



Dalhousie University

COPY

International Ocean
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta

11 August 1991

Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
The Group of 78
145 Spruce Street
#206
Ottawa Ont K1R 6P1

Dear Geoff:

Thanks for your letter of August 2.

It looks like a very interesting conference. I am enclosing a little c.v.
Everything else is under control. So far.

Yes, indeed, it will be nice to see you again.

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese



International Ocean Institute

P.O. Box 524
VALLETA, MALTA

Telephone: 236596
Telefax: 247594
Cables: INTEROCEAN
Telex: 1946 OCEANS MW

23 May 1991

Ambassador Geoffrey Pearson
The Group of 78
145 Spruce St. #206
Ottawa Ont. K1R 6P1

Dear Geoff:

If you invite me -- how can I refuse? I happen to be here in early October, and I'll do my best. The subject certainly is challenging.

Basically I will be here during the summer, although there are a number of short trips overseas. I think I'll have to go to Europe three times!

The Training programme is on, as every year, starting June 10.

Pacem in Maribus XIX, Lisbon, November 16-20, is shaping up very well. I am enclosing the background paper as well as the agenda, because it is all really closely related to the Group of 78 agenda.

I see on your stationary that you have J.King Gordon alive and Walter Gordon dead. Is it that Walter Gordon died before King did, and this is old stationary, or is it a typo about which Walter Gordon would not be too happy?

I visited Ruth Gordon recently. She is holding up fairly well.

I imagine you are busy with your father's work. We would need him today. I am not happy with Canadian policy today. We could do so much better!

I'll be in Ottawa again around the middle of June, to see Marcel Massé. Will you be there? I would love to see you. I often think about you.

My love to both of you,

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Geoffrey Pearson
199 Daly Ave.
Ottawa, Ont.
K1N 6G1

March 14th

454 1396

Dear Elizabeth

Yes! I did receive
a copy of the opera. Thank
you and apologies for not
telling you - I must have
imagined that you were so
absorbed in the oceans and
the letters that the rest didn't
matter. As for \$10 million,
have you tried the Livings?
Or Exxon? Or DND?
What is it for, anyway?

C. of 78 is trying to
organise a King Gordon dinner.
Perhaps in June. Will you come?
I am back from Nicaragua, where
democracy is now popular.
Love, Geoffrey Pearson



Dalhousie University

International Ocean
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta
March 22, 1990

COPY

*Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
199 Daly Ave.
Ottawa, Ont.
K1N 6G1*

Dear Geoff:

Thanks for your letter of March 14, just received.

Of course I wasn't to come for the King Gordon dinner. There are a few other things in June, e.g., an ICOD Board meeting from the 11th to the 14th, and then I ought to make a quick trip to Prague. But I guess, early in the month or the end of the month would be all right -- although I am not very good in putting dates on my calendar and therefore occasionally end up booking two things on the same day in different parts of the world....

Thanks for the fund raising indications. I'll follow up.

The Endowment Fund is to ensure the continued existence of the International Ocean Institute -- after I kick the bucket and won't be raising a million dollars a year any more!

And now, in this context, let me be unabashedly shameless:

I have contrived to get myself nominated for the 1990 Royal Bank Award, which is \$100,000 and would be a great start for the Endowment, because, if I get it, I'll go after the other major Banks as well. Could you support that nomination? Your little letter should be addressed, I think, to Jane E. Lawson, Secretary to the Selection Committee Royal Bank Award, P.O. Box 1102, 3rd Floor, 1 Place Ville Marie, Montreal, Quebec H3C 2X9.

The award goes to Canadians who do some good to the local, national or international community.

Fund raising is an abominable job.

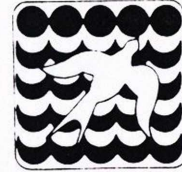
Much love

Elzabeta



Dalhousie University

International Ocean
Institute



I.O.I. - Malta
March 6, 1990

Copy

*Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
199 Daly Avenue
Ottawa, Ont. K1N 6G1*

Dear Geoff:

Long time no see.

How are you? What are you doing?

A long, long time ago I asked my assistant to mail to you a second copy of that Mannino/ Borgese opera. Did you ever get it, or is there a jinx on it?

I am on my way to Beijing, but will be back on the 18th of March. the oceans still keep me hectically busy. Too much work. I am trying to raise an endowment fund of \$10 million. Any advice?

It would be nice to see you some time some where.

My love to both of you,

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Geoffrey Pearson
199 Daly Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 6G1

December 11th

Dear Elizabeth

I never did receive the record about the witch!
But I am happy being lost
causes like the Group of 78
and thinking about a book
on LBN in the '50s.
Can we find a common cause
and platform? I hope
so in 1990.

Warmest wishes for
Xmas and 1990.

Geoffrey Pearson.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY
INSTITUT CANADIEN POUR LA PAIX ET LA SÉCURITÉ INTERNATIONALES

307 Gilmour, Ottawa, Canada K2P 0P7

(613) 990-1593

March 19, 1986

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese
Pearson Institute
1321 Edward Street
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3H5

Elizabeth
Dear Mrs. Mann Borgese:

Please find enclosed a cheque to the amount of \$2000.00 as first payment towards your project entitled **"World Space Organization"** for which we have received a detailed outline.

We will be awaiting with interest a first draft in the early fall.

Good luck.

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey Pearson

Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director

GP/sml

Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security
Institut Canadien Pour la Paix et la Sécurité Internationales
P.O. BOX 3425, STATION D, OTTAWA, ONT. K1P 6L4

001494

March 20 19 86

PAY Two Thousand -----xx \$ 2,000.00
100

TO
THE
ORDER
OF

Elizabeth Mann Borgese

Canadian Institute For International Peace
and Security
Institut Canadien Pour la Paix
et la Sécurité Internationales

Per

Per



Bank of Montreal
112 KENT STREET
OTTAWA, ONT.

⑆24446⑆00⑆1⑆1018⑆376⑆

INTERCHEQUES

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
HALIFAX, N.S.
B3H 4H6

VICE-PRESIDENT

April 25, 1986

To: Deans/Chairpersons/Department Heads/Directors
From: Mary Dwyer
Office of Research Services
Re: Research Grant Programme - Canadian Institute for International
Peace and Security

Please find enclosed information concerning the research grant programme of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. The Institute invites applications for support of research projects which fall within their mandate, viz: defence, arms control, disarmament, and conflict resolution. I would appreciate it if you could circulate this information to the appropriate members of your Department.

Application forms are available from the Office of Research Services. Please contact me at 6513 if you have any questions.


Mary Dwyer
Research Officer

encl.

CRITERIA AND PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH GRANT APPLICATIONS

Introduction

Bill C-32, which established the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security states that:

"The purpose of the Institute is to increase knowledge and understanding of the issues relating to international peace and security from a Canadian perspective, with particular emphasis on arms control, disarmament, defence and conflict resolution, and to

- a) foster, fund and conduct research on matters relating to international peace and security;
- b) promote scholarship in matters relating to international peace and security;
- c) study and propose ideas and policies for the enhancement of international peace and security, and;
- d) collect and disseminate information on, and encourage public discussion of issues of international peace and security."

The Institute has therefore a two-fold mandate for its Research Programme. On the one hand it conducts research on its own and on the other hand it fosters and funds research in areas related to international peace and security.

The Research Grant Programme is addressing this second objective in inviting Canadian researchers to submit projects in the field of international peace and security. The Programme aims at sponsoring research projects in the four areas of the Institute's mandate which will produce research output susceptible of wide publication or dissemination.

1. General Criteria

- a. Applications must fall within the areas defined in the purposes of the Institute as set out in the Act, namely issues relating to international peace and security with particular emphasis on arms control, disarmament, defence and conflict resolution. The Institute intends to give roughly equal attention to these subjects.
- b. Where appropriate, applications should identify or propose a Canadian perspective.

- c. In addition to basic research on international peace and security issues, the Institute is also interested in proposals which have demonstrated policy relevance, and particularly to ideas and policies aimed at the enhancement of international peace and security over the longer term.
- d. The Institute welcomes projects which complement the planned programmes and research activities of the Institute. In 1986-88 in addition to a previous theme on challenges deterrence another principal theme will be "Strengthening Multilateral Approaches to Peace and Security".
- e. Applications which promote co-operation amongst institutions and/or regions of Canada are encouraged.

2. Relationship to Other Granting Agencies

Applicants should identify other agencies to which the proposal may have been submitted.

3. Standards of Scholarship

The following criteria will be taken into consideration in assessing the project:

- a. The qualifications and relevant experience of the principal researchers
- b. The amount of time committed to the project by the principal researchers
- c. The research design and method, including the nature and availability of sources
- d. The degree to which it will expand existing knowledge
- e. Creativity and originality
- f. Research proposals from applicants associated with research institutes or academic institutions should include the signature of the appropriate research/review officer of the institution.

4. Publications

The Institute may enter into an agreement with the applicant(s) to undertake publication, or leave the applicant(s) to publish. In either case, the Institute may seek to ensure that the results of research are disseminated widely either in their original version or in a form suitable for a broader audience.

5. Budget

- a. All applicants must submit a detailed budget and specify the amount requested of the Institute.
- b. Research grants are intended to help defray the actual costs of the proposed research, subject to certain limitations on rates and eligibility.
- c. Maximum rates for research assistant and research associate salaries will be those adopted by the University of affiliation, and in the case of private scholars, those approved by the Board of Directors of the Institute.
- d. The funds provided must not be used
 - to contribute to indirect costs or overhead;
 - to pay honoraria or fees to an invited researcher in order to give lectures or seminars or to provide consultation or advice, although travel and subsistence costs may be considered; and
 - to pay any expense not directly related to the research.
- e. Awards will be conditional on the establishment of agreed accounting procedures.

6. Procedures

a. Application Forms

All applicants are required to complete in triplicate the attached application form.

Applicants must identify other agencies to which the proposal may be submitted and must notify the Institute of any funding received.

b. Deadlines

Applicants are responsible for ensuring that all information and supporting material is received by the Institute on or before the deadline for which they wish their project to be considered.

For the 1986/87 fiscal year the deadlines will be as follows:

1st Quarter	15 May	1986	for June decision
2nd Quarter	15 August	1986	for October decision
3rd Quarter	14 November	1986	for December decision
4th Quarter	2 February	1987	for March decision

Grants of \$10,000 or less will be considered quarterly; August and February are the deadlines for grants over \$10,000.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND
SECURITY AND ITS MANDATE

Address to the Royal United Services Institute of Nova Scotia

22 January, 1986

Geoffrey Pearson

You have been thinking about issues of peace and security for most of your professional lives. So have I. You, as soldiers, and sailors, and airmen, and I as a diplomat, undoubtedly have somewhat different perceptions--after all, our areas of specialization were different—but I suspect that we share some of the same basic concepts, and that we have puzzled over some of the same basic questions.

For instance, I am sure you have asked yourselves: "what do we mean by peace?" The best answer that I have found to that question comes from St. Augustine, who said that peace "is a well-disposed order of all things." It is significant that he spoke of "order", for it brings in the concept of "security", which is not the same as "peace", but is an essential condition of peace. There is no peace without order. But there can be order without peace. It is a "well- disposed" order that denotes peace, implying that

another essential condition of peace is justice. He said that such a peace applies to "all things". Perhaps we can read into this phrase the meaning that peace is a matter of human behaviour, whether it be individuals, families, groups, or nations.

The search for peace and security has engaged your profession and mine from early history to the present age. However, during the past 50 or so years the conditions under which we work have changed. The two most significant changes are the involvement of civilian populations, largely as victims, in the Second World War and subsequent wars and acts of terrorism, and the development of nuclear weapons. These developments have changed the nature of war, or at least of war between the superpowers. And this change has of course altered international relations. Many people think that war between or among the major nations of the world is no longer a viable option. If that is the case, how does a nation-state maintain security against external aggression?

Coincidentally, at least in the broad sweep of history, the idea of democracy has become more widespread, meaning that governments of whatever 'ism' can only derive legitimacy from the consent of their populations.

What we have then, during the latter half of the twentieth century, and more particularly, since the 1960's, is growing popular pressure to make governments more accountable, not least for decisions that could lead to nuclear war. Questions of war and peace are not and cannot be the exclusive purview of political leaders, soldiers, diplomats, and think tanks. The people are very much involved, both as potential victims and as the source of their leader's power. The troubling question is how this involvement is to be exercised in an age of computer-based decision-making which appears to leave no time for reflection or consultation.

The Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security was first proposed in the Speech from the Throne of 7 December, 1983. If you cast your minds back to that period, you will recall that relations between the

United States and the Soviet Union were worse than usual. The Soviets had shot down the Korean Airliner in September, and throughout the autumn charges and counter-charges between East and West had exacerbated existing tensions. Some commentators likened the downing of the airliner to the murder of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajevo in 1914, the incident that plunged Europe into World War I. Such comparison caused many people to do a good deal of soul-searching about ways and means of avoiding such a catastrophe. Prime Minister Trudeau launched his own peace initiative, and there was debate about how Canada could best contribute to stability and peace. A Canadian Institute on International Peace and Security was one of the ideas which emerged, the premise being that greater knowledge of issues of peace and security both in and outside of the government was a condition of wise policy.

During the spring of 1984 the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence held public hearings on the design and structure of the new Institute. More than 40 individuals and groups testified before it, and

it was soon obvious that there was widespread support for the concept of a publicly financed body with a broad mandate, free of political restraints and conditions. Cooperation among all parties in the house during this period augered well for the future.

Bill C-32, the Act which created the Institute states that:

"The purpose of the Institute is to increase knowledge and understanding of the issues relating to international peace and security from a Canadian perspective, with particular emphasis on arms control, disarmament, defence and conflict resolution, and to

- a) foster, fund and conduct research on matters relating to international peace and security;
- b) promote scholarship in matters relating to international peace and security;
- c) study and propose ideas and policies for the enhancement of international peace and security; and
- d) collect and disseminate information on, and encourage public discussion of issues of international peace and security."

While there are other Institutes both in Canada and abroad which are concerned with similar subjects, there are few which have as broad a mandate and are instructed both to do research and to foster the public debate. Translating that mandate and the dual nature of our function into manageable programmes is the challenge before us.

The Institute is a Crown Corporation. Members of the Board of Directors are appointed by the Government of Canada after consultation with a number of organizations across the country and with all recognized Parties in the House of Commons. There are 17 Directors, two of them from outside Canada. The level of funding is specified in the Act. These provisions help to ensure the independence of the Institute, which reports annually to Parliament through the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Board of Directors first met on October 1, 1984. They appointed an Executive Director on January 1, 1985. In addition to a small permanent staff, we have a number of people who come to the Institute for limited

periods of time; at the moment, for instance, we have 3 Fellows and 3 Student Research Assistants. My objective is to create and sustain an in-house dialogue between officials and academics, young and old, "warriors and priests."

Broadly speaking, the Institute is doing research in selected areas and using the results of that research to foster the public debate.

Specifically that means we have an in-house research capability with a growing library, that we commission research from other institutions, and that we fund research that others wish to do. We have, for example, done and commissioned some work on the nuclear freeze debate, the NORAD review, directed energy beam weapons, the military balance, deterrence. We looked at the Soviet and American arms control proposals at Geneva and did an

analysis of them for the press and public. We are working on a paper on the morality of deterrence as an ethical question, and on a survey of peace research and peace education in Canada. We have funded others doing work on the Contadora Process, economic conversion, Canadian attitudes on security and arms control, the coverage of foreign news in the Canadian media, the danger of accidental nuclear war, conflict resolution. The results of this work will be published in the form of reports and of Occasional Papers which we expect will be of interests to academics, researchers, officials.

For the interested, but non-expert public, we are producing a Background Paper series on subjects such as Canadian Responses to the Strategic Defence Initiative, A Nuclear Freeze, Conventional Arms Control in Europe, Nuclear Winter, the NORAD Review, Peace Education, East/West Relations. In the spring we will publish a quarterly periodical which will combine articles and features with news of Institute events, notices of

conferences and books. We expect it will be an informative, lively publication. We have held a major conference on challenges to deterrence. We expect that the report from that conference will be available next month.

Early in the life of the Institute, the Board decided that we should assist other groups, organizations and individuals working on projects of interest to us, but without the funds to complete them or start afresh. The Institute has a budget of 3 million dollars this year, a third of which is for grants. We discovered that if you set yourself up in business to give away money, there is a big demand for your product! I suppose that shouldn't have come as much of a surprise, but we were indeed surprised by the range and variety of requests.

On the Public Programmes side, we have made grants totalling over \$350,000 to this point in the fiscal year, and I expect that we will reach

\$500,000 before the end of March. We have funded a variety of projects and programmes, from conferences on European security in Toronto, Women's Alternatives to Negotiating Peace here in Halifax, Alternatives to Nuclear War in Vancouver, Pax Humana in Ottawa, to publications like the Peace Magazine and the proceedings of seminars by the CISS. We have funded theatre productions, computer software development, films, audio-visual materials, curriculum guides.

So far we have been responsive to what the public wants to do. We have of course established criteria for grants which set out the rules and conditions of what we will and will not fund. On the basis of our experience this year, we intend to focus these criteria on relationships with a number of national organizations with whom we have mutual interests.

For instance, we are exploring with the Film Board ways and means of cooperating with them on a package of materials for use in schools. We are working with a group which develops educational software for high schools, providing them with both funds and expertise. We are discussing areas of

cooperation with TV Ontario. We will keep a certain amount of money for responsive grants, but we will be more active in seeking out organizations and programmes with which we can cooperate.

On the Research side we have gone through much the same process. We have now established research themes for the coming year, and we have sought out partners to help us carry them out. Strengthening Multilateral Institutions will be our major area of interest in the next year. Within that framework we are funding and working with the North/South Institute to examine the role of multilateral institutions such as the CD in issues of international peace and security. We are working with SIPRI on issues related to the Comprehensive Test Ban. We are working with a group of academics expert in Central America issues on a programme emphasizing the sources of conflict and potential for conflict resolution, with particular emphasis on third party involvement and mediation. We are exploring the problem of the security of small states, particularly in the Caribbean, and the opportunities for multilateral bodies such as the Commonwealth to provide development assistance at the security level.

Much of what we are doing is classified as Peace Education by those who apply for grants, and a major objective of the Institute is to clarify this concept and to make it operational. "If you wish peace, prepare for war". That is the conceptual basis of what is called "deterrence". But it has never been a satisfactory basis for the relations between states, and is less so now. I am sympathetic to the high school teacher who is asked questions by her students that she has difficulty answering--questions about war and peace for instance--and I hope that we can provide background information which will allow her better to deal with those subjects. But this is mainly a task for professional educators. The Institute will not be involved in any direct way with education at the public and high school levels in this country.

Education, however, is more than formal education in schools: it also encompasses almost everything else we do--conferences, publications, films, TV shows--all can be classified as education. In that sense, many of the people of this country are, from our evidence, hungry for education about issues of peace and security.

Alfred Nobel, the munitions maker and founder of the Peace Prize directed that the prize should reward those who worked for "fraternity among nations," as well as for "the abolition or reduction of standing armies".

It is noteworthy I think that in the last few years many of the recipients of the Nobel Prize for Peace have been international organizations such as UNICEF, UNHCR, the ILO, the Red Cross, and most recently the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The fact that organizations, as well as individuals, have recently been awarded the prize, says something to us I think: it tells us that at least in the view of the Nobel juries, there are many ways to promote "fraternity among nations," and that just as war must be organized, so the conditions of peace require organized and sustained efforts to be put in place. I don't know whether human nature can be changed. I do know that peace has to do with order and justice, and that law courts, parliaments, and yes, armed forces, are necessary to those ends.

SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS
ON THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF A
WORLD SPACE ORGANISATION

by

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For any one who has followed the Law of the Sea negotiations, the 1985 Soviet proposal for the establishment of a World Space Organisation had a familiar ring. Motivation, conceptual basis, substance and proposed procedure were almost identical. While making only indirect reference to the Law of the Sea, however, the Soviet Foreign Minister, in introducing his proposal, referred explicitly to the 1946 negotiations on nuclear arms control. This author, therefore, felt the need to go back to those negotiations, particularly as reflected in the 1946 volume of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists which, retrospectively, makes absolutely fascinating reading.

This reading revealed astonishing similarities between the U.S. proposal for the establishment of an Atomic Development Authority and the discussions on the International Seabed Authority: similarities which had escaped commentators thus far. Both proposed institutions, in fact, are based on the concept that certain resources cannot be owned by States, companies or individuals and must be controlled and managed by the international Authority to be established. In both cases the authority was to engage directly in the exploration, mining, processing and marketing of the minerals in question: uranium and thorium, in the case of the Atomic Development Authority; nickel, cobalt, copper, and manganese, in the case of the Seabed Authority, while both could also grant licenses to States or private companies to engage in some of these activities under the control of the Authority.

This study tries to assess the main achievements and main shortcomings and failures, whether substantial or political, of both the atomic and the seabed negotiations and to draw some lessons for the forthcoming negotiations for the establishment of a World Space Organisation.

The atomic negotiations of 1946 give substantial support to a basic principle already proposed by the Soviet

Delegation: that the new organisation should serve both Development and Disarmament. On the procedural plane, this suggests a merger between the earlier French proposal for an International Satellite Monitoring Agency and the Soviet proposal. Another lesson to be drawn is avoidance of three political pitfalls: First, a new, positive approach is needed to get off the horns of the dilemma, which comes first: Disarmament or the establishment of the Authority? Second: Any attempt should be avoided to link the establishment of the new Authority to changes in the existing structure of the United Nations, especially the Security Council, and, third, provocative actions should be avoided while the negotiations are in course: a voluntary moratorium on military research in outer space might solve this problem.

From Geneva, 1946
 was caught at
 The Council
 member
 international
 of Raw D
 you Faculty

2, 1946

The lessons to be learned from the Law of the Sea negotiations are numerous, and partly positive, partly negative. The basic concepts can be carried over in toto: the concept of the common heritage of mankind -- already accepted for outer Space, but in need of more precise interpretation both in legal and economic terms, both in its disarmament and development aspects; the concept of the unity and indivisibility of space and the interdependence of usages, and, in this context, the multi-functional character of the Authority; the need to deal with both States and non-State entities and the need, therefore for an instrument that straddles public and private international law. Two major pitfalls are to be avoided: First, The Convention establishing the Authority must not be overburdened with detail prone to fall into quick obsolescence; some flexibility and mechanisms for prompt adaptation and change are essential; this implies a dynamic concept of the institution as a process more than a product. Secondly, the Authority must be built in such a way as to institutionalise cooperation between industry and the Authority rather than competition and collision. The negotiations on the "parallel system should serve as a lesson as to what not to do. More positive lessons can be drawn from space law itself - the INMARSAT Convention -, from the current, adaptive

5

developments in the L.o.S. Preparatory Commission, and from recent developments in organising research and development in high technology, especially in the European EUREKA framework.

Drawing on documents from all these domains, the author attempts to project a precedural scenario and to give some idea of the functions, powers, and structure of the proposed World Space Authority. Like the Law of the Sea Convention, a Convention establishing a World Space Authority has the potential to make a major contribution to the building of a new international order, to development and to disarmament, especially by providing the first institutional framework in the United Nations system, for creating a synthesis between both.

In conclusion, the author stresses the importance of this new international undertaking for Canada, both in economic and political terms and suggests a lead role for Canada as a bridge builder between the French and the Soviet proposals.

Dear Mr. V:

Let me begin by thanking you for your splendid hospitality and congratulate you for the great work accomplished. The Forum was a unique, memorable occasion, and I hope, in beginning of my own fruitful cooperation.

My fundamental & anxious one for the sake, and the Council will contribute as actively to it as I can, and I have hopes. Therefore, and in accordance with your invitation, I am leaving this short note to you. I would have been glad to include a few final presentations.

The reason for my long stay, as the whole I come to add. After to claim my ticket of Geneva, it was not that, and nobody that I could speak to had in heart about it. I missed it plane, and then struggled my way to Nairobi, where by a wonderful coincidence, another Geneva was being held. No body, with a ticket, and in Nairobi, seem to know the international schedule - I bought my own ticket, and am now arranging, with the kind assistance of you office, for a refund.

I am glad I struggled to get here!

With all good wishes and thanks again, and please count on my future cooperation

Yours sincerely

TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION OF MARINE RESOURCES

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY



PEARSON INSTITUTE
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE
MALTA

WORLD SPACE ORGANIZATION

Draft Outline

Introduction

On August 15, 1985, The Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, requesting to have the question of the nonmilitarization of outer space included in the agenda for the Fortieth General Assembly. He also proposed that the Assembly convene an international conference to discuss setting up a world space organization to promote international cooperation in peaceful outer space activities. He pointed out that specific actions aimed at creating space strike weapons were already under way, and if the process were not stopped, the arms race would intensify and broaden in scope, consuming still more resources and creating insurmountable obstacles to joint peaceful space activities on the part of States. Annexed to his letter was a draft resolution by which the Assembly would call on States to do everything possible with regard to stopping the arms race in outer space, thereby creating conditions for wide-ranging international cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. He suggested that the Assembly should decide to convene not later than 1987 an international conference on cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space. The conference would consider practical arrangements for setting up a world space organization, once agreement had been reached to ensure effectively the nonmilitarization of outer space.

In a memorandum accompanying the Foreign Minister's letter, the Soviet Union listed the advantages that would result from international cooperation to prevent an arms race in space. It said such cooperation would not only be in the interests of world peace, but would also make possible a sharing of the scientific benefits obtained from space exploration, which could be applied in biology, medicine,

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weather forecasting, environmental studies and communications. Remote sensing of the earth by satellites could yield global data for geology and agriculture, for exploration of seas and oceans, and for locating and rescuing disaster victims.

As envisioned in the Soviet memorandum, the new space agency would ensure the equal access of all States to the scientific and technological benefits derived from the exploration of outer space. It could promote the pooling of international resources in joint space projects for peaceful purposes and assist developing countries in that field. It could also help to monitor the observance of international agreements for the nonmilitarization of outer space. (Document A|40|192).

On September 24, in his statement to the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister, formally introduced the proposal.

Space, until recently the realm of science fiction writers, has now become an area of man's practical activity. Peaceful exploration of space holds out for mankind truly limitless prospects of utilizing scientific and technological achievements to promote the economic and social progress of the peoples and to solve the vast problems that face mankind on Earth.

However, these truly cosmic dimensions -- and I am not speaking figuratively -- also present new requirements to the inhabitants of the Earth and above all to the leaders of States.

There should be no repetition of the mistake made four decades ago when the States and peoples of the world were unable to prevent the great intellectual achievement of the mid-twentieth century -- the release of energy of the atom -- from becoming a means for the mass annihilation of human beings. This folly should not happen again at the end of this century when,

having filled the first pages of its space history, mankind is facing a choice -- either space will help to improve the living conditions of our planet or it will become the source of a new mortal danger.

Wishing to contribute to mankind's progress towards new heights of civilization, our country has taken a new major initiative by proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of an item "International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarization."

The Soviet Union has also submitted to the General Assembly specific proposals concerning the main directions and principles of broad international cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. Outer space is indivisible and all States should take part in its peaceful exploration.

This implies that progress should be made by joint efforts in both basic and applied areas of space exploration and that all the peoples should be able to benefit from space research. It is our view that such cooperation could best be carried out within the framework of a world space organization. But this could become a reality provided that all channels for militarizing the boundless reaches of outer space are closed off.

To counter the sinister plans of "Star Wars," the USSR is putting before the international community a concept of "Star Peace."

In August 1967, the Ambassador of Malta, Dr. Arvid Pardo, requested the inclusion of an item in the agenda of the following General Assembly, entitled, "Question of the peaceful uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil

thereof, beyond present limits of national jurisdiction."

on November 1, 1967, he formally introduced this item, in his now classical three-hour address to the First Committee of the General Assembly. In that address, essentially, he proposed the same substance and procedure with regard to the deep seabed, or "inner space." Space law and sea law have interacted from the beginning -- one picking up some basic principle from the other and developing it further, and this is then being taken over again by the other. But the analogy between the Maltese initiative of 1967 and the Soviet initiative of 1985 is absolutely striking.

As is well known, the Maltese proposal eventually led to the calling of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, its signature by 159 States and the setting up of the International Seabed Authority through the Preparatory Commission.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is

-- to explore the similarities and differences between these two initiatives, both with regard to procedure and to substance;

-- to study the lessons that can be drawn from the ocean experience for the space agenda, both as to what to do and what not to do. (E.g., the new organization should be simple, not overloaded with details, and flexible so as to be able to adjust to changing scientific and economic circumstances; there is an important lesson to be learned from the seabed experience.)

Relations with the Baruch/Lilienthal Plan for the international management of nuclear resources and technologies for peaceful purposes; as well as with the French proposal for an international satellite organisation

for the monitoring of compliance with disarmament and arms control agreements on earth, should also be examined.

The study will conclude with a set of recommendations, with specific attention to possible Canadian policy options.

The study will be a "think piece," setting a framework. Its length will not exceed 10,000 words. It might be followed up by more technical studies on the institutional, economic and political aspects of the new initiative. Such studies might be submitted in the form of Canadian Working Papers to the Outer Space Committee in case the Soviet initiative is taken up by that Committee, as would be highly desirable.

Procedure

The procedure initiated by the Soviet Union in 1985 is strikingly similar to that initiated by Malta in 1967. Projecting the analogy into the future, one would obtain the following sequence of possible events:

Oceans

Space

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Placing item on GA Agenda | 1. Placing item on GA Agenda |
| 2. Introduction of item in address to GA | 2. Introduction of item in address to GA |
| 3. Creation of Ad Hoc Committee | 3. Reference to Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space |
| 4. Adoption of Declaration of Principles | 4. Adoption of Declaration of Principles (re-examination and further development of Outer Space Treaty and Moon Treaty, in consideration of new scientific and strategic developments) |
| 5. Preparation of Agenda for UNCLOS III | 5. Preparation of Agenda for U.N. Conference on World Space Organization |

6. UNCLOS III

6.UNCWSO

7. Adoption of Convention
establishment of Prep.Com
to set up Authority

7. Adoption of Convention; establishment
of Prep.Com to set up WSO

The main difference in the two approaches appears to be that, in the ocean case, demilitarization was to be part of the process; in the Soviet approach to the establishment of a World Space Organization, demilitarization of Outer Space appears to be a sine qua non pre-condition. Whether this second procedure is politically more practical or less practical, will have to be examined.

Substance

There are a number of basic concepts common to both developments.

The seabed and its resources have been declared to be a common heritage of mankind, with the implications of

- non-appropriability
- joint management
- benefit sharing
- reservation for peaceful purposes
- preservation for future generations.

Outer space has already been declared "the common province of mankind" which corresponds to the concepts of "global commons" and is characterized by the absence of management.

The moon and its resources has already been declared a Common Heritage of Mankind, and "machinery" for the management of these resources is prescribed, when they become economically interesting.

The issue is to move, in outer space, from the concept of "common province" to that of "common heritage". The Soviet proposal provides for joint management of scientific research, benefit sharing, and reservation for peaceful purposes.

There are some basic differences as well, which, however, will tend to disappear.

The primary purpose of the Seabed Authority originally was resource exploitation; technological cooperation was conceived as instrumental to the fulfilment of this purpose;

the primary purpose of the World Space Organisation would be technological cooperation i.e., research, development and exploration, with economic benefits accruing as by-product, as it were.

With ocean mining as a primarily economic and commercial activity having receded into the future, the primary purpose of the Seabed Authority may be shifting towards international cooperation in exploration, research and development. There will indeed be ample opportunity for cooperation between the International Seabed Authority and the World Space Organization, the connecting link being constituted by the Marine Satellite Organization (INMARSAT). The possible institutional modes of cooperation should be examined by this Study.

Both institutions will be involved in research and development of high technologies which are part and parcel of the new phase of the industrial revolution. A characteristic of these technologies is that their development is so costly that it can be undertaken only in either one of two ways: ^{or} On a national basis under the auspices of the arms race which is cost-indifferent; or on an international co-operative basis which is cost-sharing. There is no other way. "Star Wars" exemplifies the first model; "star peace," the second. International cooperation

in research and development in inner and outer space technology, between East, West, North, and South therefore would have a strong disarmament effect and enhance not only scientific/industrial cooperation but peace and security as well.



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May 12, 1986

Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director Canadian Institute
for International Peace and Security
307 Gilmour
Ottawa, Ont. K2P 0P7

Dear Geoff:

This is to confirm, with thanks, receipt of your check for \$2,000 as first payment towards my project entitled "World Space Organization". You will receive the first draft in the early fall.

I have collected a considerable amount of material. It is a fascinating subject.

Yours cordially,

Dr. Elisabeth Mann Borgese

E. Borghese

**RESEARCH PROGRAMME OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY**

The Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security was established by Act of Parliament in August 1985. It is empowered to foster, fund and conduct research in the areas of defence, arms control, disarmament and conflict resolution. The Act places emphasis on the generation and dissemination of new ideas, and the analysis of peace and security issues from a Canadian perspective.

For 1985-86 the Institute has established a limited research fund for work in these areas. Applications are invited from individuals and from institutions. The Institute will consider applications in all the areas identified above, but particularly encourages work in the following:

- Analyses of multilateral arms control and disarmament processes which have particular significance for the formulation of Canadian security policy.
- Analyses of the factors affecting policy formulation in the area of peace and security, including public opinion, the impact of the media, the legislative process, and the interaction of decision-makers and publics. Comparative studies of these processes are encouraged.
- Analyses of Soviet and East European policy processes and outcomes which may have particular relevance to the formulation of Canadian foreign policy in matters of national and international security.
- Analyses of regional stability and conflict, with particular emphasis in 1985-86 on the Caribbean Basin.
- Economic analyses of defence production including the role of military research and development in producing technological change, alternative uses, technology transfer, and comparative studies of economics as a factor in alliance politics and doctrines.
- Studies of institution building at the international level, including the development and strengthening of the United Nations system.

In assessing applications the Institute will consider the availability of alternative sources of funds in Canada, and the balance of its own research programme.

Applicants are advised that the Institute contemplates two types of research award: a contractual arrangement in which the research product is the

copyright of the Institute and may be published under its auspices; and unconditional awards in which the recipient will undertake independent publication.

In the first instance, applicants should write submitting a sketch of the proposal, indicating its policy relevance, and identifying the principal researchers. At a later stage, the Institute may request a detailed application and research design. In 1985-86 the Institute prefers that applications not exceed \$25,000 in total. Normally, grant applications will be decided at the end of September, December, and March.

Letters of enquiry and preliminary proposals should be sent to

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Acting Director of Research

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TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION OF MARINE RESOURCES

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY



PEARSON INSTITUTE
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE
MALTA

May 16, 1987

Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
Canadian Institute for International
Peace and Security
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Geoff:

I have now gone twice over the paper -- once, on the basis of new sources and documents, and the second time, on the basis of the comments received from your reader.

Let me say again that I am most grateful for these comments. Your reader has forced me to think twice and to think sharply! I have incorporated as many of his suggestions as I could, and want to explain in this letter why I disagree with some of the others.

The best way to do this will be to proceed point by point:

1. What the real Soviet "motivation" was, is not under discussion here. The comparison is by the motivation as given when the two proposals were introduced.
2. Agreed, and taken care of.
3. agreed, and taken care of.
4. This is fully explained in the body of the study. In an Executive Summary I don't think I can go into greater detail. But the dilemma is there, and it is stark.
4. second para. Agreed, and taken care of.
5. Agreed and taken care of.
6. "No request for action," I think, simply was a tactical measure. Action would have been premature considering that

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there were several draft resolutions that had to be reconciled.

7. Some were new, some were old. I took care of the correction.

8. I took care of this, throughout.

9. I took care of that, but I can't agree that the reference to "enhancing international cooperation in the...peaceful uses of outer space" is almost incidental. In the light of the Soviet statements quoted earlier, I think this interpretation is not right.

9. para.2: I think the voting record is stated quite clearly.

10. I have corrected that.

11. Here I disagree. I have discussed this point also with Nicholas Matte, who agrees with me: So long as there is no joint action between the CD Ad Hoc Committee and COPUOS, no progress can be expected.

11, para.2: I have modified the wording to take care of this objection.

11. Para.3 I stand by my point. However, I have reworded it somewhat.

11. para. 4: Here my reader confirms that there is this chicken-and-egg dilemma: which comes first? The paper tries to argue in favour of a modification of the Soviet position on this point.

12. Here I disagree. I have summarised only those parts of the Acheson-Lilienthal plan which present striking similarities with the Sea-bed proposal. That does require some space. Whereas I do think that the reasons for the failure are adequately and clearly presented. No more space is

needed.

And I certainly stand by my opinion that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a crime against humanity.

point 13 is missing (like the 13th floor in some hotels?)

14. I think the proposed abolition of the Security Council veto was "a fundamental mistake," because it was unacceptable to the Soviet Union. If one wanted an agreement, one could not propose something that was totally unacceptable to the other side! I don't think that needs any other explanation.

15. By what other means should we judge the Soviet reaction to the tests, if not by what is said by Pravda and Gromyko?

16. I do not necessarily agree with the incriminated sentence; I merely report that in both proposals, this was the argument.

17. I am not sure that I share my reader's opinion. At the moment, yes, it appeared to be the only realistic thing to do. Retrospectively, I am less sure. I also think eventually the two aspects will have to be joined again, also in the oceans. I have written a paper about that which you know and which is included in Rudd Byers' Anthology on the Denuclearized Ocean.

17, para.2: I don't think I mischaracterized Beesley's proposal, which is fully quoted so there can be no ambiguity. No matter what: to give to the Sea-bed Authority the power of verifying compliance with a disarmament agreement means to join, in one institution, developmental and arms control functions.

18. I have taken care of this objection and changed the wording.

19. I do not think that a discussion of the future prospects

of the LOS Convention is relevant to the present argument.

20. I have taken care of the first part of this critique; the second point of this paragraph, I think was already taken care of: I have criticized the overloading of the LOS Convention with obsolescent details; I have criticized the "parallel system" and drawn attention to the lessons to be derived from these failures.

21. This phrase is taken over from the Law of the Sea Declaration.

22. I agree with the reader. I have cancelled this paragraph.

23. I don't object to this assessment. In fact, my paper suggests a modified version of the LOS framework for the WSO. I emphasize, however, the word "modified" because of the lessons derived from the defects in that framework.

24. Sorry, I can't identify this sentence, since page numeration in my word processor has already changed, and I have thrown out the old hard copies!. If there is a tautology I shall certainly be glad to throw it out. We can do that on the printed galleys.

25. Without going into more lengthy detail, I have taken care (and taken note) of this interesting comment.

26. Taken care of.

26. para 2: I think there is a misunderstanding here: The SG's Report proposes that satellites should monitor military activities on earth: movements of troupes, etc.

26. para.3: Yes, I do think that the power to control should be very comprehensive. I would push it as far as we can push it -- how far, only the negotiating experience will tell.

27. It adds precision. In fact, they are listed in the SG's Report. One could, of course, simply say, "specifically those listed in the SG's Report." and then one could have a footnote, or an annex, listing them. It is a purely editorial question.

28. I can't agree. If they did not accept the distinction -- why have they divided the subjects between the CD and UNCLOS III?

29. It is not that I am assuming the inevitability of negotiations on a WSO. I am presenting a scenario in which, as a hypothesis, these negotiations are assumed to take place.

29. para.2: I agree, and it is an interesting point. There are, of course, also similarities and differences between the marine and the terrestrial environment, and new approaches are needed on land as well as at sea. The marine environment, however, makes the need for these new approaches more obvious and more mandatory than the terrestrial environment. The same applies to the relationship between the marine and the outer space environments. On some issues, we are pushed harder in outer space than in the oceans. Space Law will lead the Law of the Sea in such areas. The Development/Disarmament area is one of these. If the Space environment pushes us towards a unified approach, this may then feed back to the Law of the Sea and terrestrial law.

30. Here again, my reader admits the reality of this dilemma. I agree with him that the absence of a monopoly on space technology is insufficient in itself to resolve the argument. What I say is that it "facilitates" a solution, which must be based on other, positive elements.

30. para 2: I think I sent you the letter that Etzioni (no fool!) sent to the New York Times, in which he suggests just that. In any case, this is a good teaser. When the time comes, however, for the dismantling of "star war," the only

thing to do is to internationalise. It is such a large apparatus, with such long-term implications for research and development that it cannot simply be scrapped. It must be transformed, and I see no realistic alternative but to internationalise.

31.-32.-33. I agree, and have taken care of these points in the text..

34. I have taken care of this.

35. Taken care of.

36. Question is not quite clear to me. I have in fact built the Eureka model into my proposed structure. And am I really too categorical? I don't say: this scheme is the only one. I say: A scheme like this -- of this sort -- there might be an infinity of versions.

37. Taken care of

37. para.2: Yes, I go somewhat beyond the Soviet proposal. This is an attempt at an interpretation and development. of the proposal; and, yes, it is open to debate.

38. To go into a discussion of the difficulties of the Prep.Com here would bring in a lot of detail irrelevant to the present argument.

38. para.2. For most States, yes. Therefore we have schemes like Eureka!

39. I completely agree, and have tried to take care of this.

40. I think, "largely" can be defended. Space technology, as also deep-sea technology and nuclear technology originally are spin-offs of WWII -- no?

41. I have given two estimates. They are of the same order. I don't think it would be terribly relevant to search for

more.

42. I agree, and have cancelled the paragraph.

43. Well, Canada is not Europe. It is Commonwealth, and its interests are broader than Europe. Also, not having been a colonial power, its relationship to the Third World is different (like Scandinavia's). I thought all this was quite obvious, and to elaborate on it would distract from the main argument.

44. I think the reason is the new Government. Has not the whole attitude changed? And, in particular, the attitude towards on-site verification?. I would not find it political to harp on this change.

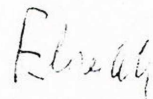
45. I have taken care of this.

I think I have taken care of the remark concerning the conclusion.

Another thing that one could do, and I have discussed this matter with Layachi who would like to cooperate, would be to have, in an Annex, a model Constitution or Charter for the WSP. It would be fascinating to work it out. I did that in 1968 for the Law of the Sea Convention, in my publication, The Ocean Regime. All the elements -- functions, structure, purpose -- are already in this paper, and it would not be too hard to build the model. But it would make the paper too thick. Perhaps this could be a follow-up publication, and I might do it jointly with Layachi and perhaps some lawyer type, e.g., Ronald Macdonald? It would be great fun.

I am looking forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

Much love,



Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Comments on Borgese Ms.

Executive Summary

1. p.i (top) - can one really judge whether the Soviet motivation in putting forth its WSO proposal was "almost identical" to the impulse behind the IOS negotiations?

2. p.i, 3rd para. - the author speaks of "forthcoming negotiations" as if they have already been agreed to, which is far from the case.

3. p.i (bottom) - how can the ADA negotiations of 1946 be said to "give substantial support to" the principle of linking disarmament and development, when those negotiations clearly failed; the "lesson" would, rather, seem to be not to join the two (except, of course, that the linkage was not the reason for their failure).

4. p.ii (top) - what, precisely, is the "new, positive approach" to the dilemma of which comes first, disarmament or the establishment of the Authority? Is the "dilemma" really as stark as is suggested here? (I.e., aren't some measures of outer space arms control already in place, and can't others short of total demilitarization be imagined to precede or coexist with the Authority?)

This is fully explained in the body of the study - the dilemma is here. From intransigence.

- the call for a "voluntary moratorium on military research in outer space" is far too all-encompassing, going well beyond what even the Soviet Union would accept.

5. p.ii, 1st full para. - there appears to be some confusion between "lessons" and "basic concepts"--many of the basic concepts may indeed be transferable, but this is not the same as "lessons" learned from experience, i.e. in the practical politics of such proposals.

Introduction

6. p.4, para.1 - simply mentions that the Soviet Union withdrew its draft resolution on a WSO; no indication of why (i.e., opposition of other states; according to DEA, the proposal "flopped," lacking support from the NNA). *Not at all. Negotial basis*

7. p.4, para.2 - not true that the Soviet initiative "triggered" other resolutions; the latter were perennial ones, having to do with outer space arms control.

8. p.5 ff. - failure to distinguish among "peaceful uses," "arms race," "militarization," "weaponization," etc.--all critical terms, in the case of outer space as with the seabed.

9. p.6 - misleading characterization of GA Resln. 40/87 (mis-labelled as 40/89) as "recommending the establishment of 'machinery' for...ensuring the demilitarization of outer space and its exclusion from the arms race." The actual text only invited Members to submit views on "the desirability of establishing relevant machinery for" "preventing an arms race in outer space" (thus, it neither recommended establishment of such machinery, nor endorsed "demilitarization"--cf. note 8 above). Furthermore, 40/87 is essentially an arms control resolution recommending how the Conference on Disarmament should proceed with outer space (while, incidentally, reiterating the CD's "primary role in the negotiation of a multilateral agreement or agreements"); the reference to "enhancing international co-operation in the...peaceful uses of outer space" is almost incidental--Members are invited to submit their views on the "possibility" of doing so.

- also: exaggerates degree of consensus by failing to note that a separate vote on Op. para.5 found no fewer than 21 states (including Canada, Australia, France, West Germany, and the UK) abstaining on the call for views on "machinery" (the US and Grenada opposed it outright).

10. p.6 - presentation of UN draft resolutions quite confusing—e.g., it is unclear what Resolution 40/89 refers to in para.2; or which resolution is being referred to in para.3.

11. p.7 (top) - CD vs. COPUOS described as "artificial separation of a joint issue" which "does not facilitate the efficient preparation for the implementation of the Resolution." This is questionable, and needs more elaboration. What is the realistic alternative, given the Soviet Union's own preference for the CD and its condition that "non-militarization" must precede the WSO?

- "now generally recognized that there can be no development without disarmament and no disarmament without development": also too categorical, and open to question.

- "The separation of the two issues...may have been the single most important cause for the dishearteningly slow progress of both development and disarmament" : see comment above.

- "establishing 'machinery' to advance both development and disarmament...may be the most important aspect of the Soviet proposal": how so, given that the WSO (in Soviet eyes, at least) presupposes demilitarization?

Chapter 1--Atomic Development Agency

12. (general) - excessively long quotations, accounting for the major portion of the text; almost entirely descriptive (e.g., 7 pp. of description on Acheson-Lilienthal, with less than 2 pp. on why it failed). 13. p.8, para.1 - "the application of nuclear energy to warfare was

disagree

against humanity": a matter of opinion, rather than fact; perhaps unnecessarily provocative and inflammatory.

14. p.16 (top) - need to elaborate further on why the proposed abolition of the Security Council veto was "a fundamental mistake," other than it being unacceptable to the Soviet Union. *because of this!*

15. p.16, 1st full para. - effect of atmospherics (Bikini nuclear tests) questionable; relies entirely on rhetoric of Pravda and Gromyko.

Chapter 2--Atoms, Oceans, Stars

16. p.18, para.2 - "Nuclear technology would either generate an arms race that would eventually destroy the world or it would lead to disarmament": too categorical.

17. p.22, para.3 - complains that Disarmament and Development were "quickly separated" in the LOS negotiations; yet that may have been the only reason the latter got as far as they did; the US made it clear from the beginning that it wouldn't countenance otherwise.

- mischaracterization of Beesley proposal for Seabed Authority to be granted arms control verification powers as "uniting them [Disarmament and Development] in one institution"; Canada always fully supported reference of arms control aspects to the CD; Beesley was only suggesting that the Authority might "be granted at least the same powers of verification...as are granted to states parties under the seabed arms control treaty." This is somewhat analogous to the paper's treatment of the Soviet WSO proposal, which speaks only of "helping" to monitor observance of arms control agreements, not to negotiate them itself or take over full verification responsibilities. There is a need for greater precision here.

18. p.23, para.3 - does not explain precisely how, in the case of the LOS Convention and Seabed Treaty, "the lack of coordination and harmonisation between the two separate treaties covering these aspects [Disarmament and Development], has weakened, and continues to weaken, both Treaties." This is questionable. ✓

19. pp. 24-25 - need for more detail re prospects of LOS Convention, particularly in light of original objectives (to what extent have they been fulfilled? what uncertainties remain? does the Convention actually have a realistic chance of coming into force?). *not relevant.*

Chapter 3--Scenario for the Establishment of a WSO

20. pp. 26ff - no indication of which of the proposed principles are already found (i.e., commonly accepted by the international community) in the Outer Space Treaty, Moon Treaty, etc., and which are not. This is far more important than the simple analogy to the seabed/LOS. Also useful would be a discussion of how UNCLOS has failed, insofar as it has failed (relative to Pardo's initial proposals); and what lessons can be derived from this experience (focusing on the practical politics, rather than process/procedure/principles) for the proposed WSO.

21. p.27 (top) - simply states as a given, without explaining why, that "it is essential that an international regime...including appropriate international machinery, be established as soon as possible." *Refer to p. 27 of LOS*

22. p.31, 1st full para. - "Following the adoption of Resolution 40/89 [sic], it would appear that the international community is ready for the elaboration of a Declaration of Principles along these lines and that it might be adopted by consensus": grossly optimistic, given the vote on 40/87; cf. note 9. *Cancelled*

23. p.35, 1st full para. - the Soviet framework, which the author apparently commends, appears modeled more after the LOS Convention than the ADA, given that the latter was to hold a monopoly over all mining and development of uranium ore (pp.11-14), while the Soviet emphasis in regard to a WSO is on "harmonizing," "coordinating," and "facilitating" the efforts of states in respect of their own national activities in space.

24. p.37 (bottom) - last sentence is a tautology. *Can't place it in the next part!*

25. p.38, para 1 - citation from UN report referring to dual-purpose (disarmament/development) character of technology is useful, but overly restrictive (e.g., nuclear explosion-detection sensors are intended as adjuncts to nuclear war-fighting, by helping gauge the success of an attack and indicating where additional weapons should be targeted, not simply to verify compliance with the PTBT; and navigation satellites such as NAVSTAR are similarly critical to nuclear war-fighting strategies, e.g. by greatly enhancing the accuracy of SLBMs for use in a counterforce strike. This raises the questions, which are at least as interesting or important, of how an arms control agreement is to be verified, and whether it is realistic--or even desirable--to speak of the "non-militarization" or "demilitarization" of space.)

26. p.39, para.1 - once again, "peaceful" and "military" are treated as mutually exclusive. In fact, the deliberations concerning the ADA made it clear that the distinction was between weapons applications of nuclear energy, and its applications for other purposes (pp. 9-11) (e.g., there does not appear to have been any objection to the use of nuclear power for warship propulsion). Hence, to speak of a "prohibition of military uses" is

wrong. There is a need for more precision here.

*No: removal of
words, etc!*
- The reference to the "monitoring of military activities" seems a little odd, given the apparent presupposition that all military activities are to be banned.

*Yes, this,
indeed is to
propose.*
- Combining peaceful research and monitoring of military activities in an international satellite does not, in fact, "solve the problem" of verifying whether some other satellite is being used for "peaceful purposes" or "spying" (unless the implication is that all satellites will be under the control of the WSO, analogous to the ADA. If so: Is this realistic? Would the Soviets themselves, e.g., accept it? It clearly goes well beyond the ISMA proposal.) In any case, the distinction here between "peaceful purposes" and "spying" may be insupportable, given that satellite surveillance and reconnaissance appear to have won legitimacy in international law and are certainly considered "peaceful," at least insofar as they are (already) used to monitor arms control agreements.

27. p.40 - listing of existing arms control agreements (with formal titles) is unnecessary. *to add precision. In fact, they are listed in the S.G. Report "specifically the listed S.G. report."*

28. p.41 (bottom) - again, Western maritime powers do not accept the distinction between "peaceful uses" and "military uses"; neither does the Soviet Union, in practice. *to come quite agree*

29. p.42 (top) - again, appears to be assuming the inevitability of negotiations on a WSO; on what basis? (Surely, even just reaching the stage of negotiations would have to be considered a major accomplishment). *This is a "success"*

- suggestion that "nature and characteristics of the medium" of outer space are sufficiently different from the world ocean as to "force new thinking and impose another solution": need for elaboration here; the

differences are not all self-evident (in fact, space and the world ocean are in many respects similar; the military certainly talks of an equivalent to freedom-of-the-seas); the "dual nature of the technology" is true of much marine technology as well. *agree*

30. p.42, para.2 - the fact that neither superpower holds a monopoly on space technology is insufficient in itself to resolve the "hen-and-egg" argument of which comes first, disarmament or the establishment of the Organisation (the Soviets in their proposal make clear their own preference, but whether this would be accepted by Washington—even if the latter were favourably disposed to a WSO—is doubtful). *Ebjivai letter*

- The expectation of "internationalizing" "starwars" research and development, based on the already-existing "large degree of cooperation between the Superpowers in the development of space technology," may be too sanguine, given the perceived critical nature of the enterprise to national security, and needs elaboration (especially the latter point, which seems doubtful).

31. p.42 (bottom) and 43 (top) - statement re sanctity of the Security Council seems rather categorical; might not some "tampering" (or rather, recourse to another body) be considered, so as to remove or alleviate the problem of the veto power? *Have adjusted*

32. p.43, 1st full para. - call for voluntary moratorium on "military tests in space" is far too vague; what, exactly, is meant by "military tests"? (if interpreted literally, would clearly be unacceptable to the Western powers and probably others). *have adjusted*

33. p.43, 2nd full para. - lengthy quote from Shevardnadze is a repetition from p.2. *have adjusted*

34. p.48, 2nd full para. - points about a "framework treaty" and "flexibility" are too vague; need elaboration. *done*

35. p.48 (bottom) - need for some explanation of what INMARSAT is (what does it do?).

36. pp. 51 (bottom) and 52 (top) - too categorical; is it really "the only possible alternative"? (What about "Eureka"?). *Eureka model a fair health. "a serious like that"*

37. p.52 (top) - lists all the advantages of the scheme, making it appear unassailable, without attempting to anticipate possible objections, e.g. from the industrialized states who may feel that they are being overly burdened (given their likely share of the contributions to the WSO or "public international funding agencies"); need for greater balance here, if only to strengthen the argument. *have care of.*

- again, reference to "removing these technologies from military control and internationalising them" appears to go well beyond the mandate of even the Soviet proposal (let alone what might be acceptable to the West); whether this would actually enhance peace and security, under present international conditions (especially if it relied on a Security Council subject to Great Power veto), is also open to debate. *to want to p. fourth!*

38. p.52, 1st full para. - reference to "fundamental operational difficulties of the Prep. Com." and to their being resolved needs elaboration. *would go into detail irrelevant to the main line of argument*

- are the necessary investments really "too high for individual consortia or States"? *Definitely!*

Chapter 4--Canada and the WSO

39. (general) - appears too dependent on a relatively few newspaper articles; might make better use of primary sources--government reports, etc. *yes*

40. p.53, para.1 - Is it really true that "space technology...has been developed largely under military auspices"? (certainly not in Canada or Europe; and was the Apollo program militarily-driven?) *for largely*

41. p.53, para.3 - Is the Center for Space Policy estimate of \$50 billion a credible one? How does it compare with other estimates? *is the estimate: by an computer*

42. p.55, para.3 - The reference to "arbitration in space" (based on an in-flight magazine article) seems a little bizarre, and is perhaps unnecessary. *yes*

43. p.56, para.3 - The argument about Canadian interests lying more with a global organization (involving the Third World) than with "Eureka" appears rather forced and unconvincing; needs strengthening.

44. p.56 (bottom) - With reference to "building a synthesis between" the French and Soviet proposals, it would be interesting to examine why the Soviet Union has so far opposed the ISMA scheme. *the Government change how an "verifiable"*

45. p.57 (bottom) - unclear what the reference to "the forum" is; if the UN, this is nothing new; if the WSO (or even just a preparatory conference), this is still a distant prospect at best.

- Conclusion suggests that aim of the paper has been to give a rationale for joining the disarmament and development aspects of outer space; however, aim is earlier stated as much broader and more objective, i.e., "to assess the main achievements and main shortcomings and failures,

whether substantial or political, of both the atomic and the seabed negotiations and to draw some lessons...for the establishment of a WSO"(i); need to strengthen Conclusion along these lines.

- also: rationale for joining disarmament and development aspects is hardly strengthened by the fact that your most successful example--the IOS Convention--declined to do so from the beginning. Of course, this is a question of precisely how "success" is to be defined; if in terms of "development" alone, the IOS Convention might be judged modestly successful; if in terms of development and disarmament, then it is, of course, a failure; but the one example where the two were to be combined--the ADA--was an unmitigated failure in practice (except insofar as it may have ultimately led to the IAEA, which does contribute to both disarmament and development, and which, as an example of at least limited success, is perhaps a better analogue than the ADA).

Revised Edition

46. p.54, para.2 - unnecessary to discuss role of Maritime Provinces in Canadian space programme.

47. p.54 (bottom) - should not rely on a single Globe and Mail article for information on Canadian outer space arms control verification activities; could refer to DEA materials.

48. p.55 (top) - why is it "obvious that the development of these technologies would benefit greatly from association with a WSO"? (need for elaboration); remainder of sentence is a tautology.

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11 June 1987

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

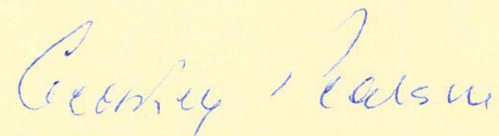
Dear Elisabeth,

Thank you for taking into account many of the points made in the commentary I gave you on your paper on a World Space Organization.

We have come to the conclusion, however, that the paper does not really qualify for our series of Occasional Papers, which are meant to be analytical rather than expository. You put forward a thesis or point of view which I greatly respect, but you will admit that it assumes a good deal e.g. the link between disarmament and development is regarded as self-evident.

I would like to publish a shorter version of the paper in our "Points of View" series, and if you agree we can do so by greatly condensing the first 25 pages, which examine past precedents, and shortening some of the citations. I enclose a copy of one of these papers to give you an idea of their style; they are normally between five and six thousands words in length. I imagine you would prefer to shorten the paper yourself but I realise you have a great many commitments. I am therefore sending some suggestions from our editor as to how the material might be condensed and I hope this will be of help.

Yours sincerely,



Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director

Suggestions for shortening the paper on a world space organisation

It has been suggested that the comparison with the attempt to establish an Atomic Development Authority should be reduced to little more than a footnote. Bearing this in mind, and assuming that the author will probably prefer to condense the article herself, the following suggestions might help as a guide to how it might be reduced to about twenty pages.

Executive Summary

This could be replaced by an introductory paragraph, drawing attention to the comparison with the Law of the Sea, and also emphasising the desirability to setting up a Space Agency, which would deal with both development and disarmament issues.

Introduction

This could be shortened by cutting out Shevardnadze's statement to the UN Assembly, since most of the points are already covered in the account of his letter. The details of the various resolutions could be eliminated - pp 4-5, though a brief reference to the Polish resolution might be retained since it was adopted. Most of page 7 could be cut, especially if the final paragraph on page 6 were expanded to cover the point that the Soviet resolution is unusual in trying to combine both disarmament and development.

Total = 3 pages

Chapter 1

This is the area Mr. Pearson suggests be cut. I recommend that this section be eliminated entirely since it is devoted to the history of the Atomic Energy Development Agency.

Chapter 2

If the preceding section has gone the first sentence of this should contain a reference to the Atomic Development Agency, which should be supplemented by a footnote ; passages on pp 8 & 9 would be cut, as would most of p 2 and the first half of p 22. The reference to the Canadian proposal would be shortened. The section might end at "Through it". - line 5 p 25.

Total = 3-4 pages

Chapter 3

This contains the core of the article, but it would need to be cut from 26 to between 2 or 4 pages. The following are some of the points where the text might be cut or condensed:

- p 29: cut the details of the research involved,
- p 33: reduce the list of items,
- p 35, 36, 37: cut out the Soviet Minister's statement since most of the points come up elsewhere,
- p 40: the detailed list of treaties could be eliminated,
- cut most of pp 42 & 43 which deal with the parallel with ADA and replace the detailed list of technical machinery with a brief summary,
- p 47: condense the parallel with the Seabed Authority since many of the points have come up already - shorten the interesting comparisons with Uncos III and INMARSAT,

Chapter 4

Strikes one on a little speculative; perhaps it could be reduced to a page.

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November 24, 1987
3850-2-4

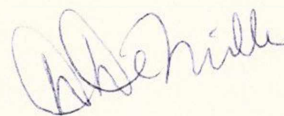
Ms. Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Pearson Institute
Dalhousie University
1321 Edward Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3H 3H5

Dear Ms. Borgese:

Enclosed please find 10 copies of your Points of View piece on the World Space Organization. Also included is 2 copies of the French version of your paper.

If you require any more copies of this paper, please don't hesitate to ask.

Yours sincerely,



Dianne DeMille
Editor, Public Programmes

/sh

Enclosures

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September 18, 1987
3850-2-4

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

Elisabeth

Dear Ms. Borgese:

As you know, we have decided to publish your paper in our Point of View series. One of our editors has reduced the original manuscript to a 5,000-word paper. A good deal of detail has been eliminated in the hope of making this version more accessible to the wider audience which we seek to reach in this series. In addition the parallel with the Atomic Development Authority has been dropped since it seemed less relevant than that with the Law of the Sea. The editor of the Point of View series has written an introduction to this shortened version.

I enclose a copy of the revised paper for your approval. If you would like to make any alterations, please do so.

I hope this new version is satisfactory to you.

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey Pearson

Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director

/sh

Enclosure

CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY
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14 October 1986
File 205

Ms. Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Centre for Foreign Policy Studies
Pearson Institute
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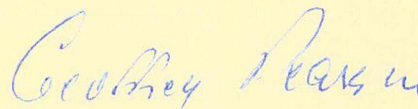
Dear Elisabeth,

I attach a cheque for \$3,000 to complete our commitment to you of \$5,000 for a manuscript on the establishment of a world space organisation, received here as per your letter of September 26. Please acknowledge receipt.

We are awaiting the additions you mentioned on the telephone a week ago, as well as any comments you may receive from advisers. Revisions to the manuscript, including editing here, are unlikely to be completed before the end of October. If all goes well, we ought to be able to publish it in December. My first impression is favourable, although I am uneasy about the few pages on Canada - is there not more to be said, and if so, can you do it? Or should we drop this section?.

I have asked Mary Taylor, our editor, to be in touch with you.

Yours sincerely,



Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director

Enclosure: Cheque

TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION OF MARINE RESOURCES

CENTRE FOR FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY



PEARSON INSTITUTE
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE
MALTA

October 25, 1986

Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security
307 Gilmour
Ottawa, Canada K2P 0P7

Dear Geoff:

Thanks very much for your letter of 14 October, and the check. This completes your commitment to me of \$5,000 for a manuscript on the establishment of a world space organisation.

I do have more material on Canada, and will add it to the MS during these next few days. Perhaps also, one of your Canadian experts could make some suggestion as to further additions. From what I have seen, this is indeed an important field for Canada.

Mary Taylor has been in touch with me.

Another one of my advisers, Dr. S.P. Jagota, who as Additional Secretary for Foreign Affairs in India has done some work on Space, has read the MS very carefully and made some useful, even though minor, suggestions. He liked the paper very much.

All the very best.

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Professor

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INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE
MALTA

September 26, 1986

Dr. Geoffrey Pearson
Canadian Institute for International
Peace and Security
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Geoff:

September we said, and September it is. Here it is.

Please consider it as a draft. I am perfectly willing to listen to good advice and to improve the paper!

As a matter of fact, I am sending it, for this purpose, to Nicholas Matte and a few other colleagues.

You may, of course, decide to throw it away. But if we publish it, it would be marvellous to do so as quickly as possible: the item is going to come up before Christmas, and, with all necessary improvements, the paper might be useful because it is fairly concrete.

If you don't throw away the paper, please send me the dough as soon as possible.

I am leaving for Sweden (World Maritime University) but shall be back on October 4.

Much love, and thanks for having encouraged me to do this study.

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

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October 1

Dear Elizabeth

Thank you for the paper on
the seabed convention. Good thinking!
I hope Urdi would have approved.
Suggest you send a copy to Alan
Bensley, who is the key advisor
on this subject.

I cannot pretend I could
contribute to N. I. M. next May
despite the temptation to go back
to the Black Sea. I decline
with great regret. But see you
in Ottawa perhaps on the 26th
of this month?

Yours,

Geoffrey Pearson

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February 12, 1986

Ms. Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Pearson Institute
Dalhousie University
1321 Edward Street
Halifax, N.S.
B3H 3H5

Elisabeth

Dear Ms. ~~Mann~~ Borgese:

This is to confirm a grant of \$5,000 towards an occasional paper of 15,000 to 20,000 words on the activities of the UN Committee on peaceful uses of outer space as compared to the development process of the Law of the Sea. As agreed, this slight change in your proposal will take into consideration all proposals before the UNCOPUOS, which meet this spring, in response to the Soviet proposal. Considering the Committee's timetable, we would expect a first draft sometime in September. You could also take into consideration Dr. Matte's comments which he has agreed to communicate to you at your request.

You will find enclosed a final contract and copy of the publishing policy which you have already signed. Please return the signed contract at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey Pearson

Geoffrey Pearson
Executive Director

*ns CA material
attached*

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Approved

Shelley Mann Boyer

Date

Jan. 28, 1986

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INTERNATIONAL OCEAN INSTITUTE
MALTA

September 28, 1985

Ambassador Geoffrey Pearson
199 Daly Ave.
Ottawa, Ont. K1N 6G1

Dear Geoff:

My brain went storming, after our conversation, and, between Jacuzzi and Word Processor, here is the tentative result. The outline is a little longer than I had intended. That is the way it happened.

I would love to do this study, and could do it relatively fast -- within the limits indicated.

Of course there is already quite a bibliography, on outer space and ocean space, starting with the Brookings Institution volume of several years ago, and a lot of material by Nicolas M. Matte (McGill). If you need a bibliography, I can put it together fast, but not on the week-end after a trip, not between Jacuzzi and Olivetti.

I forgot to tell you that I spent the day before we talked, with our great mutual friend Layachi. He went to Washington, to join Anette and the children for the week-end. On Monday he is off to Europe and Africa, and will be back in New York on October 8. His schedule is worse than mine.

His UNCTAD candidacy is still on, and he sends much love to both of you, also on behalf of Anette.

So now I hope to hear from you as soon as possible. Phoning would be faster than writing.

I'll be leaving for Europe and Africa on October 9, but should be back a week later.

The best way to reach me is early in the morning, between 5

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and 9 a.m., at home (902) 868 2818.

All the best,

Yours as ever,

Elisabeth

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

P.S. Since Tim Shan talked to you about
my difficulties at Pearson's (and I really
don't understand. He spends money on other
salaries -- why not on mine?), I am enclosing
copy of our latest exchange. I don't know
what you can do anything about this.

Love

Elisabeth