



THE NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTE  
L'INSTITUT NORD-SUD

RECEIVED MAY 10 1993

Dr Elisabeth Borgese  
International Ocean Institute  
Dalhousie University  
1321 Edward Street  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3H5

4 May 1993

Dear Elisabeth:

I should have replied to your fax of March 17, knowing you were getting home in April. Please forgive me for not doing so.

I did make the correction to the text which you pointed out in your fax. I hope you think the final result is worthwhile. I am really pleased to run it here. If you want more copies, do say and we can send you as many as you want.

About the photograph: there was a problem with the one you sent (and which I return now) in that the painting behind you gave off a glare from the flash. So I dug out a photo taken in Sweden during the Myrdal Foundation conference in which you are in your element (or, at least, standing near it!) Actually, I was in the other half of the photo, but got cut out!

Thank you for all your help. And thank you for the editing corrections to the transcript which Cindy made. We have incorporated them on her disc and text.

All best wishes,

Yours ever,

Clyde Sanger

Its mass welfare programs from independence in 1948 included rice subsidies and free health services, financed by the plantation sector of tea, rubber and coconut. As prices for these main exports declined, governments into the 1970s responded by drastic cut-backs in imports, both of rice and of capital goods needed for industrial development. Foreign debt was then insignificant. But in the late 1970s it allowed large trade deficits without cutting imports. It gained foreign exchange through remittances from workers in the Gulf, from tourism and from foreign aid. But its foreign debt rose to the point, in 1991, when it was 72 percent of Sri Lanka's GNP (compared with 50 percent in Pakistan, 29 percent in India).

When ethnic fighting flared again in 1990, defence allocations were almost doubled within the year, from 10.4 to 19.2 percent of the national budget. Welfare programs, including family allowances were cut back. Under pressure, too, from the International Monetary Fund, a long-term process of economic restructuring began in the 1980s. By the end of 1992, 18 out of 50 public enterprises were privatized and 23 of the remaining 32 were operating on commercial terms. Three 'free trade zones', offering incentives of up to 15 years' tax holiday, have been set up. Exports rose by an average 6.8 percent a year in the 1980s, while still relying heavily on traditional exports.

Nona Grandea's assessment of the effectiveness of the Sri Lankan adjustment program gives a mixed picture. "Exchange rate devaluations and other reforms have left the basic economic structure intact. While export of industrial goods has increased, they have very low value-added content." Inflation has been a perennial problem, partly due to higher oil prices and partly because of structural adjustment measures (removal of price subsidies, currency devaluations, and new taxes). "As a result, real incomes have declined for a large portion of the population, while real GDP growth rates suggest no marked improvement in the region's economic performance."

This thumbnail sketch of Sri Lanka's situation, as Canada reduces its links, suggests perilous days ahead. ■

A SEABED AUTHORITY ALREADY

## Solutions for the oceans

**A** Private Member's Bill, brought by the Liberal M.P. Charles Caccia, urging the Canadian Government to ratify the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention, which it signed in 1982, was defeated by 121 votes to 56 in the Commons on March 9. Conservatives who

opposed it referred to defects in the seabed mining provisions. **Elisabeth Mann Borgese**, who was interviewed at Dalhousie University for the Institute's Oral History project by Cindy Weeks, has her own (different) criticisms of the seabed provisions, but has long pressed Canada to ratify. Dr. Borgese has worked on ocean law development for more than 25 years: she helped found the International Ocean Institute in Malta, was a member of the Austrian delegation at the Law of the Sea Conference, and became chair of the International Centre for Ocean Development in 1986. The transcript and tapes of her interview are available on loan from The North-South Institute.



**Elisabeth Mann Borgese:**

We were always critical of the way that the Seabed Authority was conceived in the Convention. We always thought that the so-called 'parallel system' wasn't going to work.

The developing countries wanted a strong authority that should also do the mining and have an enterprise of its own – an international public enterprise. They thought it was a vital aspect of implementing [the principle of the oceans being] the Common Heritage of Mankind, whereas the industrialized countries wanted business as usual. They wanted their companies to do the

business. They had the technology. They had the money. And they wanted, at most, some kind of registry so that there would be no overlapping claims. Everything would be orderly; and they were willing to pay some royalties. That was their minimal concept of Common Heritage. These two ideas were very strongly opposed. So at a certain moment Solomon the Wise, in the guise of Henry Kissinger, showed up and said, "You want this, you want that. Well, why don't we do both at the same time? And that is the parallel system. We will have public enterprise and we will have a licensing system."

Now, it was quite clear from the beginning that this wouldn't work. If you set up the companies in competition with the public enterprise which had neither the technology nor the money, that couldn't work. You had to build in the private sector – as has happened in space very successfully. [Anyway,] we took Part XI of the Convention with its defects and said, "Let's make the best of it." There always was a way, and that was the joint venture approach [by which] companies work in the international area as joint ventures under the Authority. That will turn out to be the only realistic approach, and it is the way it is already going under the 'pioneer investors' regime.

There is much too much detail in the Convention, too. The United States and its allies insisted that every administrative and financial detail had to be spelled out in the Convention because otherwise this Authority, which would be governed by a majority of developing countries, would change things in such a way that the industrialized countries could not accept. And so that was not acceptable. So the Convention is full of nonsense, full of articles that cannot be applied.

*continued on page 4*

**Solutions for the oceans**

*continued from page 3*

The so-called Mining Code will never be applied. But there is plenty in the Convention that can and will be applied, and that makes the Seabed Authority an innovative institution and a forerunner of what institutions might be like next century.

We knew things in the United States would change again, and we felt there was enough leverage to go ahead and bring the Convention into force [by 60 states ratifying it]. Besides, there was no alternative. We have 54 now. We will have 60 this year – there is no question about it. Everybody says that today. There are already about six states where the ratification is in the works. (They may mostly be developing countries although now we have Malta, Iceland and Yugoslavia, which are Europeans.) My strategy would be to get to 60, even if they are mini-states. I don't give a damn, just so long as there are 60. My feeling is that, if at the same time we make intelligent plans for an interim regime which is acceptable to the pioneer investors, then the pioneer investors – that means Europe and Japan – will be the next ones to ratify. The Convention cannot be satisfactorily implemented if a lot of big states are not parties, that's for sure. Nevertheless, the ratification is important because it then is international law.

[I am] still on the UN Preparatory Commission (PrepCom) for the Seabed Authority, and have put in two major series of working papers – one when I was still in the delegation of Austria and one through the delegation of Colombia. I have done a lot of work recently on an interim regime and I was happy to see that the French delegation has put in some papers on an interim regime which are analogous to those I have been putting forward. The French idea is more to protect the interests of the industrialized states and my idea is more to make the regime as productive as possible and as beneficial to developing countries as possible.

The basic idea is really very simple. I mean, what are we to do with this Authority and this Enterprise? Everybody knows that the way it is in the Convention at this moment, it is not realizable. Some people have had the

idea that you must amend the Convention. It was a horrible idea, which would have meant that the whole thing would fall apart. My idea was, "Look, over these past 10 years something has evolved, due to a unique combination of circumstances, that could already be described as an interim regime – that is, this PrepCom. This is not the usual PrepCom that does paperwork, writes rules and regulations for the future organs etc. No, due to the fact that the Commission is responsible for the implementation of the so-called pioneer regime, it has already functioned as an Interim Authority, a Seabed Authority. Its executive has responsibilities for exploration, for the choice of mine sites, for training – I mean these are real activities that the Seabed Authority will engage in. It is also structured like an Interim Authority because it has an assembly – a council of 36 members – and technical commissions. It has a secretariat at its disposal. It is in fact an Interim Authority. So why don't we recognize it?"

We can say, "O.K. the Convention comes into force, but we keep this arrangement the way it is. Instead of calling it the PrepCom, we call it the Interim Authority." And we have a joint program to explore a mine site for the future Enterprise; we call this joint undertaking the Interim Enterprise. We don't need anything else. It doesn't cost

anybody anything more than what is being spent now. The thing is structured to function. There are certain ways in which we can make it more productive, particularly in the field of joint technology development – I have done a lot of work on that. So let's go ahead. Only when seabed mining becomes commercially worthwhile, then we can look at the whole system and at the things that will be needed then. But that may be 15 years down the road. Why not live with what we have now? We don't need anything else.

The Convention is an unfinished process. It's a new beginning. A lot of other things will have to be done to develop it further. For instance, seabed explorations, development of seabed technology, seabed mapping – all these things will go on in an orderly fashion under the Interim Authority and, later on, under the Authority. We all know now that something will have to be done about fishing in the high seas. And a conference on this will take place this year. The Convention has not provided an orderly institutional framework for that. So eventually it will have to be created and added on. The Convention on the Law of the Sea is probably the most comprehensive document ever adopted by the international community, but it is not comprehensive enough. ■

## Fundamental freedoms depend on "one cruel chromosome"

by Joanna Kerr

**T**his is the edited introductory chapter of "Ours by Right: Women's Rights as Human Rights", a new book being published by The North-South Institute and Zed Books. The book is based on presentations at a conference on women's rights organized in

Toronto in 1992. Joanna Kerr, editor of the book, is The North-South Institute's gender and development researcher. The book is available in June from the Institute, at a cost of \$29.95.

'Women's rights are human rights' is a proclamation for justice. Women have the inherent right to food, shelter, property, reproductive choice, social security, health care and employment.

They have the right to political and religious freedom of expression, freedom from torture or slavery, access to education, and the civil privileges of citizens. They also have the right to a livelihood free from all forms of violence.

Yet these rights are being denied. The enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms is "likely to

*Oral History.*



Dalhousie University

International Ocean  
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

To: **Clyde Sanger**  
FAX No: 613 237 7435

From: Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
FAX No.: 1 902 868 2455

Date: March 17, 1993

Subject: Your letter, received just before leaving

Dear Clyde:

Thanks a lot. of course I shall be happy to let you use this piece as your suggest.

There is one small correction I would like to make: on the second-to-last line of p. 2. You have, "No, due to the fact that the delegations are..." It should read, "No, due to the fact that the Commission is..."

I am off to Japan. Then to Jamaica -- more Prepcom. Shall be back home on April 3.

All the best,

Yours as ever,

*Elisabeth*



THE NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTE  
L'INSTITUT NORD-SUD

RECEIVED MAR 16 1993

Professor Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
The Pearson Institute  
Dalhousie University  
1321 Edward Street  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3H5

10 March 1993

Dear Elisabeth:

Here, as I promised in my letter of March 3, is the edited excerpt of Cindy Weeks' excellent interview with you. I concentrated on the issue of ratification, and your plans for the PrepCom to take on the role of Interim Regime. I think this is particularly appropriate, tying it in with Charles Caccia's valiant effort which I witnessed last evening.

Would you allow us to use this in our next issue of Review? We may have to trim it a bit, but I hope not. And would you send us a photograph we could use with it? Maybe I have a good one of you with Arvid Pardo in Sweden - but you would probably want to choose your own.

With all best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Clyde Sanger  
Director of Communications

for Review #4

Borgese - Oral History

A Private Member's Bill, brought by the Liberal M.P. Charles Caccia, urging the Canadian Government to ratify the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention, which it signed in 1982, was defeated by 121 votes to 56 in the Commons on March 9. Conservatives who opposed it referred to defects in the seabed mining provisions. **Elisabeth Mann Borgese**, who was interviewed at Dalhousie University for the Institute's Oral History project by Cindy Weeks, has her own (different) criticisms of the seabed provisions, but has long pressed Canada to ratify. Dr. Borgese has worked on ocean law development for more than 25 years: she helped found the International Ocean Institute in Malta, was a member of the Austrian delegation at the Law of the Sea Conference, and became chair of the International Centre for Ocean Development in 1986. The transcript and tapes of her interview are available on loan from the North-South Institute.

**Elisabeth Mann Borgese:**

We were always critical of the way that the Seabed Authority was conceived in the Convention. We always thought that the so-called 'parallel system' wasn't going to work.

The developing countries wanted a strong authority that should also do the mining and have an enterprise of its own - an international public enterprise. They thought it was a vital aspect of implementing [the principle of the oceans being] the Common Heritage of Mankind. Whereas the industrialized countries wanted business as usual. They wanted their companies to do the business. They had the technology. They had the money. And they wanted, at most, some kind of registry so that there would be no overlapping claims. Everything would be orderly; and they were willing to pay some royalties. That was their minimal concept of Common Heritage. These two ideas were very strongly opposed. So at a certain moment Solomon the Wise, in the guise of Henry Kissinger, showed up and said, "You want this, you want that. Well, why don't we do both at the same time? And that is the parallel system. We will have public enterprise and we will have a licensing system."

Now, it was quite clear from the beginning that this wouldn't work. If you set up the companies in competition with the public enterprise which had neither the technology nor the money, that couldn't work. You had to build in the private sector - as has happened in space very successfully. [Anyway,] we took Part 11 of the Convention with its defects and said, "Let's make the best of it." There always was a way, and that was the joint venture approach [by which] companies work in the international area as joint ventures under the Authority. That will turn out to be the only realistic approach, and it is the way it is already going under the 'pioneer investors' regime.

There is much too much detail in the Convention, too. The United States and its allies insisted that every administrative and financial detail had to be spelled out in the Convention because otherwise this Authority, which would be governed by a majority of developing countries, would change things in such a way that the industrialized countries could not accept. And so that was not acceptable. So the Convention is full of nonsense, full of articles that cannot be applied. The so-called Mining Code will never be applied. But there is plenty in the Convention that can and will be applied, and that makes the Seabed Authority an innovative institution and a forerunner of what institutions might be like next century.

We knew things in the United States would change again, and we felt there was enough leverage to go ahead and bring the Convention into force [by 60 states ratifying it]. Besides, there was no alternative. We have 54 now. We will have 60 this year - there is no question about it. Everybody says that today. There are already about six states where the ratification is in the works. (They may mostly be developing countries although now we have Malta, Iceland and Yugoslavia, which are Europeans.) My strategy would be to get to 60, even if they are mini-states. I don't give a damn, just so long as there are 60. My feeling is that, if at the same time we make intelligent plans for an interim regime which is acceptable to the pioneer investors, then the pioneer investors - that means Europe and Japan - will be the next ones to ratify. The Convention cannot be satisfactorily implemented if a lot of big states are not parties, that's for sure. Nevertheless, the ratification is important because it then is international law.

[I am] still on the UN Preparatory Commission for the Seabed Authority, and have put in two major series of working papers - one when I was still in the delegation of Austria and one through the delegation of Colombia. I have done a lot of work recently on an interim regime and I was happy to see that the delegation of France have put in some papers on an interim regime which are analogous to those I have been putting forward. The French idea is more to protect the interests of the industrialized states and my idea is more to make the regime as productive as possible and as beneficial to developing countries as possible.

The basic idea is really very simple. I mean, what are we to do with this Authority and this Enterprise? Everybody knows that, the way it is in the Convention at this moment, it is not realizable. Some people have had the idea that you must amend the Convention. It was a horrible idea, which would have meant that the whole thing would fall apart. My idea was, "Look, over these past ten years something has evolved, due to a unique combination of circumstances, that could already be described as an interim regime - that is, this PrepCom. This is not the usual PrepCom that does paperwork, writes rules and regulations for the future organs etc. No, due to the fact that the delegations are responsible for the implementation of the so-called pioneer

regime, it has already functioned as an Interim Authority, a Seabed Authority. Its executive has responsibilities for exploration, for the choice of mine sites, for training - I mean these are real activities that the Seabed Authority will engage in. It is also structured like an Interim Authority because it has an assembly -a council of 36 members - and technical commissions. It has a secretariat at its disposal. It is in fact an Interim Authority. So why don't we recognize it?"

We can say, "O.K. the Convention comes into force, but we keep this arrangement the way it is. Instead of calling it the PrepCom, we call it the Interim Authority." And we have a joint program to explore a mine site for the future Enterprise; we call this joint undertaking the Interim Enterprise. We don't need anything else. It doesn't cost anybody anything more than what is being spent now. The thing is structured to function. There are certain ways in which we can make it more productive, particularly in the field of joint technology development - I have done a lot of work on that. So let's go ahead. Only when seabed mining becomes commercially worthwhile, then we can look at the whole system and at the things that will be needed then. But that may be 15 years down the road. Why not live with what we have now? We don't need anything else.

The Convention is an unfinished process. It's a new beginning. A lot of other things will have to be done to develop it further. For instance, seabed explorations, development of seabed technology, seabed mapping -all these things will go on in an orderly fashion under the Interim Authority and, later on, under the Authority. We all know now that something will have to be done about fishing in the high seas. And a conference on this will take place this year. The Convention has not provided an orderly institutional framework for that. So eventually it will have to be created and added on. The Convention on the Law of the Sea is probably the most comprehensive document ever adopted by the international community, but it is not comprehensive enough.

(1,225 words)



File



Dalhousie University

International Ocean  
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta

COPY

10 March 1993

Mr. Clyde Sanger  
299 First Avenue  
Ottawa, Ont. K1S 2G7

Dear Clyde,

Thanks for your letter, the transcript, and the journal.

The Interview really came out rather nicely -- actually, much better than a 7-hour interview I did recently for the German television, and which is now coming out as a book. I find it terribly boring... My thanks to Cindy. She really did a good job!

There are a few minor errors in the typescript; I don't know whether you care to correct them; for the archives it really does not make that much difference.

In any case: Here they are:

Introduction, p.1., last para. first line: cancel "the" before "some".

p.5 CW2, second line: should read "affect" not "effect".

p. 10, nine lines from the bottom: "We based our whole world council" rather than "worked out". Three lines from bottom: cancel "this" before "the".

p. 17, three lines from bottom: should read ..."to a certain degree of optimism" (rather than "with")

p. 19, EB, line 7: cancel "electronically" replace with "automatically".

p. 23, EB, line 4, cancel "principals", replace with "principles".

J.K. with the Review!

Please give

ALL MY LOVE

to Ruth Gordon!

p. 27, EB, 8 lines from the bottom:, insert "we" after "too".

p. 30, EB4, line 1: insert "we" before "were talking"; line 3, cancel "fourth", replace with "fortieth" [this is important!]

p. 31,, sixth line from top, cancel "all", replace with "one"

p. 33, EB, line 1, last word should read "come" rather than "comes".

p. 34, fifth line from top, cancel "mission", replace with "Commission" [this is important!]

p. 36, EB2, line 1, cancel "You parallel", replace with "'parallel'" [put "parallel" between quotes] EB3, line 4, should read, "And in the first working session in Caracas"; line 6, first word should read "Caracas".

p. 38, seventh line from top: Cancel "influenced", replace with "had".

p. 39, sixth line from bottom should read, "the new form of international cooperation" [cancel the "s"

p. 49, fourth line from top, should read "seabed exploration", [cancel "s"].

p. 50, EB, second line, last word should be "its", not "it's".

p. 53, second-to-last line, first word should be "hear", not "here".

That's it!

Thanks again. My love to both of you,

Yours as ever,

Ehrlich



RECEIVED MAR 9 1993

Professor Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
The Pearson Institute  
1321 Edward Street  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3H5

3 March 1993

Dear Elisabeth:

Cindy Weeks, who can be quite modest, said that I - rather than she - should send on to you this copy of the transcript of the taped interview which she did with you in January. I am happy about that, because it gives me an opportunity to say what an enthralling document it is. I knew it would be very interesting, but it exceeded even my expectations. It shows both what a good interviewer she is and, of course, what a wonderful subject you are.

I want to use part of it for the next issue of our Review magazine. I am enclosing a copy of a recent issue, to show what we did with another transcribed interview, with Chris Bryant. I will send you a copy of the section we would like to use this way. I hope you do not object - I'm sure you won't.

The one thing Cindy failed to get was a good photograph: her flash must have been set at too low a strength (I did that the other week, too.) So could I ask you to send a photograph which we might use in Review? Thank you very much.

Penny was extremely interested in reading the transcript, also. And you wouldn't mind our sharing it with Ruth Gordon, would you? Her eyes have not been so good lately, but I know she would be delighted to see it.

With all best wishes,

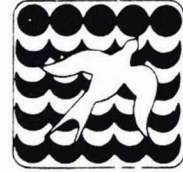
Yours sincerely,

Clyde Sanger  
Director of Communications



Dalhousie University

International Ocean  
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta

13 February 1993

COPY

Ms Cindy Weeks  
102-25 Goulburn Ave.  
Ottawa, ont.

Dear Cindy,

Thanks for your fax. It was nice meeting you.

I am just back from Africa. It was a very interesting trip.

Now, here are the names:

Edward Teller, Enrico Fermi, <sup>Leo</sup>~~Eugene~~ Szilard, who developed the bomb.

Lord Fenner Brockway, People's Congress against Imperialism

Hewlett Johnston, Dean of Canterbury during the '40s (I am not 100 percent sure about his spelling -- it might be Johnson -- you can look it up anywhere)

Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore

Arlecchino, dog

Dr. Michael Mccgwire (it is a weird spelling!), Dalhousie/  
Brookings Institution

Dr. Anton Vratusa, Yugoslavia.

PrepCom. is o.k. The full name is Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

Warm regards,

*Edwards*

RECEIVED FEB 9 1993

102-25 Goulburn Ave.  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1N 8C7  
Fax (613) 236-9252

\*\*\*\*\*  
To: Ms. Mann Borgese  
Chairman  
IOI, Halifax  
fax: 902-494-2034

DATE: FEBRUARY 2 1993

Dear Ms. Mann Borgese,

Thank you again for providing me with the great interview transcript. I have just finished transcribing the tapes from the interview and I have thoroughly enjoyed spending the time listening to you talk about your life and your work.

In the course of transcribing, I have come across a few names and terms that I am not familiar with. I would appreciate it if you would fax me back the correct spellings as soon as you have a chance.

Teller, Ferme and Sillar - who developed the bomb

Lord Fenebrockway

Hewlett Johnston

Ambassador Jagota from India

Ambassador Coe of Singapore

Alechino

Dr. Michael McGuire

Dr. M/Vartusha of Yugoslavia

PrepCom

Regards,



1/8



Dalhousie University

International Ocean  
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta

**FAXED**

**TELEFAX MESSAGE**

**DATE: January 6, 1993**

**TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 8**

**TO: Cindy Weeks  
North-South Institute  
Ottawa**

**FROM: Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Chairman  
IOI, Halifax**

**OFFICE PHONE:**

**OFFICE PHONE: (902)494-1737**

**FAX NUMBER: (613) 236-9252**

**FAX NUMBER: (902)494-2034**

**IF TOTAL FAX MESSAGE IS NOT RECEIVED, PLEASE NOTIFY THIS OFFICE.**

\*\*\*\*\*

Dear Cindy,

Here is the copy of Elisabeth's C.V. and bibliography that you had asked for. I am looking forward to meeting you on the 22nd.

Yours truly,

Jane Carlisle

Enclosure

ELISABETH MANN BORGESSE

Born: April 24, 1918  
Married: (G.B. Borgese, now deceased) 1939  
B.A.: Classical Studies, Fries Gymnasium, Zurich, 1935  
Diploma: Conservatory of Music, Zurich, 1936  
PhD: Honoris Causa, Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Canada, 1986

- 1945 Co-founder, "The Committee to Frame a World Constitution"
- 1948-52 Editor, "Common Cause" (U. of Chicago Press)
- 1952 Editor, Ford Foundation's Intercultural Publications Inc.  
Editor, (English) "Diogenes", UNESCO  
Editor, (Italian) "Perspectives USA", Intercultural Pub. Inc.
- 1964 Executive Secretary, Board of Editors, Encyclopedia Britannica  
Fellow, Center for Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara
- 1970 Founding (and only woman) member of the Club of Rome
- 1972 Initiated the International Ocean Institute
- 1976 Austrian Delegation, 3rd UN Conference of the Law of the Sea  
Member, Board of Directors of RIO Foundation
- 1978 Senior Killam Fellow, Dalhousie University
- 1980 Initiated publication of the Ocean Yearbook series  
Professor of Political Science, Dalhousie University
- 1983-85 Participant, Austrian Delegation, Preparatory Commission for International Seabed Authority and International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea
- 1984 Member, Group of Experts of Commonwealth Secretariat on the Security of Small States
- 1985 Associate Director, Lester Pearson Institute for International Development
- 1986 Chairman, International Centre for Ocean Development (ICOD)  
Participant (individual) Preparatory Commission

TODAY

Chair	Planning Council, International Ocean Institute
Member	UN Preparatory Commission for Law of the Sea
Member	Club of Rome
Professor	Political Science, Dalhousie University

Co-editor Ocean Yearbook

HONOURS AND AWARDS

Elected Member, World Academy of Arts and Sciences (1983)  
Medal of Merit (Grosses Verdienst Kreuz), Government of Austria (1983)  
First Marjory Smart Fellow, University of Melbourne (1984)  
Associate Fellow, Third World Academy of Science (1986)  
Sasakawa International Prize (1987)  
Order of Canada (1988)

BOOKS

To Whom It May Concern, 1962; Ascent of Woman, 1963; The Language Barrier, 1965; The Ocean Regime, 1968; The Drama of the Oceans, 1976; Seafarm: The Story of Aquaculture, 1980; The Mines of Neptune, 1985; The Future of the Oceans: A Report to the Club of Rome, 1985.

Publications

A. Books and Monographs, author

Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Establishment of a World Space Organisation. Ottawa: Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, 1987.

The International Venture. Colombian Working Paper. United Nations Document LOS/PCN/SCN.2/WP. 14 and 14 Add. 1, 18 March 1987.

Report on the Possibility of Establishing a Mediterranean Centre for Research and Development in Marine Industrial Technology. Vienna: UNIDO, 1987.

The Future of the Oceans. A Report to the Club of Rome. With a Preface by Alexander King. Montreal: Harvest House, 1986. Numerous translations.

The Mines of Neptune. Metals and Minerals from the Oceans. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd., New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1985.

Seafarm: the Story of Aquaculture. New York: Harry Abrams, 1981.

Marine Industrial Technology and Developing Countries. Vienna: UNIDO, 1984.

The Law of the Sea: Its Potential for Generating International Revenue. A study for the World Bank, 1981.

The Enterprises. IOI Occasional Paper No. 6, Malta, 1978.

The New International Economic Order and the Law of the Sea. Malta: International Ocean Institute, 1977. With Arvid Pardo.

The Drama of the Oceans. New York: Harry Abrams Inc., 1976. Book of the Month. Numerous translations.



The Ocean Regime. Santa Barbara, Ca.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1968.

The Language Barrier. A study in animal communication. New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1966.

Ascent of Woman. New York: Braziller, 1962.

To Whom it May Concern. A collection of short stories. New York: George Braziller, 1960.

B. Books and Monographs, edited, with introductions

Ocean Yearbook, Vols. I-VI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978 - .

Pacem in Terris. The 1986 Killam Lectures. Introduction by EMB. Halifax: Pearson Institute, 1987.

Ocean Mining and Developing Countries. A study for UNIDO, 1982.

The Common Heritage, a Collection of Arvid Pardo's speeches to the United Nations. Malta: International Ocean Institute, 1975.

The Challenge of Self-Management, Santa Barbara, Ca.: ABC Clio Publications, 1975 (Co-editor, with Ishak Adizes).

The Tides of Change. New York: Mason & Charter, 1975. Co-editor, with David Krieger, and contributor.

Pacem in Maribus. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972. Pacem in Maribus I anthology.

Seabed Mining: Scientific, Economic, Political Aspects. An Interdisciplinary Manual. IOI Occasional Paper No. 7. Malta, 1980.

Gli Americani e il Risorgimento Italiano. Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1958.

C. Plays

Only the Pyre. tragic farce. Milano: Bompiani, 1961.  
Set to music by Franco Mannino. First performance:  
Agrigento, Pirandello Festival, October 1987.

Eat Your Fishballs, Tarquin. First performance: Santa  
Barbara, 1965.

Pieces and Pawns. Unpublished

D. Book Chapters and Articles

Elisabeth Mann Borgese has written extensively on a wide range of subjects. During the last twenty years, most of her writing has been for the public debate on the law of the sea and world development issues. Only the more substantial items have been included in this list.

Lead Article of Special Issue on the Law of the Sea, San Diego Law Review, November, 1987.

Guide Lines for Training, paper written for the Group of Experts, Second Special Commission of the L.o.S. Preparatory Commission. United Nations, August, 1987

"The U.N. Convention," Proceedings of Pacem in Maribus XIII, 1985.

"The Sea and the Dreams of Man," in Managing the Oceans: Resources, Research, Law, Jacques G. Richardson, Ed. Mt. Airy, Maryland: Lomond Publications Inc., 1985.

"What can developing countries gain from the UNCLOS?" UNCTAD Trade and Development Review, 1986.

JEFERAD (Joint Enterprise for Exploration, Research and Development) U.N. Doc., reprinted in Ocean Yearbook, Vol.V.

"The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and the Seabed Disarmament Treaty," in The Nuclear Ocean, Rod Byers, Ed., 1985.

"Managing the Oceans: the next steps for Canada," in Canada and the World, a Response to the Green Paper on foreign policy by members of the Group of 78. 1985.

The Law of the Sea," Scientific American, March, 1983.

"The Law of the Sea: the Next Phase," Third World Quarterly, October, 1982.

"Law of the Sea." International Perspectives, Ottawa, Spring 1985.

"The Preparatory Commission." Marine Policy Report. University of Delaware: March, 1984.

"The Law of the Sea," Bulletin, United Nations Association, Canada, September 1982.

"Training Programme for the Management and Conservation of Marine Resources," Chapter 6 in Six International Development Projects. Ian McAllister, Ed. Dalhousie Studies in International Development. Centre for Development Projects, 1982.

"The IOI Training Programme: A Case Study". UNESCO/IOC/UNU Proceedings, 1983.

"Die Seewirtschaft." Chapter on Aquaculture in Vitzthum, Die Plünderung der Meere. Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1982.

"Ocean Management and the Law of the Sea." Chapter in Ritchie Calder, The Future of a Troubled World. London: Heineman, 1983.

"Oceans the Common Heritage of Mankind," Journal of the Society for International Development, 1983:2

"The Oceans as the Common Heritage of Mankind," (with Arvid Pardo) in Through the 'Eighties, Frank Feather, Ed. Washington, World Future Society, 1980.

"Marine Resources, Ocean Management, and the Law of the Sea," in The Brandt Commission Papers, IBIDI, 1978-79.

"The Oceans as the Common Heritage of Mankind," in Through the Eighties. World Future Society, 1980.

"Expanding the Common Heritage," in Dolman, Global Planning and Resource Management. New York: Pergamon Policy Studies, 1980.

"Marine Resources, Ocean Management and International Development Strategy," with Arvid Pardo, in IFDA Dossier, N. 13, 1979.

"The Role of the International Seabed Authority in the 1980s," San Diego Law Review, Vol. 18, No.3, 1981.

"A Constitution for the Oceans: Comments and Suggestions Regarding Part XI of the Informal Composite Negotiating Text," San Diego Law Review, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1978.

"The New International Economic Order and the Law of the Sea," San Diego Law Review, Vol. 14, No.3, 1977.

"Ocean Management," with Arvid Pardo. In Tinbergen: RIO Report, 1975.

"Boom, Doom, and Gloom over the Oceans: The Economic Zone, the Developing Nations, and the Conference on the Law of the Sea," San Diego Law Review, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1974.

"Pacem in Maribus III," in Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce, 1973.

"A Constitution for the Oceans," in Logue, The Fate of the Oceans, 1972.

"Towards an International Ocean Regime," Texas International Law Forum, 1969.

"Pacem in Maribus," Oregon Law Review, 1971.

Regular contributions to Ocean Yearbook, University of

Chicago Press, 1978-.

Book reviews for Third World Quarterly.

Many essays on international affairs and law of the sea in Center Magazine, Santa Barbara, California, 1964-74.

Many essays, review articles, book reviews in Common Cause, University of Chicago Press, 1948-52.

Many articles on international affairs in The Nation, 1953-63.

Short stories in New Directions, Partisan Review, Vogue, Science Fiction, Il Ponte, 1955-65.



**THE NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTE**  
**L'INSTITUT NORD-SUD**

RECEIVED NOV 30 1992

Dr Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Lester Pearson Institute  
Dalhousie University  
1321 Edward Street  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3H5

23 November 1992

Dear Elisabeth:

I hope your trip to Malta, and the Pacem in Maribus conference, went well. I wish I had been able to go, but unfortunately there was a clash of dates with my dear mother's 95th birthday, which was a command performance!

This is just a covering note to go with Cindy Weeks' letter, which she left with me just before leaving for six weeks in Guatemala. I hope very much you will be in Halifax at the time she intends to be there, because we really do want to get your views and a description of important events in ocean law development which you have played a leading part. Cindy has done an amount of work for our Institute, and always efficiently. She will certainly do her homework (I can help her in that) before she comes to Halifax.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Clyde Sanger  
Director of Communications



THE NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTE  
L'INSTITUT NORD-SUD

Cindy Weeks  
102-25 Goulburn Ave.  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1N 8C7  
tel: (613) 565-4452  
fax: (613) 236-9252

Dr. Elizabeth Mann-Borgese  
Lester Pearson Institute  
Dalhousie University  
1321 Edward St.  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 3H5

20 November 1992

Dear Dr. Mann-Borgese,

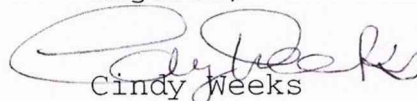
I am writing in connection with the Oral History Interview which Clyde Sanger discussed with you several months ago. I will be in Halifax at the end of January and Clyde has has me to do the interview with you.

I am a Communications Consultant who often does work for the North-South Institute. My background is as a producer and journalist with CBC Radio. I look forward to the opportunity to do an Oral History Interview with you.

*January/* I am going to be in Halifax in late January and I am hoping you will have time to do the interview then. The interviews usually take three to four hours, split into two sessions on different days. I arrive in Halifax on Friday, January 22 in the morning and I fly out on Monday, ~~October~~ 25 in the evening. I hope you will be able to take some time to do the interview on say Friday afternoon and sometime Sunday or Monday.

I will be travelling now until after Christmas, so I will contact you in January to confirm whether these dates will fit into your schedule.

Regards,

  
Cindy Weeks

***NORTH-SOUTH  
INSTITUTE***

***ORAL HISTORY  
SERIES***

**ELISABETH MANN BORGESSE  
January 1993**



## INTRODUCTION

Elisabeth Mann Borgese is 74 years old at the time of this interview in January, 1993. She speaks from her office at Dalhousie University where she continues to work as a Professor of Political Science. Borgese, the daughter of Nobel laureate Thomas Mann, has had a long and varied a career.

For the past 25 years she has dedicated herself to work on the Law of the Sea. She was a member of the Austrian delegation to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In 1972, Borgese initiated the International Ocean Institute. It is an international think-tank which does research and provides training in key aspects of ocean management for officials from developing countries from its operational centres in Malta and Dalhousie University.

The interview traces Borgese's life and work in a roughly chronological fashion. Tape 1, Side A, deals with her childhood in Munich, her families' exile to Switzerland, her marriage to Italian philosopher Giuseppe Antonio Borgese and their work on the Committee for a World Constitution. On Tape 1, Side B, Borgese discusses her second experience at moving into exile, the writing that helped her come to terms with herself as a woman and her experiments with animal communication.

On Tape 2, Side A, Borgese talks about how she came to see the Law of the Sea as an opportunity to put in practise her vision of a new world order. She discusses organizing the first Pacem in Maribus conference which led to the establishment up of the International Ocean Institute (IOI) in Malta. She talks about the work involved in getting the IOI on a firm footing as an international think-tank and training institute.

On Tape 2, Side B, Borgese deals with the IOI's contribution to UNCED, she traces her personal involvement in the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference and expresses her optimism that the Law of the Sea Convention will be ratified in the near future.

On Tape 3, Side A, Borgese discusses the some of her memories of the Law of the Sea Conference, her continuing work on the Preparatory Commission for the Law of the Sea and her views about the United Nations. She also deals with her work at Dalhousie University and how she came to the Chair the board of the International Centre for Ocean Development (ICOD) in Halifax.

Tape 3, Side B, deals with Borgese's involvement with ICOD and its demise. She talks about her books on different aspects of ocean development and her dedication to her work.

Tape 4, Side A, is a demonstration of Borgese teaching her dogs to play the piano at her home at Sambro Head on the coast of Nova Scotia.

**ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW  
WITH ELISABETH MANN BORGESE**

**\*\*\*Tape 1 Side A\*\*\***

**Cindy Weeks (CW):** It is January the 21st, 1993 and I am here at the Pearson Institute in Halifax and my name is Cindy Weeks. I'm interviewing Elisabeth Mann Borgese. Why don't we start off with childhood, with growing up in Munich. You were the daughter of Thomas Mann, famous author, Nobel laureate. Describe for me the milieu that you grew up in.

**Elisabeth Mann Borgese (EB):** Well, I wasn't all that conscious of the milieu in Munich because I was only 14 when we left and you know, at that early age you just take the milieu for granted. My father got the Nobel Prize in the year '29 when I was 11 years old and I realized that that was an important event. The house was always full of writers from Germany and other countries. But basically we were a very close family, six children and a big house, a big household. And it was by and large a fairly happy childhood I should say. Very normal, very average.

**CW:** What was it like being a girl in that milieu, as opposed to one of your brothers?

**EB:** That was a little bit of a sore point because I did want to be a boy and until rather late in my childhood I hoped I would still turn into a boy. I was very close to my younger brother and most of my childhood friends were indeed boys and I played boys' games.

**CW:** What were the differences at that point within your family? Why did you want to be a boy?

**EB:** Well, because I realized that boys were being taken more seriously. I had an interesting experience quite early on when a guest came to visit my family and my little brother and myself were presented to the guest. And we were always dressed alike. And my mother challenged the guest asking which one is the boy and which one is the girl. And the guest without any hesitation pointed to my little brother and said, "That is the boy. He looks more serious." So from then on whenever I was looked at I put on a very mournful and serious look and tried to be serious.

**CW:** Has that been important being taken seriously?

**EB:** Well, yes you like to be taken seriously. Also you like to have an equal chance. A little later when this episode took place I decided I wanted to be a musician and my parents reaction was, "You'll be second rate because all great musicians are men". And you don't like to be discriminated against by fate in this way. You want to have an equal chance.

**CW:** How did that affect your perspective on music hearing that from your parents, "Oh its a bad idea you know you'll only be second rate"?

**EB:** Well I think it made me more dogged which is the way I usually react to negative sentiments like that and I am afraid my parents were quite right I would have been a second rate musician. But not because I was a girl.

**CW:** Now your early years were spent in Munich but as you said you went to Switzerland when you were 14.

**EB:** Yes we went first for half a year to France and then to Switzerland and that was in '33 when Hitler came to power. I was at that time, just when it happened during the Reichstag's fire, with my parents vacationing in Switzerland. And my

parents got a phone call, an urgent phone call from my older brothers and sisters advising them that they could not return home because had they gone home then they could never have left again. And they would have been totally dependent on the Nazis. But I said, "Well that's none of my business. I want to go back to school." And my parents put me on a train and I went back to Munich and I went back to school. And I must say that gave me quite a considerable shock because the behaviour of my classmates and my teachers was just incredible. And I just couldn't understand that people could change from black to white, or white to black or whatever you want to call it. I mean to the very contrary of what they used to be in the span of three weeks. I was just totally baffled by this kind of behaviour. So, you know, they had teachers that had been extremely popular and that the girls, it was a girl's school that I went to, adored and had a crush on and now instead they would denounce them to the Nazi police because these teachers did not start class with the Hitler salute. Unbelievable you know. The teachers of German literature where we had to write themes, compositions you know which until I left three weeks earlier all had a pacifist hue, against the war. They were for democracy you know. And now all of a sudden they were for war and for beastliness. I just couldn't believe it how people could change that way. So that after three weeks I begged my parents to take me out again and I joined them in Switzerland which at that time was already quite difficult because the borders were already supervised, controlled by Nazi police and my older brother had to sort of smuggle me as a tourist over Lake Constance on the ship you know and it was all very exciting. But we made it safely to Switzerland.

**CW:** How did that affect your later view of human nature, of the way the world works?

**EB:** Well you know I was sort of brought up to believe that only the Germans could behave so horribly. And for a while I almost believed that. But a couple of years later when I was living in Switzerland I got very close to Italian exiles

too. And I noticed there was a kind of patriotism in reverse that the German exiles and the Italian exiles sort of competed in their discussions as to who was more horrible - the German people or the Italian fascist people. So I began to see that the Germans were not the only ones that were so bad. And I must say later on then when I was in the United States and McCarthyism broke out and the Vietnam war, I realized any people given a certain context, a certain institutional set up will behave like that. I mean that's the way they behave.

**CW:** Is that a sad thing, or is it just reality?

**EB:** I think it is just reality. There will be... I mean the people who when there are risks involved to their own wellbeing or their families or their careers, the people who will stick out their neck you can count them on your fingers. They are not many.

**CW:** In Zurich, is that where studied music?

**EB:** Yes. I had started studying music in Munich when I was seven years old but I took it up very seriously in Zurich at the Conservatory and obtained my Diploma and as a matter of fact that is my only formal higher education that I have. I have a B.A. in Classical Studies finishing the classical gymnasium in Zurich but after that the only formal degree is in Music.

**CW:** And did you pursue music?

**EB:** I pursued it up to the age of 21. I got my Diploma when I was 18 and pursued it very, very seriously but I always did have other interests. I was very committed politically and when I met my husband and married him I began to spend more and more time working with him. And although I kept practising piano to some extent I didn't really consider it as a profession any more.

**CW:** Do you still play?

**EB:** When I have time yes. I love to. I travel too much so its a little frustrating. You know you start practising a bit and then you are off again for three weeks and when you come back you sort of have to start over again. And it's a bit frustrating.

**CW:** You talked about being politically involved and committed. Did your father's views effect that in any way?

**EB:** Yes, of course, the whole atmosphere I breathed at home certainly had a major effect on that. And then the mere fact of exile and living among exiles other exiles reinforced that.

**CW:** Views of pacifism or what was the philosophy...?

**EB:** Well, already when I was 12 years old and we were still in Munich I was very much interested in the Pan-European movement. I was a member of the youth group of Pan-Europeans when I was 12. And that was perhaps my first interest, my first approach. But then when Hitler came to power and exile came on and we moved toward World War II, the idea was, "Well what can we do that these kind of things don't happen again? What have we to do about social order domestically? What have we to do about international relations to see to it that this shouldn't happen again?" So it came from a direct experience I would say.

**CW:** Now you mentioned your husband. Tell me about meeting him.

**EB:** Well my husband was an Italian exile and I first met him indirectly. That is through reading his books. In particular one which was a book about fascism. It was called, "Goliath: The March of Fascism" and gave a history of the roots of

fascism in Italy and what should be done to overcome it. And I was enormously impressed by that book and really decided that that was the man I was interested in. And arranged to meet him and my older sister helped me a bit in that.

**CW:** Arranged to meet him, how?

**EB:** Well actually he made it easy for us because he approached my father. He wanted to enlist my father's cooperation when we moved to Princeton in a project that he was interested in, a collective book urging American intervention in the war against fascism and trying to anticipate what kind of democratic hopes one should foster for after the war. And so I met him in my father's house and convinced him fairly quickly that he should marry me.

**CW:** Now there was a large difference in your ages.

**EB:** I was 20 and he was 56. 36 years my elder yes.

**CW:** And that didn't deter you?

**EB:** Not at all, not at all. No, at the time I obviously needed somebody to look up to, somebody from whom I could learn, somebody whom I would admire, who I would consider you know superior to me. I was not interested in boys my age at all.

**CW:** Because of their intellectual stature?

**EB:** Yes (laughter). No, they didn't have much to teach me.

**CW:** And you had a lot that you wanted to learn.



**EB:** Yah.

**CW:** Now I understand the marriage took place at Princeton. Tell me about it. I understand it was quite an event.

**EB:** It was a very nice event, yes. There were some very good friends of my husband and there were some very good friends of myself and my family. All very interesting people. My brother-in-law Wystan Auden, the poet came and he wrote a poem for the occasion which he read at dinner which was very sweet and very nice. It was a small wedding not the way that people are getting married today where you have a hundred people, two hundred people. I think we had 20 people or so at dinner or even less maybe even, 15 or so. But it was a very nice and informal and intimate, friendly wedding.

**CW:** Now tell me a little about Giuseppe Antonio Borgese? Borgese (BOR-GAY-SEE) is it?

**EB:** It is Borgese (BOR-JAY-SEE) actually.

**CW:** Tell me about him.

**EB:** Well he was an extremely interesting and impressive personality. Very intensive looking, he was Sicilian. Very dark, he could have been an Arab by his looks. As a matter of fact my younger daughter who looks very much like him, has very often been taken for an Arabic child. So she could have been easily. He was a kind of a renaissance, universal mind. He had written novels which were quite good. He had written literary criticism, had established himself as Italy's foremost literary critic. And he had been engaged very much in political science - from Machiavelli to contemporary events. He was a Dante scholar and to listen to him when he explained to his students at the university the Divina

Commedia was really something I will never forget. An extremely strong and overpowering personality. Not easy to live with but you know when you want great people around you, you have to pay a certain price. They are not easy to live with on the whole. We were married until he died. That was 14 years so the kids were quite small still when he died.

**CW:** Did the children come along right away?

**EB:** The one came the next year and one came three and a half years later.

**CW:** What was it like for you, obviously a person of intelligence and drive, at that point being married and having children. . . and married to this very strong person?

**EB:** Well, as I say it was not easy. But I very much enjoyed working with him. When I was in the hospital with my first baby the 10 days I was confined there, because at that time it took 10 days, I took to learn English shorthand. And I did office work. I worked as his assistant and his secretary. And when I went to the hospital with the second child I learned Italian shorthand.

**CW:** That quickly?

**EB:** It was a good way of spending the time in the hospital. And certainly he had very, very major influence on my thinking and the development of my thinking. I was still very young. I should say he had at least as much importance as my father.

**CW:** Now, you worked together as co-founders of the Committee for a World Constitution.

**EB:** That is correct.

**CW:** Tell me about that.

**EB:** Well, that was his idea. He was very much struck when the Americans dropped their bomb on Hiroshima. Everybody in Chicago was. We were at the University of Chicago at the time of course. And Chicago had played a very major role in developing the bomb. There was Fermi. There was Szilard. There was Teller. They were all at the University of Chicago at the time. And so my husband suggested to Chancellor Hutchins that it would be suitable indeed if the that university as he put it, "put asunder the atom" should play a leading role in putting to together the world again. And it seemed quite clear to him at the time that the United Nations such as it was being constructed at the time '45, '46 could not do the job. That we needed something with much more power than the United Nations which after all was just a continuation of the victorious alliance that had won the war. That wasn't the right thing. And Hutchins was very much convinced by these arguments. So they put together this committee which consisted mostly of professors from the University of Chicago - or maybe half of them - and the other half came from other universities. There was even one Canadian. And there was one Frenchman who lived in New York. It was a very, very interesting first rate group - very interdisciplinary. And we worked three years, '46, '47, '48 to develop this blueprint - the preliminary draft of a world constitution. Now this was one of the earliest developments which later on one would have called World Order Studies. But they thought and we thought that you can focus your study better if you actually focus it on a draft convention so to speak. Otherwise the talk always remains pretty generic. They met every two months or so for several days. It was very intensive work. Lots of background papers were developed. I wrote, myself, quite a few of those. That was part of my school really. And many of the issues that matured later on as I was working on the Law of the Sea were already developed in that draft constitution. That I think

has remained a very, very worthwhile undertaking. There was at the time a strong World Federalist Movement in the United States and also in Western Europe. Most of the members were what we called minimalists, that is they thought "If only we could get rid of the atom bomb and control that, the rest of the world can stay pretty much the way it is." It seemed to us that that was not tenable - that you could not have peace unless you had international social justice. We worked very closely with the anti-colonialist movement at the time. There was the, what was it called? The People's Congress Against Colonialism in England, it was Fenner Brockway, Lord Fenner Brockway later, and we worked very closely with them. And so we said without an end to colonialism there can never any world government, there can be never any peace. With poverty there can never be any peace. And also at that time realized you could not have an international economic order, that term did not exist at the time but that is what we meant, on the basis of the present system of ownership. And we advocated therefore already at that time that what we called the 'elements of life' and we took that term from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson. We advocated at that time that the elements of life namely water, the atmosphere, energy and minerals should be common heritage of mankind. So not only the oceans but these other elements of life as well. So the convention that we came up with, the draft convention was quite advanced in these ways. We also stressed, already at that time, the very great fundamental importance of regional development and regional cooperation. We <sup>based</sup> ~~worked out~~ our whole world council on regions, not directly on states. So it was quite an interesting undertaking. It was at the time extremely successful. It was translated into I don't know how many languages. I think 50 or so. And it was distributed all over the world and millions of copies. But that was the heyday of federalism which soon thereafter began its decent. When the Korean war broke out the whole thing just fell apart. And 20 years later Chancellor Hutchins who in the meantime had founded ~~this~~ the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions looked me up in Italy - my husband had died in the meantime - and said I should come back. I should come

to Santa Barbara now and pick up where we left off in Chicago. Have another look at this whole constitution and see what we could do with it today. And I did go back and look at it. And I said, 'Look we are not any closer today to this excellent - to the implementation of this excellent document than we were 20 years ago. But what is happening today is the oceans and we can try apply what we tried to do with this constitution, we could try to apply it to the Law of the Sea. And there we have a political arena where we can really act. And that is what he let me do and that is how I started.

**CW:** I am going to leave that for a little later and sort of stay in the time period and pick up on that a little later on. Within the World Federalist Movement you said you wrote some of the papers and came up with some of the ideas. Were you given the same recognition as your husband and the other members?

**EB:** Well at that time actually I wasn't bothered by being a woman. No I wasn't. I mean I was young and I considered myself very much a junior. My goodness, I was in my early 20's and these were very mature and first rate personalities. So that I was treated as a junior I found only fair. But they certainly read my papers and I think I was treated fairly.

**\*\*\*Tape 1, Side B\*\*\***

**CW:** Now you've mentioned before McCarthyism and having to leave the United States in 1952. Tell me a little bit more about that, about having to leave for the second time.

**EB:** Yah, it was rather an unpleasant experience. It was unpleasant for my family, my parents, my father had great difficulties and he used to have an annual lecture at the Library of Congress. It was cancelled because he was too controversial. Peace, at the time, was a dirty word really you know. If you were in favour of peace you were a communist. My husband was in disfavour. A lot of colleagues at a lot of universities lost their jobs, were being denounced by their colleagues. You know this kind of thing. Just like in Germany. We were very fortunate at the University of Chicago because Mr. Hutchins really stood up for his faculty. He wouldn't fire anybody. He would not permit any such thing. But one could not - my husband could not publish his articles anywhere. And many of his colleagues were in the same position. So that we were just - first my parents left. We left in '52. It, of course at the time, was not only a move away from something but my husband was anxious to get back to Italy where of course fascism had to come to an end. And they wanted him back. And he was very anxious to go back. So he had something to go back to. Unfortunately he could not enjoy it very much because after three months in Italy he died which, however, may have been for him a blessing in disguise. Because it is very difficult to come back after 20 years of exile. And whereas he was having a honeymoon with Italy. He was being celebrated, you know. That would not have lasted and he would have run into a lot of unhappiness politically I think had he lived and remained in Italy - as many of his colleagues who came back from exile did.

**CW:** What about for you? I mean you had two young daughters, you'd been

living for 14 years in the United States. I assume, quite comfortable in Chicago. What was it like for you to uproot and go to Italy?

**EB:** I was very unhappy about leaving Chicago - very unhappy. And of course the kids didn't want to leave. They liked their school. They were totally American. So I was not happy at all to leave. But once - I am always unhappy when I have to leave because usually I, you know, feel at home where I am and I make friends and feel at home and then have to change. I never liked it. I didn't like to leave Europe in '38. I didn't like to leave Germany in '33 and I certainly did not like to leave Chicago in '52. But once I was over there and beautiful house and lots of new friends and some old friends, my parents nearby in Switzerland. So you know. As matter of fact after my husband died I did go back to Chicago for a few months. But really only to wind up affairs because I sort of did not feel I wanted to be back in Chicago without him. And I did move back to Italy. I bought the house that we had intended to buy when he was still alive and was fortunate with work. I worked with Intercultural Publications at the time which was a part of the Ford Foundation, was financed by the Ford Foundation. And so I could make a living and get the kids through school and all of that. And I stayed in Italy until Mr. Hutchins picked me up again.

**CW:** Now during this time you did a lot of writing.

**EB:** Yes, I started writing fiction at that time. I started writing short stories first and then plays. And then the book on women on which I had worked for many, many years. I really started working on that when I was 20 and finished it finally when I was in my 40's.

**CW:** Your first work was more literary as opposed to the *Ascent of Women* which . . .

**EB:** . . .Is more of an essay. It's a study. I don't know how to categorize it because it goes into so many fields from sociology to biology to linguistics to what not. It was a very ambitious undertaking. I wouldn't dare to do it today.

**CW:** Why did it take you 20 years to write this book?

**EB:** Well, first of all, I suppose, because I had to come to grips with the problem. And I found it very difficult to come to grips with the problem. And secondly because I wanted to do - I mean I read and read and read and read. Now of course the two things are connected. If you know perfectly well what you want to do you don't have to read too much. But if you are not sure what you want to do then you keep on reading.

**CW:** What was the problem - what was the problem that you were trying to come to grips with?

**EB:** Whether it was true that, as my parents had taught me, that women are second rate. And if so, why?

**CW:** And your conclusion in the book was that it was obviously that it was not true.

**EB:** That was my conclusion yes that it was not true.

**CW:** But it took 20 years of struggle to come to that conclusion.

**EB:** Yah.

**CW:** What was involved in the process of writing the book and convincing yourself?



**EB:** Well, I mean I read so much about the subject - so much that didn't convince me that I thought that one had to come up with a theory, with a thesis. And that was not easy. The thesis that I came up with was that as in other species, as well, in the human species the position of women is very much socially conditioned. That certain social circumstances are more conducive to the success of women. Even to the dominance of women. And other circumstances are not conducive. And I found that the more a society glorifies individualism the less fortunate women are. And the more a society has social values - not to say socialist values because that is part of it, it is not the only form but it is a very important form, the better it is for women. That is that women flourish more in more socially oriented societies than they do in an individualistic society.

**CW:** Does that theory still hold true for you?

**EB:** Well, I think it basically remains true. Yes. It basically is true. Women are more social than men. There is no question about that.

**CW:** Now it was a ground breaking book for it's time. I mean you were talking about in the early 1960's things like in vitro fertilization - things that were just - I mean the research was beginning but it was definitely not in the popular mind.

**EB:** No.

**CW:** How was the book received?

**EB:** It was a first page review in the New York Tribune together with another book that became a best seller. I forget which feminist it was. Our two books were reviewed together on an equal basis. So it did cause some - but people hated the last chapter - 'My Own Utopia'. They didn't like that at all. That was shocking.

**CW:** Tell me about that because I read the book and I read that with interest. Tell me a little bit about your views and whether you still. . .

**EB:** Well, it was a utopia obviously. It was a social utopia. But it was a utopia that was not all that utopian. In a way it harks back to my earliest impressions which were rebellion against the injustice of a second rate citizen. And I thought wouldn't it be fairer, or wouldn't it perhaps be the only way of solving the problem if instead of considering sex as a, how shall I say it, a caste, one considered it as a phase. And that everybody should go through that phase. And if you looked at the social surroundings and the social atmosphere today you might really come to the conclusion today that there are four phases in a person's life. One is childhood when everybody is the same. It's asexual. Then comes a phase of home building, family building and during that phase everybody might be a woman. And then there comes a phase and that is over. And one might devote oneself altogether to intellectual work, to professional work. And everybody might do that and everybody might be a man at that time. And it would always be the younger one who would marry the older one, which of course I was pointing to my own personal experience. Then after that comes a phase where everyone is old and everybody is the same again - asexual. And if everybody would have that kind of opportunity to go through all these phases, it would be a richer life for everybody. And you know there are plenty of precedents, indications of that. There is for instance, the Greek prophet Tiresias who had the experience of being both a man and a woman. And I pointed out that that is a much richer life if you can have both experiences. So that was my own utopia. I mean I built it up gradually. But people were deeply shocked by it.

**CW:** In what way were they shocked?

**EB:** They said it was horrible. It's not human.

**CW:** Is it still a utopia that you would. . .

**EB:** Well, I think in a way this is what is happening in any case because I mean women after they are through, the children are out of the house, either they become very frustrated, as they every often do, or they go out into the man's world and act like men. In a way it's not so unreal. I mean you know the change may just be social or it may be biological. That is in a way not all that important.

**CW:** You open and close that book with the quote "Pessimism is the result of incomplete knowledge or of too short a view. Any general or long run pessimism is contradicted by the facts of evolution and progress in the past."

**EB:** Right.

**CW:** Why is that such an important quote? It open and closes that book which you say sums up 20 years of your life.

**EB:** Well, I suppose that it condemned my own early pessimism about being considered not having the chance of being first rate. So you see, that is a very short term view. A very uninformed view.

**CW:** Does it also permeate into your other work as well?

**EB:** Yes, very much so. Very much so. I mean I feel this statement is biologically correct of course. But I find it - I find optimism and I have said that many times and in many places - I find optimism a moral duty. Because if you do not force yourself to a certain degree ~~with~~ optimism, you cannot act. If you don't believe that things might get better and what you do might make a difference, then you don't do anything.

**CW:** And it is important to act.

**EB:** Indeed, it is because if we don't who are we to blame if the world to hell in a bucket. I mean we all have our responsibilities. If we don't act we have not right to condemn others or even to criticize.

**CW:** I want to turn now to your next book and your next experiments. From feminism we move to communication with animals. What got you interested in teaching your dogs to read and write?

**EB:** Well, in a way of course that is just a hobby and the animals enjoy it and I enjoy it and I love animals. But it does indeed have some kind of more philosophical basis in my whole world view let's say. Because we all know that biologically there is a continuity between the animal kingdom and the human species. In the west, we have not gone beyond that and we consider ourselves the Lords of nature and the superiors of animals. And I think that that philosophy has done a lot of damage to the world and many of the environmental problems that we have to live with today might not have occurred had our view of nature and of the animal kingdom been a different one. I have always been fascinated by the idea that there is this physical continuity. Then in all likelihood there is also an intellectual and a spiritual continuity. And it was from that angle that I got interested in communication because communication is really is the key to understanding that continuity. If we can not communicate we do not understand. Remember until last century deaf-mutes were considered as totally inferior and as morons. And they were kept in cages and exhibited at country fairs. It's because we could not communicate with them. As soon as that barrier was broken we realized that deaf-mutes are human beings just like we are. So if we could communicate more effectively with animals we would understand a lot more. Because today we understand very little.

**CW:** How far have you succeeded in going in bridging the communication gap?

**EB:** Not very far. The typing experiment was very interesting but the typing they produced was mechanical and I mean they could learn to distinguish between letters, yes. Any animal can learn to distinguish between geometric forms and letters are nothing but geometric forms. They can learn to associate a sound with a geometric form. So if I pronounce a letter they can identify a letter. That they can do. But that has no meaning. They can also learn sequences. A dog can learn to type a word with his nose the way we can ~~electronically~~ do it with our fingers without thinking. There was only one case that I knew that the dog realized what he was typing. And that was the word 'car' because my best typist dog loved to ride in the car. And at the end of the lesson I would always give him a car ride. And so I asked him, "Arlecchino what do you want to do, where do you want to go?" And he would always type car and he would get so excited about it that he stammered on the typewriter and he would type c-c-c-car. He knew exactly what that meant. But that was the only sign that he knew. Music is another thing because music is more self-rewarding I think. And well, there are musical dogs and there are less musical dogs. And that is quite interesting. But then other more qualified experts than I am have done very much more promising experiments with other animals, particularly with chimps. And I think that today practically every year there is an interesting new discovery in the way that animals communicate among themselves. And that we can learn to understand that. So it is a field that has a great future I think and that is very important.

*automatically*

**CW:** What made you decide to move from the typewriter trying words and verbal symbolism and shall we say musical symbolism?

**EB:** Because I thought it was more self-rewarding. I mean, I realized that to type a series of letters that wouldn't mean anything to them. And I thought that music might mean more. And I think it does. They have very outspoken tastes and

likes and dislikes when you train them in music. It's very, very amusing. Well my best musician dog, for instance does not like to repeat notes. He thinks that is wasteful. He holds the note as long as he figures it should last. But he will not play the note three times. He will hold the note three times as long. He thinks it's a waste. When I taught him one piece, it's a little piece by Mozart, and it ended up on the tonic - on the C and then it had a bum, bum, bum. He found that was wasteful. He thought when he reached the C, then the piece was finished. And it took me a lot of convincing that he should add on that other E and then go back to the C when he thought the piece was finished.

**CW:** How did you go about teaching, I know with the typewriter you used large cups to press on the electric typewriter. With the piano how did they?

**EB:** Well he has a special dog piano with large keys which he can hit with the nose. And first I teach him to produce a sound - to hit the key. And that takes quite long. It is quite difficult to teach. Sometimes it takes weeks until he gets it. And then we teach him to produce the sound that he hears that I sing. And dogs have a very good sense of pitch. Pavlov has already established that. Pavlov has established that they have absolute pitch. I have not established that but Pavlov has. But they certainly do have a good sense of pitch. And then I train them to play a sequence of two notes. And once they have understood that, then they can build on that. And they have an excellent sense of rhythm. They can do any rhythm that you do for them. They can do punctuated notes, whatnot. And you can build on that and you can teach them little pieces. What can they play? Well, my best dog now he can play two pieces by Mozart. He can play one piece by Bach. He can play several of the children's pieces by Bela Bartok. He can play the rococo theme - Tchaikovsky, the rococo variations. What else can he play. I think that that is probably about it.

**CW:** Does he choose which piece he'd like to play?

**EB:** No, no, no. I sort of have to conduct and direct it.

**CW:** By giving him notes and prompting.

**EB:** Yah and I sort of - I help him. But he surely learns he pieces and he likes to learn new pieces.

**CW:** And he enjoys playing?

**EB:** He enjoys playing.

**CW:** How do you know he enjoys it?

**EB:** Because when I call him for his piano lesson, he is always very eager.

**CW:** You do a piano lesson still every day?

**EB:** When I am at home, yes. I am now training a second one to do the left and trying to teach them to play together. And that can be done. We have already reached that understanding that that can be done. We are not yet very advanced but it's coming along.

**CW:** And what is the piece you are working on with two hands?

**EB:** The same. I teach the less musical dog to do the left hand to the pieces that he does the right hand.

**CW:** Is it rewarding?

**EB:** It's great fun.

**CW:** And I understand you have quite a number of dogs.

**EB:** I have seven yes.

**CW:** And they keep you company.

**EB:** Oh yes, very much so.

**CW:** What is the difference between dogs as companions as to humans?

**EB:** There is a difference. I don't belittle the humans.

**CW:** Just as you would not belittle the dogs.

**EB:** Right.

**CW:** How does it fit in, and maybe it doesn't, how does it fit in with your more political, more technical work?

**EB:** As I say I think it is all based fundamentally on the same, on the same Weltanschauung. All the work on the environment, on trying to find less hierarchical more horizontally structured forms of social organization to find more continuity between nature and human beings, to find more cooperation less competition, less struggle more cooperation. I mean that is all based on basically the same philosophy.



\*\*\*Tape 2, Side A\*\*\*

CW: It is January the 22nd, 1993. I am Cindy Weeks and this is part two of an Oral History Interview with Elisabeth Mann Borgese at the Pearson Institute in Halifax. Now to resume here, yesterday you mentioned your work on the seas grew out of your earlier work on the world constitution. Tell me a little bit about that evolution from a framework for the world to a framework for the oceans.

EB: Well, we were, of course, very early in developing certain concepts at the University of Chicago within the Committee to Frame a World Constitution. I think that although they were premature and they were utopian, they were very sound principals and they were principals, I think which later on gained a broad acceptance. I mean the whole idea of a new international economic order was already explicit in our work at that time. The end of colonialism was explicit in our work at that time. And the idea that you could not have a world order without developments of that kind. And on the other hand also the recognition that you simply could not build a new international economic order that was more equitable on the present ownership - property relationships. You didn't have to be a socialist for that. You didn't have to be a communist for that but it was quite clear that the present system would continue to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, that the present system was not set up to promote equity. So I mean, we based our thinking at that time on very moderate precedents like the Archbishop and the Dean of Canterbury. I mean they were not red necks. We based ourselves on Christian tradition and whatnot. But something very fundamental had to change in this social order and the national order if wanted to make any headway. So that was our feeling at that time. Now as I say it was utopian at the time. Nor did the world seem to be moving at all in that direction over the next few decades. But when the Law of the Sea became an issue in the late '60s my thought was, "now look here is some virgin land - not land but terrain" whatever. Here is flexibility. Here there are not yet such deep vested

interests as we have them on the continents. Why not try and work on our ideas and try out our ideas in this new frontier area?" And I always looked at the Law of the Sea as an experiment that would feed back later on, on world order in general. I always looked at the oceans as a great laboratory for the making of a new world order that was the slogan, so to speak, that I kept using. And I must say I haven't changed my mind on this at all. I think it really has turned out to be that. And the Convention on the Law of the Sea which is not a perfect document. Nothing that has come through a political bargaining can come out perfect. But it comes close to a world constitution - more closely to that than anything else.

**CW:** Sort of looking at the beginning of this - of your involvement with it - one of the earliest was organizing the Pacem in Maribus conferences. How did you begin getting involved in organizing that?

**EB:** Well, first of all, I made a project for the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions. And that was a project that was to last three years and I organized internally within the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions a series of working sessions of seminars - preparatory conferences so to speak - that would enable us to draft, like we did for the world constitution, to draft a model constitution. And that is what we did between '68 and '70 - '68, '69 and '70. Wait a minute. It must have been even a little earlier. It was '67, '68 because at the end of '68 I had already published the model constitution, so to speak. Well, then in '68 when that model was built, was made, was published I had provided for a kind of ocean assembly that consisted of various chambers - political chamber and shipping and mining and science and so on. I think it had four different groups that were to be represented in my ideal ocean assembly. And so it occurred to me, "Why don't we continue the experiment and have a kind of model assembly actually meet in Malta and that would be a conference of the type that Pacem in Terris had been. The series of Pacem in Terris conferences that the

centre had organized previously. It would examine this document and others and widen and deepen the discussion on ocean governance. And in the meantime, of course, the United Nations had been proceeding and was making preparations for the great 3rd United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. And we thought, "Well we might contribute some ideas to that official process at the non-governmental level where one could be much more creative and much more forward-looking". One was not tied down by, by mandates of governments. And so that idea was born both the name which is Pacem in Maribus, which is obviously is a paraphrase, a take off on Pacem in Terris and the format of the conference was that. We invited industrialists, we invited fisheries experts, we invited scientists, we invited diplomats, lawyers, legal experts, and we invited also a group of young people - people who were just beginning their careers and were still students or young civil servants who were interested in the ocean issue. And that turned out to be a quite interesting group of young people all of whom have - practically all of them - have made their marks in ocean affairs and are now quite influential.

**CW:** Now that is one of bringing forward some new blood, as it were, into the discipline is one success of that but what were some of the other results or accomplishments of that conference - that first one?

**EB:** Well, we published seven volumes of proceedings. That of course included all the preparations that had gone on in the previous years. And well a lot of ideas came out at that time. One idea that came out and again its time was very premature but it is an idea whose time is coming now - we advocated an ocean development tax as new method to raise international revenue because it was already, at that time, clear that if you really want effective action at the international level you really had to have money for it. And the way that money was being allocated internationally was already inadequate at that time. Today it is even more inadequate. Today the idea of international taxation has gained very

much ground and is now coming to the fore. But we had that ready in 1970. That was one idea. Well, again the conference was basically examining the draft that we had put together at the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions and discussing it.

**CW:** What did it take for you - I mean you were the main, shall we say, the main mover on this - what did it take to get all of this organized? It must have been a monumental amount of work.

**EB:** It was a lot of work. The Centre at the time was quite an efficient organization with a very competent staff and I got a lot of logistic support. The government of Malta was very supportive. All the local arrangements were done through Ambassador Pardo and the government of Malta. We had an excellent list of invitees. Everybody who later on counted for anything in the Law of the Sea was there. If you look today at that list of about 250 people, its an amazing list. All the big shots of the Law of the Sea Conference that was yet to be. They were all there.

**CW:** So it had some formative influences.

**EB:** It definitely did. It definitely did. So much so that when it was over there was a strong feeling that this must not be left now but that it must be continued. Spontaneously sort of a continuing group - a continuing committee formed itself. Now that was a difficult task to take that on whereas the Centre had been affluent and well organized, the Centre now said, "Goodbye, now you take it over from here on". And we didn't have a penny. And we didn't have any infrastructure or anything. I remember there was one participant in that conference who was very enthusiastic about the whole undertaking. And that was then young, then fairly young Peter Dohrn from the Dohrn family that had established a hundred years earlier the first aquarium in Naples - a very famous aquarium which I

visited when I was five years old. I'll never forget it. It was a great impression on me. It was the first aquarium I ever saw. And I met young Dohrn at that time. He was about my age. And he said, you know, he was so enthusiastic he was going to give me two thousand dollars. And I said, "Oh my God, now we have two thousand dollars. We are a rich organization now." So these were the beginnings.

**CW:** Now some concrete work started to come out of that.

**EB:** Immediately. We had, I mean, a lot of first rate people around us. One of them, my great Romanian friend, uh I can't think of his name at the moment but it will come Silvia Brucan who also became very, very famous when the communist regime was overthrown in Romania. Well he was the one who suggested look we have to do something that catches the public eye. "Why don't we do something about pollution in the Mediterranean." Now mind you that was 1970. It was two years before the Stockholm conference. And we all thought that that was an excellent idea and so we prepared a project on the pollution of the Mediterranean. And very quickly we got money from the Ford Foundation for that. That was not a huge sum. It was \$30,000. But anyway to move from \$2,000 to \$30,000 was already a big step forward. And we got, my dear friend, who in the meantime of course died, Lord Ritchie Calder to write a book about the pollution of the Mediterranean which is a very nice book. It was one of the earliest on the subject. And there too moved forward. We did not deal with pollution for pollution's sake but we dealt very quickly with environment and development which was also very early to do that. And at that time already, this was long before the Barcelona Convention, the UNEP Regional Seas Program in the Mediterranean - we designed some kind of institutional framework that might be necessary to manage the environment and development in the Mediterranean. And I must say UNEP has always been very generous in recognizing that this was one of the first initiatives that eventually led to the Barcelona Convention.

**CW:** How did the work keep on going? I mean you sort moved and got into training over the next few years.

**EB:** Well training took a little longer. Well we started to think about training in '76 and that is when the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was really beginning to take shape and it was quite clear that the qualifications that were needed - people who were to staff new institutions that were being built - the Seabed Authority, the Enterprise and the Technical Commissions and so on. These qualifications were enormously high. And it was quite clear that most developing countries just didn't have the kind people who could fill those jobs. So that developing countries would be disadvantaged in this way and it seemed to us that the only way of counteracting these unfortunate effects would be to start immediately training people in ocean management. First of all we thought of the Seabed Authority and it was the Swedish SIDA that was very much interested in that and picked up that idea. And they gave us some seed money \$10,000 to get together some experts and see whether we couldn't draw up a sort of curriculum for a program like that. And that's how our class A started.

**CW:** And that class A was from all over the world.

**EB:** From all over the world but on seabed mining. We had a very interesting and difficult experience. And experienced really already some duplicity in the political world on this issue. Because where as everybody at the Law of the Sea Conference accepted the need for training enthusiastically. They said, "It is absolutely essential that people get trained in order to staff the offices in the Seabed Authority". But if you wanted to do it and you wanted to get money for it, they said, "It's not for developing countries, they don't have the technology. It's not a priority for developing countries." And you wouldn't get any cooperation. And SIDA Sweden had given us this initial money. But then that was it. Then CIDA Canada got very much interested and we practically had a

contract lined up with CIDA Canada to arrange a workshop on seabed mining to prepare developing countries for it. And at the last moment they got some signal not to do it. And they backed out. And they were quite unhappy about that. And they told me, "Look we cannot do this but if you do something on economic zone management then we will certainly support it." So I am not one who gives up and I said, "Well we will do that after we see through this program. This program now is going to take place." And we did it. We got an African director for it and we saw through the program with great sacrifice and great difficulties. But we did it. But as soon as it was over I immediately put together a class B which deals with economic zone management. And it was from then on that CIDA Canada supported it most generously. And we have enjoyed this cooperation enormously.

**CW:** These were short courses.

**EB:** Ten weeks. Three hundred classroom hours.

**CW:** For how many participants?

**EB:** 25.

**CW:** So we are talking a fair amount of money here.

**EB:** Yep. These courses cost us on average \$160,000 or so.

**CW:** And coming up with that money was not easy.

**EB:** No. It was not. And one sticks out one's neck you know - one risks no matter what. I must say this is a thing that I learned from my ex-president Hutchins from the time of the Centre for Democratic Institutions because he said, "When you want to do something you don't raise money and then you do it. You do it

and then you get the money." And that is the only way you get things done. If you wait until you have the money...

**CW:** What did that mean in personal terms for you?

**EB:** Well, I stuck out my neck several times and it might have got chopped off.

**CW:** Meaning your own money?

**EB:** Even more than my own money - money that I didn't have. Money that I had to borrow, steal, invent. I don't know.

**CW:** There was a lot of creativity involved?

**EB:** There was a lot of yah.

**CW:** Were there times when you thought it might not work that the International Ocean Institute just might not get off the ground or stay on the ground?

**EB:** That idea never occurred to me. No. But when <sup>we</sup> were talking with the administration here at Dalhousie about you know guaranteeing that money was coming for the next program and so on, I told them, "Look this is our ~~fourth~~ <sup>fortieth</sup> program and I am not yet in jail." They enjoyed that. They thought it was sort of surprising to them - this approach.

**CW:** How were the programs divided up between Dalhousie, Malta - the headquarters. . .

**EB:** . . . is in Malta. We started here with the class B the economic zone management. A program in which Canada has a special interest. It was CIDA



financed and I was here so we sort of took over the B program which in the meantime has also developed further and we have had besides Halifax we have also held it in Malta. And we have also held it in China twice. It is a very, very good program. We have a kind of stable director for it who is my great Indian colleague Ambassador Jagota who was the head of the Indian delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference and <sup>one</sup> ~~all~~ of the leaders of the conference really. And he has directed that program now for 10 times I think for the last seven years.

**CW:** What do you see as the accomplishments of the training in years that it has been going?

**EB:** Well, a lot of concepts that we developed very early on like integrated ocean management - the integration of ocean management and development strategy. These is one of the things that we advocated 12 years ago and they have penetrated now into the general vocabulary and the general thinking. And I think that the training program had a lot to do with it. I mean we now have 700 alumni most of them in government and these concepts spread. It is an effective way to spread new ideas. We follow contacts with our alumni - keep in touch with them. And some of them now are really in decision making positions. It helps. The program has been really very successful. And I think we have a kind of a primacy in that field. There isn't any other organization that has organized programs over this length of time and of this intensity and all over the world.

**CW:** Now the Institute has a little more secure footing now.

**EB:** Well we are now on a much, much broader basis of course. CIDA has been our foremost and most loyal supporter. But now we have also the United Nations UNDP. We got a grant of \$3 million last year which enables us to establish additional centres besides Malta and Halifax - in India, in Fiji, in Columbia, and in Senegal.

**CW:** What do you see as the future role of the institute?

**EB:** Well, I hope that we will be able to develop new leadership - a younger generation and we do have excellent young people working with us. And I hope that it remains effective both as a think-tank, as generator of new approaches and new ideas which are always needed and can only come from the non-governmental sector. You cannot expect governments really to do that. And as an effective training and educational instrument - that it will be able to absorb and adapt to you know new teaching methodologies, new teaching technologies and keep in the forefront of the field. How long that will succeed we don't know. Certainly I hope we can lay a solid basis for it to go on. My idea now after this big step with the UNDP - my hope now is to raise an endowment. I would hope to raise 10 million endowment fund over the next couple of years. That was utopian until we had this intermediate step now we look very serious even as a business. And I think we will now succeed in raising the endowment.

**CW:** It has taken a lot of lobbying to get this far.

**EB:** Oh yes, oh yes, my goodness yes. A lot of globe trotting and peddling. It takes an awful lot of energy and time.

**\*\*\*Tape 2, Side B\*\*\***

**CW:** Now you mentioned new ideas were what came out of Pacem in Maribus conferences. Is that what you see as the accomplishments of the conferences themselves?

**EB:** Yes. Well, of course it has to be prepared too. Innovations hardly ever comes spontaneous. You have to prepare it. But for instance I do think that we are again at the forefront of thinking now in relating ocean affairs to the UNCED process, to the restructuring of the United Nations system. And I think that we have contributed quite a lot to Agenda 21, to Chapter 17. There was more in it when the UNCED Secretariat got it out. Some of it got cut out by delegations. You know how it is. But definitely we have made a contribution to Chapter 17 of Agenda 21 and I know we can make a significant contribution to now dealing with these new issues in the context of restructuring the United Nations system.

**CW:** What are some of the ideas that made it into Agenda 21 on restructuring?

**EB:** Well, we worked in particular on the institutional aspect - that is we took the Brundtland Report and what came after and combined it with our own ideas. And really designed a fairly precise and comprehensive institutional framework. A lot of work was done at national levels by various countries ranging from the Netherlands to Sri Lanka and India where a lot of innovative thinking was done on how to institutionalize ocean management and coastal management. And we studied all of that and the United Nations office for Ocean Affairs and Law of the Sea did quite a bit of work on that and we commissioned a paper from them which was presented in Lisbon last year. It was an excellent paper. So we started with the national level. But then we went to and asked ourselves how will that have to reflect itself on a regional level? What changes do we need in the

Commission  
Regional Seas Program now to move the Regional Seas program so to speak from Stockholm to Rio - from a sectoral approach focusing on basically on pollution to the development/environment integration? And we designed again a rather forward-looking framework for that. And then we asked ourselves how do we link all of that with the global institutional framework which is with the mission of sustainable development. And we made very precise proposals. The UNCED Secretariat has forwarded, has endorsed these proposals and has forwarded them to the United Nations - to the Secretariat of the United Nations. So I mean we can trace our input quite concretely.

**CW:** What are some of the specific things that have gone forward?

**EB:** Well, we have advocated for many years, already since '82 actually, the idea that if we have come to the recognition expressed in the preamble to the Convention of the Law of the Sea that the problems of ocean space are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole - and that is a that is a textual quote - then we must have somewhere in the United Nations after the Law of the Sea Conference was finished. We must have some kind of forum that can do that, that can look at ocean problems in their interrelation, in an integrated way and such a thing does not exist. So we have to create it. And that is how we launched the idea of an ocean assembly. Not only states but also NGOs, also scientists probably or somehow should be represented and where you really could discuss the problems of the oceans in an integrated way. Now we had several alternatives in mind that might have been periodic Special Conference of the General Assembly. It might have been something like UNCTAD. It might have been something like the disarmament committee. We offered several alternatives. But when the Sustainable Development Commission was established, we felt well that was its place. That needed obviously some effective infrastructure to implement Agenda 21 and ocean assembly or an ocean subcommission whatever you want to call it to be responsible for the implementation of Chapter 17 was

absolutely necessary. And that is what we suggested to the UNCED Secretariat. And they endorsed it.

**CW:** And it is going forward.

**EB:** Yak. Well it will take time because they haven't done much. But it is in the books. It's in the records.

**CW:** So these ideas have all come through the Institute?

**EB:** Yes.

**CW:** I wonder what does it represent for you personally to have all these ideas coming out and to have an Institute that is indeed set up and going?

**EB:** Well, it's been pretty much my life during the last 20 years. It's not a 9 to 5 job.

**CW:** Is there a feeling of satisfaction though that it does seem to be stable in some ways?

**EB:** Well, it - you always are still remote from the goal. Of course it isn't stable. There are always problems and big problems that you have to face and you have to face from day to day - of all sorts from cash flow problems to personality problems to political problems. I mean it's not that you can sit down and say that it is done. It'll never be done.

**CW:** It is an ongoing struggle then - is that a way to describe it?

**EB:** It's an ongoing struggle yes that is what it is.

**CW:** Is there satisfaction in the struggle?

**EB:** Can there be satisfaction in the struggle? I don't know. It's more a feeling that you are with it and you can't get out of it.

**CW:** On that note I am going to turn the clock back a bit to the Law of the Sea Conferences that were running parallel to your work with the International Ocean Institute.

**EB:** You parallel is an ambitious term because you know because it is like and elephant being parallel with a fly.

**CW:** Well parallel as in the same time period shall we say. What was your role personally in the Law of the Sea Conferences?

**EB:** Well, we started to participate in the Law of the Sea Conference as an observer - as a representative of the International Ocean Institute which was a registered NGO and NGOs had access to the conference and that's the way I started. And in the first working sessions in Caracas in Venezuela I very actively intervened, made three long statements from the floor as an observer. But after Caracas the Conference was effectively closed to NGOs - that is they could participate only in formal sessions but they could not participate in all the working committees and even the working plenary. And since there were no official records kept of the Conference at all that was a very unsatisfactory situation to be in. And if one wanted really to be informed and if one wanted to participate in an active way one had to be in a delegation. So I had to find a delegation that would adopt me. And the Yugoslavs tried but they had national laws you had to be a Yugoslav citizen to be in their delegation. The same went for Mexico. I was on excellent terms with the Mexican delegation but I had to be a Mexican to be in that delegation. Finally the Austrians found out that you didn't have to be

an Austrian to be in their delegation. So they adopted me. And so I became a member of the delegation of Austria and remained that throughout the duration of the Conference and also the first years of the PrepCom. I had to give that up when I became Chairman of ICOD because the Chairman of a Canadian Crown Corporation could not be a member of a foreign delegation. So I must say with some regret I gave that up. That was a sacrifice for me. A sacrifice I made to Canada because I very much enjoyed working with the Austrian delegation. Because I had imagined while I was deeply grateful to the Austrian government to adopt me - for the adoption, and I thought, "I will sit in the back row and I will keep very quiet and I will listen to what is going on". Instead, it developed into a very active working relationship. I was on excellent terms with my Ambassador, Ambassador Karl Wolf - excellent person. And I could really make an input there and so those were very happy years, very active years. And I could bring our work of the International Ocean Institute always to the attention to the Law of the Sea Conference.

**CW:** Now the Austrian delegation was part of a block of states called Landlocked and Geographically Disadvantaged.

**EB:** That's right, we were the chairman of that.

**CW:** Tell me a little bit about how your own views fit in with the philosophy of that group.

**EB:** Well it was certainly closer to the view of that group than to the view of the grabby ones, you know. If you see what I mean. There were some states which were very grabby. Now we wanted, of course, to maximize international jurisdiction and that coincided much closer to the interest of the disadvantaged. Also the Geographically Disadvantaged and Landlocked States really were the poorest ones. And since we wanted to advance their interests in for the Law of

the Sea to have some - we hoped it would have some equalizing effect. And that it would make the poor richer and not the rich, richer. It was quite a natural ally for us to work with. Singapore was very active in that group. It was Austria - we were the chairpersons. And it was a lot of African states. The majority were African states and then some Central and East European states. It was a very heterogeneous group. And because it was so heterogeneous it could not really exercise the influence that it might have <sup>had</sup> ~~influence~~. Actually we would have had a blocking third. We could have really run the show. But we never exercised that power because there was not enough consensus in the group to play that kind of role. But it played a very useful role and a balancing role.

**CW:** Now the majority of your work was in the area of seabed mining. Tell me a little bit about shall we say the ebb and flow - we are talking eight years here - but the ebb and flow of negotiations.

**EB:** Well, perspectives have changed enormously over the years. There was at the beginning during the time of the Seabed Committee preceding the Law of the Sea Conference and then during the early years of the Law of the Sea Conference, there was a considerable optimism. There was the idea that seabed mining was up and coming - that it would make a lot of money and that we really could do something new and innovative. And as time went by that idea wore down and seabed mining didn't seem to be around the corner. It didn't seem to be as profitable as it had been made out to be. There was then a period of considerable pessimism. Well that coincided with the decreasing importance of the private sector in that field. I mean everybody today is gung-ho for the private sector but in seabed mining there has been a decrease in the importance of the private sector. The private sector was leading in the '70s and the consortia were practically all private sector companies. The pilot experiments that were conducted in '75, '74, '76 which really proved the feasibility of seabed mining, they were conducted by the private sector. In the '80s the private sector felt the risk was too high. The



rate of return was too low. The cost of research and development was too high. They sort of got out and there was really a quite dramatic shift among the actors in seabed mining from the private to the public sector. Today the only ones who are involved in seabed mining are the public sector - in France, in Japan, in Russia, in India and China. Either they are state companies or they are as in France and in Japan, private companies but heavily subsidized by the government. The private sector cannot face these kind of expenses. And that was clearly demonstrated in a study that was introduced in the PrepCom by the delegation of Australia. They showed, "Look we cannot make it". They didn't say the private sector could not make it they said, "Seabed mining is not profitable". Now it's not profitable for the private sector for this point in time. That does not mean that it doesn't go ahead. States can do it of course if they want to. And several states apparently do want to do it for strategic reasons, for reasons of advancing high technology, for prestige. For all sorts of reasons. Eventually for economic, for financial profit as well. But not in the initial stage.

**CW:** In 1985 in a Report to the Club of Rome you were terribly optimistic about the accomplishments of having negotiated the Seabed Authority - the International Seabed Authority that was to govern seabed mining and share the profits and redistribute them. Is that work gone by-the-by because of this?

**EB:** That remains absolutely vital and viable. Incidentally already in the model draft convention that I published in '68, there is a sentence which says, "It's not the financial profit that makes this thing important, it is the new approach to doing things - the new form of international cooperations - the new form of public-private cooperation." That's what's important, not the money in this case whether its little, no money or a lot of money, it doesn't make a lot of difference. It's not a business as usual and I never considered it that way. Now, we always were critical with the way that the Seabed Authority was conceived in the Convention. That is the so-called parallel system. We always thought that that wasn't going

to work.

**CW:** Describe that a little more.

**EB:** The parallel system - You see there were two factions, two negotiating parties in the early years. One the developing countries and one the rich countries. There was no east-west confrontation on that issue. There was a clear north-south confrontation. Now the developing countries always wanted a very strong authority that should also do the mining and have an enterprise of its own. A public-state enterprise let's say - an international public enterprise. And they thought that that was a vital aspect of implementing the Common Heritage of Mankind. Whereas, the northern countries, the industrialized countries wanted business as usual. They wanted their companies to do the business. They had the technology. They had the money. And they wanted at most some kind of registry that there would be no overlapping claims. Everything would be orderly and they were willing to pay some royalties. That was their minimal concept of Common Heritage. These two ideas were very, very strongly opposed. So at a certain moment Solomon the wise in the guise of Henry Kissinger showed up and said, "You want this, you want that. Well, why don't we do both at the same time." And that is the parallel system. We will have public enterprise and we will have a licensing system. Now, it was quite clear from the beginning that that wouldn't work. If you set up the companies in competition with the public enterprise that had neither the technology nor the money that couldn't work. You had to build in the private sector as for that matter has happened in space very successfully. That could have been done. So we were always critical of that approach but I mean that was approved. That was the way it went. So we took the Part 11 with its defects and said, "Now let's make the best of it." There always was a way of making the best of it and we have always advocated that. And that was the joint venture approach - namely forget about the Enterprise and forget about the private sector doing its own and let's say that companies should work in the international

area as joint ventures under the Authority. And that will turn out to be the only realistic approach and today everybody is saying that. And that is the way it is going to go and is already going under the pioneer regime. And the Convention even though there is a lot of articles in it which today simply are not applicable which really were ill-conceived. Much, much too much detail. We always criticized that too. But it was the United States and its allies that forced these details on us and on the conference. The United States insisted that every administrative and financial detail had to be spelled out in the Convention because otherwise this Authority which would be governed by a majority of developing countries would change things in such a way that the established companies could not accept - that industrialized countries could not accept. And so that was not acceptable. So, therefore, we went into a haze, a maze of detail which obviously would not survive because we didn't even know anything about that industry - where it would take off, how it would function. Nobody knew. So it is full of nonsense the Convention, full of articles that cannot be applied today or in the future. The so-called Mining Code or all of so-called Annex 3 that spells out all these things will never be applied. But that does not make me pessimistic at all because there is plenty in the Convention that can and will be applied. And that will survive. And that makes of the Seabed Authority the kind of innovative institution a forerunner of what institutions might be like next century. We have to develop those articles that can be used and can be developed and sort of freeze or put aside those articles that cannot be used.

**CW:** It was the American who eventually after all these negotiations pulled their support and in many ways pulled the rest of the North out. What was your reaction? I mean at that point you had struggled so hard and be so close and have the North essentially led by the United States pull out.

**EB:** Well, we all felt that was very unfortunate but we didn't think that that was the end of all things. Because we knew things in the United States would change

again because they have and they are. And we felt there was enough leverage to go ahead and bring the Convention into force. And besides that there was no alternative. The Convention would go its way because there was no way . . . Even our Canadian colleague Alan Beesley kept saying, "There is no way to go back, so we only can go forward."

**CW:** What is the way forward now? Is it 54 states have ratified.

**EB:** We have 54 now. We will have 60 this year there is no question about it. Everybody says that today.

**CW:** Tell me more about that.

**EB:** Well, there are already about six or so where the ratification is in the works. So they may mostly be developing countries although now we have Malta, we have Iceland, we have Yugoslavia. They are Europeans. My strategy would be to get to 60, no matter who they are. Even if they are mini, mini states. I don't give a damn, just so long as there are 60. My feeling is that if at the same time we make intelligent plans for an interim regime which is acceptable to the pioneer investors, that the pioneer investors will be the next ones to ratify and that means Europe and Japan.

**CW:** That they will come in.

**EB:** They will come in.

**CW:** Is the Convention worth anything even if it is ratified, if countries such as the United States, Canada, Japan, Europe do not come in?

**EB:** Well, it cannot be satisfactorily implemented if a lot of big states are not

parties that's for sure. Nevertheless, the ratification is important because it then is international law and it will continue to exercise a very strong influence. And one would have to continue to study and to work until it becomes universally acceptable. But it would - the integrity of it as international law would be guaranteed. And I think that is very, very important. So I am in favour of ratification in any case, whether it is big or small. But my real hope and my strategy would be to get the pioneers to ratify. If they do we will have it made.

**\*\*\*Tape 3, Side A\*\*\***

**CW:** This is Tape 3 in an oral history interview with Elisabeth Mann Borgese and it's January the 22nd, 1993. Now I just want to continue on with the Law of the Sea negotiations and maybe move back a bit. And I'd like to dig into maybe some of the stories - some of the high points and the low points for you during those negotiations which must have been tense at times.

**EB:** Oh yes, indeed. Well I mean there were terrible crises like when we almost lost our President Amerasinghe because his government had changed and he was no longer Ambassador. That was a dramatic night that nobody will forget who was there. Actually I had a really funny adventure there. How did it go? Well, quite a few of the delegations took a very strictly legalistic point of view and said, "Alright he is no longer Ambassador. He is no longer head of the delegation. He can no longer be President." Had we lost him at that time I think it would have been the end of the conference because he was the only one perhaps at the time who was able to hold the thing together. I mean the negotiations were very difficult. And he was a genius for international parliamentary practise. And when, however, the group that was in favour of maintaining him even though he had no diplomatic status at the time won out. And it was decided that he should stay. And then we went home. It must have been three in the morning. And were back in the office meeting at 9:00. And a number of delegations had to make statements welcoming him back as President expressing their satisfaction that he was in the chair. And some of these statements were very beautiful especially there was the Polish statement which I thought was excellent. So I congratulated the Ambassador of Poland, said "That was a wonderful statement." And he said, "Well, you know, I had about 10 minutes to prepare it." And I said, "Well didn't you know last night that he was confirmed?" And he said, "Oh, last night we thought he was confirmed and he would resign and only this morning found out

that he was not going to resign. So I had to write my speech in 10 minutes." So there were episodes of that kind. I must say that one develops a great many friendships and many of the people that were involved in the process of making the new Law of the Sea were absolutely first rate. These are friendships for life. I was really close to President Amerasinghe as a matter of fact he was the first President of the International Ocean Institute. I was close too to his successor Ambassador Koh of Singapore who did us the honour of directing one of our training programs here at Dalhousie University. I have always made a point of taking the great leaders of the Law of the Sea Conference and involve them very actively in the training program because I thought that would give them a unique chance to pass on their unique experience to the next generation of decision makers. And it is a practise that I think has worked extremely well. Some of the best, best people of the Law of the Sea including Dr. Jagota of India, Dr. Galindo Pohl who was the Chairman of the Second Committee and others, these men have really given a lot of their time and their energy. I was always sort of moved to see that these really great men devoted the same kind of intelligence and energy to our modest little program that they had been giving to the great conference. It was a beautiful thing to watch really. Another name I have mentioned in this context is Dr. Vratusa of Yugoslavia - the leader of the Yugoslav delegation also a first rate man. He also has been director of our programs. Of that I must say I am very proud. Incidentally, you asked me some of the results of our training without putting the coin into the meter I read a letter I have just received from Dr. Vratusa who has been and still is the head of another institution which is called the International Centre for Public Enterprise in Ljubljana in Slovenia. And he has introduced in that institution a course on Ocean Affairs and Law of the Sea. And he is taking over our ideas and our people in that program so we do have a kind of a spin off effect, you see. And the same has happened already in other places. I am very pleased it happens in Slovenia and I will deliver the key note lecture there next May. But they are all our people and that is all our program.

**CW:** I want to ask something that comes out of you talking about some of these great men. Were there many great women, other than yourself involved in these conferences?

**EB:** There were a couple of French ladies who were very competent. There was an Irish lady who was very competent. There was a German who was a very close friend of mine a very dear friend of mine who is one of the leading experts on the Law of the Sea in Germany now. But not many. I mean I think I have mentioned them. That's about the limit of it. Most of them were men.

**CW:** But unlike the things that we were talking about earlier, there is no feeling of differences, of inequality within these forums.

**EB:** No, not really. Really not. Although, you know, it's hard to make the statement, you know, really without reserves. I mean the fact is that these women are not among the top leaders. None of them that I mentioned. I mean they are very good within their delegations. They are there. They are known. But none of them is a top leader like let's say like Jagota, like Evenson, like Koh, like Amerasinghe, like Galindo Pohl. No they are not among the top. Now, I must say they are not that quality of person. If they were, I don't know whether they would be discriminated against or whether they would be in the same position of the great leaders are. That is an iffy question. The fact is that if I look at them each one of them individually, they are very good scholars, they are doing a good job but I would not say that they are movers and shakers.

**CW:** Would you classify yourself as a mover and shaker?

**EB:** No, definitely not.

**CW:** You're still on the UN Preparatory Commission for the Law of the Sea.



What is the work you are involved in there?

**EB:** Well, I have put in two major series of working papers - one from the delegation of Austria when I was still in the delegation of Austria and one for the delegation of Columbia of which I have worked very closely together. I am there again now as an NGO but in the meantime, you know, sort of everybody knows me and I have no difficulty of speaking whenever I want to speak even though I am an NGO. It's even very funny because I am given the floor as the distinguished delegate of the IOI which is kind of amusing. But I have done a lot of work recently on an interim regime and I was happy to see that the delegation of France has picked up that idea quite efficiently and they have put in some papers on an interim regime which are similar, analogous to those I have been putting forward. They are more on the procedural side and mine are more on the substantive side. The French idea is more to protect the interests of the industrialized states and my idea is more to make the thing as productive as possible and as beneficial to developing countries as possible.

**CW:** What are some of the ideas within the interim regime?

**EB:** Well, the basic idea is really very simple and I think that is the way the cookie is crumbling - the way things simply will go because it's the easiest way to go. I mean what are we to do with this Authority and with this Enterprise? Everybody knows that the way it is in the Convention at this moment it is not realizable. So we have to do something. Some people have had the idea that you must amend the convention. It was a horrible idea which would have meant that the whole thing would fall apart and I have been fighting that as hard as I could. My idea was, look, over these past 10 years something has evolved that could already be described as an interim regime that is due unique combination of circumstances this PrepCom. This so called PrepCom is not the usual PrepCom that does paper work, writes rules and regulations for the future organs etc., that

makes headquarters agreement and that's it. No, due to the fact that they are responsible for the implementation of the so-called pioneer regime, this has already acted and functioned as an Interim Authority, a Seabed Authority. This executive has responsibilities for exploration, for the choice of mine sites, for training - I mean these are real activates that the Seabed Authority will engage in. So it is already an Interim Authority. It is also very much structured like an Interim Authority because it has an assembly. It has a council of 36 members. And it has technical commissions. It has a secretariat at it's disposal. It is in fact an Interim Authority. So why don't we recognize it? And we say O.K. the Convention comes in force but we keep this arrangement the way it is. We don't change it at all. We just say instead of calling it the PrepCom, we call it the Interim Authority. And we have a pioneer joint undertaking. We have a joint program to explore a mine site for the future Enterprise, we call this joint undertaking the Interim Enterprise. We don't need anything else. It doesn't cost anybody anything more than what is being spent now. The thing is structured to function. There are certain ways in which we can develop it and make it more productive and that is particularly in the field of joint technology development. And I have done a lot of work on that. So let's go ahead and do it. And only when seabed mining becomes commercially worthwhile, then we can look at the whole thing and then we can look at the things that will be needed then. But that may be 15 years down the road. Why not live with what we have now. We don't need anything else. So I wrote quite a detailed paper on that and also on how perhaps to develop joint technology development. And so that is what I have been putting into the PrepCom. We'll see how it goes. I see hardly any other way that it can go.

**CW:** That comes to sort of a more global question that I want to ask. And that is how are the oceans going to be ordered then? Is this the way it is going to be done?

**EB:** Well, there will be - the Convention and we have been saying that for a long time - the Convention is an unfinished process. It's a beginning. It's a new beginning. But a lot of other things will have to be done to develop it further. For instance, I mean suppose seabed explorations, development of seabed technology, seabed mapping - all of these things will go on in an orderly fashion under the Interim Authority and later on under the Authority. We all know now that something will have to be done with fishing in the high seas. And a conference on this is in the offing. It will take place this year. Now we made our model draft Convention in '68 and when Ambassador Pardo published his draft Convention in '71 we provided also for the orderly management of the fisheries. We provided an institutional framework for that. The Convention has not provided an orderly institutional framework for that. So eventually that will have to be created and will have to be added on. I mean probably the Convention on the Law of the Sea which is the most comprehensive document that was ever adopted by the international community but it is not comprehensive enough. It will develop into a treaty system let's say just like the Antarctic Treaty is developing into a treaty system as other protocols and supplementary conventions may be added to it to keep the process going.

**CW:** Another more global and broad question. How can international organizations be both practical and effective?

**EB:** How can government be made practical and effective? How can the big corporations be made? The means to make large things effective today exist with electronic networks and so on. I think that today we are technologically in a situation where we can both decentralize and integrate. And I think that is the answer in a nutshell. Is decentralize and integrate both at the same time. Do things at a level closer to the individual. I don't call that a lower level. At that level and only where you have to integrate externalities you move up, you move over to the more global scheme through national governments, through regional

governments and through inter-regional cooperation. It can be done. It need not die of gigantism.

**CW:** Is the U.N. dying of gigantism?

**EB:** Well, the U.N. is obsolete. It was constructed 50 years ago under totally different premises, in a totally different world. And the Security Council, it's whole structure is built based on that. It's based on a concept of security that we no longer have today that has totally been transformed. I think the United Nations will be elastic enough to adjust but something quite radical will have to be done to it. I don't to think that process will be completed in San Francisco in '95 but I think everybody will be more aware of the need for change by then. And that we will move then into the next century with the necessary changes. The United Nations is an absolutely essential part of world order today. We cannot imagine the world without the United Nations today. That is ridiculous. But the United Nations like everything else is subject to change and it will have to change.

**CW:** Do you have a lot of optimism with now the way it is structured with the crises in Bosnia, in Somalia, in Cambodia and all of those thing that are taking the top of the agenda, that the oceans are really going to get any kind of priority?

**EB:** Well the oceans will not get any kind of priority that is for sure. This is really one of the reasons why the process of ratification is going so slow because poor countries really have other problems on top of their list. That is quite clear. But you know we have to manage crisis and we will have to continue to do that forever. There will always be crises of one sort or another. We are not going to move into the millennium of peace and harmony. But we also must keep our heads, our sights a little above the imminent horizon and see how can we structure ourselves so that these crises can be dealt with a little bit more effectively in future. Or some of the same crises will not occur. There will be crises of a

different sort, of course. You solve one problem and you create two new ones. That's the way things always have been moving and that's the way they will continue to move. I am not an optimist in that sense - that things will actually get better. But they will be different. Certain problems will get solved and new ones will appear. I think one problem that we definitely must and will solve is hunger. I mean that millions of people are starving in a world of plenty is a moral outrage and we do have the means to put an end to that. And we will have to elaborate these means and we will have to apply those means.

**CW:** And you see the oceans as part of that.

**EB:** Yes. But besides I mean for me the ocean remains a sort of fascinating field to try out new approaches. I do not think we will solve the world's hunger problem with aquaculture alone. But we may contribute to the solution of the problem by generating new forms of cooperation that didn't exist in the past.

**CW:** We have been talking in a very broad international level and I want to bring it back to Canada and talk a little bit about your experience here. In 1978 you came to Dalhousie. What prompted that move from Santa Barbara, from the Centre for Democratic Development to Halifax?

**EB:** Well the Centre was not in good shape. Mr. Hutchins had died and I did not have much confidence in the Centre, so I was very happy to accept an invitation to come for one year. And really decided to stay. And when my colleagues in the Political Science Department realized that I would like to stay, they were very generous and they offered me the Chair. To me it was a very surprising development because to become a university professor was more remote from my mind from anything else I should say.

**CW:** Was there any resistance to you becoming a university professor when your

formal education or your formal degrees consisted in a bachelor's?

**EB:** A Diploma in Music.

**CW:** Oh I'm sorry and a Diploma in Music.

**EB:** Well, I say my colleagues were extremely generous in dealing with me as they did. I owe particular thanks to my predecessor here who did the Marine Affairs course in the Political Science Department, Michael MccGwire. I'll never forget it. He sort of had decided that I was going to be his successor. And I never had kept a curriculum vitae in my life. I had never bothered to keep a bibliography. I had published widely and written widely but it was all dispersed and I didn't care where it was. So he sat down with me on the porch of his little apartment and interviewed me and interviewed me and interviewed me and produced the most scholarly C.V. and bibliography I ever saw. And it was, I think, on the strength of Professor MccGwire's documentation that I got the job. But I must say all of my colleagues in the Political Science Department were very cooperative and very generous.

**CW:** As a place to be what drew you to Halifax? I mean aside from the work aspect was it the connection to the sea?

**EB:** Yes, I love to live by the sea the way I do here. And I mean everybody is concerned with the sea here. The whole life is oriented toward the sea here. And I like that I feel at home. It's a sort of good setting for the kind of work I do.

**CW:** I understand you also do some aquaculture yourself.

**EB:** We did, yes. One of my former students who is a biologist and I, jointly we did an oyster farming project for several years which was very interesting. It was

hands on. We made our own cages to start with - our own crates and so on. We also produced some papers about of the experiments that she directed and we all conducted jointly. And that was a very good experience. We had to give that up because this former student of mine has now a very good position with government and she doesn't have time to do this kind of thing. But in future we may pick it up again. The location, the little cove where my house is located is very ideal for a little activity like that.

**CW:** What about ICOD, the International Centre for Ocean Development? Tell me how you got involved in that as the chair of the board.

**EB:** Again, all these things came as very, very great surprises to me. It was as surprising for me to become the President of the Board, Chair of the Board as it had been to become a professor at Dalhousie. But when ICOD first was announced by the Mr. Trudeau, I thought that was a splendid idea. It was a path breaking idea. It was Canada-first really because there was no other government that had devoted one branch of government, so to speak - a special agency, to development cooperation in the marine sector. And I thought that that was extremely forward-looking and very promising. One could do a lot of innovative work there. Well, a lot of universities, of course, were interested in that. Dalhousie was very much interested and I was very much interested in Dalhousie's interest in these things. And as a matter of fact, a one point I put my candidacy forward as President Executive. And I got on some sort of list and I was interviewed. And they asked me, "Can you do what you are doing much better where you are now than if you were a bureaucrat?" And I said, "Well it is like becoming a general from being a partisan, from being a guerilla. I am a guerilla now and I would become a general." Well I didn't get the job and I didn't <sup>hear</sup> ~~hear~~ from them for a while. But then they appointed me as President, as Chairman.

**\*\*Tape 3, Side B\*\***

**CW:** So you became chair of the board.

**EB:** Yes.

**CW:** Were you able to accomplish anything or do think ICOD was able to accomplish anything, I mean it was only around for a very short time.

**EB:** Too short. And it is a terrible waste that it's gone. And I think government is beginning to realize that it is a terrible waste. It achieved some things, yes it did. It began to add up. It began to be an actor in certain regions like the South Pacific, the Caribbean in particular. Also West Africa it was beginning too. It is not an easy thing. It was not a perfect organization either. It was not a perfect board. Although I appreciated that board. Each one of the members of the board was an interesting person in his or her own way. And they all were very conscientious and all contributed. And I actually enjoyed chairing that board. I think that Mr. Vernon did a good job. He was perhaps more bureaucratic than I would have been in his position. And he was perhaps more cautious than I would have been. I would have probably been more innovating than he was. But, nevertheless, I think he did a very good job. And I say it was a major input into ocean affairs that ICOD. I was particularly interested in - I mean to me training and acting must always be linked to the producing of new ideas and to some intellectual activity. It cannot be just, you know, the routine stuff. That's not effective. You won't change the world with that. And that was one aspect that ICOD was very hesitant to get into. And I promoted for several years the idea that we should have a forum where we discuss things, where we make an intellectual contribution, where we sought out our own ideas. So that we were more conscious about what we wanted to achieve. And well, I succeeded in seeing that through. We did organize two fora which I think were quite good.



And if ICOD had been allowed to go on I think it would have developed very positively.

**CW:** What does ICOD's death say about the Canadian commitment to ocean development?

**EB:** Say it again.

**CW:** What does the killing or the cutting of ICOD which represented not a lot of money - what does it say about the Canadian government's commitment to that area?

**EB:** Yes, it was a very negative testimony. I think it was also interpreted that way particularly in regions where ICOD had some visibility. It was received with great pessimism this news. It was just a big mistake, really a big mistake. I don't think that it saved the government a penny because the projects were all continued in one way or another. It wrecked the integrity of the program and frittered it away. I suspect they are spending more money on it now than they would have had they let ICOD run the program.

**CW:** Why is that?

**EB:** Well, because now they have had to turn it over to consultants which are much more expensive. ICOD was set up to run the thing. In CIDA they don't have possibility of running these programs. So they have to farm it out. They have to find people and they have to pay them more than ICOD would have cost them. It's a great pity. It was an ill-advised move I would say.

**CW:** Do you see much hope for Canada's role internationally, I mean in view of that - What do you see as happening in Canada's role internationally? Anything?

**EB:** Well, for Canada to reestablish its credibility in the marine sector will take some doing I think. Canada should really think about that because I mean during the Conference and thanks largely to the excellent work of Ambassador Beesley who was leading the effort from beginning to end, there was a continuity which very few countries have been blessed with. He did an excellent job for Canada. Canada was among the leaders and since the end of the Conference, Canada has definitely lost that position. Canada is no longer a leader. And its following on the coattails of the United States has not been very fortunate. It has not added to the credibility of Canada. Add to that the demise of ICOD. It's not a good picture. It's not a good scene and some serious work will have to be done if we want to rebuild credibility and leadership in that sector.

**CW:** I want to move again and change subjects a bit and move to your writing. During the whole time that you were setting up the International Ocean Institute, participating as a delegate in the Conferences you were also writing a number of books. And I'm wondering how you organized your time.

**EB:** Well, I'm an early morning person. And I start my day at five in the morning. And if you regularly have two-three hours a day that you devote to writing it adds up. You don't need more time.

**CW:** Is this when you are travelling as well?

**EB:** Yah, yah. I always travel with my computer. But the days are long for sure and they are not long enough.

**CW:** How did these books on seabed mining, on aquaculture and other aspects of ocean management, how do they fit into the rest of your work?

**EB:** Well, the first book Drama of the Oceans really was conceived as a film or

television series. I thought that - that was a long time ago - that was in the '70s. I thought that it would make drama, you know. And in fact it's written like a drama and actually my purpose was to make a lot of money with the book and to help finance the International Ocean Institute. And it did make a lot of money. And it financed a big conference that we had in Japan. It was a book of the month. It was translated into, I don't know, 16 languages and so on - a number of languages. And it sold a hell of a lot of copies. So that was really a popularizing and aimed at spreading the word, of course and making money for the IOI. But, you know, that is not a goal that is self-sufficient. You had to put something into it. So, of course, the Drama of the Oceans just like the other books have a lot of, if I may call it, my philosophy in it. And so when that was done I sort of liked that style and I thought you could do a beautiful book on aquaculture. Now that turned out to be far less popular. At that time in the late '70s aquaculture was not yet the household word that it is today. As a matter of fact, I once had a very funny experience. I was sitting next to a person on the airplane and she asked, "What are you doing now?" And I said, "Oh I am making a study on aquaculture." And she said, "Well don't you need a lot of medicine for that?" And I said, "No you don't need much medicine for it. Of course, there is some fish medicine involved but you don't need so much medicine." Well the conversation went on a little while along that track until I found out that she had understood - I mean that she had mixed up aquaculture and acupuncture. She thought I had gone into acupuncture. But just to demonstrate that at that time aquaculture was not a household word.

**CW:** That brought it home rather clearly.

**EB:** Yes. And in fact the sales of Seafarm were far, far, far more modest. But then I thought, "Why not do a whole series". So I did the third one which also had limited circulation a few thousand copies. But I mean they popularized, in as far as the popularization went, the big subjects that I was working on anyway. And

I thought it was useful to have something for the common reader on those subjects. The fourth book that I did then with the same publisher is quite different because that is an editor's job. There I got cooperation of 12 oceanographic institutions and excellent people to write the chapters. And I only had to do the - well I conceived the thing, I edited it, and I wrote the introduction but that was the end of it.

**CW:** What are you working on now?

**EB:** Well, I am supposed to do another book putting together some of my recent writings which are dispersed here and there. And see whether I can put them together in a book. And I like to do that because there is quite a bit of it. And it's all over the place. And try to put it together into a whole that makes some kind of sense. I am happy to have this opportunity.

**CW:** Looking back over all of this, what would you say are your most important - what the things or thing that you have achieved that you are most proud?

**EB:** I am not proud of anything. No, I am not. I am not. No I mean it gives me great satisfaction when a former student does very well. I mean that gives really great satisfaction. I think that it is human relations that give satisfaction. It's not things that you do.

**CW:** What for you still needs to be done?

**EB:** There are always things still to be done. Always. Always. But I mean the next goal and I really have gone some length in trying to work for that - to get the Convention ratified. I mean my next two goals are to get the Convention ratified and to get the IOI endowed. And those are my next two goals. Yah.

**CW:** In this work, has there been much time for anything outside of - the work as it were?

**EB:** Well, no because all my personal relationships, all my friendships and I have some very dear and close friends but they are all around the Law of the Sea actually. And well, of course I have my family and I have my dogs and over the Christmas holidays I enjoyed a bit of downhill skiing. But basically my whole life is ocean development and Law of the Sea.

**CW:** How much travel does that involve?

**EB:** Enormous. Enormous. And that is really one of the drawback because I don't want to spend half my time in airports.

**CW:** And you do?

**EB:** A lot of time in airports. Yes, a lot of time. I mean if I am at home for four weeks in a row it is exceptional.

**CW:** Do you see that changing at all?

**EB:** It must change because I am not getting younger.

**CW:** I think I'll end there.

**EB:** Good.

**CW:** And thank you very much for several hours of very interesting conversation.

**EB:** Well I hope that you got enough.

**\*\*\*Tape 4, Side A\*\*\***

This is a short recording of Elisabeth Mann Borgese teaching her dogs on the piano.

She begins the lesson by encouraging Claudio to pick up different sizes of plastic square boxes. They then move to the piano set on the floor with broad flat keys. The dog is not eager to play and does not complete his piece. Ms. Borgese explained he had recently been ill and was not in his usual form. A second dog, Maggie, is brought in and they proceed to work through short two pieces with Borgese playing the right hand notes and Maggie playing the left hand notes.