

# Department of Political Science

Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3H 4H6, (902) 424-2396

July 15, 1982.

Mr. Gregory Wirick:  
Executive Director  
& Editor, Bulletin  
United Nations Association in Canada  
63 Sparks, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A6

Dear Mr. Wirick:

Here, as agreed, is the piece. It is 4,000 rather than 3,000 words. I hope that is not too much of a problem. If it is definitely too long, one might cut out one of the six sections, perhaps the one on the new negotiating procedure. That would do it.

My biographical blurb:

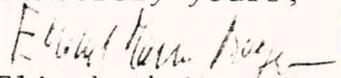
Professor of Political Science at Dalhousie University. Advisor to the Delegation of Austria at the Law of the Sea Conference. Chairman of the Planning Council of the International Ocean Institute. Author of numerous books and essays on ocean management and the law of the sea. Recent books: The Drama of the Oceans, Seafarm, The Mines of Neptune (forthcoming), The Future of the Oceans (with Arvid Pardo, forthcoming).

I am enclosing two pictures: one with Arvid Pardo; the other was taken here in Sambro last Spring. I think it looks very Canadian.

I hope everything is all right.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese

## THE LAW OF THE SEA

On April 30, 1982, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea concluded its labor of round fourteen years by adopting, with 130 votes in favor, four votes against, and 17 abstentions, a Convention on the Law of the Sea, consisting of 320 articles and nine technical Annexes: a monumental piece of work, intended to give a new order to all major uses of the world's ocean.

To analyse, in a few pages, the significance of this unique Conference is not an easy task: For the Conference was probably the most polyvalent, multi-layered undertaking in modern history: not only on account of the great number of its participants -- almost 160 States and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, involving a total of about 3,000 delegates and observers: not only because it was one of the longest international conferences ever held -- and this, at a time when perceptions keep shifting and contexts change; not only because the subject matter -- the problems of the oceans which, as the Preamble to the Convention states, are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole -- became more complex the deeper the Conference got into it: not only for all these reasons, but, basically, because the Conference had, simultaneously, many and different functions and roles in contemporary history and pursued different, and sometimes conflicting, goals.

Its primary and avowed purpose itself was multiple:

First: to resume the unfinished business of the First and Second Conference on the Law of the Sea, by codifying existing customary law, clearly defining jurisdictions and thereby forestalling further expansion of claims which might jeopardize freedom of navigation or scientific research and generate conflict; and at the same time,

Second: to act as a constituent assembly creating a Constitution: new law, in a field, totally new and untried, that is, the management of the mineral resources of the deep sea, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, which the United Nations General Assembly had declared to be the Common Heritage of Mankind.

Third: In the process of approaching these primary goals, the Conference, given the lack of a basic negotiating text, had to invent its own procedure. The development of a new mode of international negotiation became, of necessity, a secondary aim of the Conference, likely to have a lasting impact on the structure of international relations.

Fourth: The Conference developed into a major forum for North-South dialogue or confrontation.

Fifth: The Conference inserted itself into the long series of U.N. Conferences or Special Sessions of the Seventies dealing with "global issues," such as the Environment,

World Hunger, Desertification, Human Habitat, Disarmament and Development, Science and Technology, etc., although, surprisingly enough, it was hardly ever mentioned by political analysts listing these events.

Sixth: While it was still in process -- long before the conclusion of its work and the adoption of the Convention -- the Conference began to "trigger off" other developments in the uses of the sea, outside the Conference, setting in motion a train of events of such magnitude that it is, for all practical purposes, irreversible.

We shall try to assess the importance of the Conference in this sixfold role, and conclude with some projections or predictions as to the next phase of the making of the Law of the Sea.

1. With regard to the first goal, that is, the codification of the traditional law of the sea and the definition of jurisdictions in the oceans, the Conference was undoubtedly far more successful than its predecessors, UNCLOS I and II. Where those earlier conferences failed to reach agreement on the extension of the territorial sea, and the fragmented and incomplete set of Conventions adopted by UNCLOS I was eventually ratified by an insignificant number of States, UNCLOS III, on the contrary, produced, by consensus of the world community -- there was very little disagreement with

the final text of Parts I through X of the Convention, and had it not been for the controversial Part XI, dealing with seabed mining, the Convention would undoubtedly have been adopted by consensus -- a comprehensive body of law covering all parts of ocean space, from internal waters and the territorial sea and the contiguous zone to the exclusive economic zone, the continental shelf, the high seas, and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and introducing new concepts such as that of archipelagic waters and transit passage into international law. Where it had been impossible, in 1958 and 1960, to agree on the limits of the territorial sea, this issue had "gone away": perceptions had changed, and there was a relatively easy, and universal agreement on a 12-mile limit.

With regard to this goal, the Conference was amazingly productive and successful.

If, however, the goal beyond that goal was equity, on the one hand, and security of boundaries and stability of jurisdictions on the other, then judgment must be more cautious. As has been pointed out by numerous analysts many times, it is not equity that is enhanced by the Convention: it is inequality among States. A few coastal States -- most of them rich -- acquire huge ocean spaces under the new Law, while most gain little and some -- the landlocked -- lose

the little they had. The expansion of jurisdictions between States with adjacent and opposite coasts necessarily increases the number of boundary disputes and raises the potential for conflict. There are serious loopholes, furthermore, in the provisions on delimitation -- especially those defining baselines, islands, and the limits of the outer continental margin -- and thus, if present trends continue, it is an easy prediction that the expansion of national claims will continue, and wherever significant resources are discovered, they will be claimed by the nearest coastal State or island. This, obviously will defy both equity and stability in the oceans.

2. With regard to the second goal, the creation of a regime for seabed mining and the establishment of an International Seabed Authority based on the principle that the mineral resources of the deep seabed are the Common Heritage of Mankind, again, the result has its highly positive, and its depressingly negative aspects. On the positive side, it is amazing that the world community -- North, South, East, and West -- had in fact agreed (until the last-minute change of heart of the United States) on the establishment of an international institution, the International Seabed Authority, which is basically different from the international institutions of the past and might well become the prototype of international organizations in the twenty-first century. It

may be path-breaking under the following aspects: (1) It is operational, theoretically capable of generating its own income; (2) it has the power to impose international taxation, thus, conceptually, contributing to the achievement of automaticity of financial transfers for development; (3) it brings multinational companies into a structured relationship with a public international institution -- a principle, theoretically, much more effective than the imposition of "codes of conduct; (4) it offers, in principle, an instrument for global resource planning; (5) it combines political, economic, and scientific aspects in new ways.

This is a rather astonishing success. What would have seemed totally utopian and academic only twenty years ago, has now been agreed upon, in principle, by an international Conference, through hard bargaining.

What might jeopardize this remarkable success is the fact that basic contradictions have remained unresolved, that compromises have been struck that are unrealistic, and that the whole structure of the Authority is based on assumptions which, if they ever were valid, certainly are no longer valid today, so that it is likely that, even if the Convention were ratified by all States next year, its Part XI simply could not be applied the way it is, or if applied, it could not operate the way it was planned.

It appears paradoxical that the industrialized countries

some of which clearly intended to flout the provisions of Part XI altogether and substitute a "mini-treaty" for the regime established by the Convention -- may instead have saved the Convention and assured the immediate establishment of a regime that may be capable to adjust<sup>of</sup> the ideas and ideals of the 'seventies to the economic realities of the 'eighties. This astonishing feat they accomplished through the introduction of two Resolutions which were adopted by the Conference as part of the Convention "package." Resolution I establishes a Preparatory Commission to prepare ways and means for the Authority to function as soon as the Convention is ratified. Resolution II provides for "preparatory investment protection for "pioneer investors" in seabed mining, i.e., it creates an interim regime for exploration, research and development, and bestows considerable powers and functions on the Prep Com.: powers it would not have enjoyed without Resolution II.

Taken together, the two resolutions ensure (1) that there will be an ocean mining regime immediately: only 50 signatures are required for the establishment of the Commission, a goal that is far easier and quicker to reach than the 60 ratifications which are required for the establishment of the Authority; (2) that this regime will be flexible: according to the Resolution, the Commission is free to establish the organs and procedures it needs: which may, presumably, include the establishment of a smaller executive body, perhaps

based simply on regional representation and without the crippling provisions hampering decision-making in the Council in accordance with Part XI of the Convention; and (3) it focuses on exploration, research and development: the only activities in the Area that can reasonably be expected to take place in the foreseeable future and which could, realistically be financed, whereas the financing of an integrated mining operation, as provided for in Part XI, is unthinkable in the present economic situation of the world, and insistence on it would merely postpone the ratification of the Convention at *calendas graecas*.

Thus the Commission would have the concrete and practical task of bringing developing countries into exploration, research and development, possibly through the establishment of a joint venture or joint ventures which would be highly beneficial both to developed and developing countries. It would in fact be a practical implementation of the proposal made by President Mitterand of France at the recent Versailles summit, for the establishment of public/private international joint ventures between developed and developing countries for research and development in high technologies, among which he explicitly mentioned ocean exploration.

3. Goal number three, we pointed out, was ~~the~~ the creation of a new mode of international negotiation, responding, on the one hand, to the need of avoiding the "ty-

ranny of the majority" or, in this case, the automatic predominance of the views of the developing countries who now hold over two-thirds of the votes of the Conference; and, on the other hand, to cope with the difficulties arising from the lack of a basic negotiating text such as had been elaborated, through nine years of work, by the International Law Commission, for the First Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958. These two needs forced, and shaped, the development of a new and unique kind of proceedings.

The question of the "tyranny of the majority" was taken care of, at the very beginning of the Conference in 1973/74, by the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," under which any matter of substance was to be settled by consensus and voting was to be resorted to only after all efforts to reach consensus were exhausted. "Consensus" was not to be interpreted to mean "unanimity, but the general opinion in favor of a decision had to be such that any dissenter did not feel impelled to express a formal opposition.

It is clear that this procedure made decisions very cumbersome and slowed down the work of the Conference. On the other hand, it really assured that any decision enjoyed widespread and substantial agreement. Voting was resorted to only twice during the whole Conference, until, at the very end, the consensus was irremediately broken by the United States.

The lack of a negotiating text, forcing the huge Conference itself to create such a text, induced a most interesting development: a kind of self-appointment, confirmed by the Conference, of a gremium of Conference leaders who were responsible for the drafting of this text: which they accomplished, half by listening to the Conference and interpreting "consensus" or what came closest to it, half leading the Conference with initiatives and proposals of their own. What was unusual in this procedure was that these leaders did not act, in the negotiations, as representatives of their respective countries, but, partly, as representative of regions, partly as international civil servants, and partly on the strength of their outstanding personalities. This type of negotiation basically differs from traditional diplomatic negotiation, where the negotiator is cast in the twofold role of negotiating both with his international partners, and with his colleagues, competitors and taskmasters on the domestic political scene. A new pattern might be evolving here, in which policies are made by supranational groups, and accepted or rejected by representatives of States on the basis of the consensus system as it emerged from the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Such a mode of decision-making corresponds, on the one hand, to the principle of "sovereign equality of States" in which we are living, on the other hand it is more suitable to cope with the kind of global problems we have to deal with, and

for which diplomats, acting as the representatives of their States and in the interest of their States only, often are unable to formulate constructive solutions. It is a pattern, for that matter, already evolving at the regional level, e.g., in the EEC, where a "dialogue" has taken shape between the supranational "Commission" whose members are responsible to the Community as a whole, and the Committee of Ministers, whose members respond to their individual nations. The introduction of such a system, mutatis mutandis, in the United Nations, may have significant consequences.

4. On the North-South issue, a superficial analysis might come to the conclusion that the Conference failed, just as every other forum dealing with this subject has failed in recent years. No significant redistribution of resources has taken place. The text of the Convention is vague with regard to technology transfer, and to make things worse, and conforming to the general pattern of failure, the United States strongly opposes the whole undertaking while most of the other industrialized countries, both East and West, abstained. Below this appearance, however, different vistas are opening. More than anywhere else, to begin with, the North-South issues were blurred: overlaid by other issues, dividing countries along different lines. This weakened the traditional alliances both "North" and "South." Developing countries, in the Group of 77, had a difficult time reconciling the

interests of the coastal and landlocked States among them, of Afro-Asians and Latin Americans, of landbased producers of minerals and metals as against the rest of them, of the more developed countries, at the "take-off" stage, or the financially affluent, and the poorest. The same applies to the countries of the "North," divided between coastal, maritime, geographically disadvantaged & landlocked States; free-market and centrally-planned economies, land-producers and importer/consumers of minerals and metals, home countries of multinationals and owners of State companies, superpowers and small- and medium-sized countries -- with highly conflicting interests and policies.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the whole North-South issue needs re-defining and re-conceptualizing, if any progress is to be made towards development and peace; but since this was more evident at UNCLOS III than anywhere else, it is likely that the Conference may contribute to such a re-conceptualization.

5. Each one of the U.N. Conferences and special sessions, dealing with global issues, has been complex and interdisciplinary in character. Some -- e.g., the Conference on the Human Environment of 1972 -- were successful in establishing a "machinery" or institutional framework; others were, or had to be, satisfied with the adoption of resolutions or declarations. All of them were brief, from one to several weeks, and

"one-shot" affairs.

The Conference on the Law of the Sea is by far the longest, and most complex of all these Conferences, and what is interesting is that, in one way or another it had to deal with almost all the subjects of these other Conferences. On some of them, it was far more conclusive and will undoubtedly influence events flowing from those other Conferences.

Food and fiber, energy and mineral resources; commodities; science and technology; environment and climate; shipping and sea-borne trade; military uses of the sea; development finances, have all been involved in the discussions of the Law of the Sea Conference, and the U.N. Specialized Agencies devoted to these matters (FAO, UNESCO, IAEA, UNCTAD, UNESCO, ~~the~~ UNEP, the World Bank, WMO), have all participated as Observers.

While dealing with all major uses of the ocean and their wider implications, however, the Conference has built an institutional framework for only one of them, that is, ocean mining. With regard to all other uses, the Convention is satisfied with references to the "competent international organizations" -- there are no less than 62 such references in the Text! -- on which the Convention imposes new responsibilities and functions, possibly requiring restructuring and strengthening of these organizations.

6. This leads to a consideration of the final point: New trends triggered off by UNCLOS III and by the Convention.

For technological and economic as well as security reasons, an extension of jurisdictional claims, beyond the traditional three-mile limit, had begun long before UNCLOS III. It was, in fact, one of the reasons for calling UNCLOS III. The early consensus, at UNCLOS III, on a 12-mile territorial sea, 12-mile contiguous zone, and 200-mile economic zone, however, escalated the process of unilateral claims. Whether the Convention is ever ratified or not, these claims are here to stay: they are rapidly becoming recognized as customary international law, founded on State practice. The expansion of national jurisdiction, in turn, has set into motion another trend: the enactment of national legislation and the establishment of national infrastructure for ocean management. Old, obsolete, dispersed and often conflicting laws have to be assembled, brought up to date, collated, harmonized, to cover new ocean uses and areas formerly beyond national jurisdiction. Ministries of ocean affairs, departments for ocean development, national agencies for the management of aquatic resources are being established in one country after another, as a laissez-faire system is being replaced by systems of ocean management. What is even more interesting is that, long before the adoption of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, these laws and institutions were conceived, <sup>in the case</sup> in such a way as to interact properly with the new international laws and international institutions. The adoption of the Convention will un-

doubtedly intensify this trend toward the enactment of national legislation and the establishment of national infrastructure.

Trends toward strengthening national infrastructure and international organization are in fact not contradictory, but they are two faces of the same coin. The international community consists of national States, and the whole is only as strong as its weakest part. The expansion of national jurisdiction in ocean space calls, in fact, for more, not less, international cooperation and organization.

Two trends, at the international level, are clearly discernible: One is a trend towards marine-centered regional cooperation and organization. The protection of the marine environment, monitoring and surveillance, scientific research, the rational management of living resources, can only be carried out on this basis. The Convention on the Law of the Sea provides a broad framework for this development, and, again, long before the adoption of the Convention, the Regional Seas Programme of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) had begun to spell out the general provisions of the Convention in terms of "hard law" at the regional level, and to help establish the institutional infrastructure needed to implement it. UNEP's ten regional programmes are beginning to cover the world's ocean with networks of regional treaties, protocols, plans of action and financial arrangements to cover the cost.

The second trend, at the international level, is the adjustment of the U.N. agencies and organizations dealing with the oceans to the new responsibilities arising from the Convention. All of them are presently examining the implications of the 62 references in the Text. Three principal needs will have to be fulfilled:

First, each one of these organizations (IOC/UNESCO; COFI/FAO; IMO; and UNEP) will have to become more operational where, up until now, their activities were of a co-ordinating character. In this, the broad principles developed for the Seabed Authority may influence the development of the other ocean institutions.

Secondly, this change from coordinating to operational activities will require higher levels of funding. In this respect, too, the other ocean institutions may draw their lessons from the concept of the Seabed Authority, and systems of taxation on major commercial uses of the oceans may be adopted step by step, as the increased activities and direct usefulness to the international community and, especially, to developing countries, may justify and require.

Thirdly, the Convention recognizes, and states in its Preamble, a basic fact, namely, that the problems of the oceans are closely interrelated and need to be considered as a whole. The fragmented structure, and specialized mandate of the U.N. family of organizations <sup>more coordinated for this</sup> ~~is~~ unable to respond to the needs

arising from this basic fact, unless new, comprehensive integrative machinery is created, not at the secretarial level, but at the policy-making level: most simply, probably in the form of periodic joint assemblies.

These trends are there: triggered off by the Conference, and, in turn, re-inforcing the need for early ratification and entry into force of the Convention. These trends are irreversible --except if everything should collapse, which, unfortunately, is as possibility which nothing may be able to stop.

Attempting, in summary, to assess the significance of the Convention in the present and foreseeable situation, one must come to the conclusion that, in many ways, the Convention fails to fulfil the purposes it was ~~to fulfil~~ to fulfill: It does not enhance equality; it does not guarantee secure boundaries in ocean space and prevent further expansions; it does not assure, by itself, the conservation and protection of the marine environment; it does not, by itself, establish a new international economic order: it does not close the option of self-destruction of the human race.

While it does not close that option, on the other hand, it has opened another option. It provides a platform and a framework for constructive action, which would not exist without the Convention, and where one can continue to push and to press for a breakthrough towards a saner world.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
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ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR  
LES NATIONS UNIES

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31 May 1982

Dr. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Dept. of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, N.S.  
B3H 4H6

*Vicissitudes*

Dear Dr. Borgese:

I was glad to speak to you by telephone just before your departure for Belgrade and I promised to write to you at once regarding the article I proposed you should write for our quarterly Bulletin on Law of the Sea and what the future holds in this important area.

As I indicated, our absolute deadline for this piece would be 15 July in order that we might have adequate time for translation and printing. The article would appear in our September issue which should be out at the end of August.

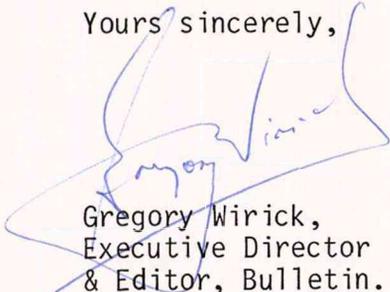
I was thinking of a piece of approximately 3,000 words. We would appreciate your also sending to us a short biographical blurb which we could add to the article as well as a photograph of yourself and other photographs that you might feel are appropriate if that is convenient. We are happy to return all of the photographs should you so desire.

I note that you will be returning to Halifax on 9 June and I will call you shortly thereafter just to make certain that you have all the information you need.

Before I forget to mention it, let me re-confirm that we are happy to offer a small fee of \$200 for the article.

I am enclosing the last couple of issues of the Bulletin for your information. Our thanks in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

  
Gregory Wirick,  
Executive Director  
& Editor, Bulletin.

Encls.

AGW:dmb

Ottawa, Ontario  
18 November, 1981

Professor Elizabeth Mann-Borgese,  
Department of Political Science,  
Dalhousie University,  
Halifax,  
Nova Scotia.

Dear Elizabeth;

On behalf of the United Nations Association in Canada,  
National Capital Region Branch, I would like to thank you very  
much for your splendid talk on 'Futures of the Oceans' which you  
gave to this branch recently.

As you may have gathered from the reaction to your speech as  
well as the subsequent question-and-answer period, you did an  
excellent job of highlighting all the relevant aspects of the subject  
matter, as well as those closely related and being of direct interest.  
It was greatly appreciated by the membership at large, and will  
continue to generate interest in the topic of what happens to the  
oceans as Man's joint heritage. I very much hope that at some future  
stage we may be able to, again, draw on your expertise and interest  
in this field when the subject is raised again. Thank you very much  
for everything. I trust that you had a safe trip home.

Best personal regards



Erik Solem, President  
United Nations Association in Canada  
National Capital Region Branch

UNITED NATIONS  
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ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR LES  
NATIONS UNIES

National Capital Region Branch

63 Sparks Street, Suite 808  
Ottawa, Ontario,  
K1P 5A6

Division de la Region  
de la Capitale Nationale

Telephone: 232-5751

6 October 1981.

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann-Borgese  
Department of Political Science  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
B3H 4H6

Dear Mrs. Mann-Borgese:

Further to our recent telephone conversations, this is just to let you know in writing how delighted I am that you have agreed to address the United Nations Association of Canada, National Capital Region Branch on the topic of «The Future of the Oceans», on Thursday November 12, 1981 at 8:00 p.m.

The meeting will be held at the Chelsea Club at 236 Metcalfe Street, preceded by a dinner at the Club at 6:00 for 6:30 p.m. We will naturally reimburse your travel expenses Halifax-Ottawa return. You would likely want to stay overnight, hence I have reserved one of the rooms at the Chelsea Club for you, just in case. We will, of course, take care of this cost, including taxis etc. As there is a strong possibility that I will have to lecture until shortly before 6 p.m. on 12 November, I will try to make alternative arrangements to have you picked up at the airport, which I otherwise would have looked forward to doing myself. At any rate, you will hear from King Gordon and/or myself before long and prior to your coming here to Ottawa for the talk.

Again, thank you very much for your willingness to share your experiences with us. We look forward to the occasion.

Yours sincerely,

Erik Solem, President

**UNITED NATIONS  
ASSOCIATION  
IN CANADA**



**ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE  
POUR LES  
NATIONS UNIES**

63 Sparks, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A6  
Tel. 232-5751 Cable: UNATCAN

September 23, 1976

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93103  
U.S.A.

Dear Mrs. Borgess:

I am enclosing herewith our cheque for \$55.68 for your expenses incurred in attending our dinner on September 10th.

Personally and on behalf of the Association, I would like to thank you for your excellent talk. You raised some thought-provoking questions and your "optimism", though forced, is contagious.

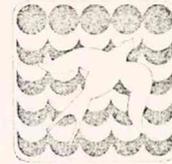
We wish you well in your Algiers meetings.

Yours very truly,

Geoffrey Grenville-Wood,  
Executive Director.

Enc.

GGW/sm



Pacem in Maribus

Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

October 7, 1976.

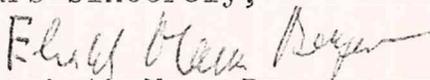
Mr. Geoffrey Grenville-Wood  
United Nations Association in Canada  
63 Sparks  
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A6

Dear Mr. Grenville Wood:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and the check.  
I really enjoyed the evening in Ottawa. You had a  
stimulating group. I think some of the ideas we dis-  
cussed will come up again.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese.

*Chairman of the Association*

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*Assistant Treasurer*

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*National Chairman, UN Day 1975*  
*(By appointment of The President of the U.S.A.)*

H. J. Haynes  
*Chairman of the Board*  
Standard Oil Company of California

April 5, 1976

Ms. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
60 West 57th Street  
New York, New York 10023

Dear Ms. Borgese:

One of the most important tasks of UNA-USA is to involve the leadership of its more than 150 affiliated national organizations in United Nations issues. To this end, the UN observers of these organizations, who comprise the Conference of UN Representatives, are sponsoring an Annual United Nations Symposium on Tuesday, June 15, 1976. This Symposium will bring together presidents of these organizations with their top volunteer and staff leaders to meet with United Nations and United States experts. A full day program, focusing on the examination of the global issues that constitute the daily work of the United Nations, is being planned. We hope that increased understanding of the complexity of UN activities will lead to intensified efforts by these organization leaders to promote greater awareness among their millions of members of the UN's contribution to their daily lives.

This is a cordial invitation to you to participate in the morning panel of experts discussing "The Increasing Relevance of the UN to Global Needs". We would be very grateful if you would focus your talk on the Law of the Sea. We are asking the other two panelists to make short presentations on Trade and Development and HABITAT. A 15 to 20 minute statement followed by discussion would be very much appreciated. This program will take place in one of the UN's Conference Rooms from 10:15 a.m. to 12:00 Noon.

Would you also give us the pleasure of your company at a Reception for honored guests followed by luncheon at 12:15 p.m. on the 2nd floor of the Carnegie International Center, 345 East 46th Street, New York City.

We look forward eagerly to your acceptance and to seeing you on June 15th.

Sincerely,

Peggy Sanford Carlin  
Vice President

May 21, 1976.

Ms Peggy Sanford Carlin  
Vice President  
United Nations Association  
345 East 46th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Ms Carlin:

I am afraid I still owe you an official answer to your kind letter of April 5.

Your invitation was indeed attractive, but it has turned out that I definitely have to be in Europe at the time of your meeting. As a matter of fact, I have to be there the whole of June.

I hope there will be another chance. Let's keep in touch.

with all good wishes,

Sincerely,

*Elisabeth Mann Borgese*  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



*I made a copy*

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

LONG BEACH CHAPTER, 3517 EAST BROADWAY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90803  
Telephone: 438-0482

*434-5904* September 4, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
The Center  
P.O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

Your letter has been received with the good news that you are able to be with us for our UN WEEK dinner celebration on Thursday, October 24. It was so generous of you to take time to write from Venezuela. I sincerely appreciate your response to my letter when I know you must have been in an enormously busy schedule. I was waiting so anxiously and it was such wonderful news.

Arrangements have been made for a social hour at 6:30 p.m. and dinner at 7:00 p.m. at Lakewood Country Club, 3101 Carson Street. Two hundred letters have been sent to community organizations and group leaders. Another much larger mailing will go out soon to individuals.

It is our endeavor to reach out to a rather broad section of the public to do some consciousness-raising relative to global issues and the interdependence of nations. We would greatly appreciate a picture and any informational material that you are able to provide together with a specific title for your talk.

As to directions to the Lakewood Country Club: from the San Diego Freeway take the Lakewood Boulevard (Lakewood) off-ramp. It will go around the Holiday Inn Tower. Turn right on Lakewood Boulevard and proceed north to Carson Street (after Douglas Aircraft Corp.). Turn left on Carson Street approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile.

I anticipate your visit to Long Beach with great pleasure. In the meantime I hope you enjoy a very pleasant visit in Europe.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Joyce E. Clark'.

Mrs. Forrest E. Clark  
President

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



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MRS. RHODA PRUD'HOMME

October 30, 1974

**Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese**  
Center for the Study of  
Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

The United Nations Association is most grateful to you for taking time from your very busy schedule to participate in our Conference at City College last Saturday. It was a privilege for all of us to hear your comments on the Caracas Conference, and certainly your optimism about the ultimate outcome of the Conference left us all with a welcome feeling of hope.

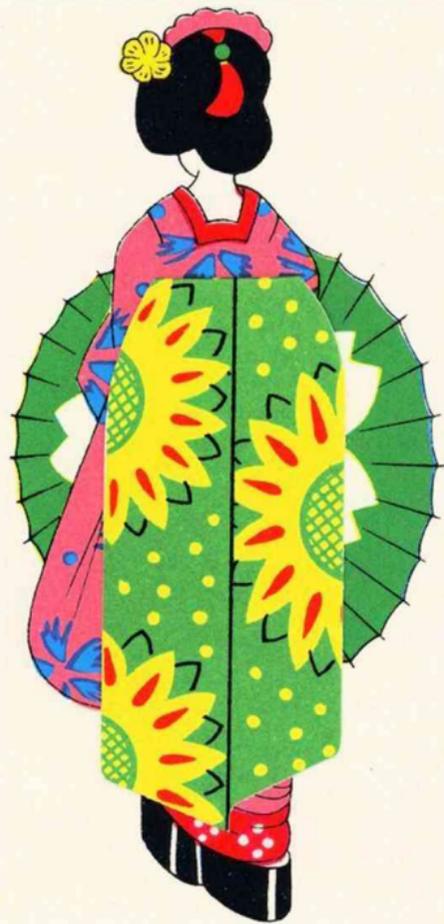
We feel that the Conference, though brief, was a success and your presentation was undoubtedly the highlight of the morning.

Thank you again for being with us.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Nan F. Sarguis'.

Nan F. Sarguis  
President



near Elisabeth -

We arrived home thoughtful  
about what we could do  
about our common concerns

Taking time from a  
tight demanding schedule  
& share "Caracas" with us  
was more than generously  
kind of you and quite  
stimulating for us. After all,  
people need people.

Many thanks for your  
hospitality in the charming  
setting.

Good luck with

Sen. Tunney - and  
that very wealthy

Shah of Iran -

Until the next time  
our sincere best wishes  
in your endeavors to  
keep the Planet whole -  
My own affection  
goes with this -

Sincerely -

\$25.00

sent to 101

Mary

Sept 27-74

wrote thank you  
+ that you would  
be in touch or return

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION

October 2, 1974

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ADM. STUART S. MURRAY  
MRS. RHODA PRUD'HOMME

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

I am writing to confirm the arrangements made recently with your Secretary.

Our U.N. Conference on Saturday, October 26 will be held at Santa Barbara City College Campus Center, and will have the overall theme of "The Quality of Life on Planet Earth".

I am enclosing a program for the Conference and you will see that we have scheduled you to speak at 11:40 A.M. We hope this time will be convenient to you.

If you have any questions please call me, and in the meantime may I say how very grateful we are to you for agreeing to participate in this event. We know our membership and others who attend will be most interested to hear your comments on the Caracas conference, and your hopes for future progress in international control of the oceans.

We do hope you will be able to attend the entire conference, and if you would like us to invite any special guests, we will be very happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

*Sheila M. Jannecki*

Sheila M. Jannecki  
Executive Secretary

UNA-USA (SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER)

CONFERENCE ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE ON PLANET EARTH

Saturday, October 26, 1974 at Santa Barbara City College Campus Center

- 9:00 A.M. Registration and Coffee
- 9:30 A.M. Panel Discussion - Mr. Frank Sarguis, Moderator
- Dr. Preston Cloud - Professor of Geological Science, UCSB  
Brig. Gen. Henry Huglin - International Affairs Commentator  
Dr. Herbert Bab - Economic Consultant
- 10:30 A.M. Questions
- 11:00 A.M. Brunch
- 11:40 A.M. Mrs. Mann Borgese speaking on the Caracas Conference on the Law of the Sea
- 12:10 A.M. Questions
- 12:30 A.M. Adjournment

UNA



USA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

LONG BEACH CHAPTER, 3517 EAST BROADWAY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90803  
Telephone: 438-0482

434-5904 September 4, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
The Center  
P.O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

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Arrangements have been made for a social hour at 6:30 p.m. and dinner at 7:00 p.m. at Lakewood Country Club, 3101 Carson Street. Two hundred letters have been sent to community organizations and group leaders. Another much larger mailing will go out soon to individuals.

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I anticipate your visit to Long Beach with great pleasure. In the meantime I hope you enjoy a very pleasant visit in Europe.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Forrest E. Clark  
President

213-434-5904

October 24, 1974

Mrs. Mary Langford  
1016 Coolidge Drive  
San Gabriel, California 91775

Dear Mrs. Langford,

Your generous check to the International Ocean Institute came during Elisabeth's absence, and mine as well, from Santa Barbara. As you know she is away from the Center but is due back in the next few days. I understand her trip to Iran was very successful.

I am sure she will be in touch with you herself shortly after her return. Meanwhile I wanted to send this word of thanks on her behalf.

Sincerely,

Jean Muller  
Assistant to Mrs. Borgese

September 17, 1974

Ms. Mary G. Langford  
1016 Coolidge Drive  
San Gabriel, California 91775

Dear Mary:

Thanks for your letter of September 13. I just got back after an absence of three and a half months and find myself drowning in work. But of course I would love to see you. Shall we say on the 26th? Please call me up before then to confirm.

Cordially yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

*Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795*

September 13, 1974.

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Pacem in Maribus  
Box 4716  
Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103

Dear Elisabeth:

Thank you for your letter of August 12th from Caracas (what beautiful stamps!) and also the invitation to Pacem in Maribus V, at Malta, September 9-13th. The latter, due to mail complications, arrived the first of September -- too late to change and make new plans. I should have enjoyed the procedure, as well as hearing what Alva Myrdal had to say.

I trust that, when this reaches you in Santa Barbara, it will find you glad to be home after what appears to have been a summer of prodigious intensive work and concentrated effort against seemingly stone walls of hard selfish thought. However, Elisabeth, naive though it may sound, no effort for the good of Humanity is lost.

From a friend I learned that the charming house by the ocean in which you live has been sold. Does this affect your immediate plans? If you are going to be in Santa Barbara for the next two weeks, as your letter indicated, I wonder if in your busy schedule you could find time for a visit with me about pertinent common interests and the scheduled Law of the Sea Conference for Geneva in March? If I drove up some day - say, Thursday, September 19th or September 26th? Do have your secretary drop me a line at home:

1016 Coolidge Drive  
San Gabriel, Calif. 91775.

Until then, with all good wishes,

Most sincerely,  
*Mary G.*  
Mary G. Langford



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

LONG BEACH CHAPTER, 3517 EAST BROADWAY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90803  
Telephone: 438-0482

June 20, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow  
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

As I write, I am thinking of the important events beginning in Caracas and your involvement in them. I know that the meeting is dominated by the politics of scarcity, and this will not make things very easy.

Thank you for your letter of May 15 and your gracious willingness to come to Long Beach under the sponsorship of the United Nations Association/USA during the week of October 19. I apologize for not replying sooner. I am a history instructor at Long Beach City College, and the closing weeks of school are very demanding.

Planning for our UN Week event is flexible at this point, and we will adjust to your convenience. In view of the fact that a larger audience is possible in the evening during the week because of working people, I would suggest a dinner meeting on Thursday, October 24. Your early reply will be appreciated so that we can proceed with arrangements.

Your message will be so timely that we look forward to great stimulus for study and any action you recommend. Please advise me if you require a fee in addition to expenses. I trust that you will find the date of October 24 to be a feasible one for you. Thank you very much for your pleasant response to our invitation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Forrest E. Clark  
President

law day

may 1, 1974

NSG  
EHB

# elisabeth mann-borgese

WILL SPEAK ON

## *Future of the Oceans: A Revolution in International Relations*

st. paul hilton  
main ballroom

social hour 6:00 p.m.  
dinner 7:00 p.m.

ROBERT J. SHERAN, CHIEF JUSTICE OF MINNESOTA, WILL PRESIDE.  
MALCOLM MOOS, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY, WILL INTRODUCE MRS. BORGES.



Few individuals living today can claim to have made significant achievements in as wide a range of fields as Elisabeth Mann Borgese, youngest daughter of the Nobel laureate, Thomas Mann. Currently, Mrs. Borgese is a Senior Fellow of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. She is a member of the American Society of International Law, the American Society of Arts and Sciences and the Academy of Political Science.

Mrs. Borgese is the author of *Ascent of Woman, To Whom It May Concern, The Barrier, Only the Pyre* (a play), and *Ocean Language Regime*, as well as numerous stories and essays for American and Italian publications. She is presently working on a book entitled *The World Communities*.

Mrs. Borgese was among the driving forces in the organization of three major international convocations, *Pacem in Maribus* held since 1970 on the Island of Malta. As Secretary-General at *Pacem in Terris*, editor of a significant book by the same name and Chairman of the Planning Council of the International Ocean Institute, she is uniquely qualified to speak on the topic "THE FUTURE OF THE OCEANS: A REVOLUTION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS".

Mrs. Borgese will donate her honorarium to the Ocean Institute.

---

### REGISTRATION FORM

UN ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA  
55 SOUTH 8TH STREET - ROOM 200  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

FOR RESERVATIONS CALL 333-2824

PLEASE SEND ME \_\_\_\_\_ TICKETS @ \$ 7.50 FOR WHICH I ENCLOSE \$ \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE RESERVE FOR ME \_\_\_\_\_ TABLE(S) FOR 8 @ \$ 60.00 FOR WHICH I ENCLOSE \$ \_\_\_\_\_

I WILL PAY FOR A STUDENT \_\_\_\_\_

STUDENTS ADMITTED AT THE DOOR - 8:00 P.M. FOR \$ 2.00

TICKETS FOR CHECKS RECEIVED AFTER APRIL 26 WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE DOOR MAY 1.

Copy Elizabeth Mann  
Borges

September 28, 1974.

91775

Senator John V. Tunney  
1415, New Senate Bldg.  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Re: UN Law of the  
Sea Conference

Dear Senator Tunney:

Those of us who have followed with concerned interest the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas are disturbed by the apparent tendency of our Government to act unilaterally in matters pertaining to Humanity's common heritage, the Ocean, and its uses - matters relating to zones, scientific exploration of the seabed, etc.

In the light of the present planetary energy crisis and the increasing interdependence of nations, it would be disastrous and myopic for the U. S. Government to take any unilateral action regarding the Ocean and its uses without working through a synthesized global structure of cooperative effort in all related fields, scientific, humanitarian, social. This implies participation in ongoing negotiations started at the Caracas Conference and to be continued at the 2nd UN Conference scheduled for March 1975, at Geneva.

The need for thoughtful planning in concert with the good of the whole global Community is necessary. I urge you to do all you can to foster such planning for the 2nd UN Conference on the Sea and in the interim to discourage any unilateral conduct on the part of our Government. I am well aware of your concern for the welfare of the Planet and its inhabitants, together with your support of the UN and its Agencies in their work towards the resolution of the social problems confronting our Humanity.

In connection with Dr. Arvid Pardo's contribution and work in the UN related to the peaceful uses of the Sea, I would recommend that his name be placed in nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize before the deadline of Feb. 1975. The quiet, persistent and wholly dedicated efforts of this learned man from Malta to preserve the Oceans for the beneficial peaceful uses for Humanity as a whole have been prodigious and need recognition by the World.

I am addressing a similar letter to Senator Cranston.

Your efforts toward furthering the above will greatly help all concerned.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mary G. Langford

*Copy  
Elizabeth  
Boyer*

September 28, 1974

91775

Senator Alan Cranston  
ROOM 451, Old Senate Bldg.  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Re: UN Law of the  
Sea Conference

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Your efforts toward furthering the above will greatly help all concerned.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mary G. Langford

*P.S. awaiting biographical  
data on Dr Pardo - Cundo  
connecting with it the Gael - Irish Church  
Group, ZWW, OAUW - etc -*

*Had a pleasant  
trip to Santo Domingo  
this - Thank  
you*

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of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



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MRS. RHODA PRUD'HOMME

April 23, 1974

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
1711 Fernald Point Lane  
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

You are such a splendid friend of the United Nations Association I am wondering why your name isn't on our membership list. Could it be because of our neglect in issuing an invitation? If so forgive us and consider this our urgent plea to join our ranks.

If you have never visited our office we'd welcome you. We operate a UNICEF shop too, though it is only fully stocked (and staffed) at the Christmas season. You wouldn't believe our tiny budget. We carry on almost entirely with volunteer help, including your friends Lady Ritchie-Calder and Barbara Ashmore.

We enclose, hopefully, an envelope for your convenience in requesting membership.

Sincerely,

*Eve Hughes*

Mrs. Trevor Hughes

One of the Volunteers

Encl.

arrived 1/30/72



✓  
answered

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795

May 21, 1974

Jean!  
sent membership  
blanks

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Pacem in Maribus  
P. O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103

Dear Elisabeth:

Your note of May 6th was waiting for me upon my return from a 10-day visit with my family in Dallas.

Sorry about the early June meeting being transferred to Caracas - but, in all probability, that may serve your purposes better. However, we still look forward to a session at the Center on the Sea.

I <sup>sent</sup> ~~sent~~ for a copy of Ambassador Prado's Address to the UN in 1967. You can imagine how a neophyte's mind reels with the concepts of the almost unbelievable wealth of the Sea! With all the other material now in my hands, some ideas should take hold. What a great amount of work you have truly done as Secretary-General! The Angels must be on you side or, if you will, you're on the side of the Angels.

Would you be good enough to have your secretary mail us some membership blanks, as well as brochures, pertaining to the Friends of the International Ocean Institute so that we can have them at our UNA Center.

I am enclosing a sheet outlining the study Tour I've signed up for during the month of August to the UN Agencies in Europe and Africa. One of the Tour leaders is Dr. Woodrow Whitten. If you have any suggestions for contacts, and if time permits, do write me.

In the meantime, Ethel Gentry joins me in wishing that your work at Caracas progresses toward implementing the goals of Pacem in Maribus.

Yours most sincerely,  
*Mary G. Langford*  
Mary G. Langford

encl.

CHAPTER  
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of the  
United States of America



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The Honorable
- LEON L. WILLIAMS
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- DR. HERBERT YORK

You are invited to participate in a  
very special travel experience Aug.11-Sept.7  
(4 weeks) on  
**“The United Nations At Work  
Through Its Agencies”** plus being a  
participant observer at the tribunal of the  
**World Population Conference**  
**Bucharest, Roumania, Aug. 18th.**

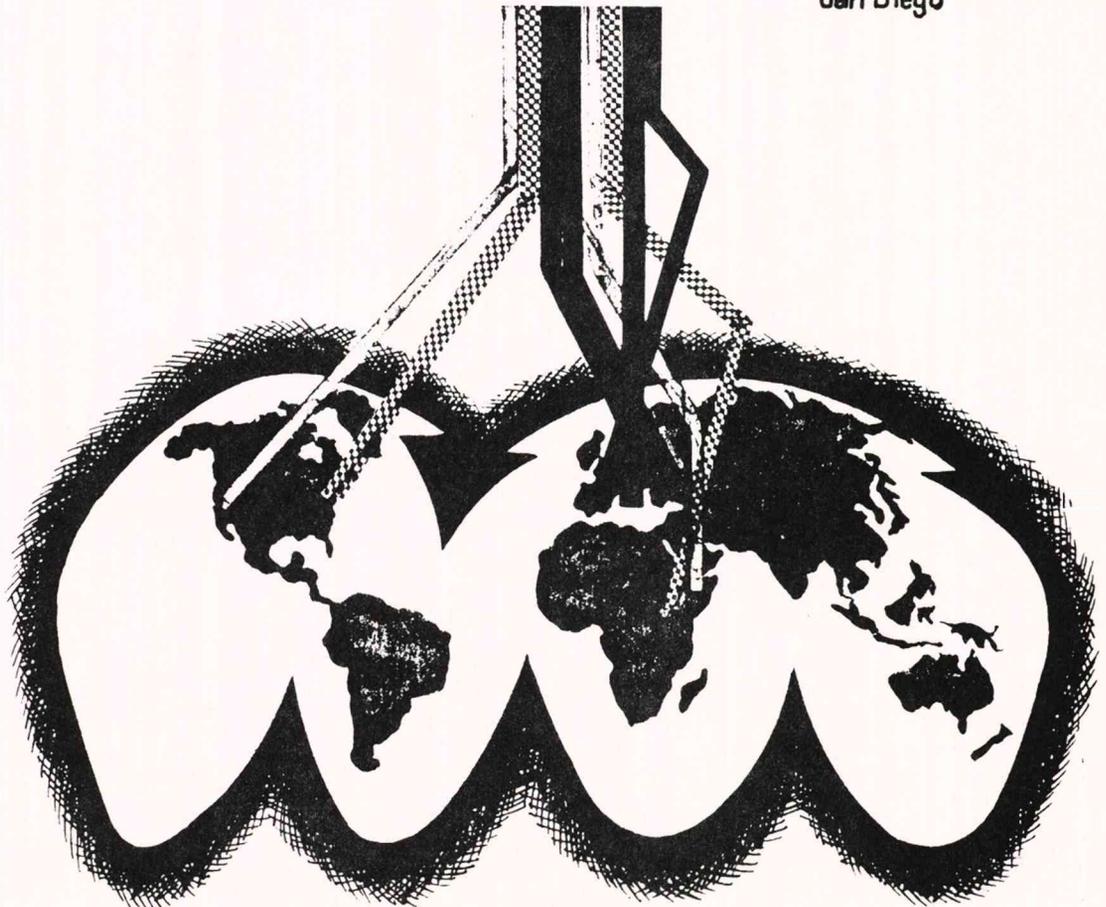
LV. SAN DIEGO  
Aug.11  
NEW YORK  
Aug.11-13  
(UN Headquarters)  
GENEVA  
Aug.14-18  
ECOSOC-UNICEF-  
WHO

BUCHAREST  
Aug.18-22  
WPC  
ADDIS ABABA  
Aug.22-26  
UNEC

NAIROBI  
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UNEP  
ROME  
Aug.30-Sept.3  
FAO  
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ARR. LOS ANGELES  
& SAN DIEGO  
Sept.7

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information and  
applications  
contact UN  
Association of  
San Diego



UN ASS

# CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY • LOS ANGELES

5151 STATE UNIVERSITY DRIVE LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90032

Telephone (213) 224-3503



June 26, 1974

Elizabeth Borgese  
The Center  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Elizabeth Borgese:

This letter is a request for your personal attention to a regional conference in the southwest of the United States next fall designed to focus attention on the results of the Bucharest world population meeting.

The conference is being planned for October 25 and 26, 1974, by the United Nations Association, Southern California Division, and California State University, Los Angeles in cooperation with a number of interested and supporting agencies including the Population Institute (headquarters in Washington, D.C.), local Planned Parenthood chapters, the local Catholic Human Relations Council, and the Ecology Task Force of the Southern California Council of Churches.

We are writing to ask you to be a speaker at the conference. The style of the meeting will be workshops based on the five major continents, interspersed with plenary sessions for data gathering and reporting of findings. We anticipate participation in the conference by twelve or fifteen people who will have had the Population Tribune experience in Bucharest. We hope to have with us that weekend Philander Claxton and one member of the U.S. delegation and will circulate written material from Bucharest for study ahead of time. Our goal is to engage four hundred persons representing a cross section of the Southern California community in a serious discussion and analysis of the world population situation and what we should be doing about it.

A similar conference is being planned at Oregon State University in Corvallis and in Tucson, Arizona, a few days either before or after our meeting in the hopes that you might be able to combine visits and be available to these other regions of the west coast. They will, also, be in touch with you about their plans.

Elizabeth Borgese

Page Two

June 26, 1974

We understand the difficulties of being asked for your time in so many places spread out around the world; however, we feel this conference can be an important reflection of Bucharest decisions which we intend to communicate to our State Department. We feel that citizen involvement in these crucial issues this year is very important to the development of enlightened U.S. policy, and we feel your presence with us would galvanize some action in this corner of the globe.

Apologies for the lateness of our request. We hope to hear soon that you are able to be with us. Best wishes to you in your planning for Bucharest and in your continued leadership of the Environment Program.

Sincerely yours,



Albert G. Cohen

P.S. Please address all correspondence to:

Albert G. Cohen  
c/o Office of Community Services  
California State University, Los Angeles  
5151 State University Drive  
Los Angeles, California 90032



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

*Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795*

March 15, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

Regarding your address at our annual membership meeting on April 20, we would very much like to have some material for publicity purposes. Could you, therefore, send us one or two glossy prints 8 by 10 inches in size as well as your biographical data. We are all looking forward to your presence in Pasadena.

Cordially yours,

*Janice Transchel*

Janice Transchel  
Press Chairman  
Pasadena Chapter UNA-USA

UN ASS  
Pasadena

The  
Center *for the Study of Democratic Institutions / The Fund for the Republic, Inc.*



May 6, 1974.

Mrs. Mary G. Langford  
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.  
456 East Colorado Blvd.  
Pasadena, Cal. 91 101

Dear Mary,

Thanks for your letter and the check. That is very, very nice of you. And I'm looking forward to receiving Ethel Gentry's as well.

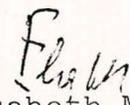
And we certainly shall follow up on the San Diego meeting.

The June meeting has been transferred to Caracas. There is too much going on in the U.N. go get the Ambassadors out here in early June. In Caracas, furthermore, we can hit a far greater number than we would have been able to bring out here. So I think it is all for the good -- except that we'll have to miss your company!

Let us keep in touch.

With all good wishes, and many thanks again,

Yours cordially,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

*Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795*

April 26, 1974.

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Friends of the International Ocean Institute  
P. O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103

Dear Elisabeth:

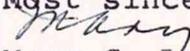
The materials regarding the International Ocean Institute have been received. Thank you much. I hasten to join as an Associate Individual Member among its Friends and trust this starts a trend from this part of the country. Another check, correctly made out, was mailed you by Ethel Gentry, our President, who wishes me to express her appreciation for your visit with us, as well as for your most stimulating talk concerning Mankind's common heritage - The Sea and Its peaceful uses. Your devoted enthusiasm was contagious.

The UNA-USA, San Diego is having the UNA So. California Division quarterly meeting, July 20th, and their subject matter is The Ocean. I believe that Dr. Woodrow Whitten spoke to you about it. This would be, I believe, an opportunity to circulate some Friends membership blanks and brochures.

We should very much like to have your secretary notify us of the dates in June when there will be a discussion at the Center on the agenda for the Caracas Meeting and other matters pertinent to the Sea. Several of us (no more than three) are vitally interested and, should it be possible, would like to audit.

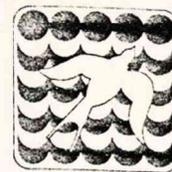
It was a deeply inspiring Saturday for all of us and we hope it is just the beginning of a continuing cooperative participation.

Meanwhile, our best thoughts and wishes are with you in helping make the '70's truly the decade of the Sea.  
G o o d L u c k!!!

Most sincerely,  
  
Mary G. Langford

encl.

Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103



Pacem in Maribus

May 7, 1974

Mr. John Warren  
Loeb & Loeb  
One Wilshire Building  
Suite 1600  
Wilshire Boulevard at Grand Avenue  
Los Angeles, California 90017

Dear Mr. Warren,

Enclosed is a copy of the deposit slip to the account of the Friends of the International Ocean Institute in the amount of \$25.00, representing a contribution from:

Mrs. Mary G. Langford  
United Nations Ass. of the U.S.A.  
456 East Colorado Blvd.  
Pasadena, Cal. 91101.

Mrs. Langford wishes to become an "Associate individual member."

Yours sincerely,

Jean Muller, Assistant to  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese



# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

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*Answered*

March 22, 1974

Ms. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
P. O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Ms. Borgese:

Once a year the Pacific Chapter of the United Nations Association holds a large meeting for its members and has a speaker of national prominence.

At the Pacem in Terris meetings in Washington I heard you speak and was very impressed with your perception and intelligence. It would be an honor if you would be our guest speaker at the annual meeting which will be held April 23,24 or 25. We could pay an honorarium of \$500 plus your hotel and related expenses.

Would you please let us know if you are available any of the above dates as soon as possible, as we must get the appropriate information to our members early in April.

Hoping to receive a favorable reply, I am

Yours sincerely,

*Ricki Pecker*

Ricki Pecker  
Vice President, Pacific Chapter, UNA-USA

The  
Center *for the Study of Democratic Institutions / The Fund for the Republic, Inc.*



April 10, 1974

Mrs. Mary G. Langford  
Vice President  
UNA USA Pasadena  
456 East Colorado Blvd.  
Pasadena, California 91101

Dear Mrs. Langford,

Thanks for your letter of April 5. I will  
be at your office at 1230 on April 20 as you  
suggest.

Looking forward to meeting you.

Cordially yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow

March 15, 1974

Mrs. Mary G. Langford  
Vice-President  
UNA-USA, Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Blvd.  
Pasadena, California 91101

Dear Mrs. Langford:

Thank you for your written confirmation.

I am enclosing some biographical data.

The title for the speech might be: The Impact of  
Technologies on International Organization-- the future  
of the oceans, the energy crisis, and earth resource  
management.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Cordially yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow

Encl.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

*Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795*

March 11, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this morning relative to your acceptance of our invitation to be guest luncheon speaker at our Annual Membership Meeting on Saturday, April 20, 1974 at 1:00 p.m. at the new Pasadena Conference Center.

We shall be happy to pay an honorarium of \$250 and, as I understand it, since you plan to make the round trip by car in one day, neither transportation nor housing facilities are needed.

As indicated in my conversation with you, we are interested in the need to understand the development of transnational management of not only the world's oceans and their resources but also management of earth resources, energy, weather control, etc., -- all concerns of planetary scope. This all falls naturally into the field of United Nations consideration. We shall leave the selection of the title for your address to you.

At this meeting we will also be host to the Annual Election Meeting of the UNA-USA Southern California Division, which should bring out members from the UNA-USA Chapters of Southern California, giving a fairly broad representation of membership.

(continued)

The luncheon will be open to the public as our community contribution to Pasadena's Centennial Year activities. Former Ambassador Charles Yost was our guest speaker at the UN Day festivities, which were part of the opening dedicatory ceremonies for the new Pasadena Conference Center. In light of all this, it would appear that we, as a community, are ready for your contribution.

Would you be good enough to mail us, as soon as possible, your biographical data as well as the title of your address so that we can program our publicity.

Concerning details of arrival and where to park, I shall communicate with you later on.

Needless to say, it was a fortuitous delight to reach you directly by phone.

Looking forward to your presence among us,

Most sincerely,

(Mrs) *Mary G Langford* home

Mary G. Langford  
Vice-President  
UNA-USA, Pasadena Chapter

1016 Coolidge Dr.  
San Gabriel Ca  
91775

MGL:r

3/19/74  
*Sent Ocean R  
to Hanna*

November 8, 1973.

Mr. Carnzu A. Clark  
United Nations Association  
129 East Carrillo Street  
Santa Barbara, Cal. 93 101

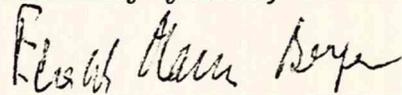
Dear Mr. Clark:

I want to thank you for your thanks! I am very happy that the piece was useful.

We are now working on energy, which poses analogous problems. I am enclosing a project outline, and a suggestion for an International Energy Institute.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese.

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



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October 9, 1973

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Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of  
Democratic Institutions  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93108

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

On behalf of our Board I wish to thank you for your very stimulating article published recently in VISTA magazine of the U.N.A. entitled "Who Owns the Earth's Resources?"

You may be interested to know that this article was the subject of discussion at a recent group meeting at our office.

At our suggestion Mr. Robert Sollen wrote an article which was published in the News Press on September 26, 1973, page C.15, in which he brought your comments to the attention of the Santa Barbara community.

With best wishes for the success of Pacem in Terris III,

I am

Sincerely yours

*Carnzu A. Clark*

Carnzu A. Clark  
President

*By S.M.S.*

August 30, 1973.

Mrs. William E. Frye  
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.  
530 Ramona Street  
Palo Alto, California 94 301.

Dear Mr. Frye:

Thanks for your kind letter of August 27. I would love to join you for United Nations Day on October 24th. Unfortunately I'll be abroad at that time (India, China, Japan).

Whatever you will do to spread the word, about IERMO, about the Ocean Regime, and the whole approach, will be most enthusiastically appreciated.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

530 Ramona Street  
Palo Alto Ca.  
94301

August 27, 1973

Dr. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Santa Barbara, Ca.

Dear Dr. Borgese:

Your most stimulating article, "Who Owns the Earth's Resources", in the August issue of VISTA prompts me to ask if you would be the speaker at our Program on United Nations Day, Wednesday, October 24th. It is to be held at the Palo Alto Cultural Center, refreshments served at 7:30 and Program from 8:15 to 9:30 P.M.

It seems to me very important that your concept of an International Earth Management Organization be widely publicized.

If you are not available to speak on UN day, would you be willing to come at a later date?

Sincerely yours,

*Elizabeth Frye*

Mrs. William E. Frye  
Chairman, Program Committee

April 27, 1971

Mr. Lawrence Droutman  
United Nations Association  
833 United Nations Plaza  
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Droutman:

Thank you for your letter of April 23 requesting information on the Pacem In Maribus publications.

Dodd, Mead and Company, New York City, will be publishing a selected bibliography of this material in October. The Royal University of Malta will be publishing six volumes of this material -- everything produced in connection with our first Pacem In Maribus Convocation -- this coming June. You may write to either of these sources for the material you wish.

Under separate cover I am sending you a description of the study projects which will form the basis of the discussions at Pacem In Maribus-II, to be held in Malta, June 29 - July 5, 1971. Enclosed with this letter is a folder describing this year's convocation.

If you have any other questions, I shall be glad to answer them.

Sincerely yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Secretary-General  
Pacem In Maribus

P.S. Also, under separate cover, is a reprint of an article that appeared in the Saturday Review.

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*National Chairman, UN Day 1970 (By appointment of President Nixon)*  
Frederick L. Ehrman  
*Senior Partner and  
Chairman of the Executive Committee, Lehman Bros.*

April 23, 1971

Publications  
Center for the Study of  
Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103

Dear Sirs:

We are considering doing a study on Science and Technology and the UN. We would appreciate if you could send to us your five volumes on Pacem in Maribus and any other material that you may have published concerning your conference held in Malta.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Lawrence Drouzman'.

Lawrence Drouzman

LD/ed



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

LONG BEACH CHAPTER, 3517 EAST BROADWAY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90803  
Telephone: 438-0482

April 26, 1974

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow  
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
P.O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

Thank you most sincerely for your prompt reply to my letter of invitation to be our luncheon speaker for the June 15 Annual Meeting of the Long Beach Chapter, United Nations Association of the United States of America.

Ten members of our Board were present in Pasadena on April 20 and were greatly impressed with the depth of your understanding of the interdependence of nations and your profound expertise about the oceans and international law of the seas. I am most happy that a person like yourself will be in Caracas this summer.

On January 26 we formed a coalition of community organizations and sponsored a day-long conference on the "Global Interdependence of Nations" which was a remarkable success. People are seeking to learn, so we are now looking toward building on this momentum for UN Week in October.

This is to invite you to be with us for lunch on Saturday, October 19, when we are planning to begin a week of activities. Possibly we will have seminars in the morning; plans are just beginning. We do know that your message from the UN Conference on the Law of the Seas will be extremely important.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Joyce E. Clark'.

Mrs. Joyce E. Clark  
President

April 15, 1974

Mrs. Forrest E. Clark  
President  
United Nations Ass. of the U.S.A.  
Long Beach Chapter  
3517 East Broadway  
Long Beach, California 90803

Dear Mrs. Clark,

Thank you very much for your letter of April 8.  
Unfortunately I will be in Caracas at the time of your  
meeting. Perhaps we can get together another time.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
Senior Fellow



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

LONG BEACH CHAPTER, 3517 EAST BROADWAY, LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA 90803  
Telephone: 438-0482

April 8, 1974

Mrs. Elizebeth Mann Borghese  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
P.O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borghese:

Ten members of the Board of Directors of the Long Beach Chapter, United Nations Association of the United States of America, are planning to attend the Spring Membership Meeting of the Southern California Division on April 20 in Pasadena. We are looking forward to hearing your luncheon address on the "Law of the Seas" and the upcoming UN Conference. This is a most important topic.

Therefore, this is to extend an invitation to you to address the Long Beach Chapter at its Annual Membership Meeting which is being planned as a luncheon on Saturday, June 15, 1974. Our Chapter Program Committee is meeting on Tuesday, April 16th, to plan the details.

I would be very pleased to have your reply as soon as possible to enable us to complete the design of the meeting. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Forrest E. Clark  
President

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION  
March 27, 1974

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Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions  
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93108

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

On behalf of the League of Women Voters and the United Nations Association, we thank you for your participation in the television series relative to the Great Decisions program. We feel that the television presentations enriched the community at large as well as benefitting the Great Decisions discussion groups.

We are following up this series with a meeting where members of the groups and the television panelists might meet each other. This gathering will be Thursday, April 18 at 7:30 P.M. at the Eastside Public Library, 1102 E. Montecito Street, Santa Barbara. Refreshments will be served.

We cordially invite you to attend. We will not expect you to speak formally but would be pleased if you would care to respond to questions pertaining to your particular subject. Some of the discussion group participants have expressed an interest in further information in certain areas.

We have invited Congressmen Lagomarsino and Ketchum to be present also.

We do hope to see you on the 18th. In any event, we certainly appreciate the time you have given to the Great Decisions program.

Sincerely yours,

*Janet Wienpahl*  
Janet Wienpahl, Coordinator



# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

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April 1, 1974

Ms. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Ms. Borgese:

We are very sorry to have to cancel your kind acceptance to speak at our annual membership meeting on April 23, 1974. A conflict occurred when a member of the Program Committee obtained a speaker through the United Nations Association in New York at the same time we were writing to you.

Ever since hearing you speak at Pacem in Terris in Washington, it has been my great desire to have you speak to our members, and we hope this can be arranged in the near future.

We are truly sorry for the error.

Yours sincerely,

Ricki Pecker, Vice President  
Pacific Chapter, UNA-USA

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION

April 16, 1974

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MRS. RHODA PRUD'HOMME

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, Ca., 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

As you may know, the main theme for United Nations Day celebrations in 1974 is "The Law of the Sea". Our Association has already reserved LaCumbre Plaza Mall for Saturday, October 19 for educational displays built around this theme and other related activities of the U.N. We will have the cooperation of many community groups and there will be extensive publicity. International entertainment will also be featured.

U.N. Day is October 24. On or about that date we should like to plan a conference on the Law of the Sea which would be open to many of the community's educational and affected groups as possible.

By unanimous vote of our Board I am writing to ask if you would help us organize such a conference, and if you would be our chief speaker.

The Mayor will ask our advice as to whom he should appoint as honorary chairman of U.N. Day. Because of your long-standing interest and expertise in the Law of the Sea, we should very much like to submit your name, if you will permit us to do so. Naturally, if you accept, our office and membership would be responsible for the detailed arrangements.

If you are in a position to consider any of our proposals, several of us would like very much to confer with you about them, at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

*Carnzu A. Clark*

Carnzu A. Clark (Miss)  
President *Ry S. M. J.*

*964-5535*

SMJ/

129 EAST CARRILLO STREET

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101

(805) 962-6206

U.N.

The  
Center *for the Study of Democratic Institutions / The Fund for the Republic, Inc.*



April 19, 1974.

Miss Carnzu A. Clark  
United Nations Association  
Santa Barbara Chapter  
129 East Carrillo Street  
Santa Barbara, Cal. 93 101.

Dear Miss Clark:

I tried to call you, but was unable to reach you.

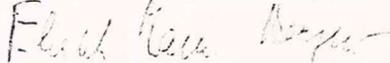
What I wanted to say is that I would be happy to help you with the organization of the conference in every possible way and make a speech. I am going to be in Caracas all summer, for the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea, so I may have some fresh information...

As to the question of the honorary chairman of U.N. Day, I am of course flattered, but would it not be more meaningful to give it to a genuine Santabarbarian? For instance, to Robert Hutchins who, as you probably know, is about to retire as Chairman of the Center but who has done so very very much for world order and for the law of the sea that one should not miss any opportunity to signify one's gratefulness and recognition?

I shall be in Santa Barbara until early June -- then I'll be gone until the middle of September. Perhaps we can get together in May.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

  
Elisabeth Mann Borgese.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice*

*Pasadena Chapter  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena, California 91101  
Telephone 449-1795*

April 5, 1974

Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

We are looking forward to having you with us Saturday, April 20th. Thank you for the biographical data, the photo, and the two Center magazines requested of your secretary.

The luncheon at the Pasadena Conference Center, which is a block from our International Center, is scheduled for 1:00 p.m.. My suggestion would be that you arrive here at 456 East Colorado Blvd. by 12:30 p.m. and we can then walk over to the place of meeting.

The route from Santa Barbara is direct. From the Ventura Freeway going south, take the #134 turn off going to Pasadena. Go to the end of #134 to the Orange Grove ramp. Turn right on Orange Grove; go one short block to Green Street. Turn left (east). Keep going left --Green Street is a one way street --to Los Robles. Turn left on Los Robles, keep to the right for the next turn Converse Alley, which is in mid-block to the right, leading into the parking lot in back of our Center. We shall expect you there.

I trust the weather will be as gorgeous that day as it has been the last two days here -- sunny, warm, with the definite feel of spring.

Until then.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Mary G. Langford' with a stylized flourish at the end.

Mary G. Langford  
Vice-President  
UNA-USA Pasadena

April 22, 1974.

Mrs. Mary G. Langford  
UNA-USA Pasadena  
456 East Colorado Boulevard  
Pasadena California 91 101

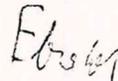
Dear Mary:

First of all, thank you for all your hospitality and for taking care of me so beautifully. Your introduction was memorable, and I shall have to spend the rest of my life trying to live up to it!

Second, here is some material regarding the International Ocean Institute. The "Friends of the International Ocean Institute" has just been granted permanent status as a public foundation, so that contributions are tax-exempt. So if you can get me a few members, that will be great. Among your own members, and the people who came to the conference, there should be many candidates.

All the best to you,

Yours cordially,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese.

P.S. I am returning the check. Could you make another one to the International Ocean Institute? It would make things much simpler. Thanks.

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
SANTA BARBARA CHAPTER**



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April 2, 1974

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese  
Center for the Study of  
Democratic Institutions  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
S.B., Ca. 93108

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

On behalf of the United Nations Association and the League of Women Voters, I am writing to express our appreciation to you for appearing on the Great Decisions television broadcast on The People's Republic of China.

Your first-hand experience in visiting China brought a clear insight into the discussion, and I am sure our group participants, and the public at large, were most interested in the thoughts which you expressed.

Sincerely yours,

*Carnzu A. Clark*

Carnzu A. Clark  
President  
*by S.M.V.*