied by Britain”. This is certainly strong evidence that postage stamps still play an important part in the politics of these disputes.

The stamps produced by South Georgia to date show a rich selection of the wildlife and the history of the area. Figure 160 is interesting and relevant. The stamp portrays two seal catchers tied up at a collapsing dock in Grytvicken. They once belonged to the Compañía Argentina de Pesca. The seal catchers *Albatros* and *Dias* have since been refloated and are included in the whaling museum (Child, 2005). Their presence has been cited by Argentina as important evidence of their sovereignty over the Island. It should be remembered that the company was in fact Norwegian with additional British capital.

Figure 155: First stamp of South Georgia, depicting Mount Sugartop

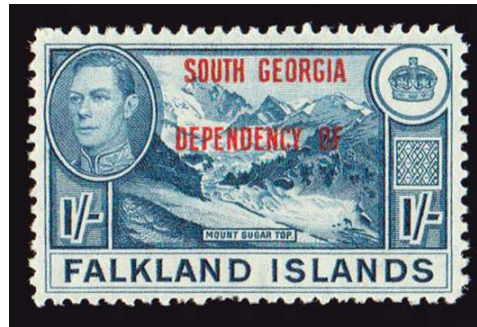


Figure 156: Centenary of Captain Cook's visit and possession of South Georgia



Figure 157: "First Reoccupation of Falklands, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands"¹⁶



¹⁶ Issued on the 9th April 1983, Argentina surrendered on the 15th of June 1983.

Figure 158: Mini sheet of stamps from South Georgia celebrating the 25th anniversary of liberation from Argentina



Figure 159: Stamp showing sealing boats

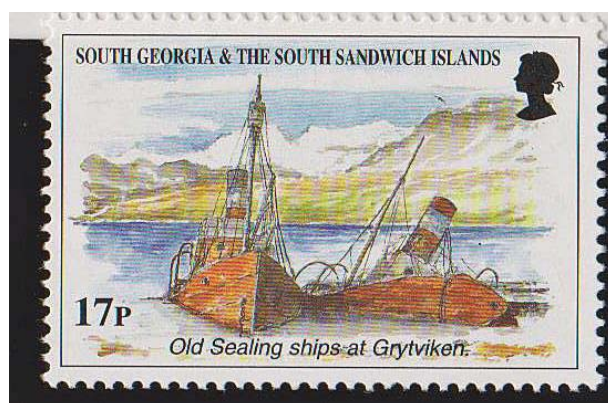


Figure 160: The sealers *Albatros* and *Dias* at Grytviken, South Georgia



Photo the author

Figure 161: Glacier and King Penguin colony, Gold Harbour



Photos by author

Figure 162: Glacier snout, Larsen Harbour, Drygalski Fjord



Photo: the author

Figure 163: Norwegian Church, Grytviken, South Georgia



Photo: the author

Figure 164: Stamp illustrating the Norwegian Church



The major political propaganda has now returned to the arena of postage stamps. Britain has now stopped the subtle semiotic messages in her stamps and has joined Argentina in blatant jingoism as in the examples given here following the War in the region. While not a stamp of South Georgia, the Falkland Islands stamp of Margaret Thatcher must have caused some irritation (figure165).

Figure 165: Margaret Thatcher, UK Prime Minister at the time of the South Georgia invasion



Postscript

"I landed in three different places, displayed our colours, and took possession of the country in His Majesty's name, under a discharge of small arms"

Captain James Cook, January 17th 1775 (Pyne, 2004)

Chapter 7.2

South Orkney Islands

60° 30' - 60° 83' S, 44° 25' - 46° 25' W

"And now there came both mist and snow

And wondrous cold

And ice, mast-high came floating by

As green as emerald"

Milton, Paradise lost II

The South Orkney Islands lie 600 kms. from the Antarctic Peninsula and 1,440 kms. from Tierra del Fuego. They are a raised part of the submarine Scotia Ridge and have a total area of 622 kms². There are four main islands – Coronation, Signy, Powell and Laurie. Coronation Island was named after the coronation of King George IV in 1823. The Inaccessible Islands lie to the west of the main islands, some 29 kms. away from the main group. The South Orkneys are 85% glaciated. The annual ambient temperatures in the islands range from - 44°C to 12°C (figure 166, 167, and 168).

The discovery of the islands is credited to Nathaniel Brown Palmer in the *James Munroe* and to the British sealer George Powell in *Dove* who both discovered the islands on December 6th 1821. Powell took possession of the island group for the British Crown on Coronation Island. James Weddell visited the islands in February 1822 and gave them the name South Orkneys in recognition that they lay in equidistant latitudes south to the Scottish Orkneys in the Northern Hemisphere.

The next important event took place in 1903 with the arrival of the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition on the ship *Scotia*. They wintered over on Laurie Island where they made their base (figure 169,170, 175). The expedition leader was William Spiers Bruce and he helped set up a meteorological station which opened on the 1st of April 1903. The expedition staff built a stone hut named Omond House, parts of which still exist today¹⁷. When the group departed in 1904, they handed the station over to the Argentine Meteorological Service. They renamed the base Orcadas Station in 1951, but have manned the station ever since the Scottish group departed. In addition they commenced a postal service and a museum has now been developed named Casa Moneta. It contains artefacts from the Scottish Expedition and postal service mementos.

¹⁷ The expedition has been described as "by far the most cost-effective and carefully planned scientific expedition of the Heroic Age". Despite this, Bruce received no formal honour or recognition from the British Government, and the expedition's members were denied the prestigious Polar medal, despite vigorous lobbying (source Wikipedia).

Figure 166: South Orkney Islands - mid summer



All Photos: the author

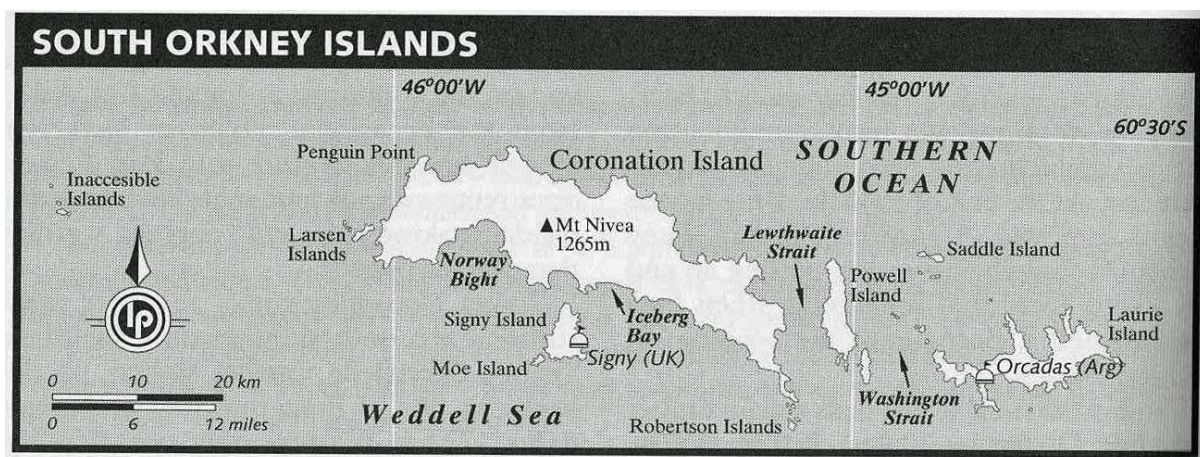
Figure 167: Going ashore South Orkney Islands



Figure 168: Laurie Island, South Orkneys

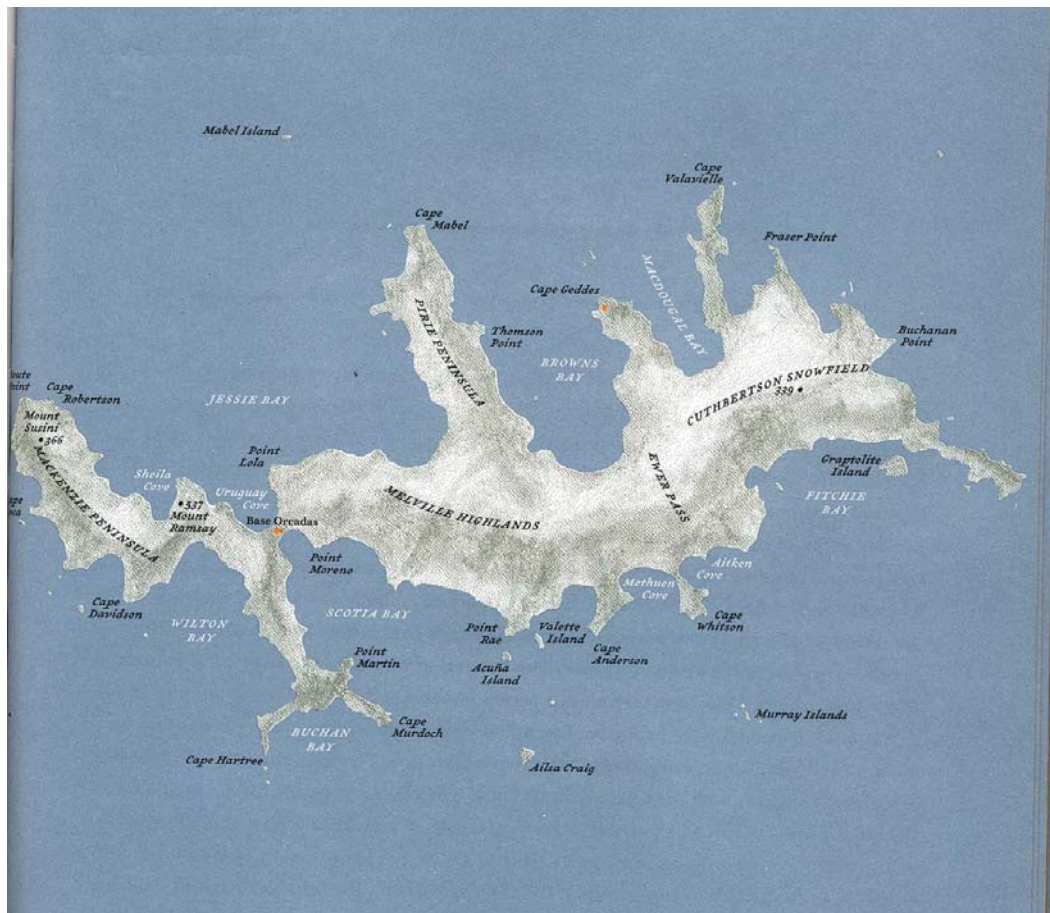


Figure 169: Map of the South Orkney Islands



Source: Lonely Planet

Figure 170: Laurie Island, South Orkney Islands



Source: Schalansky (2010)

During the period 1920-1930 a whaling base was established at Signy Island and a factory ship was deployed at Powell Island. Sealing was also carried out until the near extermination of the animals. Fortunately, they are now recovering in numbers.

To further her claim to the Islands, the UK declared them a Falkland Island Dependency in 1908. However, Argentina challenged this by claiming the islands herself in 1925. Britain changed the status of the territory from a Dependency of the Falkland Islands to part of the British Antarctic Territory (BAT) in 1963 and this was subsequently given the status of a British Overseas Territory. The Orcadas Base has continued since 1904 and currently has 45 staff to man it. Britain on her part established a base on Signy Island, Base H, at Factory Cove in 1945-6 and developed another meteorological station. This was the site of the old Norwegian whaling operation. The base is run as part of the British Antarctic Survey.

The Inaccessible Islands

These islands lie some 20 kms. to the west of the South Orkneys main islands and are included geographically in the South Orkney Group. Like the main islands they were first discovered by Captain George Powell, the British sealer, on 6th December 1821 in his sloop the *James Munroe*. They consist of three main islands – Little, Great and East- and

numerous rocks and islets. They are barren and support a large breeding colony of Southern Fulmars and chinstrap penguins and some mosses. The first successful landing was in 1823 by the noted James Weddell. Few landings have been successful subsequently. I have included mention of these islands as I have visited them but we were unable to land (figure 178) because of the sea conditions.

I have included mention of the Inaccessible Islands as my visit there conveyed to me the absurdity of national claims to such places. It will be seen from the photograph (figure 178) that in the mid Antarctic summer the sea is still surrounded with ice floes and frazil ice. The barren islands with lack of landing spots and beaches and the severe sea swell would not permit landing by zodiac. Similarly, when I visited the main islands of the South Orkney Group we were impeded in landing on certain areas by sea ice and this was in mid January. We were able to land, however, on Saddle Island and Laurie Island. Figure 167 gives a view of how landings are carried out.

Have the South Orkney Islands hidden wealth in the form of oil and minerals? It seems unlikely as the British have carried out research and published papers on the geology of the South Orkneys and in particular Signy Island (Mathews and Maling. 1967, Dalziel, 1971). The geological structures revealed did not seem to indicate the likelihood of any such findings. Fishing for Antarctic tooth fish is not a reason to own the islands as the modern mother ships can replace shore bases.

The territorial dispute over the South Orkney Islands to date appears, fortunately, to be a battle of propaganda rather than one of armed conflict. The philatelic contribution has been one of the principle methods of spreading the rival messages. It is an irony that the British Government has used the Scottish National Antarctic Expedition of 1903 to justify its claims to the Islands by celebrating the event when in fact it did nothing to support the Scottish explorers. The Scot playing his bagpipes to an unresponsive penguin (figure 175) could well exemplify the attitude of the British Government to the Explorers.

Having spent time in the Islands I find it difficult to understand why any country would want to own them, never mind compete for their ownership. Currently they have been included in the moratorium affecting Antarctica and this is an excellent solution. Apart from "national pride" it is hard to understand the reason this dispute has lingered on for nearly one hundred years.

Stamp Propaganda

The stamps and philatelic material from Argentina and BAT have indicated that major political propaganda and point scoring have taken place. The first Argentine stamp of interest was that of 1947 which apart from indicating sovereignty carried, the legend “First Antarctic Mail 1904 - 22nd February 1947” (figure 171). This related to the date at which William Bruce handed over the scientific base to the Argentines and the subsequent establishment of a postal service. The basis for this handover is said to be related to the tensions between Scotland and England (Child, 2005). The British Government refused to support the expedition financially and did nothing to assist it. Therefore, all needed finances and help was obtained in Scotland alone. The group travelled to the South Orkneys via Buenos Aires where they received a great welcome and were aided considerably in their efforts. It was for this reason that Bruce passed the base to Argentina as a matter of thanks and to snub the British Government.

Argentina celebrated the 43rd and 50th anniversary of the acquisition of the base with two very political stamps (figure 171, 172). The planting of a large Argentine flag in the ice of the South Orkneys was certainly a provocative act. Yet again, Argentina celebrated the 100th anniversary of the base in 2004 (figure 173) by the production of a mini sheet of stamps. The Argentine Postal service was quoted as stating the following at the time of its release: “In founding the Antarctic Post office, they established a civil administrative function which affirms its sovereignty in the aforementioned lands of its sector” (sic) (Hardie, 1984).

The UK were first to establish, by postage stamps, their ownership of the islands by the release of an overprinted stamp marked “South Orkneys” (figure 174). This occurred in 1944 and similar other overprints were made for the other Antarctic bases and areas. The establishment of the colony BAT in 1963 led to a host of stamps being produced, mainly relating to the wildlife, past expeditions and the geology of this part of Antarctica. Many are beautifully produced. They are clearly of dual purpose. Politically they reinforce the presence and ownership of the British sector to the world. The number produced is far in excess of the postal needs and must be produced, in part, to utilise philatelists to help to fund the British Antarctic Survey. The stamps produced in 1962 are highly significant. They celebrate the centenary of the Bruce expedition and show scenes of Laurie Island and the original base. The aim would be to negate the Argentine claims of early occupation and a continuous presence (figure 175). The next British stamp of significance is that of 1963 showing the UK Signy Base on Signy Island which again stresses that the Argentines are not alone in having a base in the South Orkney Group (figure 177).

Figure 171: 43rd Anniversary of First Argentine Antarctic mail from the South Orkney Islands 1947-9

(SG 792)



Figure 172: 50th Anniversary of the Argentine Post Office in the South Orkney Islands, 1954



(SG 856)

Figure 173: 100 years of the Argentine base and post office on the South Orkneys 2004



Figure 174: First stamp of the South Orkneys 1944-5 (SG C3)



Figure 175: Celebration of the Scottish National Expedition, William Bruce and Omond House 2002
(SG 352, 354,355)



Figure 176 : The Scotia, the ship used by the Scottish National Expedition 1902-3 (SG G38)



Figure 177: British Base on Signy Island, South Orkneys 2003 (SG 383)



Figure 178: Inaccessible Islands and Surrounding Sea Ice in January



Photo by Author

Chapter 7.3

New Schwabenland (Neu Schwabenland, New Schwabia)

60° 10'S – 76°30'S, 20°E and 11.30°W

“Beyond this flood a frozen continent

Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms”

Milton, Paradise Lost II

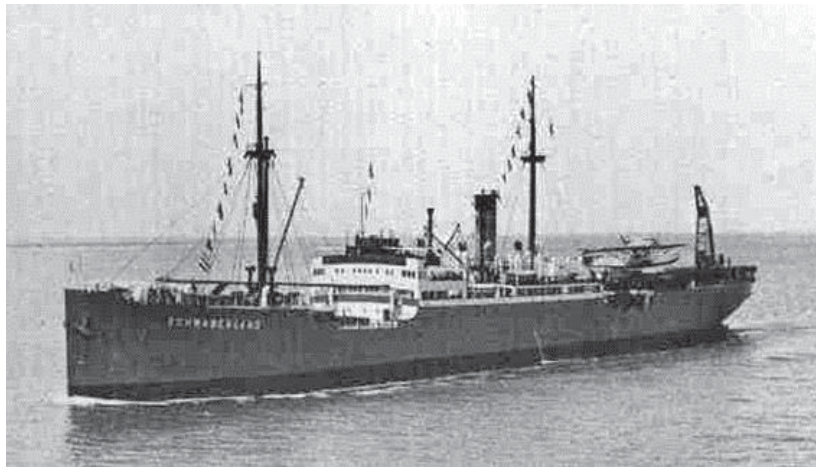
The second German expedition took place during of 1911-1912. The first German expedition to Antarctica was the German National Expedition of 1901-1903 and they sailed there on the *Gauss*. It was led by the famous explorer Eric Drygalski who discovered and named Kaiser Wilhelm II Land. Areas in South Georgia and Antarctica were subsequently named after him. The expedition was led by Dr. Wilhelm Filchner and they travelled to Antarctica on the German ship *Deutschland*. During their expedition they discovered and named the Luitpold Coast and the Filchner Ice Shelf.

The Nazi Government of Germany sent a further expedition to Antarctica in 1938. This was endorsed by Herman Göring. The stated aim of the expedition was *“to secure for Germany her share in the approaching division of Antarctica among world powers”* (Pyne, 2004). The nominal task set for Alfred Ritscher, the German Navy Captain, was to find a whaling station in order that Germany could stockpile whale oil in light of the impending war.

The expedition left Hamburg on the 17th December 1938. They sailed on the MS *Schwabenland* owned by Lufthansa and capable of launching aircraft by catapult. There were 33 men and a crew of 24 on board (figure 179). The ship carried two Dornier Wal seaplanes, named “Passat” and “Boreas”. At the time the German Press spoke glowingly of imminent formal claims to “a German colony to settle the economic interests of Greater Germany” (Pyne, 2004). The ship arrived at the Princess Martha Coast in Dronning (Queen) Maud Land, a Norwegian claimed area of Antarctica (figure 180). They proceeded to chart and mark an area by placing Nazi flags both along the coast and inland using poles 1.5 metres high with swastikas on top. The area was named by them Neu Schwabenland after the ship and Swabia in Germany.

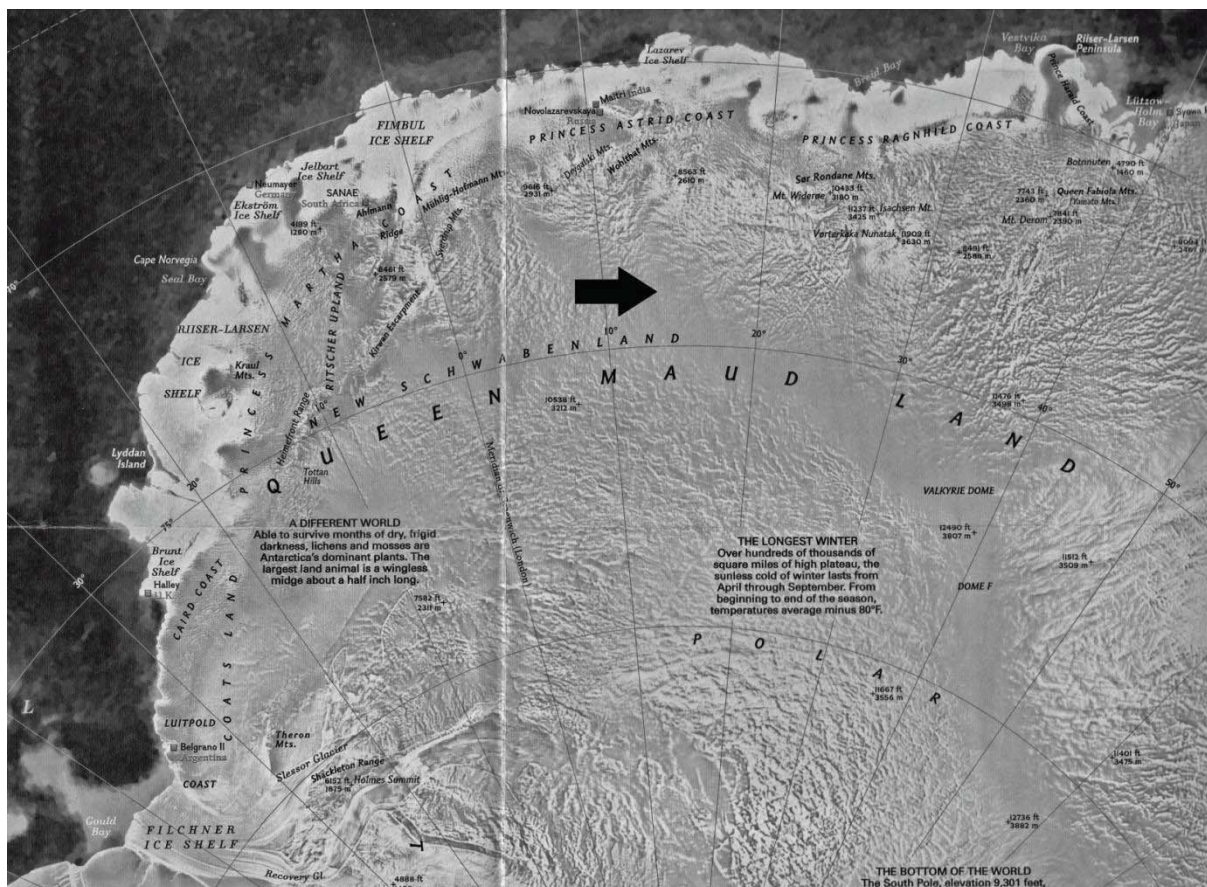
Over a period of seven days, the two aircraft made 16 flights, surveying some 600,000 square kms. of territory and taking 16,000 aerial photographs. They discovered the ice free Schirmacher Oasis where they set up their base camp. Shore parties raised the flag of the Third Reich over the area. However, the invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the War deflected Germany from formerly lodging a claim to the area. The expedition departed Neu Schwabenland on the 6th of February 1939.

Figure 179: MS Schwabenland. A catapult seaplane carrier



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 180: Map of Queen Maud Land, East Antarctica with New Schwabenland arrowed



Modified from McGonigle, 2002

Despite this, the presence of Nazi Germany in Antarctica had triggered responses from Norway, the USA and Latin America. Norway protested that this region was Norwegian Antarctic Territory inclusive of the coast and the inland aspects but not the sector to the South Pole. Germany ignored these protests. However, they acquired Queen Maud Land indirectly by their invasion and occupation of Norway one year later. Argentina was more suspicious of Britain than it was of Germany. Britain on her part was suspicious of Argentina and the possible role of a German fifth column, as Argentina was friendly towards the Nazi Regime. Britain launched Operation Tabarin¹⁸ (figure 181) in 1943 and the cited the reason for this as Britain's concern that the Germans might use the areas a rendezvous site for raiders, u-boats and supply ships. Lieutenant James Marr and 14 men left the Falkland Islands in two ships, HMS *William Scoresby* and *Fitzroy*. They established bases on Deception Island (South Shetlands), Port Lockroy (Graham Land) and Hope Bay (Graham Land) Thus, Britain built these new bases in her previously established territory. While the pretext was to watch Germany, in reality, she was reasserting her claims to the territory and forestalling Argentina and Chile. The USA created the US Antarctic Service in July 1939 to assist the USA in supporting any Antarctic claims and monitoring claims from other nations.

The story of New Swabia thereafter becomes one of fantasy. It was claimed that Nazi Germany set up a secret base for advanced weapons and flight experiments and a place to escape should the war not go to plan. Later on unidentified flying objects (UFO) were sighted and even secret caves were said to exist. All the conspiracy theories were debunked by an article in no less a journal than *Nature* (Whitfield, 2007) who demonstrated that there was no basis in fact to any of these unlikely stories. What is true, however, is the fact that Germany has returned to the area in the post war period and set up a polar research station named "Georg van Neumayer" in 1981. It is located on the Ekström Ice Shelf in the former Neu Schwabenland.

The dispute over part of Queen Maud Land was over before it really began. This was almost certainly due to Hitler's takeover of the Sudetenland and subsequent invasion of Poland causing him to prioritise his activities. It is of interest that there was no geopolitical stamp activity which is most unusual. Events in Sudetenland, Danzig etc were all celebrated by special issues. This does suggest that this third expedition was a secret mission and that whaling was a side issue. The German raider "*Pinguin*" captured the Norwegian whaling fleet south of South Georgia soon after and hence the need to develop a whaling base on the continent does not have much validity, especially when the Norwegian fleet worked for Germany subsequently under duress.

¹⁸ Tabarin : Named after a Paris nightclub supposedly because it was always kept in the dark.

What is of interest and importance is the expedition triggered a response from several countries to prevent any extension of the German interest in the Antarctic Continent. Argentina and Chile both had aspirations of possession of the UK territory and conversely the UK did not want either Germany or Argentina to extend their influence further. A war over Antarctica seemed at one stage a possibility. This prompted the USA to prepare itself for any claims and counter claims on the vast continent. However in the end neither the USA nor Germany made formal claims to any part of Antarctica.

Stamp Propaganda

Germany made no philatelic statements about the expedition to Queen Maud Land, at that time or later. On the other hand Norway has produced stamps illustrating Queen Maud Land and reminders of Nansen and Amundsen exploits in Antarctica (figure 182, 183).

The most interesting stamps were those produced by the British Antarctic Territory. In 1994 the British Antarctic Territory produced a series of four stamps to commemorate the birth centenary of Sir Winston Churchill. In so doing they give credit to him for instigating Operation Tabarin which celebrated its 50th anniversary and the establishment of the British Bases in Antarctica (figure 181).

Tabarin was activated as a measure to monitor German activities on the Antarctic Continent. British bases were built mainly on the Antarctic Peninsula. However, it is said that there was a secret British base near the Muhlig-Hoffman Mountains in Queen Maud Land whose sole purpose was to monitor German activities in Neu Schwabenland. Similarly the issue of stamps for BAT in 1944 was to establish British claims to Antarctic Territory.

Figure 181: Operation Tabarin, 1974 (SG 61, 62)



Figure 182: Amundsen, the originator of the Norwegian Antarctic claim, 1911



Figure 183: Queen Maud Land, Norwegian Antarctic Territory



Chapter 7.4

The South Sandwich Islands

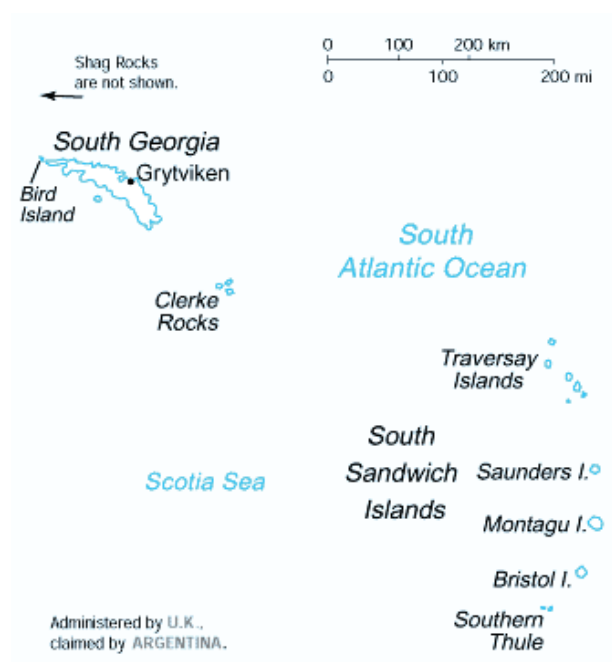
56°18' - 59°27' S 26° 23' - 28° 0.8' W

“There was great beauty here, in the way that things which are terrible can be beautiful”

Richard Byrd, Little America, 1930

The South Sandwich Islands comprise eleven islands which are mostly volcanic in origin. There are four main groups viz. Traversay, Candelmas, Central and Southern Thule Islands (figure 83). Of these the Southern Thule Group is the more important and comprises Bellinghausen Island, Cook Island and Thule¹⁹ (Morrell) Island (figure 184, 185). They are located 520 kms. from South Georgia and 1,000 kms. from the Falkland Islands. The islands experience a temperature range from -29.8°C in the winter to 17.7° in the summer. Despite their bitter winter cold, windy and barren landscape, there is a rich economic zone in terms of fisheries.

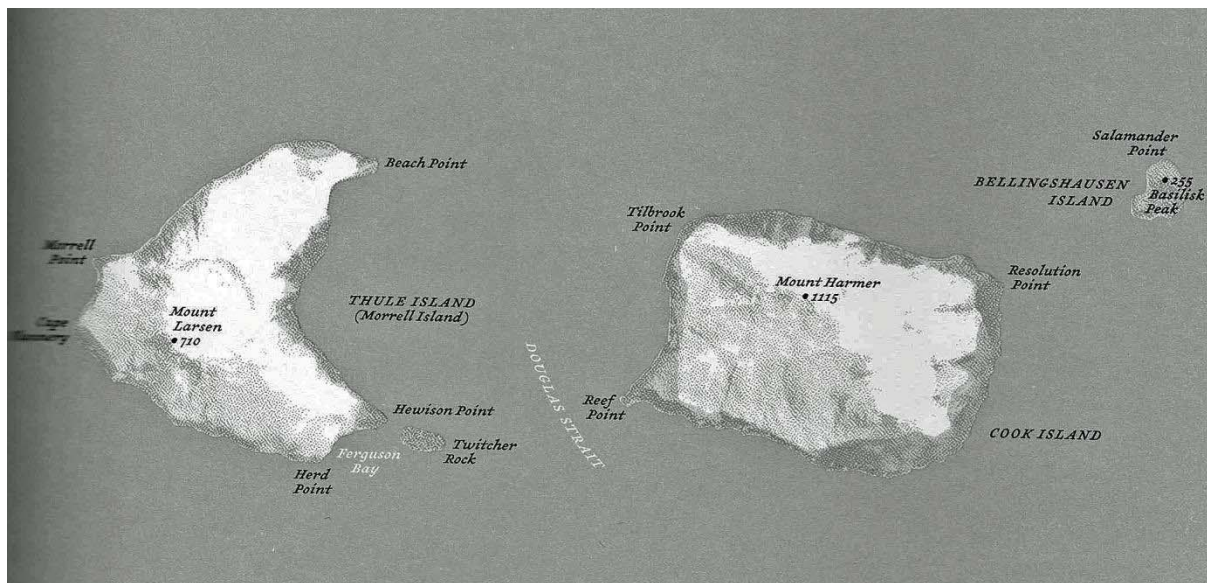
Figure 184: Relationship of South Sandwich Islands to South Georgia



Source: Schalansky (2010)

¹⁹ Thule Island was named by Captain Cook after the Roman concept of Thule being the place at the edge of the world.

Figure 185: Southern Thule Islands



After Schalansky, 2010

Captain James Cook discovered the southern eight islands on the 31st of January 1775 during his second voyage on *Resolution*. He described this in his journal as follows “*suddenly we came upon a frozen land with black cliffs, only one snowy peak rises far above it*” (Schalansky, 2010). Cook gave them the name Sandwich Islands after the fourth Earl of Sandwich. Fabian von Bellinghausen visited the area in 1819 and discovered the three northern islands.

Great Britain claimed sovereignty over the whole group in 1908 and made them a Falkland Islands Dependency. Subsequently in 1985 they were linked with South Georgia to form a UK overseas territory with its own Governor who is based in Port Stanley. Belatedly, Argentina claimed the islands in 1938.

The islands were left to nature until January 1955 when Argentina established a summer station with the name Teniente Esquivel at Ferguson Bay in the south east of Thule Island¹ (figure 185). This was maintained until mid 1956. It was converted into an Argentine military base in 1976 for the Air Force and consisted of barracks, a helicopter landing pad, a weather station and a flagpole. It was renamed Corbeta Uruguay²⁰ and lasted until 1982. The British discovered the base in 1977. The then British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, sent a task force name “Operation Journeyman” to investigate the situation. It consisted of the nuclear submarine HMS *Dreadnought*, two frigates and supply ships. However, they did not use force and attempted to end the occupation of South Thule by diplomacy. This proved to be unsuccessful.

²⁰ *Corbeta Uruguay* was the corvette which rescued Otto Nordenskjöld in 1903 from the Antarctic Peninsula.

In 1982 the Argentine occupation of the Falkland Islands took place. Early in the subsequent war, 32 Special Forces personnel of Argentina were brought from Thule base to South Georgia on the Argentine Navy ship *Bahia Paraíso*. They were landed at Leith Harbour on March 25, 1982 and took part in the occupation there (q.v. South Georgia).

The base on the South Sandwich Islands remained manned by the Argentines until the 20th June 1982. The British military sent a task force to Thule Island to end the Argentine Occupation. The Argentines surrendered on their arrival. Thereafter, the base was left unmanned with only the Union Flag flying and replacing the former Argentine one. However, in December 1982, during a patrol by HMS *Hecate* it was noted that the Union Flag was no longer flying and had been replaced by an Argentine national flag. The British force then reduced the base to rubble leaving only the flagpole, on which the British flag was raised once again. However, a small hut was placed there with emergency supplies.

In the years following the Anglo-Argentine War, the islands experienced a 6.5 magnitude earthquake on the 10th of February 2008. The epicentre was situated south east of Bristol Island. A further earthquake occurred on the 7th of June 2008 and on this occasion it reached magnitude 7.

The only other activity on the islands was the establishment of a South African weather station on Zavodovski Island. This is unmanned as the station is automatic.

“It is a land of firn²¹ and ice ruins that never melt, gloomy, cold and full of horrors. Shrouded in thick darkness, they abandon this part of the world to the mercies of Nature. Here is new Thule, the other end of the known world” (Schalansky, 2010).

This was Captain Cook’s description of Thule Island when he first saw it in 1775. Nothing has changed since then in my view as we sailed along and viewed the island chain. This is a territorial dispute in a place which is unbelievably barren and it is difficult to comprehend why such a dispute should occur. From the British viewpoint perhaps there could be oil and gas potential and certainly there are rich fishing grounds. Holding South Georgia makes the strategic value of the South Sandwich Islands less important. The potential economic value would also apply to Argentina, but the exploitation of gas and oil would be a logistic nightmare. It is a stretch of the imagination to suggest that the former Spanish Empire reached as far as the South Sandwich Group and Argentina obsession with trying to gain ownership of the islands is hard to fathom other than for possible economic gain and political gain at home.

This dispute finally came to a show of force but fortunately without loss of life. The Argentine Forces surrendered without a fight. The subsequent replacement of the Union

²¹ Firn is partially compacted nêvé from past seasons which has re-crystallised into ice.

Flag by Argentine flag was a direct and further provocation to Britain resulting in the destruction of the base. When I visited the area I was told that the UK used the base as a target practice area for their bombers and this is how the base was destroyed. This is purely an anecdote and I have found no written evidence to support it.

Stamp Propaganda

Britain has certainly produced a range of stamps to assert the territorial claim to the islands. The first group of stamps celebrate the bicentenary of Captain Cook's voyage and discovery of the Islands. A clear statement of ownership is made by this issue. When the South Sandwich Islands were classed as Falkland Island Dependencies, the stamps illustrated in figures 186-188 clearly indicate sovereignty and especially the map stamp. Figure 189 could not be more provocative to Argentina as it shows the Union flag being raised at the very site the Argentines had placed their base and flagstaff. A reciprocal provocative stamp is the one in figure 157 (South Georgia) from Argentina indicating on the map that the South Sandwich Islands were a part of Argentina.

The stamps issued for the South Sandwich Islands are now linked to South Georgia. With the very small population on South Georgia and the absence of people on the South Sandwich Islands the main reason for issuing these stamps is probably political. It will remind everyone that the British claims are constant. Few people visit the South Sandwich Islands but an increasing number visit South Georgia so there is an increasing demand for stamps for postage purposes.

Argentina has never issued specific stamps for the South Sandwich Group even when they manned a base there. They have issued Argentine stamps and referred to the "Islands of the South Atlantic" in their claims for ownership.

Figure 186: Island views, Candelmas Island and Thule Island 1980-4 (SG 84A, 85A)



Figure 187: Map stamp showing South Sandwich Islands as a Dependency of the Falkland Islands 1980-4 (SG 74A)

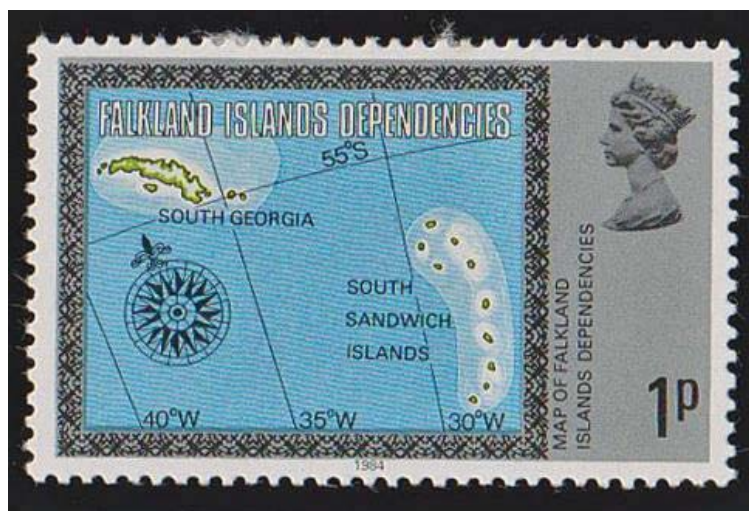


Figure 188: Philatelic reminder of Captain Cook's discovery of the South Sandwich Islands 1979 (SG71)

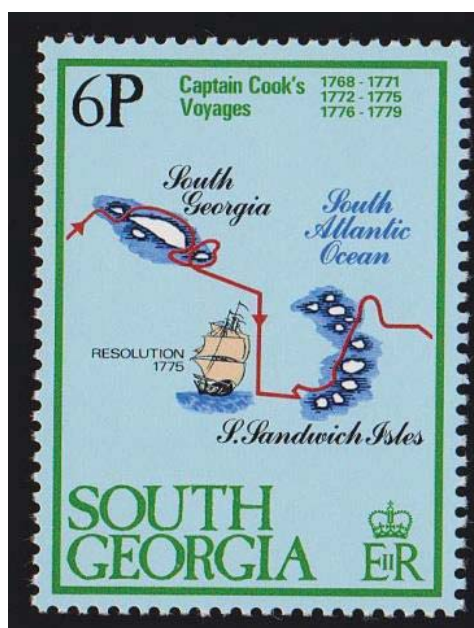


Figure 189: Raising the Union Jack at Thule Island base 1992 (SG220)

Celebrating the 10th Anniversary of the Islands Liberation from Argentina



Chapter 8 Portugal in the Sub-Continent

Chapter 8.1

Portuguese India (Estado da India)

(Goa, Diu, Daman, Dadra and Nagar Havili)

"...a great Empire and little minds go ill together"

Edmund Burke 1729-1797

Figure 190: Arms of Portuguese India and Coin of 1799



The Portuguese territories in India were four distinct areas under the command of a Governor General in Goa. Diu was some 650 kms. from Daman but was administered from there along with Dadra and Nagar Havili (figure 190).

The first Portuguese to arrive in India was Vasco da Gama who sailed into Calicut on the Malabar Coast on the 20th May 1498. Subsequently, Francisco de Almeida, sent as Viceroy of India, founded a Portuguese base in Cochin as the centre of Portuguese trading and exploration (figure 191). He went on to establish a factory at Calicut by September 1500. Things started badly and several Portuguese were killed by rival traders from the Middle East. Cabral carried out a revenge killing of some 600 Arab traders. Thereafter treaties were made with local rulers. A fort was built at Pulicat in 1502 with the help of the local ruler Vijaynagai. After many sea battles and much strife, de Almeida established many colonies on both the east and west coasts of India. By 1526 he had possessed Mangalore and by 1779 Dadra and Nagar Haveli were secured. However, by 1510 the main centre of Portuguese interest and administration was transferred to Goa. Subsequently, Panjim was established as the capital of Goa, but named Nova Goa at that time. Nova Goa replaced Velha Goa (Old Goa) as the administrative centre. Thus, Goa acted as the main centre for Portuguese India between 1530 until 1961.

Figure 191: Fishing, Cochin, India²²



Photograph by the author

Chapter 8.1.1

Diu

20.7°N 70.98°E

Diu comprises an island and the small Ghoghla Peninsula with the village of Ghoghla and comprises 40 square kms. (figure 192). On the island there is a cathedral (figure 193) and a strongly built fortress. Portugal first attempted to take the area in 1509 but was rebuffed. In 1535, however, Bahadur Shah concluded a defence alliance and permitted the Portuguese to construct the Diu fort and maintain a garrison there. Subsequently, attempts were made to remove the Portuguese but these all failed. Diu was further fortified after yet another siege attempt in 1541. Initially the area guarded an important sea route. The development of Bombay (Mumbai) caused a decline in the importance of Diu. Despite this the Portuguese held on to this territory which was linked to Daman despite the distance between them (Figure 192). In 1961, Indian Forces attacked Diu by land and sea and the garrison surrendered after 48 hours. Thereafter it was annexed as part of the Union Territory of Daman in the Republic of India.

²² Fishing method used at the time of the first Portuguese arrival and still used today.

Figure 192: Location of Diu in Relationship to Daman



Source: Daman Tourist Office

Figure 193: St Paul's Church, Diu

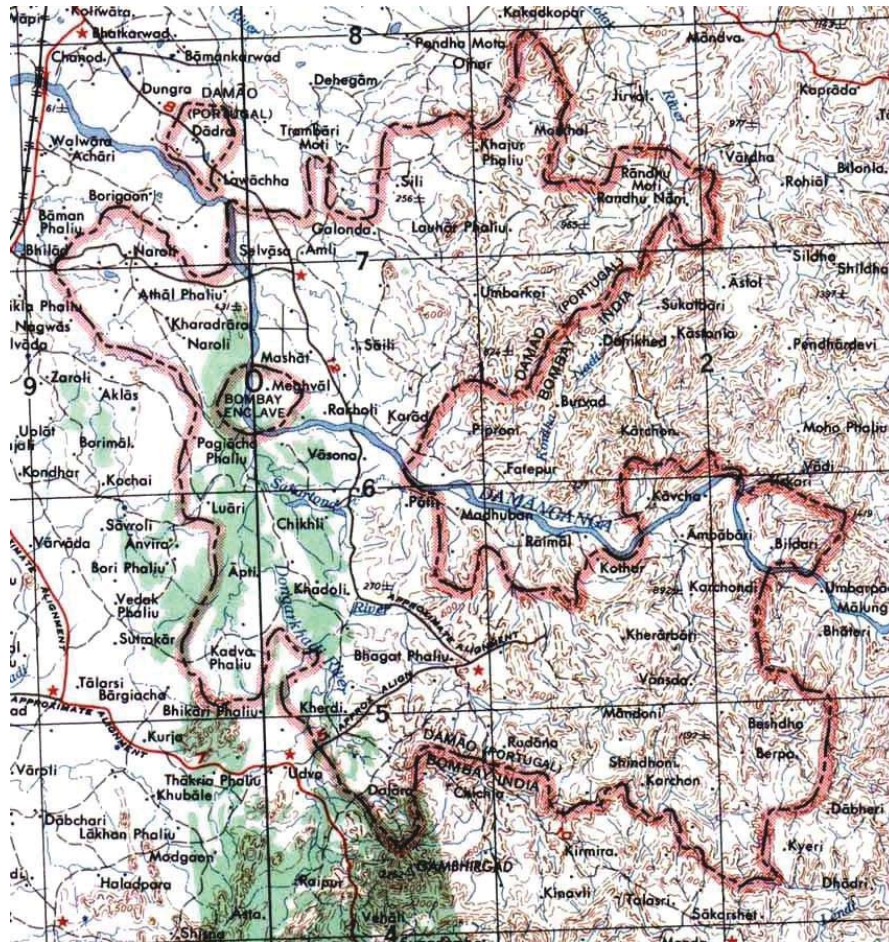


Chapter 8.1.2

Dadra and Nagar Havili (Aveli)

Dadra is an enclave surrounded by Gujarat and lies about one kilometre North West of Nagar Havili. It was purchased in 1783 by the Portuguese. Nagar Havili is wedged between Maharashtra and Gujarat and comprises 491 square kms. (figure 194). It was taken possession of by the Portuguese in 1783 in compensation for the capture of their warship the *Santana*. Nagar Havili is located at a distance of 12-30 kms from the City of Daman. The capital of the territory is Silvassa.

Figure 194: Map of Dadra and Nagar Havili



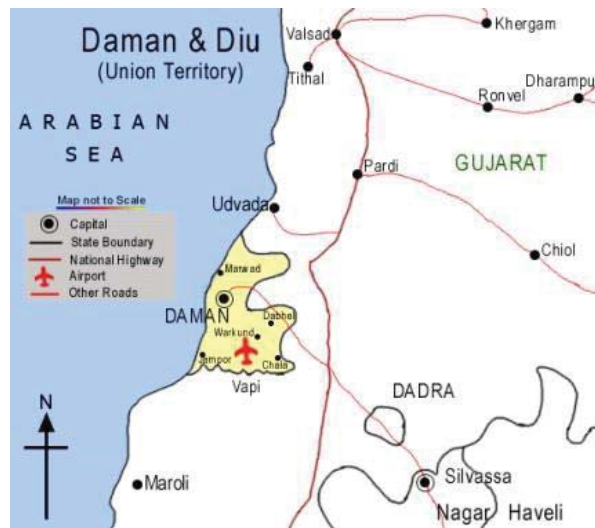
Source: Wikipedia

Chapter 8.1.3

Daman (Damão)

The Portuguese Diogo de Melo arrived in Daman in 1523 while en route to Ormuz. He was driven in shore by a violent storm. By 1531 it became settled as a Portuguese colony but it was not formally ceded to Portugal until 1559 by the Sultan of Gujarat, Bahadour Shah. A large fort was built at Motidaman in the 16th century. The city lies at the mouth of the Daman Ganga River which itself divides the territory in to two parts (figure 195).

Figure 195: Location of Daman



Source: Philatelic Atlas

Chapter 8.1.4

Goa

Goa lies on the Arabian Sea and is bounded by Maharashtra State to the north and Karnataka to the east and south. The current capital is Panjim (Panaji). Goa has an area of 3,702 square kms. and has five main rivers and an excellent harbour and port at Mormugoa. It has a tropical and humid climate and is described as a bio diverse hotspot (figure 196).

Portuguese merchants and traders developed an interest in the area in the early 16th century. However, when Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Viceroy of Portuguese India he secured Goa by defeating the Bijapur Sultan Yousef Adi Shah and obtained the area by conquest in 1509. He set up a settlement in Velha Goa (Old Goa). In 1843 the capital was move to Panjim. Albuquerque encouraged Portuguese settlement and intermarriage with the local population. Ortas d'el Rei (orphans of the King) were girls shipped out from Portugal to Goa to marry Portuguese or Indians of high status. He developed a mint (figure 190) and built a church to honour Saint Catherine (Se de Santa Catarina Cathedral) (figure 197) and many other buildings (figures 198,199).

Goa thereafter became the centre of Portuguese administration and despite the loss of many of the small areas of influence along the east and west coasts of India it remained intact along with Daman and Diu until 1961.

Figure 196: Map of Goa



Source: Philatelic Atlas

Figure 197: Saint Catherine's Cathedral, Old Goa



Figure 198: The Cathedral, Goa



Figure 199: Church in Old Goa



All photographs by author

Territorial Dispute

In December 1947, the new Dominion of India and Portugal established diplomatic relations and ties. In January 1948, prior to the establishment of the Indian Republic, Prime Minister Nehru met the Portuguese consul. He raised the issue of integration of the Portuguese territories into the Indian Union but Portugal was not prepared to negotiate. In January 1953 the Indian delegation in Portugal sought to discuss further the territories in India. Portugal refused to discuss the matter and relations between the two states deteriorated. By the 11th June 1953, the Indian Delegation in Lisbon was closed and diplomatic ties severed. In July 1953, Nehru took the matter of both the Portuguese and French colonies in India to the United Nations and an international diplomatic campaign started.

However, events of a non diplomatic nature took place. On the 22 July 1954 a group of 15 volunteers of the United Front of Goa crossed into Dadra and overpowered the three policemen stationed there. They raised the Indian Flag and sang the Indian National Anthem. Thirty –five members of Azad Gomantak Dal, a revolutionary group, entered Najar Havili and seized control and Portugal's de facto rule had thus ended by the 2nd of August

1954. Despite the seizure, Portugal took the matter of access to the International Court of Justice claiming rights to cross Indian Territory. The Court did rule that the territories were still a Portuguese possession but the Court took until the 12th of April 1960 to make a judgement about access, despite the lodging of the case in 1955. The result of the legal case ended as an impasse as India would not permit the access by the Portuguese. Meanwhile Portugal has established an airline Transportes Aereos da India Portuguesa to supply Diu and Daman as well as Goa. In Najar and Dadra a more formal administration had been formed by a group called Varishta Panchayat of Free Dadra and Najar Havili.

The Portuguese remained intransigent. Indian forces finally invaded Goa with a force of 30,000 men in 1961 as Operation Vijay. They were met by a Portuguese army of 3,000 men who put up weak resistance and soon surrendered. At the same time Indian forces entered Daman with the loss of 10 Portuguese lives and four Indian. Diu was attacked from land and sea and despite its strong fortification fell to the Indian attackers. The Portuguese signed an instrument of surrender on the 19th December 1961 and thus ended 450 years of Portuguese rule in India. Goa thereafter became the 25th State of the Indian Union and Daman and Diu became Union Territories.

Dissent in the Portuguese areas was not new. Part of the problem had been the attempts by the Portuguese to convert the local Hindu population to Christianity. This had caused considerable resentment and had resulted in some 14 revolts up to 1912. The dissent grew in the early 20th century exacerbated with the curtailing of civil liberties and press censorship. Christians were encouraged by the Church to oppose the independence movement. By the 1940s the independence movement had been spurred on by the growing independence movements in British India and the demands for autonomy increased.

Following the armed annexation of Portuguese India, the Salazar regime in Portugal refused to recognise Indian sovereignty over the areas. However, following the political changes in Portugal, in 1974 diplomatic relations had been re-established between the two countries and Portugal recognised Indian sovereignty over the three former colonies.

Goa is yet another example of Portugal's reluctance to forego colonies and grant independence until forced to. It does seem sad that after 400 years the end of Portuguese colonisation should come by force and the loss of life. Clearly this dispute could have been solved by negotiation and the avoidance of military conflict. The very one sided conflict probably saved many lives as Goa could not possibly be defended.

I visited Goa with the prior concept that it would have a more distinct European flavour. Apart from Old Goa with its churches and a few Portuguese houses and alleyways it had a distinct Indian feel. Christian churches are prominent which is unlike the rest of India but there are many Hindu shrines throughout the State. While realising that it is fifty five years

since the Portuguese were expelled one could expect that after 400 years of rule there would be a greater visual impact of that presence (see figure 1). There appears to have been considerable immigration of people from other parts of India as well as the creation of a tourist trade. Perhaps the latter is more of the backpacker variety than the wealthier group who bring money to an area. Despite this Goa has a sound economy and superficially there seems less poverty than other the parts of India that I have visited.

Stamp Propaganda

Portuguese post offices were established in 1854, the first being in Goa. Local stamps were first introduced in 1871 but these required British India stamps to be added if sent out of the colony to India and overseas (figure 200). In fact, British India stamps were sold in post offices in Goa between 1854-1877 for postage elsewhere. Up to 1925 the issued stamps were bland and not politically orientated other than being marked “India” but did not carry the Portuguese prefix. From 1938 they were clearly marked as “Estado da Portugal” or “India Portuguesa”. Their themes related to Saint Francis Xavier and Catholic Christian themes. Latterly, maps and the history of the colony were prominent. However, a stamp issue of eight separate stamps in 1957 showed a map of Dadra and Najar Havili despite Portugal having lost control of the areas in 1954 (figure 201). This map stamp of 1957 is the main political stamp from Portuguese India and it demonstrates the de jure control of Najar Havili by Portugal as opposed to the reality of de facto control by India at that time. However, Portugal issued in 1956 a quasi-political stamp which celebrated the 450th anniversary of Portuguese India.

The final stamp of interest is a non political sports stamp. It came too late, however, as India had already invaded the colony and therefore it was never issued for postal use (figure 202). A final political gesture was the continued production of stamps for Portuguese India. These were never issued in Goa and therefore were invalid and not recognised as formal postage stamp.

India immediately introduced her own stamps on 29th December 1961. India has never produced any stamps which could be regarded as political in nature nor celebrated the annexation of Goa and the other territories by postage stamps. However, the rapid introduction of her own stamps could be interpreted as a political act in itself. In fact the people of Portuguese India have never been consulted as to their political future in terms of self determination. Goa has been the subject of two Indian stamps. The first celebrated the Goa Carnival (2007) and the second St. Anne Church in Goa (2009).

Figure 200: Local stamp of Portuguese India, 1874



Figure 201: Map Stamp of Daman despite loss of Dadra and Nagar Havili (1957)



Figure 202: Last stamp produced for Portuguese India, unissued because of the Indian invasion



Chapter 9: Japan

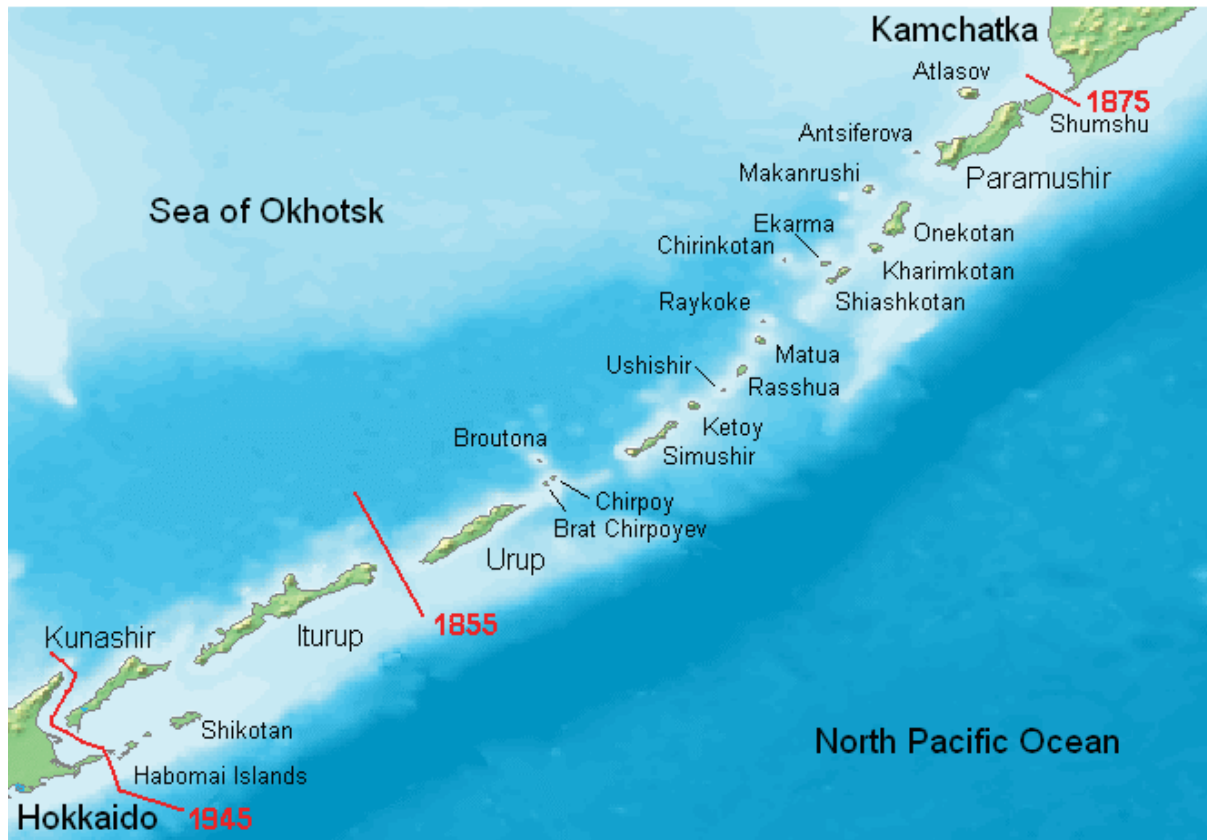
Chapter 9.1 The Kuril Islands

“The volcano is the northernmost of the scattered islands that appeared in a ring of fire 40,000 years ago. Its beauty lies in its symmetrical form”

Judith Schalansky 2010

The Kuril Islands lie between the Sea of Okhotsk and the North Pacific Ocean. They comprise an archipelago of 56 islands of which 22 are main islands. They span a distance of 1,300 kilometres between Hokkaido, Japan and Kamchatka, Russia and the islands contain 160 volcanoes of which 60 are active. The area is part of the Pacific Ring of Fire, a major subduction zone where the oceanic plate pushes under the Eurasian Plate. The status of the islands and, in particular, the four southern islands remains in dispute and has done so since 1945. The islands of particular interest are Iterup (Etorofu-to), Kunashir (Kunashir-to), Shikotan (Shikotan-to) and the Habomai Rocks (Habomai-shoto). They are referred to as the Northern Territories by the Japanese and as the Southern Kurils by the Russians (figure 203).

Figure 203: Kuril Islands with years of political changes



Source: Orion Shipping Line

European discovery of the Kurils dates to 1634 when a Dutch navigator De Vrees arrived there. The Ainu people inhabited Sakhalin Island, Southern Kamchatka and the Kurils at that time. By 1711 the Russians had arrived and all the islands to the north of Iturup became under Russian control. The Japanese first arrived in Iturup in 1661 and by the end of the 18th century they had fully established themselves there. In November 1830 the Russian-American Company took formal possession of all the Kurils on behalf of Russia. In 1875 a formal agreement between Russia and Japan saw the Kurils, north of Iturup, handed over to Japan in exchange for the Southern part of Sakhalin Island (Treaty of St Petersburg). The Japanese removed the Ainu population from the islands and thus by 1884 these northern islands were devoid of people. (Snow, 1897). Captain Henry Snow stated in 1897 *"When Japan, in 1875, gave up her possessions in Sakhalin to Russia in exchange for the north Kuril Islands she may, perhaps, have done a wise thing politically, but there is no doubt that from a business point she made a bad bargain"* (Snow, 1897).

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 saw the defeat of Russia and the Japanese control of Korea and Manchuria. As part of the Treaty of Portsmouth settlement, Russia ceded the lower half of Sakhalin Island back to Japan. Thus by 1905, Japan controlled both Sakhalin island and all of the Kuril Islands. Japan wanted the whole island but pressure from the USA saw them accept the lower half.

The Yalta Conference of February 1945 between the USSR, UK and USA saw the adoption of a policy in which the leaders agreed that *"the Kuril Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union and the southern part of Sakhalin as well as the islands adjacent shall be returned to the Soviet Union"*. Japan

was, of course, not a party to this Yalta Agreement, nor had the agreement any legal basis (figure 3). In 1945 Soviet Russia declared war on Japan and as part of their Manchurian Strategic Offensive annexed Southern Sakhalin and the Kuril islands. They were formed into the Sakhalin Oblast as an administrative unit. Japan continued to claim the Northern Territories as part of the Hokkaido Prefecture or Southern Chishima. The Potsdam Declaration of August 14, 1945 saw the unconditional capitulation of Japan and the formal occupation of the islands between the 18th August and September 21st 1945. On the 27th February 1947, the islands were formally integrated into the Soviet Union. The 17,000 Japanese occupants were deported and repatriated to Japan over the next two years.

The San Francisco Peace Conference with Japan took place in 1951. Japan gave up all claims to the Kuril Islands and Southern Sakhalin. However, no precise boundaries were stated nor did the declaration specify the territories' recipient. Later Japan claimed that the renouncement of the claim applied to the Kurils, north of their Northern Territories. This peace treaty was signed by 49 countries but not by the Soviet Union.

By 1956, the Soviet Union and Japan made an international declaration in which their discussion of the return of Shikotan and Habomai Islands was announced. The claim to Iturup and Kunashir was to be withdrawn if the smaller islands were to be returned. However, discussions were also being carried out with regard to the USA claim for Okinawa. The end result was that the agreement fell through possibly due to pressure from the USA on Japan. Thus at this stage no formal peace treaty existed between the two countries, the settlement of the claims were outstanding and antipathy persisted possibly lingering from as long ago as the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Russia made statements that their ownership of the islands was payment for Japan's aggressive military policy and her alliance with Germany during the world war.

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the USSR did not bring a change. Russia was less interested in Japan to which it gave a low priority and concentrated on the rise of the USA as the sole world power (Sarsikov, 2006). In 2002, however, Igor Ivanov, the then Russian Foreign Minister stated *"we do not have a border that has been internationally recognised by treaty. With Tokyo we do not have a peace treaty either"* (Kimura, 2006).

In September 2005, President Putin made the statement *"Regarding the negotiations with Japan over the four Kurile Islands, they are Russian sovereign territory and this is fixed by international law. This is one of the results of World War II. We have nothing further to say on this particular point"*.

However, in 2006, President Putin of Russia once again made the offer to transfer the islands of Shikotan and Habomai if Japan would remove the claims to the other two islands. This was to be dependent upon the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries. The Japanese declined this offer on the basis that once a treaty was signed they would have lost any potential to claim the other two islands. Since then there has been no progress in terms of settlement of the dispute. The 17,000 Japanese expelled from the islands were settled in the main in Nemuro and after sixty years had suffered financial hardship. They were fishermen mainly and had been denied the ability to fish in the waters around the islands where the best fishing grounds were located. Indeed, in 2006 a Russian patrol fired on one Japanese fishing vessel in "Russian" waters and caused the death of a fisherman. The arguments continued with the Japanese stating that the four "northern islands" were never occupied by any other nation than themselves prior to 1945 and they were Japanese

“inherent” territory”. However, no mention was made to the fact that the Ainu people were the first occupants although they never had a formal state.

By 2008 Japan had ordered that all school texts indicated that the northern islands were Japanese. The Russians permitted visa free visits to family shrines in Kurils and some controlled fishing in the exclusive economic zone. Things took a turn for the worse when President Medvedev visited Kunashir Island on November 1st 2010. The Japanese described this visit as “impermissible rudeness” and withdrew their ambassador from Moscow. The situation had improved by 2013 when the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe visited Moscow and had talks with the reinstated President Putin. No solution was forthcoming. Debate has continued and discussions around a solution based on the Åland Island settlement have been mooted. This would involve Russian or Japanese sovereignty but neutrality and autonomy for the islands. These discussions have proved fruitless (Åland Conference, 2006)

Why has it proved difficult to solve? Possibly Russia has concerns regarding her security vis-à-vis China and the USA if the islands were lost. There has been a Russian anti-air defence airfield on Iturup since the 1950s and an International Airport there since September 2014. The Japanese established a garrison on Iturup in the 19th century and it was from there that the Japanese fleet set sail to attack Pearl Harbor. There are rich fishing grounds around the islands and evidence of oil and gas reserves in the neighbourhood. Rare rhenium deposits have been found on Kudriavsky volcano on Iturup. It is hard to believe this is the reason for Russia’s hard line in this dispute. Is it related to Russia’s expansionist policies as in Crimea, Georgia and Ukraine?

Stamp Propaganda

Stamp propaganda has not featured in the Japanese approach to the dispute and there have been no relevant stamps issued. However, Japan has produced an animated film called Giovannis Island which is about Soviet “ethnic cleansing” of the Japanese of the Kurils and their replacement by Russian settlers. It was written by Mizuho Nishikubo and a trailer of the film can be easily accessed on U Tube. There is no discussion of Japan’s ethnic cleansing of the Ainu people from the Kurils, however!

Supposedly produced by Russia was a set of stamps for the Kurils and Sakhalin but the legitimacy of these is in doubt (figure 204). A letter issued by the Universal Postal Union (UPU) on July 10th 2000 drew attention to the illegal production and distribution of postage stamps for regions of the Russian Federation and named specifically the Kuril Islands. It read “not only does such proliferation do harm to philately and the Russian Federation....” (UPU 2000). A subsequent letter (UPU, 2000a) stated “the distribution of illegal postage stamps does serious moral and economic harm to the Russian Federation, discredits the Russian Postal System....”.

However, the Russians celebrated their heroism in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, despite their defeat, with a postage stamp in 2005 (figure 205). This stamp recalls the whole basis to the disputes over Sakhalin Island and the Kuril Group following the treaty and settlement after the war of 1905. Russia’s intransigence over the island dispute may still hark back to her defeat, the first, by an Asian country.

Finally, to illustrate the Oblast of Sakhalin and the Kurils a stamp in the Russian Regional series was produced in 2002 (figure 206, 212). This is clearly of a political nature as it clearly illustrates the four islands that are the centre of the current Russian – Japanese dispute.

Figure 204: Overprinted and inverted stamp issued as from the Kurils and Sakhalin



Figure 205: Miniature sheet “Heroic Defence of Port Arthur” centenary issue from Russia, 2005



Figure 206: Three Brothers, Kurile Islands 2002



Comment

I have been fortunate to travel from Kamchatka through the Kurils to Sakhalin and the once Japanese sector of that island. The northern Kuril Islands are interesting and mainly deserted. We came across a few Russian wildlife scientists and a few maintenance staff only. The most striking island was Atlasova with its steaming volcano (Araid) reaching up to 2,339 metres (figure 207). Volcanic ash litters this otherwise barren place. It is the site of a former women's gulag dating from the 1950s that lies now in ruins (figure 208).

Figure 207: Atlasova and active volcano, Kuril Islands showing the persisting fog of the area



Figure 208: Remains of women's gulag, Atlasova, Kurils.



Paramushir and Shumshu are the nearest islands to Kamchatka and are rich in wildlife and in particular sea otters (figure 209). Sumushir Island was the former Soviet submarine base and was abandoned as soon as the Cold War ended (figure 211). Apart from the removal of the submarines everything was left intact but over the years things have decayed in the harsh climate. Portraits of Lenin still hang from the walls. Matua Island was a major airbase for the Japanese during the Second World War and up to 8000 men were based there. It was attacked by Soviet forces in 1945 but surrendered quickly. The airfield has regressed to scrub now but there are still bunkers and depots visible (figure 210). There was a Russian presence on the island and a post office.

Small Islands such as Skaly Lavushky are amazing wildlife sanctuaries and are well protected by the Russians. Yankicha Island is striking scenic place in that it is a flooded caldera with continuing volcanic activity (figure 212).

We sailed by Iturup but were not permitted to land other than on the nearest island Urup. In Sakhalin there is still evidence of the former Japanese occupation and this is well illustrated in the Japanese architecture found in the museum at Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (figure 213).

Like many of the areas under dispute and claims, when one visits it is hard to understand why there is such difficulty in settling the problem. The Kurils could well qualify as a World Heritage Area and making them a neutral zone, as in the Åland Islands, would be a good outcome.

Figure 209: Paramushir and Shumshu Islands, Kurils



Figure 210: Matua Island, Kurils, site of the Japanese World War II airport



Figure 211: Sumushir Island, Kurils – former Soviet submarine base



Figure 212: Yankicha Island, Kurils – flooded caldera, fumerole and hot springs



Figure 213: Museum, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Sakhalin Island, Russia²³



²³ Included to demonstrate the Japanese architecture, recalling past Japanese occupation.

Figure 214: Bogus stamps of the Kuril wildlife



Chapter 9.2

Liancourt, Dokdo (Tokdo), Takeshima

37° 9'30"N, 131°55'E

“History is philosophy derived from examples”

Ars Rhetorica 100 BC

The Liancourt Rocks (Dokdo) are a very small territory over which there has been an unresolved dispute for many years. A vast amount has been written about this dispute that is quite out of proportion to the size and importance of the islands. It is of particular relevance here that a stamp issue has helped to inflame feelings to the level of a potential major international incident.

Since the end of WW2, Korea and Japan have had a somewhat bitter dispute over the ownership of these two islets. Currently they are occupied by South Korea. The islets are known as Dokdo or Tokdo by the Koreans and Takeshima by the Japanese. They were named Liancourt Rocks in the 19th century by French whalers after their ship, *La Liancourt*. To add to the naming difficulty, the British, Japanese and Russians have given them additional names and to compound the problem they have been confused with the neighbouring Utsurgo Island.

Liancourt Rocks consist of two islets and about ninety rocks and reefs, with a total surface area of 0.18 square kilometres. The highest point on the islands reaches 169 metres (figure 217). The western island is called Seodo (Korean) or Otoko-jima (Japanese) and the eastern, Dongdo (Korean) or Onna-jima (Japanese). The islets are fairly barren but the neighbouring seas are rich in fish. It is suspected that there may be natural gas fields under the sea nearby.

The islands are located 216.8 kilometres from Korean mainland and 87.4 kilometres from the nearest Korean Island, Ulleung-do. In relation to Japan, they are 211 kilometres from the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and 157 kilometres from the Oki Islands the nearest Japanese islands (figure 215, 216, 217).

Since Korean occupation a light house and coastguard station (figure 218) have been built. In addition police barracks, a desalination plant, helicopter pad, fishery inspection facilities and the ubiquitous flagpole. Attempts have been made to establish a permanent resident population with little success. However, tourism to the islands is now well established.

Much has been written about the respective claims to the islands with evidence presented from medieval times. The case for Japan is well presented by Yokokawa (1990) and an

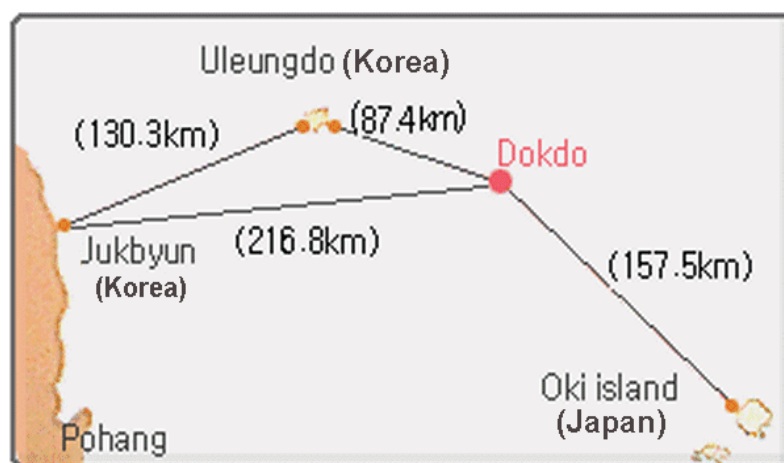
alternative view and evidence presented by Lee (2002) and Fern (2005). The latter suggests that an important factor is that South Korea has been in physical possession of the territory since 1954 and his opinion is that Korea has a better legal claim. Why not use this evidence to promote the claims through international courts? Most authors state that for Korea the claim is a reflection on rising nationalism and thus a symbol of national sovereignty. To raise the matter in an international court would be tantamount opening up the wounds of Japanese colonisation and the war time atrocities. Japan has several claims to other territories such as the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands which are of greater importance financially and politically to her. On a positive note, however, in November 1998 the two countries agreed on fishing permits and by 2000 to open their 200 nautical mile economic zones to each other. Subsequently, in 2002 an agreement was reached as to a fishing accord and a quota scheme.

Figure 215: Location of Liancourt (Dokdo)



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 216: Distance measures of the Liancourt Rocks



Source: Wikipedia

Figure 217: Dokdo (Liancourt): main islets



(Source: SJ Barber)

Figure 218: Lighthouse Dokdo Island



Source: SJ Barber

Stamp Propaganda

Postage stamps have had an interesting role in this dispute. In September 1954, South Korea issued three stamps depicting the Dokdo (then spelt Tokto) (figure 219) and its rocks. These stamps produced an immediate response from Japan who said she would not accept mail bearing the stamps.

Figure 219: South Korean issue 1954 of Dokdo (SG 221-223)



In 2002 Korea produced a series of 32 stamps featuring islands. This series was described as “promoting public awareness of the significance of preserving these islands”. Within the 32 was a se-tenant pair of stamps depicting Dokdo Island (figure 220). These appear to have been overlooked by the Japanese authorities as no formal comment or action was forthcoming.

Figure 220: Island series featuring Dokdo, 1954



It was the stamp issue of 2004 which produced the most spectacular effect and responses. The series depicted the wildlife of the Dokdo Islands and rocks (figure 221). The Japanese Government immediately protested as that this series implied Korea’s ownership of the islands. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Yoriko Kawaguchi, summoned the Korean Ambassador to explain the stamp issue. The Japanese claimed further that the issue violated the spirit of the International Postal Union charter (McCarthy, 2004). The Korean people’s response was immediate. Of the 560,000 sets of four stamps, all were sold out within two hours on their first day of issue on January 16th 2004. J.Q. Pak, South Korea’s Director

General of Posts, stated in response to the Japanese protest *“From Japan’s perspective they are judging Dokdo as a disputed territory, but from our perspective and one from the Foreign Ministry’s view, we clearly claim that it is not a disputed island”* (McCarthy, 2004).

The matter then began to escalate with a demonstration outside the Japanese embassy in Seoul. The incident and its stamp-triggered background reached the New York Times. The newspaper reported a number of comments such as President Roh of Korea saying *“Is there a need to constantly emphasize that my wife is my wife”* (Brooke, 2004). Friction between the two countries mounted until the then United States Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton was quoted as saying about the situation *“Lower the temperature and work together in a concerted way to have a calm and restrained approach”* (Choi, 2012). The exacerbation of the dispute slowly cooled thereafter but the dispute remains unsolved.

The final chapter in the stamp saga was the issue by North Korea to support the South’s claim (figure 222). Unfortunately, the stamp contains the wrong map location for the island but does carry the correct photograph.

Figure 221: 2004 Wildlife issue of South Korea featuring Dokdo



Figure 222: North Korean issue for Dokdo Island



Comment

The postage stamps portraying Dokdo Island fulfil many of the aspects of the effects of philately on territorial disputes in small territories that this dissertation is trying to outline. Postage stamps have had a major effect in causing an exacerbation of the problem and raising nationalistic feelings. The disagreement is long standing, of course, and a solution is not clearly at hand. In reality, South Korea is the de facto occupier as is Russia in one of Japan's other disputes namely over the Kuril Islands, placing Japan at some disadvantage. This dispute has given rise to a large literature regarding the likely international political outcomes if the dispute intensifies. An even larger literature exists to justify historically the possession of the islands by each rival going back to medieval Japan and Korea and the complicated relationship that developed due to the colonial past and WW2.

The unanswered question is whether South Korea has issued these stamps knowing, full well, that it would exacerbate the long standing dispute and perhaps lead to a definitive solution. Has she issued them naively not expecting the backlash that followed?

Chapter 10

Boundary Disputes without Borders: the Case of the Ruthenians

“Nations like men, have their infancy”

Vicount Bolingbrooke, 1678-1751

The Ruthenians are also known as Rusyns, Carpatho-Rusyns, Rusnaks, Rus or Carpatho-Ukrainians²⁴. In current usage it refers to the East Slavonic people who live in the Carpathian Mountains and their foothills. The people have never had a specific Ruthenian State and over one million live in several different countries and they have spread to the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ukraine, Poland, Romania and Serbia (Fernandez-Armesto, 1994)²⁵ (figure 233). The Ruthenians followed the Greek Catholic religion which distinguished them from the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox communities in which they usually live. The Ruthenians themselves comprise several distinct groups such as the Hutsuls, a group who live in the eastern Carpathians.

Language has proved to be a hindrance factor in the delay in unifying Ruthenians. Their borderland distribution resulted in their use of the major languages. While there is a Ruthenian language, Russian was used as the written communication and hence no true Ruthenian language literature formed. During their period in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and specifically the Hungarian Kingdom, they developed a national consciousness.

After 1918 and the formation of the new states of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the bulk of the Ruthenians were incorporated into Czechoslovakia and the region was called Podkarpatska Rus. By 1938 the area had been given autonomy and a strong movement towards independence was developing.

Carpatho-Ukraine (Carpatho-Ruthenia) Republic

Following the Munich Agreement of 1938, Germany made Czechoslovakia cede the southern third of Slovakia and southern Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary (figure 224). After the German invasion of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia immediately declared independence under the protection of Germany. The result of this was the cutting off of Carpatho-Ukraine from the Prague Government. The area immediately declared its independence as a republic on the 15th March 1939. The Reverend Avgustyn Voloshyn²⁶ was declared the President. Chust was

²⁴ Carpathian Ruthenia refers to the cross border area of Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland. It is also known as Transcarpathia. Subcarpathia is a term used in Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland. Hungarian can refer to the area as North East Hungary or Subcarpathia. Romanians use the term Maramures. The term Subcarpathian Rus (Podkarpatska Rus) is also used by the Czechs.

²⁵ Probably the best known Ruthenian is Andy Warhol (Andrij Warhola) whose parents immigrated to the USA.

²⁶ He died six years later in a Soviet prison.

made the capital and seat of Parliament, Ukrainian the official language and a national flag²⁷ and emblem established (figure 223).

On the day of the declaration of independence, Hungarian troops invaded Carpatho-Ukraine and the local forces were soon defeated. Hungary then annexed the territory and executed 500 of the governing establishment of Carpatho-Ukraine. It thus had the unenviable position as being the shortest enduring country ever, lasting only one day.

Towards the end of WW2, Soviet troops took over the area and transferred it to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the USSR on 29th January 1945. However, at the breakup of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Republic of the Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine became the oblast of Zakarpattia within Ukraine.

Figure 224: Carpatho-Ukraine 1938



Source: Wikipedia

²⁷ It will be noted that the flag is the same as the Ukrainian National flag adopted in 1991

Figure 223: National emblem and flag of the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine



Figure 225: Inauguration of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Parliament 15 March 1939



Hutsul Republic

On the 8th of January 1919 after WW1, the eastern part of Carpatho-Ukraine planned to join the Western Ukraine Peoples Republic. This move failed when Hungarian Police Gendarmes occupied the area. Starting in the town of Rakhiv, the Hutsul people then rose against the Hungarian police taking 500 of them into custody. In April 1919, the remainder of Carpatho-Ukraine had joined Czechoslovakia, leaving the east to declare itself independent as the Hutsul Republic. Jasina was made the capital and General Stepan Klochurak was elected Prime Minister. One of his first acts was to raise an army of 1,000 men. However by June the 11th, 1919, Romanian troops entered the territory and overcame any resistance and dissolved the new Republic. The Romanians withdrew in March 1920 and the territory passed to Czechoslovakia to join the remainder of Carpatho-Ukraine.

Figure 229 shows a post card posted from Jasina²⁸ during the period that the Romanians occupied the Hutsul area in 1920. It will be noted that the card carries Romanian stamps. At one point the card translates..."We sometimes cross the Czech/Polish border...". (figure 229), Figure 232 shows another card, dated 1936, when Jasina has returned to Czechoslovakia and hence bears Czech stamps.

²⁸ Jasina at this time was also called either Korosmezo, Yasina or Frasin

Attempts were made by other Rus people to establish various republics in Ruthenia²⁹. On the dissolution of Austro-Hungary, the Lemkos people formed the Republic of Lemko Rusyn in December 1918, while the small area of Komancza tried to form its own republic in November 1918. Attempts were also made by the Hutsul area of Verkhovyna and Przemysal to establish some form of republican autonomy in November 1918. All of these attempts came to nought (see figure 233).

Stamp Propaganda

In celebration of the acquisition of the southern area of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938, Hungary overprinted stamps with the word "Hazatérés 1938"³⁰ (figure 226). Figure 225 shows the stamp produced by Czechoslovakia to celebrate the opening of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Parliament on the 15th of March 1939. It was valid for use only in Carpatho-Ukraine. As the country declared its independence and was then invaded the stamp was officially withdrawn the next day. It should be noted that this is the only stamp produced by Czechoslovakia to have Cyrillic script in part. Despite its short life the stamp is known to have postal use.

In October 1944, Carpatho-Ukraine was occupied by Soviet troops. Early the following month, the Czechoslovakian administration returned to Khust (Cust) and to the eastern provinces of Carpatho-Ukraine. There on 4 December 1944, it overprinted Hungarian stamps and postal stationery "CSP/1944" (figures 227, 228). The initials stand for Czech-Slovak Post. Not long after (1 February 1945), a socialist Ukrainian National Council was established in the western provinces that overprinted Hungarian stamps "Transcarpathian Ukraine Post". Four different types of overprints were used (figure 228).

Seeking to further enhance its claim to Carpatho-Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Council issued a series of definitive issues. The first set of three stamps was released in May 1945. The second definitive set, consisting of six stamps, was issued in June 1945. Two additional stamps of the same design were released the following September, but had the year 1945 incorporated into their design. During June of 1945, in an agreement between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the latter agreed to give up the eastern provinces of Carpatho-Ukraine. The entire territory was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on 15 November 1945.

It would seem that each country that takes over the Ruthenians or the area in which they reside, "celebrates" the fact by issuing a postage stamp. The stamps survival time can be as short as one day as in Czech Carpatho-Ukrainian stamp or at the best transient or not even accepted as a legitimate stamp. These stamps must be regarded as pure propaganda. The

²⁹ Ruthenia: areas inhabited by Rus people or Rusyn minorities.

³⁰ Homecoming

interesting exception could be the post card from the Romanian occupied area which has become an interesting historic document, recounting the activities of the sender.

Figure 228: Hungarian overprinted stamps celebrating the acquisition of southern Carpatho-Ukraine, 1938 (SG 628, 629)



Figure 227: C.S.P. (Czech-Slovak Post) overprinted Hungarian Stamps December 15th 1944



Figure 230: Overprinted Hungarian envelope with stamps, used in Chust, 1944



Figure 231: Ukrainian National Council Revolutionary issue for Carpathia



Figure 229: Hungarian Overprinted stamps for Transcarpathian Ukraine



Comment

The Ruthenians without a country appear to have experienced all the boundary and territorial problems that those areas with defined boundaries and independent status seem to have suffered. While there are minorities in Poland and a large group of Ruthenians in the Ukraine, it does not appear that they see themselves as Ukrainian. Currently there is some splintering of the new Republic of the Ukraine and it may well be that the Rus people may attempt to establish their own state once again. The Ukraine does not recognise the existence of a Ruthenian nationality, while Poland does recognise the presence of a Ukrainian minority. They however, have tried to isolate the Lemkos people from other Ukrainians. To add to the confusion there are other Rus people such as the Boikos who reside in Galicia and Bukovyna.

Frasin
(Jasina)

CARTĂ POSTALĂ

Frasin. Rugăiunea plutașilor înainte plecării lor.

Edele Gîrău

Nep.
Tabesya Goria
unak

Oradea Mare

Kalaaria uka 20-

[illegible]

Figure 233: Ruthenian Homeland



Source: Magosci (1993)

Chapter 11

Chinde: Boundary changes without political strife

“Chinde..a beastly place, sand heat and mosquitoes”

James Dunbar, 1891

“Chinde..an assemblage of indeterminate objects which had sprung up in the night during a shower of rain”

Reginald Greville, Vice-consul, 1908

Figure 234: Flag of British Central Africa



British Central Africa (BCA) was declared a Protectorate by the British Government on the 14th May 1891 and the name was eventually changed to Nyasaland on 6th July, 1907. It was a landlocked territory, 150 miles up the Zambezi River (figure 234, 235). All goods that were required had to be transported via the port of Quelimane in Portuguese East Africa. This involved a difficult passage along the narrow Kwakwa River and then a six kilometre overland journey to reach the Zambezi River. The silting of the Kwakwa River required an alternate passage to be found urgently. The Congress of Berlin in 1884 had established free navigation on the Zambezi and its tributaries. Thus BCA could be reached freely via the Zambezi and the Shire Rivers.

The British explorer, Daniel Rankin, was credited with originally finding Chinde and this small port was 40 miles south of Quelimane, located on the Chinde River which is part of the Zambezi Delta within Mozambique. Chinde itself was a sand peninsula with marshy tracts which projected into the Indian Ocean. On one side was the Zambesi River and on the other side was the open sea. A tidal creek made the peninsula into almost an island.

Britain negotiated the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891, which gave Britain a 99 year lease of Chinde effective from 1st January 1891. This lease was to establish a port from which seafaring ships could transfer their cargoes to river steamers. It would thus have an entrepot role as no Portuguese duty taxes would be paid. This inner concession comprised 10 hectares of the sand spit and 400 metres of river frontage. Government Offices,

commercial warehouses, workshops and stores were all constructed. Eventually to house the growing population a second outer concession of five hectares was negotiated in 1896. This area was not exempt from Portuguese duty, however. While the British Royal Navy had patrol vessels based in Chinde to protect the river vessels, they were not permitted to fly the British flag from a flagpole but only from buildings. In addition within the enclave, Portuguese law would apply and not British.

The port thrived and by the early 20th century, the Union Castle Line and the German East African Line made regular calls. Six river steamers were employed to transport the goods on their seven day journey up the Zambezi and Shire Rivers.³¹

By 1922 the situation changed rapidly. Soil and sand erosion had become a major problem in Chinde. However, on February 24th 1922 a major cyclone hit Chinde resulting in extensive damage to the port and the deaths of five Europeans and 50 African workers. It was considered too costly to repair the damage and restore the port. Fortunately the rail link which had been under construction from Beira in Mozambique to Nyasaland was completed in 1922. In 1923, the lease of Chinde was cancelled and the port and land returned to Portuguese ownership. The most important and helpful account of the Chinde concession comes from the paper of Baker (1980).

Stamp History

Within the concession Britain established a post office. The territory did not produce its own stamps but used those of BCA. Figures 236, 237, 238, 239 and 240 show some of the postal material of the time. These are postal cancellations indicating the mail passing through Chinde. There is no attempt at political propaganda and the mail and postmarks are good historical documents of the concession. Figures 240, 241 and 242 show post cards of Chinde at the time of British control.

The lack of political trouble is reflected in the in the mail service which appears to have existed for postage and not propaganda. However, the surrounding Portuguese territory of Quelimane used stamps specifically for the district from 1913 until 1916 and this was designated by a specific decree. I can find no evidence that this was related to the British presence in Chinde. However, from 1920 the region used Mozambique stamps (see figure 238).

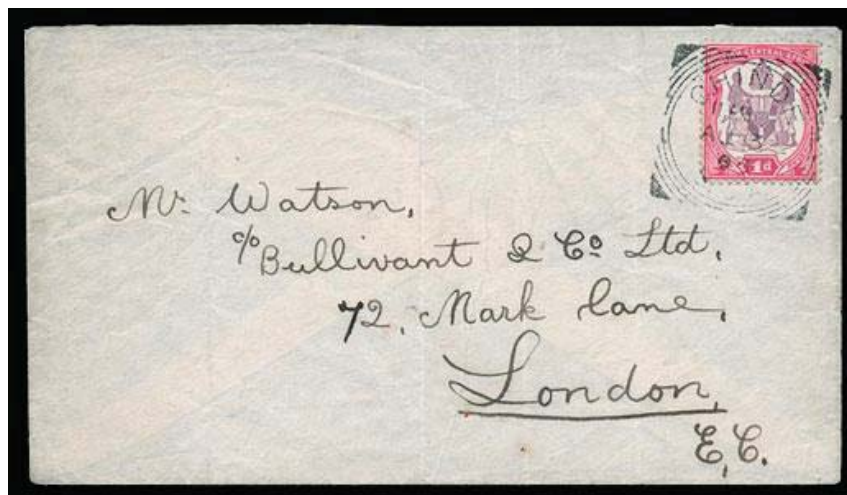
³¹ "Such are the mighty captains and such is the path of pride,
To live and drink and never think of the ebb or the flowing tide"
Ballad of the Zambezi Steamers

Figure 235: Map of the location of Chinde and the BCA



Source: Philatelic Atlas

Figure 236: Mail from BCA with Chinde cancellation and BCA stamp³²



³² 1903 (3rd August), envelope addressed to London bearing a single example of the 1901 1d dull-purple and carmine-rose (SG 57d) tied by a neat **CHINDE** (3 Aug) squared circle date stamp.

Figure 237: Unused BCA stamp for 4/- of 1897 (SG 50)



Figure 238: Arms of Chinde, Portuguese Mozambique and Quelimane³³



³³ Quelimane was joined with Tete to form the District of Zambesia in 1893

Figure 239: Registered letter sent via Chinde³⁴



³⁴ Note the letter took one month to reach London and one further day to reach Glasgow, Scotland. The redundant term North Britain is noted.

Figure 240: Post cards sent from Chinde, 1908



Figure 241: Post card of Chinde Township, East Africa



Figure 242: Waterfront, Chinde during British Concession



Figure 243: Registered letter with multiple Chinde cancellations



Comment

While Chinde appears to have been a place where territorial change was successful, it does not seem to have been a very pleasant environment. The following account by *Mrs. Grace Snowden* describing her 1912 voyage to Nyasaland (present-day Malawi) via the port town of Chinde in Mozambique was Published in *The Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January, 1980), pp. 39-42

CHINDE THEN

"We waited there for almost a week for a steamer to take us to Chinde, a mouth of the Zambezi River. The only way you could find Chinde was to spot two trees on the shore, and if you missed them you had to turn round and go back and wait for the tide. In those days a German tug came out and you were lowered over the side in a sort of large linen basket, and if it was rough you were thrown about inside as you swayed over the water. You then waited in the tug whilst the baggage was taken aboard...On shore we went to the British Concession and stayed in the Mandala Boarding House...Eventually the steamer "Empress" arrived, unloaded, and we were sent aboard. I would have gone home any time after leaving Chinde. It was a terrible journey, terrible."

Chapter 12

Analysis, Discussion and Conclusions

Analysis

The data produced from the examination of the case studies has been used to address the various questions posed in the Introduction in Chapter 1.

The first of these questions relates to the use of postage stamps as propaganda items in disputes outside of Latin America. Have they been used in a similar manner? How effective have they been in territorial disputes? To answer these questions the relevance of the material found has been graded 0-4, with the lowest grade equating to “no relevant material” to that judged to have “a critical influence and effect” on the dispute process (see Table 2). Table 2 further outlines the results from 22 disputes and territorial exchanges. On 21 occasions, a country’s issued stamp was regarded as having a major relevance. On four occasions it was assessed that the stamp issued by Germany (Hultschin), Portugal (India), Upper Silesia (Poland) and South Korea (Liancourt) had such an effect that it influenced the dispute process and possible resolution in a major way. The data from Table 2 therefore provides sufficient evidence to support the view that postage stamps are influential in disputes outside of Latin America and they have been effective in doing so.

The next question pertains to whether there is a difference in effect of propaganda stamps when used in a European country context as opposed to disputes in their colonies. To answer this point I have used the sum of the number of stamp effects (Table 2) and divided this by the number of disputes, to produce a mean figure for Europe and similarly for European colonial disputes. In addition, a comparison was made between the two groups as to their resolution rate, the number involving armed conflict and assessment of the economic basis to that specific dispute. These results are expressed in Table 3 listing the differences between Europe and the Colonies. The mean effects score shows no significant difference between the groups. Similarly, the economic basis to the dispute is not significantly different although the sample is small due to economic disputes themselves forming only a small group. Armed conflict was more common in the European disputes (80%) than in the Colonial ones (60%). Thus the “effects” score indicates that there is no clear difference between colonial and European disputes in terms of the influence of propaganda stamps on the dispute process.

The next issue raised is whether stamp propaganda is currently used more than in earlier disputes. To examine any temporal effect, the duration of current and past disputes is listed in Table 4. The unresolved disputes are marked with an asterisk. Data from the case studies reveals that all current and unresolved disputes have made use of stamps of a propaganda nature. The relevant information is found for Rockall (figure 27), South Sandwich Islands (figures 157, 189), South Georgia (figures 157, 158), South Orkneys (figures 172, 177), Kurils

(figure 206) and Liancourt (figures 221, 222). This consistent use contrasts with the sporadic use of propaganda stamps prior to this time. This is different, however, from the short and limited use of Prussian Plebiscite stamps. There is a clear temporal effect with recent disputes using stamps regularly and consistently to advertise their viewpoint. There is no evidence that they have been used over a prolonged time to initiate claims and disputes.

The final question relates to the proposition that the prior published findings in Latin American disputes hold good for European and Colonial disputes. That is to say that the stamps of the latter have been used as a propaganda medium, been associated with conflict and border claims and political purposes. Their use has been in a dispute or conflict but has never been the cause per se. The work of Child (2008) on the propaganda stamps of Latin America has been the source material for such a comparison. In Chapter 8, the South Korea/Japan dispute compares well to that of the Nicaragua/Honduras (see Chapter 5). However, armed conflict did not form part of the latter dispute. Evidence is presented of European stamps being used for disputes and administrative change in Memel (Chapter 7.1.2) and Hultschin (7.3). These equate to those disputes between Paraguay and Bolivia. Propaganda stamps are used extensively outside of Latin America and are distributed widely. There is no evidence that they are causative in disputes per se but have exacerbated an underlying problem that may or may not have been dormant e.g. South Korea/Japan. They have been used to justify an individual country's stance on a political issue e.g. Poland.

Table 5 summarises the main facts relating to disputes described in this study. All the features described from Latin American studies such as the use of force, loss of life and resolution rates are all evident in those non-Latin American studies.

It is concluded from this analysis that postage stamps from outside of Latin America, in this sample, act as potent sources of propaganda. On rare occasions they can exacerbate a prior conflict/dispute to the point of over reaction by one of the antagonists by acting as the "last straw". The findings on stamp propaganda use and effect from the Europe and Asian data indicate that they are similar to those from Latin America.

Table 2.**Relevance of propaganda postage stamps in selected territorial disputes/exchanges.**

Dispute	Effect*	Issuing Authority	Other Publicity Material
1. Rockall	2	Faeroes	Flags, labels
2. Fiume	3	Regency, Fiume	Flags & arms
3. Marienwerder	3	International Commission	Flags & arms
4. Memel	3	League of Nations	Flag
	2	Lithuania	
	4	Germany	
5. Allenstein	3	International Commission	Flags & arms
	2	Poland	
	2	Germany	
6. Eupen and Malmedy	3	Germany	Flags & arms
	2	Belgium	
	1	Belgium	
7. Hultschin	4	Germany (Czech. Stamps)	Flags, arms, labels
	3	Germany	
8. Lower Silesia	1	Poland	Flags, arms, labels
	3	Poland	
	3	League of Nations	
	1	Czechoslovakia	
9. Upper Silesia	3	Inter-Allied Commission	Flags, propaganda cards, monument
	4	Poland	
	2	Poland	
10. Ouidah	3	Dahomey	nil
11. Caprivi	2	SWA	Flag & arms
	1	Germany	
12. Witu	1	Germany	Flags, medal
	1	Malacote (Witu)	
	1	German East Africa	
13. Kionga	2	Laurenco Marques	nil
14. South Georgia	2	UK	nil
	3	Argentina	
	3	UK	
15. South Orkneys	3	Argentina	nil
	2	UK	
	3	UK	
16. Schwabenland	2	UK (BAT)	nil
	1	Norway	
17. South Sandwich IIs.	2	UK	nil
	3	UK	
	3	Argentina	
18. Portuguese India	4	Portugal (India)	Local stamps, arms, coins

	1	Portugal (India)	
19. Kuril Islands	2	Russia	Labels
	2	Russia	
20. Liancourt	3	South Korea	nil
	4	South Korea	
	3	North Korea	
21. Ruthenia	3	Czechoslovakia	Flags & arms
	3	Hungary	Post cards
	2	Roumania	
	3	Ukraine	
22. Chinde	1	BCA	Post cards
	1	Portugal	
	2	BCA	

*Grading of Effects

0 = no relevant material

1 = stamp(s) with indirect importance

2 = stamps with direct importance

3 = stamps with major importance

4 = stamps with critical effect

Table 3.

Comparison between of European Countries and European Colonies Territorial Disputes

	Europe	Colonies
Disputes resolved	8/9	3/5
Mean of effects score*	6	5.4
Number with armed conflict	8/9	3/8
Economic basis to dispute	3	2 possible economic basis

*Total number of effects (as per table 2) divided by the number of disputes

Table 4**Time range and duration of disputes under study**

Dispute	Time Range
Rockall*	1950-2016
Fiume	1918-1924 1941-1946
Prussian Territories	1918-1923 1938-1945
Eupen and Malmedy	1918-1922 1939-1945
Hultschin	1918-1924 1938-1945
Ouidah	1960-1961
Caprivi	1890 1970-1974
Witu	1890-1900
Kionga	1886-1918
S. Sandwich IIs.*	1938-2016
S. Georgia*	1927-2016
S. Orkneys*	1903-2016
Schwabenland	1938-1939
Portuguese India	1948-1974
Kurils*	1945-2016
Liancourt*	1945-2016

*= current dispute

Table 5**Summary Table of Disputes/Claims**

Region of Claim/Dispute /Transfer	Forced or Peaceful exchange	Economic Basis	Resolved or Continuing	Loss of Life
Ouidah	Force	No	Resolved	No
Caprivi	Peaceful	No	Resolved	Yes (later)
Wituland	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Kionga	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
South Georgia	Force	Possible factor	Continuing	Yes
South Orkneys	Peaceful	No	Continuing	No
South Sandwich Is.	Force	No	Continuing	No
New Schwabenland	Peaceful	Possible factor	Resolved	No
Rockall	Peaceful	Economic	Partial Resolution	No
Fiume	Force	Economic	Resolved	Yes
Marienwerder	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Memel	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Allenstein	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Eupen and Malmedy	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Hultschin	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Upper Silesia	Force	Economic	Resolved	Yes
Portuguese India	Force	No	Resolved	Yes
Kurils	Peaceful	No	Continuing	No
Liancourt	Peaceful	No	Continuing	No
East Silesia	Force	No	Resolved	Yes

Discussion and Conclusions

'And finds, with keen discriminating sight

Black's not so black; - nor white so very white".

George Canning (1770-1827)

New Mortality

This dissertation has helped develop the theme that postage stamps can carry political messages and also contribute to national identity due to their being elements of popular culture. The pioneering work of Professor Jack Child (2008) has demonstrated the degree that postage stamp propaganda has influenced boundary and border disputes in Latin America. The colonisation of Latin America was dominated by Spain and Portugal and on their withdrawal and on the independence of the new states their boundaries were not always clearly defined. This applied particularly to Central America. Their disputes and their propaganda may have been unique in light of their specific history. The purpose of this current work is to establish that what held true for Latin America propaganda stamps also applied to disputes in Europe, her colonies in Africa and Asia and that propaganda stamps did play an important role in these territorial disputes. I have also included a developed Asian country, namely Japan, to assess the role of propaganda stamps in two of her disputes. In light of the many territorial disputes around the world, some 150 currently, I have focussed on disputes involving small territories only. I would argue that if stamp propaganda is used in small territory disputes it would be axiomatic that they would be used in the major territorial disputes. Justification of this statement is based on the presented evidence of German, British and US use of propaganda stamps in the WW2. Further, some of these small territorial disputes are less well documented in relation to their postal history and stamp use but conversely it is harder to obtain such evidence and philatelic material.

I have not defined a small territory as such, as I have assumed that not only surface area but small population defines a small territory. The 25 metre circumference of Rockall and the one square kilometre of Ouidah contrast with the ill-defined coastal region flagged off from Norwegian Queen Maud Land with its zero population. The latter was ill-defined in terms of boundaries and surface area anyway. Surface area, per se, is not a controlling factor, as the smallest, Rockall, may prove to be the most important of all the territories under discussion in terms of economic value. Prior to discussing the stamp propaganda findings, it is important to review the disputes themselves. Factors pertinent to their size, ethnic mix, the causation of the strife per se and other events will be reviewed.

Portuguese India while small had a very widely distributed land mass. Indeed, Diu was the most remote and it was perhaps, more easily defended than the other parts of the Portuguese possessions. It does seem bizarre that the enclave of Dahra lay within Indian

territory while an enclave of Gujarat state lay within Najar Havilli³⁵. This in itself was an enclave surrounded by India and some distance from Daman³⁶. This system could only work while India remained a colonial territory itself. In fact, as described Nagar Havilli was soon lost by Portugal's inability to reach it by land after India's independence.

The three island groups of the South: Orkneys, Georgia and Sandwich, have significant land area, especially South Georgia. However, with only transient populations, numbering a few dozen people, size becomes irrelevant. The areas classified as Greater Germany are all populous and therefore their people become a more relevant and important matter than their smaller surface area. The exception to this is when their location is of great significance. This principle applied to Witu with the potential of a railway line to the hinterland of Africa and its exchange with Caprivi, an area of great potential importance to Germany. The hope of linking German East and South West Africa by a navigable waterway was of overwhelming importance. Surprisingly, the Germans had not done adequate research on the Zambezi's waterfalls. Fiume with its deepwater harbour was a critical factor in making this small region sought after and a subject of much dispute and chauvinism. Similarly, the strategic position of the Polish Corridor linking Poland to the Baltic Sea port of Danzig was a key factor rather than the size or population of Silesia. The tiny enclave of Ouidah was again important when it was located adjacent to the Slave Road and Market and had close access to the sea. This permitted direct links to Brazil and its economic potential. It will be seen from the above, that the selected territories provide a wide spectrum of different problems and sites. It could be concluded that for these small territories their actual size does not have much relevance and it is their location which is the dominant factor to their desirability.

It will be seen that in the selected disputes, the involvement and use of force at some stage is an almost universal component. Fourteen of the twenty-one disputes involve violent episodes and fatalities. Among those I have classified as peaceful, it is only the dispute over Rockall which stands out as a purely diplomatic dispute to date. While the exchange of Caprivi was peaceful initially, the indigenous people of Wituland were strongly opposed to the change and fought the British with considerable loss of life on their part. Caprivi did not remain peaceful and the South African control of SWA (Namibia) resulted in violence within the Caprivi Strip. Later, as described, the Caprivi Independence movement was suppressed with force. Due to the exchange, SWA and the Caprivi were dragged into WW1 because of their new allegiance to Germany. This of course, resulted in a South African takeover of the Caprivi and the resultant strife that occurred from armed conflicts when the independence movements of Southern Africa took to an armed struggle.

³⁵ More correctly an **exclave**, defining it as a piece of land politically attached to a larger piece but not physically conterminous with it because of surrounding foreign territory.

³⁶ Strictly should be called a **pene-enclave**.

The claims of Argentina to South Orkneys have been pursued by political and diplomatic means. However, the relations between the UK and Argentina have been soured by Argentina's invasion of the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. While violence and a death occurred in South Georgia, only the destruction of the Argentine Base occurred in the South Sandwich Islands. Conversely, in the South Orkneys, the Scottish Expedition group initially handed over their resources to the Argentines when they arrived there at the turn of the 20th century, in what can be described as apposite approach. Subsequent behaviour by both parties has not been constructive.

While I have classified the New Schwabenland claim as peaceful, it should be remembered that within two years of the German expedition there, Germany had invaded Norway and obtained the whole of the Norwegian Queen Maud Land as a by-product of their destruction and violence in Norway itself. Much loss of life and killing occurred during WW2 on the Norwegian front. The Kuril Island dispute on the surface appears to be a non-violent dispute and waged on the international political front. Again, it must be remembered that the USSR/Russia declared War on Japan in 1945 and occupied all the islands. There is also the background of the Russo-Japanese War which was a precursor of the whole Kuril Islands and Sakhalin dispute. Similarly the peaceful but volatile dispute over Liancourt does have its roots in violence. WW2 and the prior conquest of Korea by the Japanese and its colonisation by Japan play a major role in this continued dispute.

The remainder of the disputes all involve the use of force and violence and resulting deaths. While the plans were to have peaceful plebiscites in Marienwerder, Allenstein and Silesia the outcomes involved frank violence and uprisings or local riots and killing.

In the situation of the Portuguese in India, there was a military invasion of all parts of the Portuguese possessions. India's invasion involved their Armed Forces and resulted in many deaths not only of the Portuguese but of Indian troops. Portugal was the invader in the Kionga dispute and Portugal did suffer heavy casualties and loss of many lives when she tried to invade further into German East Africa.

It is hard not to conclude that violence has played a major part in the disputes over the selected small territories. This may precede the actual dispute and can be the underlying cause of such as in the Kuril Islands or can be as a result of the process used to solve the dispute as in the Prussian plebiscites. Residual intransigent colonialism by Portugal has resulted in violent settlements as in India and Africa. Whether this situation and argument applies to the British held islands of the South Atlantic or whether it is due to the internal politics of Argentina remains a moot point. What is clear and unacceptable is that many deaths have resulted from these disputes and claims.

What is the cause of the disputes in these small areas? The instinctive answer to this question would be the possibility of economic gain by acquiring the new territory or retaining the old. Examination of Table 2 suggests at best three or possibly four of the

regions have some or considerable economic value that would be worth obtaining. While there may be potential economic gain from minerals in the southern and Antarctic territories, it is highly unlikely that these will be exploited based on the current world political views. Fishing is a resource that could and is being exploited in these regions. Surely fishing quotas can be sorted out without discord? The coal mines and industrial base in Upper Silesia was certainly a factor in that particular dispute. Figure 116 indicated that there was political rivalry to obtain the support of the miners of Upper Silesia.

Fiume and Rockall are the two areas where economic factors clearly dominate and explain the rivalry. The former has been alluded to previously as possessing a very good deep water harbour and this was a major factor in Hungary wishing to have access to the sea. Fiume (Rijeka) in its current political position as part of Croatia has grown exponentially and provided Croatia with a major harbour for trade. Rockall, the smallest of our locations, is in itself worthless economically. It is the vast potential of oil and gas under the surrounding seas that has made the area sought after. Not only the immediate surroundings but well into the Atlantic Ocean. There is increasing evidence that in the surrounding areas in the Scottish Islands there may lie some of the largest oilfields yet to be discovered. Whether they will be accessible or permitted to be explored is another question.

Probably the major trigger factor in the remaining disputes is that of nationalism and ethnicity. Territories with mixed ethnic and language groups such as Upper and East Silesia and the other former Prussian areas seem particularly prone to this situation. It may be that belonging to a powerful and dominant country is seen as a benefit when given the possibility of joining a perceived weaker state that trouble ensues.

The continuation of a colonial regime within a decolonised country is a clear point of irritation. When that colonial regime shows no willingness to accommodate the aspirations of the other as in Ouidah, conflict is inevitable. This applies equally to the Portuguese in India. In the case of Kionga, while the Portuguese may have felt aggrieved that they had not received their “fair” share of the land grab in East Africa: does this justify an invasion and annexation?

Caprivi and Wituland were peaceful exchanges but trouble came when the people involved did not want to be “exchanged”. Similarly, there was much resistance on the part of the people of Hultschin to their enforced transfer to Czechoslovakia, as did the Polish sector in East Silesia. The German speaking population of Eupen and Malmedy suffered as victims of politics at the hands of the Belgians and Germans, but surprisingly it was the influence of France that determined a Belgian end point (George, 2016).

The current disputes over the Kuril Islands and Liancourt remain an anathema as all parties involved have entrenched views. The reason for these disputes lies in a mixture of history, politics empire building and previous warfare. The situations in Kionga, Witu and Caprivi fit well into the terms of “Empire” and big power politics. Indeed, the background to most of

the claims we are examining can be viewed from the classical geopolitical perspective. However, the exception is probably Rockall. Britain signed the UNCLOS treaty and thereby immediately accepted a change in the EEZ in relation to Rockall and the loss of the zone applicable to Rockall. There has been discussion among all concerned parties namely Iceland, the Faroe Island with Denmark, the Irish Republic and the UK. The latter two parties have signed an agreement to define their common and mutual sea boundaries. These boundaries have not been accepted by the other parties involved, however. There has not been a big power show of force by the UK and while no universal agreement has emerged to date, the claims are being dealt with along the lines of a more equal international society.

Ouidah and Goa are interesting. The dispute over these areas by Portugal was due to the classical imperial approach to the situation by Portugal. The subsequent loss of the colonies has led to an eventual change in Portugal's geopolitical approach to the consequences. Portugal has now fully recognised the legitimacy of the present ownership of Ouidah and Goa and has re-established full diplomatic ties with both the respective governments. The Portuguese have even paid for the restoration of the Fort in Ouidah and help establish the Museum. This suggests that their experience may have altered their approach to boundary disputes.

In summary, of these 21 disputes only about 15% appear to have a major economic basis while another 10% may have an economic factor. 10% are influenced by post colonial factors and the remainder have a political, ethnic, historical and post-warfare causation. There is no clear single dominant causation although historically perceived injustice plays an important role. The latter aspects cannot ignore the term "nationalism" in relation to these disputes. Much has been written on the subject of what constitutes nationalism. The writings of Hoyo (2010) and Breully (1993) are helpful. Hoyo (2010) argues that the role of "imagination" is essential to nationalism. He claims nationalism is conceived in the minds of citizens and is based on history, culture, language as well as the actual physical territory. It is promoted by public education and propaganda. It is information about the latter aspect that we have been developing in this study. Thus the concept of a "nation" cannot be achieved without the concept of ancestry and the relationship of past citizens to current citizens even when they have little in common in their present day situation. Nationalism is therefore used as the main supporter of political, cultural, economic and territorial preservation. Nationalism is hard to detach from "political power". The section on the Ruthenians helps to support and illustrate these factors even in the situation where no clear territorial boundary has been defined.

Can the New Geopolitical ideas prevent current or future disputes? Until recently the boundaries of the European Union countries were beginning to disappear suggesting a change in viewpoint. However, they have received their first major challenge with the mass movement of Syrian refugees in to Europe (World Vision, 2016). Hungary has approached

the problem by a move to isolationism by introducing physical as well as political boundaries to prevent entry to her territory. In this situation there is a move backwards to nationalism, prior history, religious conflict and xenophobia. This situation reflects the memory of prior religious and territorial strife within the Ottoman Empire. Croatia appears to be following suit with her own prior nationalistic history. The dispute between Korea and Japan over Liancourt does show some signs of a more enlightened approach. While there have been agreements over fishing quotas, very little else seems to have happened other than diplomatic outbursts and threats. The approach to disputes in the South China Sea region has the hallmarks of Classical Geopolitical thinking and in particular over the Spratly and Paracel Islands. China deals with these disputes in a classical “Big Power” approach typical of her approaching Superpower status. When it comes to certain disputes involving oil reserves, the term coined by Aribogan and Bilgin (2009) of “energeopolitics” appears to fit the geopolitical situation extremely well. The chances of prevention and elimination of border disputes do not bode well.

Within Chapter 5, I have tried to establish that stamps have proved themselves to be tokens and signposts of modern civilization. Brunn (2000) has summarised this by stating that stamps are products or “windows” of the state that illustrate how it wishes to be seen by its own citizens and those beyond its boundaries. Child (2008) and others have shown that postage stamps play an important part in not only tracing the history of territorial disputes, but may have a potent role in the propaganda related to such claims and disputes when applied to small territorial disputes and claims. Examples have been cited of the propaganda use of stamps in large territory disputes, often from Latin America; such as the Dominican Republic and Haiti border dispute and the Nicaragua and Honduras boundary contretemps where a stamp issue almost provoked conflict. Many other philatelic examples exist such as the Venezuela/Guyana boundary dispute³⁷ and the Guatemala/ Belize claim³⁸. The propaganda effects of postage can take other forms. In the post WW2 period propaganda battles between East and West Germany occurred and were known as the Postal War (Postkrieg). Stamps carrying unwelcome messages from the West were obliterated by a grey wash. In particular, the West German stamps were objecting to the Oder-Neisse demarcation line. East Germany had accepted and recognised this line as the frontier while the West had not. The 1955 stamps of West Germany decrying the forced removal of Germans from east to west was a particular target. Covers with these stamps were frequently returned to sender or obliterated (Winchester, 2015). Finally, the potential political effect of a stamp issue is to be found in the joint issue by Mexico and the USA celebrating the Mexican painter Frida Kahlo. It is illustrated by one of Kahlo’s self portraits. The stamp was denounced by many in the United States as they objected to the appearance

³⁷ A dispute over the Essequibo region of the former British Guiana and subsequent Guyana. Venezuelan stamps were inscribed “Essequibo is Ours”

³⁸ Guatemala claim part or even all of the former British Honduras and later independent Belize.

of an “American-hating, militant communist” on an American stamp (Miller, 2001). The fact that she was a bisexual and former mistress of Leon Trotsky did not help either.

The major question proposed in this discourse is whether a similar propaganda use of stamps has occurred in some of the smaller territorial disputes outside of Latin America or whether this propaganda use only applies to disputes in larger and established states. Study and selection was therefore directed at and carried out on the disputes that have occurred over some of the smaller parcels of land and have taken place during the last one hundred and twenty five years. It should be born in mind that early in the 20th Century, printing techniques were not as advanced as today and the use of overprinting a message on current stamps was the only readily available method. From the 1930s onwards the purpose designed propaganda stamp came into use and these were readily seized upon by such regimes as the Nazis in Germany who were quick to exploit the newer printing methods.

In an attempt to quantify the propaganda effect of various issues, I devised an “effects score”. Table 2 in the Results section (Chapter 14) outlines this and presents the results for the disputed areas. To set an upper parameter it seemed reasonable to define stamps that had such a major impact as that described in the Dominican Republic/ Haiti border dispute (see page 15) as being the highest grade and classed as Grade 4. While accepting the grading may be subjective to a certain degree, I do present visual and historic evidence to support and hopefully validate the grades defined for each dispute.

Every dispute studied has had at least one stamp issued that identifies the dispute in some way. This may be simply the overprinting of the name on a current stamp as in the case of Kionga. However, this brought to the world’s attention that Portugal now controlled this part of the Africa. While these stamps found mainly local use and few were sent around the world, their local use in Africa was probably as important for propaganda purposes. This simple act of overprinting resulted in the stamps still being studied and discussed 100 years after the event.

Propaganda stamps can be used for past events also. Dahomey celebrated her success by a postage stamp well after the events in Ouidah and thus formed the only philatelic record of these historic happenings in Ouidah. The stamp probably recalls events that were known to few people outside of Benin. SWA (Namibia) celebrated its possession of the Caprivi Strip by a map stamp of the area many years after the exchange had taken place and at a period when there was some discord with Botswana over the final definition of their mutual border. Poland kept celebrating and reminding the world of its territorial gains and the uprisings in Upper Silesia fifty years after the events.

The stamps produced in the name of Wituland fall into a separate category. Their legitimacy as full postage stamps has been challenged, but their effect in bringing attention to Wituland and its existence cannot be denied. Their use of true Arabic numbers and script and the use of the name “Malakote”, clearly places the country on the edge of the Arab and

African worlds. The subsequent stamps of the British East African Company clearly indicate the change in status and sovereignty.

The stamps produced by the League of Nations for the Prussian territories are purpose made for advertising the plebiscites and for the use of the administration. The most interesting of these is portrayed in figures 120, 123. This is a classical semiotic design and contains all the appropriate and subtle propaganda messages.

The most blatant propaganda stamps came from the disputes over South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands. There is nothing subtle about the 1983 Argentine stamp (figure 56) containing the unlikely title “First Reoccupation..”, whatever that infers. Clearly Britain has given up any form of subtlety also when she produced its stamp for the 25th anniversary of the liberation of South Georgia. It infers clearly that military retribution is still to hand if necessary. What is more interesting are the stamps produced over time from South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands which establish the sovereignty issue along the lines of the International Court of Justice and International law requirements as discussed earlier.

Fiume stamps are rich in propaganda messages. Not only is her history clearly seen in the stamps, postcards and overprints but the issues of the Regency period are full of political propaganda messages of the fascist regime. German propaganda is found in the stamps they have issued for Memel, Eupen and Malmedy and Hiltshin. The Czech issues were developed locally with swastikas and the blatant message of supposed “freedom”.

Above all the South Korean stamps issued that featured Dokdo (Liancourt) Island has had the greatest immediate effect in recent times. Whether this was intended or not is debatable. But the end result has had great bearing on Japan and Korean relations. In Chapter 10.2 it was reported that the effects reached the highest diplomatic levels but did not induce the reaction seen in prior Latin American stamps provoked.

The Chapter on the Ruthenians has been included to illustrate an example of a people who have been victims of and suffered from, the artificiality of borders due to their alteration and manipulation by international disputes. This may well support the need for the concepts raised by the new geopolitics to be introduced when it comes to borders and boundaries. In addition, it reveals that the philatelic output from the neighbouring countries reflects these happenings and even in this situation they can have an important propaganda role.

Finally, on a more positive note the example of Chinde is included. This is to demonstrate that cross boundary exchanges and lease can occur without any conflict. Even the stamp history can prove to be unique and interesting.

It can be concluded from the studies reported here that postage stamps can and have played important roles in the propaganda involved in territorial disputes outside Latin America. In such disputes as that of the Liancourt Islands, the political effects of one stamp issue by South Korea reached the highest echelons of the diplomatic process and directly

involved the US Secretary of State. Another dispute involving Japan again over the Kuril Islands has directly involved the President of Russia and the Prime Minister of Japan. On this occasion Russia alone had produced stamps reminding the world of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and in addition producing a stamp illustrating her ownership of all the Kuril Islands. Interestingly, these issues did not provoke a similar philatelic response from Japan. Japan has not produced any postage stamps of a propaganda nature for either of the described disputes or her others such as over the Paracel Islands. The Japanese did have a dispute with the USA over the return of the Ryukyu Islands and in 1972 celebrated the return of the islands to Japan by a non-provocative commemorative stamp. A different but also bland stamp was produced by the US Military Administration of the Ryukyu Islands at the same time. However, as reported in Chapter 10.1, Japan does produce other forms of propaganda related to the disputes.

The stamps produced by the Regency regimen in Fiume reached the highest levels of propaganda. This occurred at the time of the old style great power diplomacy involving Italy, UK, France and the fledgling Yugoslavia (Glenny, 2012). Gabriele D'Annunzio, war hero, poet, womaniser, stamp designer and fascist introduced the entire ritual of Fascism into Fiume. His balcony speeches, the use of religious symbols in secular settings, his eulogies to martyrs and blood splattered flags were his icons to the new politics in Fiume (Glenny, 2015). In addition to these icons, D'Annunzio's propaganda stamps of 1919-20 can be added to these icons. These carry all his fascist and propaganda symbols in addition to his self-aggrandizement.

The Nazi contribution to the stamps of Memel must rank as some of the most provocative propaganda stamps along with a similar output for Hultschin. "Memelland is free" and "we are free" is the ironic German overprint on each stamp set respectively. The Hultschin stamps preceded WW2 while the Memel ones were produced during the war.

The British and Argentine stamps concerning South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands have degenerated into major propaganda issues. The same holds true for the UK stamps of the South Shetland Islands (B.A.T) and the Argentine stamps reflecting their claim to the South Orkneys.

While not of a major provocative nature, the stamp of the Faroe Islands relating to claims to the seabed in the Atlantic and around Rockall, need to be noted. They have not drawn a philatelic response from Eire, Iceland or the UK. These stamps seem to reflect the type of issue, seen in the past, originating from Latin American countries which concentrate their propaganda through maps, accurate or otherwise.

The stamp issue of Poland in 1923 requires comment. The issue of a stamp suggesting that East Silesia should be included in the Polish Parliament prior to a definitive settlement of the area was a severe provocation to Czechoslovakia. The stamp issue must have added further stress to this already tense situation.

The final questions posed relate to whether there is any difference in the use of stamp propaganda between disputes in Europe and those of European Colonies. I was unable to discover any difference in usage and effect based on an ad hoc scoring system. However, the conclusion drawn is that the nature of the disputes is so different in type, that in this sample it is therefore not possible to detect a difference. In terms of any temporal effect, it would appear that in all current, unresolved disputes there has been the use of stamp propaganda by one of the protagonists. Japan is the exception and has not used stamps as propaganda. Again, a clear answer to this question is obscured by the fact that the improvement in technology over the last 120 years has made stamp production so much easier and quicker and more visually effective. The balance of evidence suggests that there has been a greater use of stamp propaganda since 1939.

The main conclusion drawn from this study is that there has been a widespread use of propaganda postage stamps in Europe, European Colonies and Asia and stamp propaganda has not been the province of Latin America alone. The stamp issues have played an important role in the propaganda associated with disputes over small territories. Stamp propaganda continues to be used and remains important despite the decline in mail services in developed countries over the last decade.

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"True wisdom comes to each of us when we realise how little we understand about life, ourselves, and the world around us"

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