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Ocean Governance and the United Nations

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BOOK NOTES

HAITIAN FRUSTRATIONS: DILEMMAS FOR U.S. POLICY. Edited by Georges A. Fauriol. [Washington D.C.: The Center for Strategic & International Studies] 1995. Pp. 252. \$24.95.

The Center for Strategic & International Studies has produced a broad, current survey of the United States' response to the most recent Haitian crisis which culminated in the intervention of American troops and the restoration of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In a collection of eighteen articles, scholars focus on the internal political/military structure of Haiti, the efforts of the United States and other parties to produce a diplomatic solution to the crisis and the numerous hurdles that Haiti faces to improve its infrastructure and economic viability. An especially useful chapter, "The U.S. Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934" by David Healy, professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, provides historical context for Haiti's political system and the return to Haiti by the United States in 1994. Other chapters critically examine both the U.S. policy towards Haiti and Haitian refugees as well as the implications that intervention in Haiti will have for the United States.

Researchers will also appreciate the appendices which provide a chronology of events from the 1990 election in which Aristide was elected to his return in 1994, economic and social data for Haiti, text of the diplomatic agreements leading to Aristide's restoration, as well as the text of President Aristide's speeches to the United Nations and his address to the Haitian people upon his return. Interspersed throughout the volume are editorial cartoons which evoke the concern and frustration of the U.S. public during the crisis.

For students of U.S. foreign policy, as well as for those considering involvement in the economic development of Haiti, this volume provides both background information as well as diverse viewpoints on issues which are critical to Haiti's future.

E.G.H.

THE UNITED NATIONS AT FIFTY: SOVEREIGNTY, PEACEKEEPING, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. Edited by Don M. Snider and Stuart J.D. Schwartzstein. [Washington D.C.: the Center for Strategic & International Studies] 1995. Pp. 80. \$10.95.

Also received from the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) is *The United Nations at Fifty: Sovereignty, Peacekeeping and Human Rights*. This volume encapsulates the reports given at a conference jointly sponsored by CSIS and The Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation in recognition of the signing of the U.N. Charter in June, 1945. The volume juxtaposes two authors of differing viewpoints to address each of the three identified areas of concern.

Using the U.S.-led mission in Haiti as a starting point for a discussion of sovereignty, Robert F. Turner proposes a U.N. which would enforce an individual's right to democratic government, even in the absence of threats to regional or international security. James C. O'Brien counters this view, arguing that only slow and gradual change in the U.N. mission is appropriate. The continuing controversy over the U.N. and the military role of peacekeeping is addressed by Hédi Annabi and Lt. Gen. Richard J. Evraire. Mr. Annabi seconds Secretary Boutros-Gali's call for a standing U.N. force which, in theory, would eliminate the confusion and transaction costs of forming coalitions prior to taking action. General Evraire argues that regional security organizations are both recognized in the U.N. Charter as important for peacekeeping and also are both militarily and politically more effective than coalition forces.

The last topic addressed by *The United Nations at Fifty* is that of human rights. John Shattuck stresses the importance of implementing "accountability" for human rights abuses through U.N. tribunals. Sarasin Viraphol cautions that the quest for "human rights" is not universally embraced, especially by some Asian cultures. Outside of egregious violations, Mr. Viraphol argues for engagement with authoritarian governments to effectuate a gradual transformation in the treatment of their citizens.

While this work accurately identifies the key issues confronting the U.N. at its fiftieth anniversary, the format and length of the volume preclude any comprehensive discussion of the issues raised by the title. In particular, citizens of the United States will most likely find the two chapters dealing with peacekeeping to be inadequate if they are looking for an authoritative discussion of the controversy in the United States regarding peacekeeping, a controversy that is sure to be exacerbated by the 1996 presidential campaign.

E.G.H.

THE HALIFAX G-7 SUMMIT: ISSUES ON THE TABLE. Edited by Sylvia Ostry and Gilbert R. Winham. [Halifax, N.S., Canada: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University] 1995. Pp. 135.

The Group of Seven Summit is marking an anniversary, albeit one of twenty years, in 1995. In anticipation of the summit held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University prepared *The Halifax G-7 Summit: Issues on the Table*. Potential readers are cautioned that this volume does not reflect the occurrences at the summit. As the preface notes, "issues on the table" are established by the editors through consultation with government officials and examinations of the previous summits. These issues, once identified, are subject to change due to the interpersonal nature of the summit and the vulnerability of the agenda to unanticipated political developments.

This caveat made, the volume is an excellent contribution to the study of government-coordinated economic activity. The authors contribute accessible articles concerning the reform of multilateral financial institutions; coordination of the Peso, Dollar, and Yen; post-Uruguay round trade; and two articles dealing with Russia's integration into the world economic community.

E.G.H.

OCEAN GOVERNANCE AND THE UNITED NATIONS. By Elisabeth M. Borgese. [Halifax, N.S., Canada: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University] 1995. Pp. 246.

Changes since the end of World War II have sparked a global transformation in political, economic, technological, and environmental spheres. In response to these changes and new challenges, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) has sought to integrate the governing of the world's oceans into a political process that interacts with environmental protection, economic development, and disarmament. *Ocean Governance and the United Nations* ("Ocean Governance") provides an in-depth study into the Convention, highlighting its innovative value, and applying its usefulness to a global setting.

The first several chapters provide a comprehensive background on UNCLOS as well as an extensive analysis of its legal framework. In addition, the monograph includes a thorough examination of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and its effects on establishing a legal regime for the marine environment. Borgese emphasizes the innovative parts of the Convention and examines their usefulness in the upcoming century. Moreover, the author identifies

problematic areas in UNCLOS and post-UNCLOS proceedings and projects fundamental changes necessary to ameliorate their deficiencies.

Ocean Governance provides detailed analyses on narrow issues affecting the application of UNCLOS. Borgese includes insightful discussions of economic theory, managerial structure, and marine science and technology. Moreover, the author explores the implications of these concerns and proffers models for institutional structures capable of integrated policy making.

In predicting the future ramifications of UNCLOS, Borgese curiously speculates that the Convention could and should make substantive contributions to both social and economic developments. The author foresees a convergence of the legal framework and theoretical underpinnings of UNCLOS in order to promote notions of sustainable development, economic order, and social integration. This prescribed panacea, according to Borgese, will potentially aid the implementation of the *Agenda for Peace* in which interactive elements of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peace-building can be advanced.

Ocean Governance is a valuable tool for understanding the basic facets of UNCLOS. Borgese presents the details of the Convention in an elementary fashion — something desirable for those not versed in the legal prescriptions, prohibitions, and implications of the Convention. The author then transcends this discussion by contemplating the normative value of UNCLOS by stressing the need to integrate the Law of the Sea and the marine sector into the general political and legal structures and processes of states. By not doing so, Borgese believes that the world's vision of the future will be forsaken and global harmony compromised.

F.J.Y.