

Communal Waters

By RICHARD HOWARD

The Future of the Oceans
Elizabeth Mann Borgese
(Toronto, Harvest House, 1986).
134 pages.

"AT THE HEART OF THE marine revolution and the new order for the oceans is the concept of the common heritage of mankind." Thus writes Elizabeth Mann Borgese, a professor of political science at Dalhousie University, and an ardent advocate of ocean resource development.

The common heritage of mankind refers to common property resources, i.e. those that are not owned by any single country. Naturally such areas lie in international waters, and are limited to the major oceans of the world. Within these areas resources can be divided into three types: minerals, aquaculture or various forms of energy.

Unfortunately, common property resources are susceptible to over-exploitation by individual countries. For example, it is well known that in a common property resource such as an international fishing zone, the best procedure for any country is to fish as much as possible in the shortest possible time. This does two things. First, it depletes the stocks for future generations. Second, it maintains the status quo, which is basically that those who have the facilities reap the benefits of the resource.

Mann Borgese states that the continued development of these resources, especially in such areas as aquaculture (sea farming), will precipitate a 'fourth wave', much as bipedalism, agriculture and the industrial revolution changed

previous societies. She notes their stunning potential value — an estimated 90 billion U.S. dollars for minerals alone.

For Mann Borgese, this presents a unique opportunity to redress some of the inequality that exists between the rich and poor countries of the world. Many of these resources lie off the coasts of Africa and Asia. Thus, their benefits should accrue to the adjacent country.

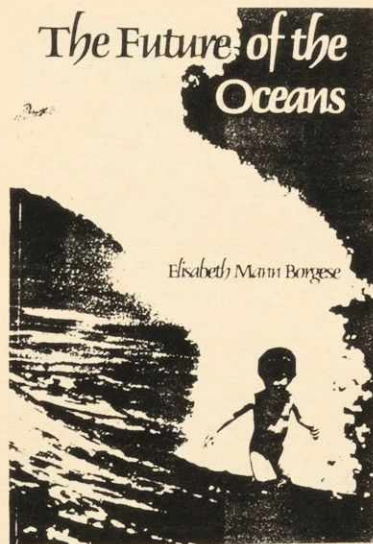
(ocean management) presents a unique opportunity to redress some of the inequality that exists . . .

How will this be accomplished? Mann Borgese suggests a system of worldwide ocean management to monitor the allocation and distribution of the above wealth. She proposes a new Ministry, a marine counterpart to the United Nations, though with vastly increased economic leverage. Its purpose would be to prevent continued stagnation and decline of many of the world's poorest countries. As an example, aquaculture, being a labour intensive activity, lends itself well to areas with low labour cost, and would be suited to warmer climates where it is both economically and ecologically possible. Organizing this would be a major function of the Ministry.

As any reader will soon discover, side by side with this vast scheme lies almost insurmountable problems. Basically it amounts to reconciling the *philosophy* of the common heritage (essentially a master plan for redistribution of ocean wealth), with the *economics* of the com-

mon heritage, a system of ministries, regulatory bodies, and government agencies. As with any multinational negotiations, everything quickly becomes extremely complicated, and the careful reader will soon discover a plethora of mindboggling problems. Many of these stem from the economic theory of Orio Giarini who renounces traditional economics, the distinction between the monetarized and non-monetarized sectors, and redefines such concepts as gross national product and public goods. As a result, applications of the theory become exceedingly complex.

For Mann Borgese the future lies with the oceans and their unlimited potential. Any reader interested in the subject of ocean management should consult this book. Written according to the philosophy of 'think big or not at all', the book provides an interesting insight into the realm of international ocean management.



Hoxha reveals the superpowers

The Super Powers — excerpts from the diaries of Enver Hoxha "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1986.
Review by Charles Spurr

Enver Hoxha's Political Diary on International Questions is the source of an important new book entitled *The Superpowers*. Hoxha is the late leader of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The excerpts from his diary presented in the *The Superpowers* are a valuable source of insight into the foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union during the last quarter century (1959-84).

Although Albania is officially dismissed by the superpowers and their allies, the significance of Enver Hoxha's works is such that every time a new book comes out it is reviewed by the authoritative press of the United States, France, Britain, and other countries. For example, the Toronto Star devoted a page to *The Khrushchevites* because it suggested that Stalin had been murdered. Before that the two volumes of *Reflections on China* attracted attention because the Albanians had had the most intimate experience with the Chinese of all countries; therefore it became required reading for Western "China experts".

The Superpowers touches upon all the important events in international political life. Enver Hoxha makes a profound analysis of all aspects of the policy and stand of the United States and the Soviet Union with unremitting attention. He explains how the superpowers were created, what they and what characterizes their internal and external policies. He also explains what is their true nature and strategy, their place and the role which they play in the various political developments of our time.

Following and interpreting these events from the standpoint of dialectical and historical materialism, Hoxha penetrates to the essence of questions which are worrying the whole of humanity today. He reveals the true causes of the continuous increase in international tension and those who are causing it.

Many events such as the Cuban missile crisis, the Vietnam war, Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, the American interference in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon, the invasions of little Grenada, missile deployment in Europe and "Star Wars", occupy a special place in this book. In the analysis which he makes of these events, Mr. Hoxha denounces the

brutal methods and practices of superpower intervention, and terrorism which the superpowers have raised to a system and transformed into state policy.

An example of this is the superpower involvement in Cuba during the early 1960's. Mr. Hoxha shows Khrushchev betraying the interests of the Cuban people during the 1961 attempted American invasion at the Bay of Pigs, and later, in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Khrushchev backed down to the threats of Kennedy and withdrew his missiles from Cuba which were supposed to be there to deter another American invasion.

The Superpowers also deals extensively with Soviet-American collaboration, from its first steps with the establishment of the direct telephone link to the summit meetings between leaders. A detailed analysis is given both of the idyllic picture of Soviet-American relations and the law of the jungle which exists in these relations.

Mr. Hoxha shows clearly that nothing good comes to the world either when the superpowers quarrel or when they are in close alliance with each other. In any case, the peoples pay the cost.

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