Introduction

When Elisabeth Mann Borgese (1918–2002) – professor of law and political science, activist and world citizen – stepped up to the speaker’s desk to give the Nexus Lecture in 1999, she said, ‘The idealists of today are the realists of tomorrow. The realists of today are dead tomorrow’.1 Those two sentences encapsulated her core values. Elisabeth Mann Borgese was an idealist at heart and she believed in the power of ideas. At the time she was over eighty years old with no plans to retire. She had worked with the oceans for almost half a century, had travelled the world attending countless meetings, had fought with politicians and argued with United Nations delegates, pushing on through disagreements and setbacks. For the numerous people who have followed her work and who are familiar with the Law of the Sea, she had become ‘the mother of the oceans’.2

This book is both about her personal and professional life and about one of history’s largest international efforts to govern the oceans: The United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (1958–94), often shortened to UNCLOS. While it may seem unusual to set one person’s life story alongside a history of intergovernmental United Nations processes, it is only through this double-lens that we can examine how ideas for political improvement change through time and travel through an institution, and how social, political, governmental and environmental events shape the ideas and ideals of individuals. This gives us a unique insight into the way individual people, ideas and institutions can come together to leave lasting legacies.

In this book, there are two separate legacies to account for. First, there is the legacy of the Law of the Sea Convention itself, in the form of the Law of the Sea Treaty – sometimes called the ‘Constitution of the Ocean’.3 This contains rules and regulations that the international community has agreed shall apply

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3 Shirley Scott argues that viewing the Law of the Sea Convention treaty as constitutional would strengthen its legitimacy and international recognition, despite the inherent disagreements around certain portions of the treaty that have kept the US from ratifying it. Scott argues that ‘[...] a constitution cannot help but play a symbolic role, representing respect for the rules of law within that society’. Cf. Shirley V. Scott, ‘The LOS Convention as a Constitutional Regime for the Oceans’, in Stability and Change in the Law of the Sea: The role of the LOS Convention, ed. Alex G. Oude Elferink (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2005), 38.
to the ocean, including transport on its surface, fishing in its waters and how borders are drawn. Second, there is Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s own legacy, and this is a bit more complicated, since the outcome of her work and the meaning of her life are less linear and quantifiable than a successful intergovernmental convention with a ratification date and a treaty at the finish line. From 1967 until the end of her life, Elisabeth Mann Borgese worked for a better ocean order – for fair and just rules and regulations governing the use of the oceans. As I researched this book, tracing her ideas and actions, I concluded that her legacy was two-fold. Firstly, she founded an institution that continues to carry forward her work: the International Ocean Institute that still operates in locations including Malta and Halifax, Nova Scotia. But her legacy also lies in how relevant her proposals and ideas still are today. Although the story of Elisabeth Mann Borgese and UNCLOS unfolded in the second half of the last century, questions of justice, injustice and international collaboration in the context of the ocean environment remain challenging to this day. Anyone interested in intergovernmental ocean issues – including scholars, activists, diplomats and state officials alike – would benefit from investigating Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s radical vision for a just world ocean order.

4 There is some disagreement about the success of UNCLOS and the effectiveness of the rules that were adopted and that are still valid today. Scott is partly contradicted by the findings of scholars studying the way developing countries engaged with the Law of the Sea. Peter Bautista Payoyo, for instance, argues in his 1997 book, *Cries of the Sea*, that not all states were equally served by the outcome. Landlocked developing states in particular were ‘effectively marginalized from the global sharing arrangements [...]’. See Payoyo, *Cries of the Sea*, 151. See also Stephen Charles Vasciannie, *Land-Locked and Geographically Disadvantaged States in the International Law of the Sea* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 221.

World Traveller, Oyster Farmer and Dog Lover

When I started interviewing people about Elisabeth Mann Borgese's life, work and personality, I began to hear a lot of stories. Once, after an interview at the International Ocean Institute (IOI) in Halifax, one of her former colleagues kept on telling anecdotes even after the audio recorder was turned off and buried in my pocket. Standing in the small hallway of the IOI, he recalled how Elisabeth had once nearly capsized a dinghy off the coast of Jamaica, tilting the boat perilously as she made a sudden, enthusiastic move to get a closer look at some dolphins. The other passengers were horrified since they had passed a group of sharks just minutes earlier, but he told me she had giggled the whole incident off afterwards. Elisabeth Mann Borgese was never afraid to rock the boat.

There were so many other stories too – of the family of dogs that slept in her bed (all five or six of them) and of her house by the sea in Halifax, Nova Scotia – where neighbours who were invited round for dinner might find themselves rubbing shoulders with visiting diplomats. The Maltese ambassador, Arvid Pardo, could sometimes be spotted relaxing on her wooden deckchairs, while a former student and dog-sitter recalled seeing the honourable ambassador of Singapore, Tommy Koh, doing push-ups on the deck dressed in a white singlet. There was the time Elisabeth and her neighbour, Catherine – who had a diving certificate and an interest in ocean farming – started a business planting and harvesting oysters in their local waters. The oysters, a foreign species, flourished – perhaps too well since their descendants can still be found on the coast of Crystal Crescent beach a mile or so from the house. There are memories of the chic, all-black outfits she wore for her extensive travels, and photographs of her sat at her desk in a kaftan, looking out from her A-frame house across the lagoon to the ocean beyond. People told me of visitors who came and went, of travels to far-off places, of encounters with diplomats and state officials and of the spirit of adventure and hard work that went into everything she did (not just the oyster-farming business). But it was in the development of ocean governance that she cut an even more remarkable figure.

Elisabeth Mann Borgese wanted a new order for the oceans at a time when there were almost no rules governing them. At a time when the extent of a nation state’s sovereignty over its coastal waters was still measured by the distance of a cannon shot⁶ (about four nautical miles) and fishing and transport rights

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were negotiated bilaterally. In fact, Mann Borgese’s ambitions went beyond even this – she wanted a fairer system of governance not just for the oceans but for the entire world. The personal stories about her life are a testament to her enthusiasm for everything she engaged with – that same enthusiasm that almost capsized the dinghy in Jamaica and sometimes had a similar effect on discussions at the United Nations.

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7 David Anderson writes about the status of ocean governance prior to UNCLOS: ‘During the early decades of the twentieth century, maritime law was stable and could be summarized as follows. Coastal states had territorial waters extending to three nautical miles (nm), subject to insignificant exceptions, and measured in a belt around the coast. Beyond that limit, the seas and oceans had the status of high seas. Maritime law was based upon relatively simple foundations: international custom derived from the practice of States, among which maritime powers loomed large; a few conventions on technical matters; the writing of professors; and a few arbitral decisions. No inter-governmental organizations with maritime mandates existed and there was no forum for discussing maritime questions. Maritime disputes were justiciable only with the consent of the States concerned’. See David Anderson, ed., *Modern Law of the Sea. Selected Essays*, Publications on Ocean Development Volume 59 (Leiden/ Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 6.
The Potential of Uncharted Territory in the Ocean

When Elisabeth Mann Borgese threw herself into ocean governance discussions at the United Nations, she understood that it was one of the greatest opportunities of the century. For years, despite the disruption of two world wars, the international community had recognised that discussing ocean governance needed to be made a priority. In 1958, the United Nations called for a Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), hoping to resolve the ever-increasing number of governance issues. The convention would become one of the largest ever attempts to agree on an international treaty. In the end, it took three decades and three attempts (UNCLOS I in 1958, UNCLOS II in 1960, and UNCLOS III in 1973–82) to finalise the convention, plus countless meetings at the United Nations. Each group or delegation involved had their own interests in the oceans depending on their geographical location, state of industrial development, political ties, colonial past and military interests.

The Law of the Sea Convention was a mammoth endeavour, with complicated logistics not unlike those of space exploration. Without international cooperation, it would be impossible to achieve anything, since dividing the ocean into zones and regions relied on the will to collaborate across national borders. The challenges went beyond international relations, though, and many were tied to the uncertain nature of the ocean itself. Much like space scientists, the delegates had to try and foresee future developments in technology and underwater activity, set within an environment that was largely unexplored and hostile to human life. There were numerous dilemmas tied into the renegotiation of the Law of the Sea. How far offshore could coastal states claim territory? What would happen to free passage on the high seas if territorial claims exceeded the cannon shot rule? What should be done with areas that were not yet under national jurisdiction? Should the oceans be claimed like territory on dry land? Or could there be another way?

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The biggest obstacle during UNCLOS III remained the question of how to govern the area of the seafloor that was outside national jurisdiction. This aspect of ocean governance—and world governance in general—was uncharted territory. No space on Earth was outside national jurisdiction in the same way as the deep seafloor, and it also contained potential wealth in the form of deep sea minerals that could be harvested in the future.

In 1967, the Maltese diplomat Arvid Pardo— that same man who during the 1970s and 80s was occasionally observed sunning himself in a deckchair on Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s porch—officially proposed a radical solution. He suggested applying the principle of ‘common heritage of mankind’ to the seafloor outside national jurisdiction and its resources. The central idea of this was simple: that the seafloor should belong to everyone and that everyone should be able to access it and benefit from its mineral wealth. Pardo’s suggestion accelerated but also complicated the negotiations. Delegates at UNCLOS III

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10 Some of the reasons for the difficulties in agreeing on a seabed regime are examined in Markus G Schmidt’s 1989 work, Common Heritage or Common Burden? Schmidt attempts to explain the United States’ reservations about applying the common heritage principle to the seafloor, arguing that the hesitation was of a more ‘ideological nature, directed against the creation of an “unaccountable and self-perpetuating world bureaucracy” [...]’. See Markus G. Schmidt, Common Heritage or Common Burden? The United States position on the development of a regime for deep [sic: deep] sea-bed mining in the Law of the Sea Convention (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 337.


12 See Arvid Pardo’s speech in A/C.1/PV.1515; A/C.1/PV.1516.

13 The concept of the ‘common heritage of mankind’ has been discussed in several publications. The term ‘mankind’ is used by Kemal Baslar in Kemal Baslar, The Concept of the Common Heritage of Mankind in International Law (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1998). Peter Bautista Payoyo uses ‘common heritage of humanity’, In Peter Bautista Payoyo, Cries of the Sea: World Inequality, Sustainable Development and the Common Heritage of Humanity (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1997). In this book, the concept will be referred to as ‘common heritage of mankind’, since the work does not aspire to discuss the philosophical and theoretical origins of the concept or to develop the principle further.
seriously disagreed over what to do with those areas of the oceans that were not controlled by nation states, and the international community was divided into several camps with differing interests.\(^1^4\)

The industrialised states, predominantly in the geographical north, had been working to develop technologies that might soon make it possible to dive into deep sea areas and extract minerals. These states were mostly interested in bringing about arrangements that would make it easy for them to access the area outside national jurisdiction, and to utilise the resources they found there. On the other hand, developing states – often former colonies in the southern hemisphere – were much more in favour of the common heritage approach, which would make it possible for them to partake in the ‘prospects of rich harvests and mineral wealth’\(^1^5\) of the sea despite not possessing the advanced technology of the industrialised states.\(^1^6\)

To complicate things further, the UNCLOS negotiations were held during the Cold War, in a diplomatic environment that was sometimes hostile and prone to all kinds of disagreements. Because discussions spanned more than thirty years, the political backdrop and diplomatic climate shifted several times, making the negotiations even more difficult. The convention was also the first to allow non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to contribute to the negotiations, and the combination of NGOs and nation states made for an interesting mix, as the different stakeholders lobbied for a variety of aims. Elisabeth Mann Borgese was one of those who recognised that the ocean floor was a sort of blank space that could be filled with new concepts and ideas of governance.\(^1^7\)

\(^{14}\) Cf. Payoyo, Cries of the Sea, 151.


\(^{16}\) The Law of Deep Sea-Bed Mining by Said Mahmoudi examines whether the seabed regime succeeded in balancing the needs of both the industrialised states and the developing world. The study was written in light of the absence of ratification by the US, Great Britain and the German Federal Republic in 1987, but Mahmoudi argues that ‘[…] even though the Convention has not yet achieved universality stricto sensu, it certainly has acquired something very close to that’. See Said Mahmoudi, The Law of Deep Sea-Bed Mining. A Study of the Progressive Development of International Law Concerning the Management of the Polymetallic Nodules of the Deep Sea-Bed (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987), 341.

\(^{17}\) In 1992, Monica Allen published An Intellectual History of the Common Heritage of Mankind as Applied to the Oceans. She examines the idea of common heritage, and how states, groups and individuals tried to apply it to the ocean floor. She also includes the efforts of Arvid Pardo and Elisabeth Mann Borgese. Allen, like many others, focuses on Arvid Pardo and uses him as the main carrier of the idea. She argues that developing nations and other individual actors used the concept of common heritage as a vehicle for
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3 Life History – Why People Matter

During Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s years working with the Law of the Sea, she became an influential activist who built institutions of lasting importance for ocean governance. Like other activists affiliated with non-governmental organisations, she was mostly interested in the seafloor outside national jurisdiction, and for one simple reason – it held the greatest potential for developing and introducing new principles and ways of governance into international law. But why would a person develop such a burning enthusiasm for ocean governance?

Elisabeth Mann Borgese was not a diplomat in the conventional sense. Unlike Arvid Pardo, she had not aimed at a career in the United Nations system, nor had any nation state appointed her to serve permanently on their mission to the United Nations. In 1967, when she first became involved with preparations for UNCLOS, she was working as a researcher at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara. Being an outsider meant that she had to find alternative ways into the convention, first through founding her own NGO, the International Ocean Institute, and later by joining the Austrian delegation as an adviser. In the grand scheme of intergovernmental collaboration, Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s position was unusual, and her powerful motivation to effect change perhaps distinguished her work from that of a career diplomat. But why was she so keen to be there in the first place? This is where her biography, upbringing, background and personal relations


The Leverings (see note above) were interested in change too, and this book reveals some striking similarities between the activism of individuals like Mann Borgese and the Levering family. The Leverings had no legal training, but ended up trying to shape and influence the Law of the Sea at a high level. They also allied themselves with developing countries, and saw the convention as an opportunity to influence discussions on world governance, although the exact impact of their activism and diplomatic skills is hard to quantify.
are important for this book. To understand her activism and her vision, we need first to understand what drove her.\textsuperscript{20}

During my research I travelled to some of the places that were central to Mann Borgese’s work – Halifax, New York and Malta – and I interviewed people who knew her. I wanted to get to know ‘the mother of the oceans’ on more than one level. Although her papers, speeches and reports about UNCLOS III are important sources for understanding her ideas and vision, other aspects of her life also deserve examination. I spent a long time going through letters she wrote to colleagues, family and friends, and as I charted her personal relationships I discovered that her working and personal lives were very much intertwined and that the ideas and visions she took to UNCLOS sprung out of some of those personal relations.

Although following Mann Borgese’s path is an integral part of this book, it should not be read as a biography. I have used elements of biographical writing to illuminate the origins of her internationalism and her ideal vision for a just world order. We need to explore her background to understand her ideals and what her efforts ultimately meant for the negotiations and the outcome of UNCLOS, but there is no need to follow every detail of Mann Borgese’s life all the way through from birth to death. The biographical approach in this book follows a historical tradition that Judith M Brown calls ‘life histories’.\textsuperscript{21} Like Brown, who has written Gandhi and Nehru’s biographies, I see myself more as ‘a historian of time and region [...] who uses the medium of “life histories,” of individuals and groups of individuals, to seek for evidence to probe many

\textsuperscript{20} In 2012, Betsy Baker published the article ‘Uncommon Heritage: Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Pacem in Maribus, the International Ocean Institute and Preparations for UNCLOS III’. The article presents the findings of a limited archival case study on the possible impact or influence Elisabeth Mann Borgese and her peers could have had on negotiations at UNCLOS through their preparation conferences, Pacem in Maribus. In her study, Baker states that the efforts of the International Ocean Institute, which Mann Borgese founded in 1972, were think tank activity, but that a more detailed account of Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s influence would ‘require further study’. \textit{See} Betsy Baker, ‘Uncommon Heritage: Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Pacem in Maribus, the International Ocean Institute and Preparations for UNCLOS III’. In \textit{Ocean Yearbook Online}, Vol. 26 (Brill 2012): 11–34. https://doi.org/10.1163/22116001-92600099. There is also an article collection in an exhibition catalogue about EMB’s life. The catalogue gives an overview of Mann Borgese’s life and work, and the origins of her ideals. The articles in the catalogue range from personal memories to the discussion of Mann Borgese’s literary works, and this spread reflects the general state of research about Mann Borgese and her work with the ocean, much of which is fragmented. \textit{See} Holger Pils and Karolina Kühn, eds., \textit{Elisabeth Mann Borgese und das Drama der Meere}, exhibition catalogue, (Hamburg: mareverlag, 2012).

key historical issues’. I have chosen to follow Elisabeth Mann Borgese's work because she makes a good model for an individual operating in international negotiations. She can give us a unique understanding of how major international agreements can be controlled by a small number of key players, how individual people's ideas travel through time, how they evolve and how they adapt to political and institutional change. Her story might even hint at what could be done today to counter the environmental and political challenges faced by the world's oceans.

In this book, I have tried to explore how Elisabeth Mann Borgese's motivations, ideas and strategies evolved within the wider climate of twentieth-century global politics, and how they affected the institutions and processes she worked with. I have chosen to study proposals, reports and articles from different periods of her work in the context of the time when they were produced rather than in the light of the convention's eventual outcomes – and in doing so I hope to present a history of time and region understood through the personal background of one individual actor.

4 Elisabeth Mann Borgese Fonds and Other Archives

Most of the material I examined for this book stems from the Elisabeth Mann Borgese Fonds, held by the Dalhousie University Archives in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The fifth floor of the concrete building at Lemarchant Street, not far from Elisabeth Mann Borgese's former headquarters – the 101 – holds most of her private and work-related correspondence, as well as academic articles, research documents, newspaper articles, and other hand-written and typed material. The full archive far exceeds the material used in this book, and I have concentrated on UNCLOS-related correspondence with key actors at the convention, with a special focus on her allies and collaborators. I have also reviewed Mann Borgese's academic documents – including lectures, reports,

22 Brown, ‘“Life Histories”’, 587.
23 Mann Borgese was not the only interesting character at the convention, and other works have shed some light on individual participants or groups operating during UNCLOS. One example is a book by Canadian journalist Clyde Sanger called Ordering the Oceans. Sanger was present during the negotiations, and reported about the negotiation process, its challenges and the key actors involved. He gives some interesting character descriptions of key actors at the Convention. See Clyde Sanger, Ordering the Oceans – The Making of the Law of the Sea (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986).
24 Elisabeth Mann Borgese Fonds, ms-2-744, Dalhousie University Archives and Special Collections, Halifax, Canada.
articles, memorandums and books – and I have occasionally incorporated newspaper articles that give an outsider's perspective of particular issues.

For biographical information about Mann Borgese's upbringing, her family and her young adult life, I viewed material from the Monacensia Archive in Munich and the Thomas Mann Archive in Zürich. A small proportion of the material on her personal life was retrieved from the house of her daughter, Nica Borgese, in Milan. This mostly consisted of private and professional correspondence from the 1940s and 50s.

For access to official records of the UNCLOS III negotiations, I supplemented the extensive collection of official UN documents at the Dalhousie University Archives by visiting the United Nations Archives in New York – where Mann Borgese spent a good deal of her time during the negotiation phase at UNCLOS.

To explore Mann Borgese's relations with Arvid Pardo and the Maltese government, I visited the Pardo Archive at the International Maritime Law Institute in Malta, which contains a small amount of personal correspondence, newspaper articles and academic work. Unfortunately, material about Arvid Pardo is very limited – especially compared to the abundance of material about Mann Borgese – and most of the personal correspondence between Pardo and Mann Borgese is also available at the Dalhousie University Archives. There is one classified folder on Arvid Pardo at the United Nations Archive in New York, which if declassified might contain interesting information on his work. The scope of this book means that the lack of material on Arvid Pardo is not necessarily a problem. Although Arvid Pardo was an important ally and friend to Elisabeth Mann Borgese, my focus lies on her ideals, ideas and strategy before, during and after UNCLOS. Pardo's main relevance to the book relates to his role in the development of Mann Borgese's ideas and their collaboration in the 1970s.

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25 Nachl. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, EMB, Monacensia Literaturarchiv, München, Germany.
26 Ergänzter Nachlass Thomas Mann, B-III Briefe von Familienmitgliedern (direkte Nachkommen Thomas und Katia Manns, deren Ehepartner sowie Katia Mann), Thomas-Mann-Archiv, Zürich, Switzerland.
27 Nica Borgese, Private Collection, Milano, Italy.
29 Pardo Archive, International Maritime Law Institute, Msida, Malta.
Finally, for further insights into Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s personality, I conducted ten interviews with colleagues, friends and a family member.\footnote{Bailet, Francois. (Senior Legal Officer, United Nations DOALOS), telephone interview with the author, 11 November 2016. New York – Trondheim. USA/Norway. Borgese, Nica. (Professor CNR Institute of Neuroscience, Milano), interview with the author, 26 October 2015. Milano, Italy. Borg, H. E. Saviour F. (Ambassador of Malta to Switzerland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), interview with the author, 15 March 2017. Valetta, Malta. Chircop, Aldo. (Professor of Law, Canada Research Chair (Tier 1), in Maritime Law and Policy), interview with the author, 6 March 2016. Oslo, Norway. Coady, Anita. (Member of the International Ocean Institute Governing Board), interview with the author, 25 May 2017. Halifax/NS, Canada. Enright, Catherine. (Retired associate Professor, Nova Scotia Agricultural College), interview with the author, 25 May 2017. Sambro Head/NS, Canada. Gelpke, Nikolaus. (Editor and head of Mareverlag publishing house; president of the International Ocean Institute), telephone interview with the author, 12 September 2016. Trondheim – Hamburg, Norway/Germany. Koh, Tommy. (Ambassador-at-Large Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Professor and rector of Tembusu College, Faculty of Law), e-mail to the author, 8 September 2016. McAllister, Ian. (Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics, Dalhousie University), interview with the author, 26 May 2017. Halifax/, Canada. Williamson, Hugh. (Adjunct Professor: Marine Affairs Program, Dalhousie University), interview with the author, 29 April 2016. Halifax/NS, Canada.} I treated the content from these interviews as background information, and they provided clues that prompted further investigation into specific issues around Mann Borgese’s thought processes, her way into the Law of the Sea and her personal history. The interviews also gave me an understanding of her extraordinary personality and how it might have helped her negotiate in favour of a new ocean order.

5 An Overview – Elisabeth Mann Borgese and the Law of the Sea from 1918–94

This book is divided into four main parts. The first part (1918–67) deals with Elisabeth Mann Borgese’s earlier life, her route into academia and how her ideal of internationalism first evolved. The second part (1967–73) looks into her work before UNCLOS III and charts how she developed ideas to try and promote her internationalist ideals. The third part (1973–82) explores Mann Borgese’s attempts to try and push her ideas through during the hot negotiation phase of UNCLOS III, while the final part (1982–94) briefly examines the aftermath of the convention and how Mann Borgese tried to rescue her ideas during the implementation period.
Part 1 begins by sketching the background of the book’s two main subjects, Elisabeth Mann Borgese and the Law of the Sea. We will follow Mann Borgese through the first forty years of her life, tracing her unconventional route into academia and the development of her internationalist ideals through influences such as her husband, her work on the Committee to Frame a World Constitution and her fellowship at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara. Having explored Mann Borgese’s own history, we will move onto that of the Law of the Sea, beginning with the fundamental principles of ocean governance that were first developed in 1600. We will track the early attempts to codify the Law of the Sea, examine how the Truman Proclamation of 1945 made things suddenly more urgent, and investigate how the outcomes of the first two UNCLOS conventions laid the groundwork for UNCLOS III.

Part 2 follows Elizabeth Mann Borgese’s actions and evolving ideas during the preparation period prior to UNCLOS III, and particularly her collaboration with Arvid Pardo, the Maltese ambassador. We will explore how Pardo’s own vision for ocean governance compared with Mann Borgese’s even more ambitious ideals, their deteriorating relations with the Maltese government, and Mann Borgese’s creation of the International Ocean Institute – an NGO that gave her a way into the UNCLOS III negotiations.

Part 3 deals with the action of UNCLOS III, beginning with the extreme tension between developing and industrial states and the complicated web of alliances and interests that Mann Borgese had to navigate as she joined the negotiations. We will examine Mann Borgese’s suggestions for a fair mode of ocean governance and her attempts to promote them and will follow her transition from NGO representative to a more influential role in the Austrian delegation. The section closes with the stalemate caused by the Reagan administration, the final vote in 1982 and Mann Borgese’s last ditch attempts to make the deep seafloor the ‘common heritage of mankind’.

Finally, the last section summarises the outcomes of the convention in the context of Mann Borgese’s internationalist ideals. We will see how her ideas were ultimately defeated when the 1994 Implementation Agreement was adopted, leaving her nevertheless determined ‘to pick up the pieces and see what we can do with them’.