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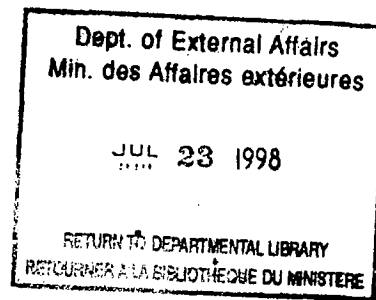
THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER CHALLENGE

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY
WITH BRIEF COMMENTS

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THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE

About five centuries ago, the human race - for the first time in its million-year history - began a rational and disciplined study of itself and its environment. In the ensuing evolutionary instant, **we have discovered enough about the laws of physics to fundamentally change our conditions and status.** We have acquired the power to transform our biosphere - and even ourselves - for good or ill. Moreover, this process is not only accelerating, but is now forcing us to take an increasing number of basic, global decisions, not as individuals or societies, but as a species.

These decisions entail not just making **changes** but difficult, perhaps irreversible, and possibly fatal, permanent **judgments** about long-term priorities and options. Some paths now chosen may affect the entire species, forever. For example, should priority be given:

- (a) to group **honour** or to its **endurance** i.e. by being prepared to use violence to survive ethnically, or to avoid conflicts totally;
- (b) to **identity** or to **governance** i.e. by giving priority to unique cultures, or by seeking optimal, if shared, institutions;
- (c) to seek resource **quantity** or **quality** i.e. by putting higher living standards first, or by accepting less in better balance;
- (d) to essential **innovation** or to **stability** i.e. by depending on science to solve problems, or by cautiously controlling its use;
- (e) to human **relations** or to **individuality** i.e. by giving priority to collective bonds, or to personal rights;
- (f) to **prerogatives** or to **obligations** i.e. by maximizing group and private liberty, or by stressing social responsibility;
- (g) to hard **facts** or to **moral judgment** i.e. by seeking truth, however unwelcome, or by promoting the beneficial, however costly?

Not only elementary justice and democracy, but enlightened self-interest, demand that **as many actors as possible** be involved, not merely in a decision-making process that will fundamentally affect us all, but in the complex, difficult, and often delicate search for the most generally acceptable and productive solutions. To this end, we must also utilize every available means that helps us exploit the best human knowledge, skills, products and powers.

In order to deal with those problems of a global nature, this necessarily means using the **United Nations**, the only organization that effectively includes and represents all of humankind. With its many imperfections, we are very fortunate to have it. A century ago, not even its embryo existed; today, almost 200 sovereign states would be totally unable to reach agreement to create any remotely useful institution. We have no choice but to exploit our best global option and tool, *however imperfect it may be.*

This does not imply passing all global issues to the UN; we neither need nor could agree to give one world authority pervasive, let alone binding, powers. Nor should we even try to deal with the

maximum number of issues at the global level, any more than at the lowest possible level (subsidiarity). Our aim must be to select as carefully and objectively as possible the **optimum levels or groups** to deal with at least the world's most pressing issues, and then to assign them the **relevant powers** to do the job. The main obstacle is the traditional assumption that all powers - and hence issues - should automatically be assigned in the first instance to the sovereign state. This is not only getting more inefficient, but could in future become dangerous and/or futile. The state is a valuable (new) creation, but neither omnipotent nor omniscient.

As for the levels or groups potentially involved, these now include many more geographical and functional interests than our species has been used to consulting, or even recognizing. For the first time they **must** include the entire global community. But henceforth they may also include regional, state, provincial, municipal, occupational, intellectual, community, religious, ethnic, linguistic, family and individual levels or groups. In short, when trying to deal with our growing problems we must **"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"**. Our past allocation of duties and powers no longer fits our changed and changing circumstances.

Given this challenge, the aim of this annotated bibliography is simply to group together certain non-technical but relevant sources of information that might assist in the difficult exercise. Those selected aim at understanding a little better one of the most complex but important relationships involved: that between **the United Nations and the increasing number of human problems which can only or best be dealt with at the global level.**

GLOBAL ISSUES WITH DIRECT RELEVANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

(A) Employing Human Resources Better Behind most sources of global instability lie two inter-related factors. First, in many places and ways, humanity already exceeds the "carrying capacity" of both its biosphere and institutions. Its rapidly increasing capabilities have enabled it to expand its **global impact and numbers** much faster, and to conduct activities more destabilizing, than either the ecosystem or established social arrangements can handle. Second, the global order, although knowledge-based, wastes most of the vast **pool of human intelligence** that might remedy or constrain these human numbers and profligate activities. Only a tiny handful of the humans now alive will ever approach their full potential. Billions live marginal lives; 30% of the world's labour force are not productively employed; 1.5 billion are condemned to the strait-jacket of illiteracy. Moreover, 80 million are added annually to human numbers -and to growing pressures on institutions

and resources. Any alleviation of expanding human pressures and wasted human capacities - through responsible development and fertility, accelerated education and competence - is the most truly global challenge facing the international community, and the UN.

(B) Ending Misuse of Non-Human Resources Humanity's fixed global heritage is being destroyed or exploited at an accelerating rate. The net result is ultimately unsustainable. This applies to both renewable and non-renewable resources - to those "claimed" by individuals or organizations, and those seen as humanity's "common heritage" and/or as valueless "externalities". From now on, all exploitable reserves must be at least roughly calculated, valued, and used on a **broadly sustainable basis**. If these difficult aims are to have meaning and some hope of success, global accords and close cooperation are essential; the UN is already taking the lead.

(C) Cleaning Up Our Mess Since the scientific revolution, and particularly since the population and technological explosions, certain human activities have done such dangerous and costly **damage to the biosphere** that homo sapiens has no choice but to try to make corrections. At minimum, widespread and/or transboundary biospheric disruptions (e.g. air pollution, soil erosion/pollution/depletion, desertification, water misuse, deforestation) must be controlled or reversed. The scale and wide-spread nature of most of these problems, and the limited financial and technical ability of many of those worst affected, require that most can best or only be addressed collectively on a worldwide basis ("Earth Summit").

(D) Dealing with Biospheric Disruption We confront or create serious **physical phenomena** of global impact, many caused by forces that can only be indirectly influenced, or even understood. These may or may not be avoidable, but they can be predicted, or reduced in force or effect. Examples may be climatic (global warming, ozone loss); geological (earthquakes, eruptions); meteorological (floods, storms, droughts); space-originated (asteroids). Any human counter-action must be undertaken collectively by the global community.

(E) Meeting New Security Threats The end of the Cold War did not ease, but rather probably intensified, human **insecurity**. The UN recognizes that dangers to international peace and security equate less with inter-state military violence, and more with other varied and multiple threats to survival. The priority reaction to altered threats must be changes and flexibility in human response. Human perceptions, priorities and institutions must adapt to situations. The necessary process of reaction is so grave, urgent and universal that it must be addressed collectively, as at the UN World Summits.

(F) Confronting Violence Since the end of the Cold War, while conflict between states has become rare, **intra-state** violence has increased. "Self-determination", ethnic and religious differences have replaced resource gain and even ideology as reasons for inter-human combat. The proliferation and lethality of new weapons alone

demands the reduction and eventual elimination of mass conflict. There is a continuum of things the UN can and must do. Through prevention and mediation, varied military or other sanctions, peacekeeping, and other intervention or assistance designed to stabilize or defuse situations, the UN must act as it was designed to do - further the building of global peace. A shrinking world makes peacemaking everywhere enlightened self-interest for all.

(G) Dealing with Disaster Almost all the challenges identified raise the possibility of **catastrophe**, however prescient the UN's efforts. World interdependence increases chances that local events have global effects; the colossal and ever-growing scale of human intrusions on the biosphere make catastrophes both more likely and serious; and the omnipresent media, combined with the appalling discrepancies in wealth, make assistance politically unavoidable. Geography, resources and technology alone make UN-coordinated action preferable.

(H) Promoting Disarmament The end of the Cold War brought new hope for **peace dividends**, but left a world awash in arms, surplus arms-making capacity, and unemployed arms professionals. Traffic increased in both scale and recipients, as prices fell. Control over the development, manufacture and deployment of lethal weapons and substances, particularly nuclear, biological and chemical, has become no longer the preserve of the superpowers and their allies. UN concern and activity has grown, but will be constrained by: continued weapons research, driven by fear, greed and curiosity; global diffusion of both weapons and relevant knowledge; the increasing difficulty of verification; and the vulnerability of complex modern society to disruption. All demand global reaction.

(I) Reducing Hazardous Frustration With the proliferation of weapons comes the profusion of those who could and might use them. The desperation of unemployment, the anger of those masses who perceive themselves deprived in a grossly unequal but more-informed world, and the boldness of ethnic and religious certainties, sows contagious seeds of **terrorism, fanaticism and martyrdom**. Arming and financing extremists are the growing numbers and wealth of drug dealers and other international criminals, and new thousands of well-trained and armed international mercenaries. Miniaturization, the diffusion of lethal knowledge and components, and multi-use equipment and substances, all impede surveillance, while the vulnerability of energy- and information-dependent society makes it more susceptible to focused attack and blackmail. Counter-action must therefore involve all governments to eliminate sanctuary and safe transit. Counter-intelligence must become as airtight and coordinated as possible. Only global coverage is truly effective.

(J) Countering Medical Challenges Two trends cause increasing health concerns. First is the rapid and relentless escalation in the global movement of both people and things. Every conscious transfer also carries the threat of transmitting human, plant or

animal disease, and inevitably raises the likelihood of **pandemics**. Second, the very widespread (over)use of antibiotics etc. has produced more resistant **mutations**, and a global race to keep ahead. All this calls for tighter global biological preventive and control measures. Fortunately many can be integrated to a degree with other "security" screening, and control of toxic goods movements. Again, any impervious system demands all-inclusive global coverage.

(K) Building a Global Rule of Law Every (binding) interstate agreement constrains sovereignty, and every resolution passed in a universal forum contributes to creating global standards/norms. The general trend is thus for the body of international practice, precedent and law to grow at an unequalled rate. The reason is practical. A world whose international inter-connections grow exponentially must establish and maintain relevant rules, controls and principles. The development of **international law and tribunals** must keep pace with interdependence. If global, the UN is involved.

(L) Developing Global Rights The formation and acceptance of universal **human rights and democratic norms** raises questions. While some governments argue that human rights are culturally based, in practice the body of those globally accepted is expanding. In any event, any universal code must be developed through the gradual build-up of norms. The process of formulation and acceptance is constantly underway in various UN fora, and has been for many years. Movement, though slow, is clearly forward and increasingly intrusive within states.

(M) Managing Mass Migrations Humans now move in unprecedented numbers, not simply because there are more people, but because both the need and opportunity have grown: both "push" and "pull" forces are powerful. The UN officially recognizes well over 20 million refugees forced unwillingly out of their own country. Globally, about one person in a hundred is either a refugee or "displaced", i.e. forced unwillingly to move within their country. Other **mass migrations** are more ambiguous, particularly the uncontrolled flows in poorer countries from country to city. When either or both the migrant and the locus of migration is unwilling, problems are bound to arise beyond mere acculturation. These increasingly global issues can best be dealt with at the global level.

(N) Maintaining Global Financial Checks Approaching \$1.5 trillion worth of **international financial transfers** take place daily, a high percentage (80%?) of which is purely speculative. This reduces governments' degree of control over their fiscal policy and can threaten the stability of major currencies. It has therefore been suggested that a tax be levied on such transfers to damp down their scale. Since the proceeds would amount to billions of dollars, the UN with its arrears problems, and the Third World with its debt load and uncertain income, have a desperate interest.

(O) Optimizing International Trade As the volume and value of **international trade** grows, it raises new problems of negotiation, regulation and adjustment. The World Trade Organization will have a key role in dealing with the rapidly growing trade in services, chronic problems with agriculture, the issues of international investment and corruption, environmental and labour standards, and the taxing of international trade between parts of supra-national corporations. Many economic agreements are already global. These will inevitably grow, and become more complex as trade blocs form.

(P) Dealing with Failure and Anarchy The **collapse** of major institutions, both national and international, including numerous "failed states", is foreseen as a delicate predicament for the international community. The UN may be the only acceptable resident physician in many cases. Two problems inevitably arise: the degree of global control and help that is tolerable yet sufficient, and the enormous cost and possibly time-scale involved. For many reasons, however, a political-security "black hole" can no longer be left unattended by an interdependent community.

(Q) Accommodating Non-State Power The influence, wealth and activities of many non-state **trans-national organizations** (NGO's, corporations, ideological movements, media, etc.) is approaching or exceeding that of sovereign states. The international rules in regard to such bodies remain very limited. One reason is that they may have no genuine nationality and/or can play one state off against another. Somehow such organizations must be persuaded to respect a minimal system of supranational norms, or jurisdiction if necessary. Only the UN system has any hope of accomplishing this.

(R) Optimizing Global Knowledge In a **knowledge**-driven world, the maximum and most rapid exploitation of accurate information and essential technology should be facilitated, if only to the general welfare. Assisting in raising the global access to information is a challenge so big and beneficial that it falls on the UN. Third World states can be assisted electronically in gaining entry to the most essential pools of knowledge, particularly to **exploit modern technology** for rapid and widespread education. The distortions and instability that accompany the global revolution can thus be absorbed as quickly and painlessly as possible, and the Third World make a major contribution to global sustainable development.

(S) Alleviating Global Distress The avoidable frustration, hopelessness and anguish of billions of humans, brought about by **absolute privation, and extreme and growing income divergence**, both within and between states, must be addressed - if only for our own enlightened self-interest in global stability. The international community through the United Nations has a unique capacity, and so responsibility. We must try; there is no rational alternative...

WHY THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY AND HOW TO USE IT

The aim is to help users answer the extremely topical and important question: **what is the relationship between the United Nations system and the increasing number of human problems which can only or best be dealt with at the global level**, i.e. to bring together texts on an institution and the challenges it faces. More specifically, it brings together two types of information: first, material dealing in some manner with the UN system, as it is and as it might be; second, carefully selected samples of the extremely diverse material that deals with issues which may be relevant to the UN's mandate and capacities.

Most of the material is new, mainly because the subjects discussed are in the process of rapid change, accumulation and re-interpretation. Most offer their own up-to-date bibliographies or reading lists, so each can be used as a **bridge** to a vast volume of further information. The material is not as a rule technical - although this is sometimes inevitable - on the assumption that experts are aware of the current sources in their field(s). The material on the UN system itself can of course be esoteric for non-specialists, but most is fairly general and/or self-explanatory; much only **implies** need for reform or redirection.

The short but highly concentrated annotations are intended both to summarize the subject-matter, and show why and how it is pertinent, if this is not self-evident. They are not "reviews" in the sense mainly of giving a judgement on quality or even accuracy. Any source must meet two criteria: it must be relevant and valuable to the project; and I must have actually read it cover-to-cover (unless that would obviously be inappropriate). There is inevitably much overlap, but users must be able to see issues from more than one direction.

The material has been divided into a number of subjects, so that readers/users can concentrate on what interests them most. It also makes it possible to download only the subject(s) of personal interest. With this in mind, I have tried to make each subject section self-contained, i.e. each includes **all** the material I think is particularly relevant, even though this means that some sources are repeated in two or more sections. This also means that you need to use less computer-time getting just what you want from a long and constantly-growing bibliography.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY GROUPED BY SUBJECT
"THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER CHALLENGE"

CHANGE: UN-RELEVANT GLOBAL TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

Martin Albrow, The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). - a mainly theoretical look at globalization, but offering many practical insights about global institutions. Basic thesis is that while political, social, economic and technical elements of modernity and the nation-state continue, we are entering a new era where globality, i.e. a global viewpoint, will gradually replace them. UN system, representative of states, need not be world state, but will become increasingly a system reflecting views and debating values of humanity (119-144).

*John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.***

Keith Banting, George Hoberg, and Richard Simeon edit., Degrees of Freedom: Canada and the United States in a Changing World (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). - the UN/global relevance of this unique book is its comparison of how two major, successful but differing states have met post-industrial challenges. These include globalization, multiculturalism, human rights, environmentalism etc - problems that are progressively facing more and more governments. Authors conclude that even such interdependent states can diverge.

Benjamin R. Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld: How the Planet is Both Falling Apart and Coming Together and What This Means for Democracy (New York: Times Books, 1995). - unusual and debatable perception of broad global trends. Author argues that world is experiencing a basic conflict between the homogenizing power of post-industrial capitalism and a "fundamentalist" ethnic-religious reaction. He believes that both forces undermine the state, and hence democracy.

Phyllis Bennis & Michel Moushabeck edit., Altered States: A Reader in the New World Order (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1993). - an uneven but generally left-inclined and strongly anti-US collection of 48 essays, divided into nine groupings: After the Gulf War [global, mostly security, issues]; North-South Economic Divide; Transformation of Nationalism: From Anti-Colonialism to Ethnic

Cleansing; Soviet Union and Russia; Middle East; Africa; Asia; Latin America; Europe. More useful as a source of **views**, not **facts**.

Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (Second Edition) (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1995). - this new edition of a seminal work on the state system maintains original 1977 text. Its UN-relevant aim was to determine whether state system would/should survive - and alternatives. It concluded that very little change was possible or needed. Its current value and fascination derives from how extraordinary changes over past 20 years in global polarity/finance/manufacture/computer nets/culture, regional consolidation, etc., renders much of argument obsolete.

Barry Buzan and Gerald Segal, Anticipating the Future: Twenty Millennia of Human Progress (London: Simon & Schuster, 1998). - this book is both stimulating and misleading - points made in Reviews in The Economist 14 Feb 98 (12) and Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998) (134-9). In spite of title, almost entire book deals with the broad sweep of the human past and present, in order to put 1998 and possible futures into focus. This it does clearly and usefully, if in fairly orthodox terms. My criticism is that it underestimates the depth and acceleration of current global change. Future section anticipates UN system stymied, mainly by US, requiring replacement.

Thomas Carothers, "Democracy Without Illusions" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - notes that recent hopes for the almost universal establishment of democratic governments have been disappointed by revival in many states of authoritarian regimes or practices. But retrenchment does not eliminate underlying progress.

E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations Second Edition (London: Macmillan & Co., 1956). - this famous 1939 book's relationship to UN results from its negative influence on Western hope to create a peaceful world through law, e.g. by declaring war illegal. By emphasizing the unpalatable facts of the interwar period and above all the key role of state power, Carr helped kill misconceptions and illusions that had weakened the League of Nations or encouraged idealistic diplomacy. Specifically, he helped ensure the UN Charter reflected the realities of power (if not realism). *Ku op.cit.* (p16).

Edward Carr, "The Sea: A Second Fall", in The Economist 23 May 98 (1-18). - a broad if necessarily concise Survey of all major trends and problems relating to the oceans today, and anticipated. Among the varied subjects covered are: increasing human exploitation and dependency; end of "unlimited" utilization and last great hunting-gathering culture; need for global/state controls as for land; vast areas of unknown living and mineral resources; pollution (man-made/natural), algal blooms, coast/reef destruction; sealife/nutrients; (over)fishing: expansion/controls (fishing fleet 53% superfluous); trends/currents (El Nino, global warming); shipping; new lessons.

Harlan Cleveland, Birth of a New World: An Open Moment for International Leadership (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993). - a post-Cold War book by a top US diplomat and administrator who does not advocate a Pax Americana. His description of changes in and characteristics of the post-industrial world is succinct.

Robert Cooper, The Post-Modern State and the World Order (London: Demos, 1996). - a thoughtful essay, praised and summarized in The Economist of 20 Dec 97 (41-43). Argument derives from dividing all states into three categories: those characterised by chaos (pre-modern); those acting in the manner of traditional nationalistic states (modern); and those with less concern about borders than about mutual inspection and interference (post-modern). The last type is mostly in Europe and North America; Russia straddles all.

David B. Dewitt, David G. Haglund & John J. Kirton edit., Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993). - a varied collection of essays analysing the security impact of post-Cold War realities and trends on world power relations, on international issues (military, economic, cultural, environmental, demographic), and on various "institutions", particularly UN, but also NATO, G-7, treaties, etc.

Peter F. Drucker, Post-Capitalist Society (New York: Harper Collins, 1993). - one of Drucker's more recent books on "economics" which actually looks broadly at global history, society and politics. His main point is the dominance of **knowledge**, and the immense impact of this on all human activities (c.f. Toffler 1990). Drucker's earlier The New Realities: In Government and Politics, In Economics and Business, In Society and World View (New York: Harper & Row, 1989) took broad view but had to anticipate changes in USSR.

Gwynne Dyer, "Globalization and the Nation-State" in Behind the Headlines Vol.53/No.4 (Summer 1996). - more positive view of some major global trends than as usually perceived: violence is down and localized; vastly improved communications accelerates democracy; unemployment and income disparities may mainly reflect transitions.

The Economist 28 Mar 98: "At Last, a Market for Energy" (17-18); "Oil Shocked" (57-58); "The Electricity Business: Power to the People". - three articles deal with basic changes taking place in the global energy sector, particularly electricity and oil, because of new consumption/production trends (sources, types, scales), new ownership and market structures, and new or imminent technology.

John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality? Revised Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). - there is a plethora of recent books on Islam, Islamic Fundamentalism and the Islamic "Threat". This is among the best, in that it is neither an apologia nor an alarm, but an objective and informative source for Western readers, particularly those concerned about an inevitable "Clash of Civilizations" (see particularly Huntington, op. cit.).

Richard Falk, Explorations at the Edge of Time: The Prospects for World Order (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992). - result of author's participation in **UN University's Project on Peace and Global Transformation**, book is semi-theoretical and deliberately utopian. Argument centres on the change to "world order" thinking needed to achieve a "postmodern" world, based not on territorial, self-interested "modernism", but on human rights, democracy and the preservation of environmental quality. The UN can play a key role.

Foreign Affairs Educators' Resource Guide 1997 - authors and titles of over 1000 recent or "classic" articles on international politics and economics from eight leading journals, located by journal and issue. Articles are grouped by general subject, i.e. geographical area plus: Arms Control; Economics, Trade & Finance; Global Issues; Intelligence; Islam; Theory; **UN**; War and Peace. Excellent source.

Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man (New York: Avon Books, 1993). - UN relevance of this controversial but seminal book is its argument that liberal democracy and capitalism have won out globally over (rival) ideologies, so henceforth instability and change, though continuing, will take place within these parameters. Is ethnicity heir of ideological conflict (see Huntington op.cit.)?

Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World (New York: Harper and Row, 1988). - the book that for the first time made significant numbers in the West believe real change was taking place in the USSR. Chapter 3: "How We See the World of Today" (121-146) uses many arguments set out above in THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE, e.g. that new evolving circumstances require all states to think globally. Hence "the role of the United Nations...is more important than ever before" (126). By summer 1988 Moscow proposed so many UN reforms (100+) we held several Canada-USSR talks over them.

Mikhail Gorbachev, Memoirs (New York: Doubleday, 1996). - this 800-page autobiography, while providing few new facts, offers valuable insights into the world-view of one of century's key personalities. Its essence is found in what author calls his "watershed" speech to UNGA (7 Dec 88) which helped convince others of both his unorthodox aims and sincerity (p.459-62). He highlights: self-restrained, non-ideological international relations; freedom of choice; and primacy of universal human values. He also stressed many UN reforms (Ibid).

Stephen R. Graubard, "Reconstructing Nations and States", issue of Daedalus Vol.122/No.3 (Summer 1993). - a fine collection of essays relating to the post-Cold War situation and prospects of the nation state system. Graubard sees a need to rethink both the concept and reality of the nation, and how the nation's identity can be defined and preserved. The essays address these challenges. That by Michael Mann is valuable in that it studies the global relevance of the EU.

Liah Greenfeld, Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). - while ostensibly an analysis of the unique development of nationalism in England, France, Germany, Russia and the USA, the approach is more than simply historical. The book offers deep and multi-disciplinary insights into varying circumstances. It therefore finds lessons relevant to all nations. For UN purposes, it provides valuable background to the current proliferation, (im)perfection and collapse of many states.

Michael Haas, "ASEAN's Pivotal Role in Asian-Pacific Regional Cooperation" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - among all loci of regional multilateral activity, the Asian-Pacific region is most active and complex. This essay provides an excellent overview of recent overlapping developments: political, economic, and military, but particularly focused on and around ASEAN.

Margaret G. Hermann & Joe D. Hagan, "International Decision Making: Leadership Matters" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - essay surveys latest thinking on role of leadership. In current ambiguous global environment, leaders' foreign policy perspectives are more flexible, indeterminate and domestically-influenced. Leaders define states' constraints; lack of dominant leader may postpone decision; crisis concentrates authority; firm domestic opinion may prevent or force decisions; decision units may be unclear; preferences tend to be more fixed for crusaders and fluid for pragmatists/strategists. Key systemic constraints centre on economic/environmental issues.

Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996) plus debate on the central arguments in Foreign Affairs Vols.72/Nos.3 & 5, 75/No.6 and 76/No.2 and in Foreign Policy Spring 1997. - highly controversial thesis sees the "West" as one of several competing civilizations, which will become the new focus of major conflicts. One major weakness is confusion between Western "culture" and modernization. Latter was launched in Europe by the scientific revolution, but is now forcing complex, scary but ever more integrated global society. Key roles of nationalism, local ethnicity and UN are little noted.

Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). - stimulating and tenable theory about shift from traditional to industrial (Modernist) societies, and now to Postmodernism. Basic argument is that culture (plus economics and politics) is key; Postmodern shift, i.e. from growth to quality of life focus, reflects long history of security in rich states. Case derives from analysis of attitude surveys, mainly in Europe.

Paul Kennedy, Preparing for the Twenty-First Century (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1993). - criticized by many futurologists, this study covers new ground, brings new factors together, and forces some new perspectives. In other areas it is orthodox. Well-written.



Bruce Kogut, "International Business: The New Bottom Line" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - extremely useful survey of the basis of (economic) globalization: multinational corporations - their development, motives in locating abroad and characteristics. Among the subjects covered (+ bibliography) are: how they drive the global economy and guide foreign policy; FDI's motive to **control** something (cf portfolio investment); key role of hard-to-replicate proprietary advantage (cf just lower costs); function of ownership, location, internalization (OLI); value of coordinating a network of flexible operations and controlled knowledge transfers (arbitrage).

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - an overriding concern for most UN members and bodies is how to raise the economic standards of LDCs. Landes offers an excellent chronology/rationale for the 500-year Eurocentric Industrial Revolution and its results. Argument: combined geography, political/economic/cultural factors, and above all a scientific/aspiring outlook. Prognosis: uneven and uncertain gains globally. (Near)rich **can** defend their lead; Latin America **may** open up; ex-Sovbloc **must** overcome history; Middle East **could** reduce negative traits; Africa/India **face** huge cultural bars.

Hans J Morgenthau, Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace; Brief Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993). - seminal work on "realist" international relations (original text 1948 but revised by author or on basis his evolving views until 1980s). Interest derives from its critique of UN or "superstate". Stresses nationalism and legitimacy of states pursuing own interests; then poses dilemma that despite these, with nuclear threat "in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state" (343). For legal- vs power-oriented world peace: Ku (16); Carr (op.cit.).

John Naisbitt, Global Paradox (London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 1994). - the author varies somewhat from his usual "Megatrends", which are fairly superficial and US-oriented, to make the case that size gives less and less advantage in a completely interlinked world, and that smaller units (countries, companies, governments) will have advantage. A trend which, if true, transforms the UN.

John Naisbitt, Megatrends Asia: Eight Asian Megatrends That Are Reshaping Our World (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). - another welcome exception to the usual "Megatrends" format, this collates

a wealth of information about the area from Japan to Pakistan, and makes two basic predictions: Asia will become the global centre of gravity; non-Western modernism is both functional and democratic. Predictions have been put in some question by post-1996 events.

James P. Pinkerton, "Enviromanticism" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/-No.3 (May/June 1997). - article argues that basic change in global perspectives brought by new scientific information and ecological priorities may have emotional influence on international politics.

Giles Radice edit., What Needs to Change: New Visions for Britain (London: HarperCollins, 1996). - imaginative essays on contemporary issues, commissioned for the British Labour Party but relevant to all states facing the post-industrial revolution (and thus the UN). Most proposals seem expert, sound, and are certainly not socialist. Of particular relevance are comments on the UN (supports Tobin tax op.cit.), nationalism, environment, globalization (relocation of sovereign power and "work"), knowledge, subsidiarity and democracy.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Carl Sagan & Ann Druyan, Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors: A Search for Who We Are (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993). - this study is relevant to many issues being faced by the global community/UN since it relates to the origin of human society and our resulting characteristics. "We must work...to understand who we are, how we got to be that way, and how to transcend our deficiencies. Then we can begin to create a society less apt to bring out the worst in us...Our species is becoming an intercommunicating whole, with powerful economic and cultural bonds...Our problems, increasingly, are global in venue, admitting only global solutions"(pp.414-415).

Mihaly Simai, The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1994). - not as academic as it sounds; a very practical description of recent past, present problems, and probable future. After a geographic and sectoral survey of global trends, the author argues (pp.352-3) that the UN-served global community of the future will be quite unlike 1945 or present: it will require a cooperative system that is more democratic, complex, flexible and harmonized.

Eugene B. Skolnikoff, The Elusive Transformation: Science, Technology, and the Evolution of International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). - the author deliberately takes

a focused view of the current global revolution. He argues that the structure and operation of scientific and technological enterprises have "interacted with international affairs to lead to the dramatic evolution of world politics". States have not (yet) caught up.

Gregory Stock, Metaman: The Merging of Humans and Machines into a Global Superorganism (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1993). - raises issues similar to Toffler (1970), i.e. can and will mankind adjust to unprecedented challenges of rapid global change. Stock is optimistic, on the basis that human society has become so bound together by technology that it can itself be viewed as an organism which in turn has the capacity to evolve to meet global challenges.

Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970). - in his first book, Toffler makes the case for reorganizing basic education so that the population can adjust as easily and quickly as possible to the massive changes they will experience. While he was dealing with educational problems in late 20th century society, at a more intellectual level, Allan Bloom is actually expressing similar basic concerns with the effects of change in The Closing of the American Mind (New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1988).

Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980). - book describes the variety and depth of changes that are taking place, and equates the importance of this "Third Wave" process to the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Toffler expects much friction from supporters of the "Second Wave". Employment and structural change are clearly major issues already.

Alvin Toffler, Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century (New York: Bantam Books, 1990). - thesis: that the nature of power has shifted, first from capacity to apply violence, to wealth, and now to knowledge. Those with the last can obtain the other forms of power at will, but the reverse is untrue.

Alvin and Heidi Toffler, War and Anti-War: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1993). - unlike the influential trilogy (Ibid.), this concentrates on the relationship between rapid global change and dealing with war. Argument: while ethnic and other reasons to initiate violence have increased, its prevention or cessation have also increased, both in urgency due to rapidly changing military technology, and in complexity due to the accelerating decline in state power. Hence new ways to seek peace must be developed: UN restructuring must draw on all power centers.

Alvin and Heidi Toffler, Creating a New Civilization: The Politics of the Third Wave (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1995). - mostly a summary of previous arguments, particularly "Third Wave" (op.cit.). Useful therefore if above tomes are too long. Newt Gingrich's name as writer of Foreword gets equal billing on cover as the authors'. While long-term friends, they swear this is not a Republican tract; but book stresses that legislation should reflect Toffler insights.

Barbara W. Tuchman, The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984). - unfortunately all too relevant to the question of whether the international community/UN can and will adapt in time to changed/changing realities - but an invaluable warning of the conceptual barriers that might and must be overcome.

Martin Walker, "A New American Isolationism? The Mood of American Introspection and Fatigue with the Tiresome World Is Growing Fast" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.3 (Summer 1997). - describes competition between embattled pro-UN -free trade internationalism of Clinton Administration and growing strength of "unilateralist" politicians advocating selective but selfish forms of isolationism.

Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - essay offers an excellent layperson's guide to the rapid evolution of international relations theory forced by post-Cold War uncertainty and accelerating change. Walt concisely explains recent trends in (neo)realism, liberalism, and constructivism, and their tendency to converge as multilateral methods become necessity. New issues: environment, ethnic conflict, states' futures; new aims: democracy, free markets, human rights.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - 118 of the world's 193 countries are democratic in that they hold popular elections, now often under UN supervision. Article points out, however, that increasing numbers are also authoritarian: ruling by decree, ignoring the rule of law and limiting human rights. As they are illiberal in constitutional terms, the world community (UN?) should stress liberal ideals more. Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998) contains two excellent Responses: first (167-170) by John Shattuck & J.Brian Atwood, the other (171-180) by Marc F. Plattner. Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) offers four (122-8): by Charles A.Kupchan, Juliana Geran Pilon, Nigel Gould-Davies, Kenneth Cain. Debate centers on affinity between liberalism and democracy.

Danilo Zolo, Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997). - a key debate about longer-term global future is whether/how nation states will continue, or be replaced by world government. In spite of title, Zolo argues that latter would result in turmoil and autocracy. Instead, he advocates that UN be replaced by decentralized international institutions engaged in non-coercive preventive and peacemaking diplomacy and fact-finding arms control. This "weak pacifism" results from his belief that: "conflictuality cannot be suppressed or annulled, but should instead be patiently channelled, directed and, where...possible, contained" (p.168).

CONFLICT: EVOLUTION OF WARFARE AND WEAPONRY

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while

addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: The New Art of War and Peace (London: Hutchinson - Random House, 1996). - although it concludes with detailed proposals for a permanent UN force along the lines of French Foreign Legion and/or Canadian "Rapid Reaction Capacity" submission (op. cit.), the book's main thrust relates to the nature and implications of recent basic changes in national security, war and armed forces. Hence the need for a key UN role.

Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article argues that greatest threat from weapons of mass destruction (WMD) comes not from nuclear or chemical, but from biological weapons since they combine maximum destructiveness with availability. Also, source and nature of WMD attack is more liable to be small scale, derived from rogue states or terrorists, and aimed (surreptitiously?) at civilians. Author urges improved civil defence and intelligence. (Latter world-wide?) Letters in Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) presents qualifying comments.

Eliot A. Cohen, "A Revolution in Warfare" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - article contends that full and real-time knowledge of battlefield, and guided ammunition, have changed warfare in virtually every sphere, including political.

Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson, Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1996). - 42 expert and practical essays (675pp) on new facts and thinking regarding global challenges, and how resulting conflicts might be met (e.g.UN). Includes: many weak states; ethnic conflicts; religio-cultural militancy; population pressures; resource crises; global competition; radical military technology/megaterrorism. Responses stress preventive action.

Gustav Daniker, The Guardian Soldier: On the Nature and Use of Future Armed Forces (Geneva: United Nations UNIDIR 36, 1995). - a thoughtful analysis by a Swiss military strategist of the effects and opportunities of the end of the Cold War. He sees security as multi-faceted, long-sighted and aimed at stability not destruction.

John J. Dowdy, "Winners and Losers in the Arms Industry Downturn" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - a valuable survey, not only of post-Cold War trends in the scale and exports of the arms industry in the US, Europe and Russia, but also their effects

on mergers and employment. Following article by Solomon M. Karmel, "The Chinese Military's Hunt for Profits", covers PRC equally well. See also Survey on "Global Defence Industry" in Economist 14 Jun 97.

The Economist 8 Mar 97: "The Future of Warfare" (21-24). - although there are many specialized technical sources on this subject, this essay beautifully summarizes current capacities and implications.

The Economist 6 Jun 98: "Bombs, Gas and Microbes" (23-5). - concise view of current world disarmament/control moves against weapons of mass destruction. **NPT**: 186 in; India, Pakistan, Israel, Brazil, Cuba outside. 1997 inspection protocol so far binds few. Trade control: **Zangger Committee** and **Nuclear Suppliers' Group**. **CTBT** (1996): 149 signed; 13 ratified, with major holdouts. Fissile-materials cut-off held up in UN. **CWC** (1997): 168 signed; 110 ratified, again major holdouts; chemical weapons outlawed and destroyed; trade limits; short-notice inspections. **BWC** (1972): 130+ ratified; biological/toxin weapons prohibited but no built-in checks. "Spread of weapons technology seems inexorable...[so hit] roots of regional disputes".

Lawrence Freedman, "International Security: Changing Targets" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - author initially argues that "International security addresses questions of **force**" (48) but later includes other serious threats that **might produce** violence. He well describes the changes in strategists' and strategic thinking forced by the Cold War's end with clear enemies, issues and war scenarios; "notions of multilateral cooperation [served] to delegitimize force as a primary tool of statecraft" while economic, environmental, drug and social factors - plus terrorism - became sources of insecurity.

Government of Canada, Towards a Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations Ottawa: Canadian Government, Sep 1995. - study done for UN in response to Boutros-Ghali plea for a Rapid Reaction Force. Proposal includes a "Vanguard Concept" under which "UN would be able to assemble from Member States a multi-functional force of up to 5,000 military and civilian personnel and rapidly deploy it under the control of an operational-level headquarters, upon authorization of the Security Council." First such detailed plan.

John Keegan, A History of Warfare (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1993). - the forte of this leading military historian is to make ancient battles seem real. Hence this broad survey's strength lies in its micro-analysis of changing weapons, and tactics, not in strategic sweep. However the predictions offered are likely sound: the UN is "the best instrument available" for **perpetuating** (sic) peacemaking - a world without armies for this purpose "would be uninhabitable." Yet, as war is now so lethal and "warmaking has become a habit... [u]nless we unlearn [such] habits...we shall not survive" (384-5).

Lawrence H. Keeley, War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). - an anthropologist's strong case that primitive human societies fought

"total war" more frequently and with higher death rates than modern states. The lessons learned are that since "[t]he roots of war and peace clearly lie in certain social and economic circumstances that mold or override values and attitudes" (p.147), the way to end war is to develop international (trade) law, better peaceful security through economics and technology, and fewer political units (UN?).

William R. Polk, Neighbours and Strangers: The Fundamentals of Foreign Affairs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). - a thoughtful and historically vast study of the constant or changing relationships among societies - from the diplomatic, intelligence, military and economic points of view. A serious oversight is lack of admission that interdependence has already forced all diplomacy to be overwhelmed by multilateralism. Polk's excuse: "there will be...no effective international institutions [while] nation-states ...refuse to diffuse their sovereignty" (278). He admits challenge will be to "coalesce" states into organizations that can address "great and growing transnational and multinational problems" (311).

Michael Renner, "Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms" in State of the World 1998 (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - article provides wealth of current global information on the users, sources, volume, value, components, concentrations and casualties of small-arms. It makes recommendations for their control, with landmines as example.

David Shukman, Tomorrow's War: The Threat of High-Technology Weapons (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1996). - there are many good books on the acceleration and nature of technological change in warfare, e.g. Frank Barnaby, The Automated Battlefield, (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1986). This book has real value in identifying growing UN challenges because, looking ahead, it accents the altered prospects for global peacekeeping, arms control, biological terrorism, etc.

Timothy L. Thomas, "The Mind Has No Firewall" in Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly Vol. XXVIII/No.1 (Spring 1998). - article reports that both US and more particularly Russia have researched varied forms of "information warfare" in which troops themselves rather than their equipment would become targets of attack. Media claims US technology was designed to "vibrate the insides of humans, stun or nauseate them, put them to sleep, heat them up, or knock them down". Russians claim "psy" weapons are under wide development and have described many types. While a US official undertook "to work within the scope of any" relevant treaties, they are very few.

Alvin and Heidi Toffler, War and Anti-War: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1993). - unlike the influential trilogy (Ibid.), this concentrates on the relationship between rapid global change and dealing with war. Argument: while ethnic and other reasons to initiate violence have increased, its prevention or cessation have also increased, both in urgency due to rapidly changing military technology, and in complexity due to the

accelerating decline in state power. Hence new ways to seek peace must be developed: UN restructuring must draw on all power centers.

CONFLICT: PEACEKEEPING, SANCTIONS, ARMED INTERVENTION

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

Christoph Bertram, "Multilateral Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution" in Survival Vol.37/No.4 (Winter 1995-96) pp.65-82. - examines the potential role of UN, etc. by a study of recent military conflicts. It seeks the most successful conditions to prevent or halt the conflict, and how military force can best be used to this end.

John Q. Blodgett, "The Future of UN Peacekeeping," The Washington Quarterly 14 (Winter 1991): 207-220. - a bit dated for a fast-changing field, but many useful insights. Some handy definitions.

Jane Boulden, "Building on the Past: Future Directions for Peacekeeping," Behind the Headlines 48 (Summer 1991). - an excellent and brief survey of peacekeeping principles and how they might be improved. Inevitably dated, but Canadian-flavoured.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali et al., "UN Peacekeeping: Challenging a New Era" in Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol.III, Issue 1 (Winter/Spring 1996). - an exceptionally constructive and very informative selection of 16 essays by knowledgeable diplomats, academics and UN Secretariat personnel on all aspects of the UN's peacemaking role.

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions;

"inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

David Cortright and George A. Lopez edit., Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post-Cold War World? (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). - useful collection of essays, analysing the value of sanctions from many points of view. Book is divided into sections on history/experience; assessment from legal, ethical and practical standpoints; case studies: Iraq (pro and con), Yugoslavia (highly critical), Haiti, South Africa. Recommendations: UN Council on Sanctions, new research topics: should sanctions be immediate, comprehensive, harsh and multilateral, or graduated; the value of focused financial actions, both positive and negative; monitoring.

David Cortright edit., The Price of Peace: Incentives and International Conflict Prevention (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). - essays on a rarely researched topic: the value and optimum methods of using positive incentives rather than coercion of any type to achieve diplomatic ends. Many examples - mostly successful and many involving UN - are offered: Baltic States/Russia, Bosnia, Czechoslovakia, India/Pakistan, Malawi, North Korea, PRC, Salvador, South Africa (failed), South Korea, Sweden, Taiwan, West Bank/Gaza, Uganda, Ukraine/Belarus/Kazakhstan. Extremely good wrap-up essay.

Lori Fisler Damrosch, edit., Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993). - not just quickly-dated sitreps on the six cases studied: Yugoslavia, Iraq, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, Cambodia. Each expert tries to draw lessons of more general value; hence used as source in later studies of these cases, e.g. M. E. Brown op.cit.

William J. Durch edit., UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). - serves two purposes. Provides good history and rationale of recent negative trends in US policies towards UN and peacekeeping since the end of the Cold War (most succinctly pp.10-17; in detail pp.35-67). Rest of 500p offers full diplomatic account of UN operations - their faults and lessons - in El Salvador, Angola, Cambodia, ex-Yugoslavia, Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda, and borderlands of Russia.

James Fergusson & Barbara Levesque, "The Best Laid Plans: Canada's Proposal for a U.N. Rapid Reaction Capability" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.1 (Winter 1996-7). - a detailed, if slightly theoretical, critique of the Canadian 1995 proposal (see Government of Canada op. cit.). The main argument is that in our attempt to continue to play a major role in UN peace-related activities, Canada's "realistic" approach actually strengthens the "P5" role.

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium" in International Journal Vol.LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - while article stresses US foreign policy, US human rights-related perspectives and actions remain pivotal. Author sees both driven by "exceptionalism": "belief in the exceptional freedom and goodness of American people", reflected in either exemplary isolation or moral activism. Personal civil rights are stressed; few UN texts enacted. Recent US activism: support for UN human rights peacekeeping and criminal courts. More progress likely, with backing of liberal bloc and Russia, and illiberal states such as Iran put on the defensive.

Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War (London: Penguin, 1992). - among the earliest and best eye-witness accounts of events in former Yugoslavia, carrying them from mid-1990 to mid-1992. Book offers a wealth of factual detail, much of it vivid and unique, and judgements that are balanced and insightful for their time. Often relied on and praised by later writers on the conflict.

Andrew J. Goodpaster, When Diplomacy is Not Enough: Managing Multinational Military Interventions (Washington: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1996). - short but good overview of the broad continuum of possible military interventions by the international community, with optimum actors (UN directly, regional bodies, ad hoc joint forces), structure, rationale, etc.

Government of Canada, Towards a Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations Ottawa: Canadian Government, Sep 1995. - study done for UN in response to Boutros-Ghali plea for a Rapid Reaction Force. Proposal includes a "Vanguard Concept" under which "UN would be able to assemble from Member States a multi-functional force of up to 5,000 military and civilian personnel and rapidly deploy it under the control of an operational-level headquarters upon authorization of the Security Council." Fergusson-Levesque op.cit.

Richard N. Haass, "Sanctioning Madness" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - while mainly critical of US over-use of both unilateral and multilateral economic sanctions, recommends **all** use them more selectively and with careful focus to have maximum effect on primary targets. Strong preference for multilateral/UN approach.

John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations (Washington: Brassey's, 1998). - an extremely valuable and thought-provoking study of the expressly **military** aspects and challenges of UN-sponsored peace-and-security operations. Divided into: observer

missions, traditional peacekeeping, "second-generation" peacekeeping, enforcement operations. Hillen credits military calm in first two categories to fact that UNs role is approved by both sides who have already stopped fighting. Problem with second-generation is that as combatants still fighting and may not welcome UN, peacekeepers must be fully combat-ready. So must "contract" forces as in enforcement.

Robert Johansen, "The Future of United Nations Peacekeeping and Enforcement: A Framework for Policymaking" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - recommends: (1) ensure nations comply with norms against aggression and genocide; (2) decrease reliance on large-scale military force when enforcement is required; (3) reduce national military capabilities to conduct offensives; and (4) strengthen non-military enforcement instruments.

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - while drawing on previous attempts at peaceful partition (Cyprus, Ireland, Palestine), essay takes Dayton agreement on Bosnia as example that has not built on past lessons, e.g. role of economics and need for persistence.

Franklin L. Lavin, "Asphyxiation or Oxygen? The Sanctions Dilemma" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996) pp.139-153. - studies mainly UN experience of types of economic sanctions, and draws up guidelines for when and how they may work, and when cooperation works better.

Albert Legault, "Les Nations Unies, le maintien de la paix et le Canada" in Fen Osler Hampson and Christopher J. Maule edit., Global Jeopardy: Canada Among Nations 1993-94 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993). - an excellent history, by an expert, of Canada's involvement in UN peacekeeping activities.

Lewis MacKenzie, Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993). - autobiography by a Canadian general who spent much of his career doing peacekeeping (Central America, Cyprus (3 tours), Gaza (UNEF I), Sinai (UNEF II), Vietnam (ICSC), Yugoslavia). Most of book is taken up with UNPROFOR posting and with authoritative and valuable - if controversial - comments on peacekeeping as seen from the point of view of the troops involved.

Michael O'Hanlon, Saving Lives with Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1997). - since Gulf conflict and complexities of Somalia and Bosnia actions, Security Council and certainly US, have been very cautious about military interventions. This study puts possibility of future interventions in perspective by detailing military force and costs actually entailed. "Selective humanitarian interventions can often do a great deal to mitigate human suffering and to reduce the prevalence of conflict...at modest financial and human cost" (79).

David Owen, Balkan Odyssey (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995). - exceptional source of information and analysis, not only on complex

diplomacy of international involvement in post-Yugoslav crisis, but on general role of UN in intra- and international conflicts. Owen, who had personal Yugoslav experience before becoming key peace co-negotiator 1992-95, recommends all UNSC members be pre-committed to contribute troops etc. to any UN peace operation they agree to, and that UN maintains an instantly deployable Brigade so constituted.

Anthony Parsons, From Cold War to Hot Peace: UN Interventions 1947-1994 (London: Michael Joseph, 1995). - a first-hand history and analysis, mainly of peacekeeping, divided by geographical area, and drawing lessons from the author's own varied personal experience. His service as UK ambassador on the UN Security Council is crucial.

T. V. Paul, "Strengthening the Non-Proliferation Regime: the Role of Coercive Sanctions" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.3 (Summer 1996). - a thoughtful analysis of the history, variety and effectiveness of nuclear-related sanctions. UN Security Council sanctions are seen as advantageous, but face several limitations.

William Pfaff, The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).- a pessimistic view of recent events, and the resilience they display of a basic human need for identity and connection. Bosnia demonstrated "the European postwar evolution was fragile, and that confronted with the malign power of nationalist violence and passion, liberal internationalism would yield" (p.224). Hence the inability of the UN in the Gulf or Bosnia to achieve peace except by being willing to use violence itself. "The fact that democracies do not like sacrifices...should be accepted with apprehension, not complacence" (p.229).

Steven R. Ratner, The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). - author contends that with end of Cold War constraints and proliferation of internal conflicts, UN has been forced to develop "second generation" type peacekeeping. While still dependent on cease-fires and agreement of, and impartiality among, belligerents, UN also plays active civilian role in peace-building. Prime samples are Namibia and Cambodia (latter fully described). UN thus becomes administrator, mediator and guarantor of political settlements. All roles are carefully analysed plus possible recourse to enforcement.

Gideon Rose, "The Exit Strategy Delusion" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - while article focuses on US Congress demands for an "exit strategy" for international interventions, UN Security Council faces similar demands. Author argues that this is formula for inaction or failure and that best that can be hoped for are clear objectives and transition planning for post-action phase.

John Gerard Ruggie, "Peacekeeping and U.S. Interests" in Washington Quarterly Vol.17/No.4 (Autumn 1994) pp.175-184. - after reviewing Roosevelt's aims for the UN, this article puts them in a post-Cold

War context. Here the "grey area" roles lying between peacekeeping and enforcement badly need doctrine, command and control defined.

Bruce Russett and James S. Sutterlin, "The U.N. in a New World Order" Foreign Affairs 70 (Spring 1991): pp.69-83. - a carefully thought out essay by two experts on the UN's role in peace and security. It describes the origin and characteristics of peacekeeping, then the circumstances of the Gulf intervention, their meaning, and implications, and finally where we might go in future.

Joseph E. Schwartzberg, "A New Perspective on Peacekeeping: Lessons from Bosnia and Elsewhere" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - detailed case (including costs) for fully, but not heavily, armed 300,000-man UN Peace Corps (UNPC) capable of meeting ample variety and complexity of crises if supported by transport, and national high-tech ground, naval and air forces as necessary.

Laura Silber and Allan Little, The Death of Yugoslavia (London: Penguin-BBC, 1995). - written in 28 short chapters to accompany a BBC TV series, the book covers the increasingly violent period from Milosevic coming to power in the 1980's to June 1994. It claims to "attempt to identify, dispassionately and clinically, the crucial events in both the lead-up to the war and in its progress". Its thesis is "that under Milosevic's stewardship, the Serbs were...the key secessionists", and its aim, using hundreds of interviews, is "to lay bare the dynamics of the war" (xxiii-xxv). A good source.

Stephen John Stedman, "The New Interventionists," Foreign Affairs 72 (1993): pp.1-16. - this article addresses the debate in the US about if, when, and how it should intervene in international conflicts. From the UN's point of view, the key question is whether the military powers will intervene **only but always** when approved by the Security Council, or will they act exactly as they wish.

John Stremmler, Sharpening International Sanctions: Toward a Stronger Role for the United Nations (Washington: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1996). - Report notes economic sanctions suffer from growing political opposition, frequent ineffectiveness, and lack of focus on target. Hence it recommends: increased implementation capacity; regional, business and NGO cooperation; ties to other carrots and sticks; elite-aimed financial sanctions.

United Nations, The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping (Third Edition) (New York: Department of Public Information UN, 1996). - at 800+ pages for less than US\$30, the most complete and authoritative reference book on all UN peace-keeping missions. Identifies relevant resolutions, instructions, costs, participants, dates, problems, etc. Does not deal with prevention or enforcement.

Brian Urquhart, "Learning from the Gulf" in The New York Review of Books 7 Mar 91.- this famous article by the UN's "Mr. Peacekeeping" defused Western triumphalism after the Gulf War and did much to get

UN peace and security system reorganized. It draws firm distinction between peacekeeping as a police role and enforcement as military. Many ideas followed by Boutros-Ghali; text in Barnaby (91:op.cit.).

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

Thomas G. Weiss, David Cortright, George A. Lopez, and Larry Minear edit., Political Gain and Civilian Pain: Humanitarian Impacts of Economic Sanctions (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). - building on Cortright-Lopez study (op.cit.) on sanctions' characteristics, this study examines the relationship between the political aims and effectiveness of sanctions and the consequences for the population. Again using South Africa, Iraq, FRY and Haiti as case studies, it examines the negative implications in terms of human rights and the overloads, impediments, and moral dilemmas for those humanitarian organizations which try to ease the (politically irrelevant?) pain.

Bernard Wood, "A Time of Hope and Fear: A New World Order and a New Canada," Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security: Director's Annual Statement (Ottawa 1992). - in what turned out unfortunately to be his swan-song, Wood goes over the case for UN intervention, as in the Gulf, and finds it beats the alternatives. The precedent was necessary to discourage other "Iraqs".

Bob Woodward, The Commanders (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991). - a very detailed account of the decision-making that took place in Washington in connection with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the UN-sponsored international military intervention. The (negative) significance is the extremely small role the UN and the Security Council played in the thinking and decisions of those involved.

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

Warren Zimmerman, Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers (Toronto: Random House, 1996). - autobiography by last US ambassador offers eyewitness account complementary to David Owen (op.cit.) who starts where this ends (mid-1992). Even with personal and perspective differences, analyses are very similar. Zimmerman has high praise for UNHCR, sympathy for UNPROFOR, and criticism for Western (especially Pentagon) delay in taking military action. Good comments on future UN/NATO role in controlling ethnic exploitation.

CONFLICT: PREVENTION, PEACEMAKING, STATE-(RE)BUILDING

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Christoph Bertram, "Multilateral Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution" in Survival Vol.37/No.4 (Winter 1995-96) pp.65-82. - examines the potential role of UN, etc. by a study of recent military conflicts. It seeks the most successful conditions to prevent or halt the conflict, and how military force can best be used to this end.

Charles G. Boyd, "Making Bosnia Work" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - international community's greatest problem over two years after Dayton Accord is how to achieve its aim of creating unified Bosnia. Following intense local investigation, author concludes that this is impossible for foreseeable future and that only solution is de facto partition with security and economic aid for all groups, continuing foreign presence and healing period. Letters in Vol.77/No.3 (May/June 1998) offer some counter-arguments.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali et al., "UN Peacekeeping: Challenging a New Era" in Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol.III, Issue 1 (Winter/Spring 1996). - an exceptionally constructive and very informative selection of 16 essays by knowledgeable diplomats, academics and UN Secretariat personnel on all aspects of the UN's peacemaking role.

Kevin M. Cahill, edit., Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars Before They Start (New York: Basic Books, 1996). - an unusually valuable and varied source of information and views on UN issues by twenty top experts in their fields. While "preventive action" and a medical parallel provide a unifying theme of sorts, each author (with UN, diplomatic, NGO, government, medical, etc. background) provides a unique and often unexpected focus.

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions; "inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - fine account of the errors and lessons of the Somalia operation. Concludes that in failed states, UN operations cannot be short or neutral, and may require full UN administration.

Commonwealth Consultative Group on the Special Needs of Small States, Vulnerability: Small States in the Global Society (London: Commonwealth Secretariat Publications, 1985). - the UN now includes many small and indeed micro-states, and is likely to accept more. This report by a global group of senior personalities is one of the

few authoritative sources focusing particularly on the security problems of such states. It offers a number of realistic proposals.

Mihailo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama (Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1994). - a former Yugoslav ambassador takes a well-informed and realistic, but also constructive, look at the current trauma in the Balkans. While finding many causes and villains, he emphasises the common needs and interests of the area. He urges international community, particularly West, to play an active and continuing role to reconstruct and integrate the area, thus downgrading borders.

Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson, Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1996). - 42 expert and practical essays (675pp) on new facts and thinking regarding global challenges, and how resulting conflicts might be met (e.g. UN). Includes: many weak states; ethnic conflicts; religio-cultural militancy; population pressures; resource crises; global competition; radical military technology/megaterrorism. Responses stress preventive action.

Lori Fisler Damrosch, edit., Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993). - not just quickly-dated sitreps on the six cases studied: Yugoslavia, Iraq, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, Cambodia. Each expert tries to draw lessons of more general value; hence used as source in later studies of these cases, e.g. M. E. Brown op.cit.

Note: Internet version has duplicate text on W. J. Durch book here.

Francis M. Deng et al., Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1996). - conclusion of a seven-volume project to help governments and the international community deal with conflicts in the world's least stable continent. It probes states' responsibility to balance the sanctity of sovereignty against the transborder political-economic-moral relevance of human rights violations and internal violence. Project concludes that UN has a unique role as mediator and healer.

Larry Diamond, Promoting Democracy: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives (Washington: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1995). - this report to the Commission describes the organizations (including the UN), activities, techniques and limitations all promoting democracy's worldwide spread and support.

A. Walter Dorn, "Keeping Tabs on a Troubled World: UN Information-Gathering to Preserve Peace" in Security Dialogue Vol.27/No.3 (Sep 1996). - provides an excellent summary of the UN's urgent need for security-relevant information of all kinds, the currently improving situation, and future prospects. "Intelligence and Peacekeeping: The UN Operation in the Congo, 1960-64", co-authored with David Bell, in International Peacekeeping Vol.2/No.1 (Spring 1995) provides a detailed example of the key role of intelligence for UN operations.

William J. Durch edit., UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). - serves two purposes. Provides good history and rationale of recent negative trends in US policies towards UN and peacekeeping since the end of the Cold War (most succinctly pp.10-17; in detail pp.35-67). Rest of 500p offers full diplomatic account of UN operations - their faults and lessons - in El Salvador, Angola, Cambodia, ex-Yugoslavia, Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda, and borderlands of Russia.

Alexander L. George & Jane E. Holl, The Warning-Response Problem and Missed Opportunities in Preventive Diplomacy (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict report relates to weaknesses/improvements in preventive intelligence and policy reaction. Authors note key intelligence role in giving timely and accurate warning of potential crises but suggest may be **no policy response** if: stakes low; ambiguity; too complex; past errors; overload; politics. **Actions** may include: seek more facts; less vulnerable; commitments up; dialogue; lower costs; consult others; publicity; assess impact; clarify position; plan; negotiate. If inaction, **review**: was action possible; what options?

Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War (London: Penguin, 1992). - among the earliest and best eye-witness accounts of events in former Yugoslavia, carrying them from mid-1990 to mid-1992. Book offers a wealth of factual detail, much of it vivid and unique, and judgements that are balanced and insightful for their time. Often relied on and praised by later writers on the conflict.

Nik Gowing, Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - in fine study for Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, a respected correspondent and global news commentator addresses carefully and thoroughly the issue of whether and how the media influence UN/government policies towards - and help prevent - conflict, especially inter-ethnic. His conclusion: "The media's role in the new generation of regional conflict and substate violence is ambiguous, unclear, and often misconstrued" (p.1). He is also concerned about imbalanced reporting in respect to both location (too domestic) and judgement (Bosnia).

Fen Osler Hampson, Nurturing Peace: Why Peace Settlements Succeed or Fail (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1996). - valuable analyses of recent diplomatic experience in peacemaking, using five examples which produced mixed results: Cyprus, Namibia, Angola, El Salvador and Cambodia. Conclusions: important but not sufficient if conflict has become "hurting stalemate", and is/can be made "ripe" for settlement; a good global/regional environment is better still; peace process should: include all parties, avoid zero-sum outcomes, allow modification. Third parties offer stimulus and supervision.

Carl G. Jacobsen et al., edit., World Security: The New Challenge (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994). - includes 13 essays by Canadian experts, divided into three parts: Toward a Sustainable Peace;

Toward a Sustainable Society; and Toward a Sustainable Environment; plus cost estimates of the proposals. Many are UN-related.

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - while drawing on previous attempts at peaceful partition (Cyprus, Ireland, Palestine), essay takes Dayton agreement on Bosnia as example that has not built on past lessons, e.g. role of economics and need for persistence.

Charles A. Kupchan, "Reviving the West" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.3 (May/Jun 1996). - argues that best way both to expand EU and NATO and avoid rival trade blocs is to create a multi-role Atlantic Union. It would begin with the membership of both bodies, but fall short of EU's planned political role and NATO's duty to defend all members; inclusion of Russia and even Japan would then be possible.

Michael S. Lund, Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996). - a concise survey of recent interest in, and mixed experience with, preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Makes a convincing case for organizing and expanding such action, ("typically and necessarily a multilateral endeavour" p.169) based on better global intelligence and use of local/regional capacity.

Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller edit., Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995). - a collection of essays on Rethinking Security, Environmental Issues and International Security, Migration and International Security, and Nationalism and International Security.

Jonathan Moore, The UN and Complex Emergencies: Rehabilitation in Third World Transitions (Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1996). - a realistic survey - with recommendations - based on four recent experiences. It deals with how the UN system could improve its capacity to rehabilitate states trying to recover from violence. Rehabilitation is viewed as a key but under-rated part of the transitional continuum from "relief to development".

Janne E. Nolan edit., Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1994). - analyses by experts from various disciplines argue that in the post-Cold War era a global (UN?) system of cooperative security based on agreed norms should replace collective defence. Approach attracts comparison with Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace".

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - authoritative if highly controversial argument that its massive superiority in exploiting the information revolution has given the USA such an intelligence, diplomatic and military edge, that its global dominance is virtually permanent and invincible, and can be

maintained at greatly reduced cost, inter alia by preventing wars.

Michael O'Hanlon, Saving Lives with Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1997). - since Gulf conflict and complexities of Somalia and Bosnia actions, Security Council and certainly US, have been very cautious about military interventions. This study puts possibility of future interventions in perspective by detailing military force and costs actually entailed. "Selective humanitarian interventions can often do a great deal to mitigate human suffering and to reduce the prevalence of conflict...at modest financial and human cost"(79).

Anthony Parsons, From Cold War to Hot Peace: UN Interventions 1947-1994 (London: Michael Joseph, 1995). - a first-hand history and analysis, mainly of peacekeeping, divided by geographical area, and drawing lessons from the author's own varied personal experience. His service as UK ambassador on the UN Security Council is crucial.

Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, The New Peacekeeping Partnership (Halifax: CIPTC, 1996). - article describes increasing number and variety of organizations and specialists becoming involved in multilateral peace-management operations. Discussed are military, police, humanitarian agencies, politicians/diplomats, human rights agencies, media, as well as UN.

Samuel D. Porteous, "The Threat from Transnational Crime: An Intelligence Perspective" in Commentary (CSIS) No.70 (Winter 1996). - the author concludes that transnational crime has reached such a scale and into so many fields (including large-scale finance, top-level politics) that "stability of strategically important states, the maintenance of civil society and the integrity of economic and even environmental systems will suffer the consequences".

Steven R. Ratner, The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). - author contends that with end of Cold War constraints and proliferation of internal conflicts, UN has been forced to develop "second generation" type peacekeeping. While still dependent on cease-fires and agreement of, and impartiality among, belligerents, UN also plays active civilian role in peace-building. Prime samples are Namibia and Cambodia (latter fully described). UN thus becomes administrator, mediator and guarantor of political settlements. All roles are carefully analysed plus possible recourse to enforcement.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus

40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Gideon Rose, "The Exit Strategy Delusion" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - while article focuses on US Congress demands for an "exit strategy" for international interventions, UN Security Council faces similar demands. Author argues that this is formula for inaction or failure and that best that can be hoped for are clear objectives and transition planning for post-action phase.

James S. Sutterlin, The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met (Westport: Praeger, 1995). - a short book by a leading UN expert. A special advantage is its breakdown into short subject headings: Old Principles, New Realities; Preventing Conflict; Peacekeeping; Enforcement; Building Peace; Nuclear Security; Regional Organizations; Secretary-General Under Challenge; Challenge: Governments and Peoples. Bibliography.

Leo Tindemans et al., Unfinished Peace: Report of the International Commission on the Balkans (Washington: Aspen Institute & Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1996). - high-level group plus staff conducted study missions in 15 key countries and interviewed hundreds of key persons in 1995-96 to devise "long-term measures to contribute to durable peace" in Balkans, especially ex-Yugoslavia. Region-wide proposals include: continued area security attention; aid for economic development; aid for civil society/media; study of limits to self-determination; expert regional commissions and FTA. Relevant not only to UN Balkan policies, but to similar challenges.

Alvin and Heidi Toffler, War and Anti-War: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1993). - unlike the influential trilogy (Ibid.), this concentrates on the relationship between rapid global change and dealing with war. Argument: while ethnic and other reasons to initiate violence have increased, its prevention or cessation have also increased, both in urgency due to rapidly changing military technology, and in complexity due to the accelerating decline in state power. Hence new ways to seek peace must be developed: UN restructuring must draw on all power centers.

Brooke Unger, "A Ghost of a Chance: A Survey of the Balkans" in The Economist 24 Jan 98 (pp.1-18). - a generally pessimistic report on the situation in and prospects for mainly the former Yugoslavia and Albania. Urges that the "Dayton" process and Western attempts to strengthen democracy and restore the economy be continued, but puts long-term hope mainly in slow development of "European" attributes.

Cyrus R. Vance and David A. Hamburg, Pathfinders for Peace: A Report to the UN Secretary-General on the Role of Special Representatives and Personal Envoys (New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997). - this useful paper advocates three changes in high-level S-G appointments: (a) more active use of them as low-

cost, low-risk UN instruments for preventing/resolving conflict;
 (b) an expanded pool of potential candidates; (c) increased funds.

Vamik Volkan, Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997). - author (founder of Mind and Human Interaction centre) studies ethnic conflicts' causes and effects globally as a psychiatrist. Some conclusions (202): two basic/related principles in group psychology: group cannot be same as neighbour; their psychological border must be maintained. Stress and anxiety increase reliance on principles: by exaggerating major differences, elevating minor ones, utilizing symbols, reactivating traumas and glories, experiencing borders as psychological "skins". Leaders (un)consciously monitor, inflame, or contain these rituals.

Donovan Webster, Aftermath: The Remnants of War (New York: Pantheon Books, 1996). - winner of 1997 Lionel Gelber Prize for Best Book on International Relations. At close of century which claims the most violent deaths in history, book vividly depicts six locales where impact of conflict remains uniquely symbolic: Verdun (live shells); Stalingrad (unburied German dead); Nevada (radioactive heritage); Vietnam (healing/rebuilding); Kuwait (landmine recovery); and Utah (chemical weapon disposal). UN's role is increasing in all fields.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

Thomas G. Weiss, "The United Nations and Civil Wars", in Washington Quarterly Vol.17/No.4 (Autumn 1994) pp.139-159. - summary of book (op. cit.). Emphasis reflects fact that most conflicts are intra-national and must be handled differently from inter-national wars.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., The United Nations and Civil Wars (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995). - an extremely useful book, taking a number of new perspectives (e.g. on Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Somalia, and El Salvador). Jarat Chopra in "UN Civil Governance-in-Trust" tackles the delicate but rapidly developing need for UN administration of failed states.

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as

most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

Yugoslav History & Ethnicity: the diplomatic complexity and human tragedy of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia have had an immense impact on the UN's image, and perhaps on its entire future. Hence the importance of the flood of related books and articles, ranging from the highly polemical to the strictly objective. Those which have a strong case to make, and/or focus on the recent military and political events are listed individually. Among those that address the **causes** of the conflicts and appear at least relatively unbiased are: Stella Alexander, Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1979); Phyllis Auty, Tito: Biography (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974); Ivo Banac, The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1984); Lenard J. Cohen The Socialist Pyramid: Elites and Power in Yugoslavia (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1989); Lenard J. Cohen, Broken Bonds: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993); Bogdan Denitch, Ethnic Nationalism: Tragic Death of Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1994); Robert J. Donia & John V.A. Fine, Bosnia & Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1994); Tim Judah, The Serbs: History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1997); Robert D. Kaplan, Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History (pp.1-76) (New York: St. Martin's Press 1993); Branka Magas, The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-Up 1980-92 (London: Verso, 1993); Noel Malcolm, Bosnia: A Short History (London: Macmillan 1994); Noel Malcolm, Kosovo: A Short History (New York: New York U. Press, 1998); Bruce McFarlane Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Society (London: Pinter, 1988); Hugh Poulton The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict (London: Minorities Rights, 1993); Hugh Poulton, Who Are the Macedonians? (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press 1995); Sabrina Petra Ramet, Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia 1962-91 (Second Edition) (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1992); Jim Seroka & Vukasin Pavlovic edit., The Tragedy of Yugoslavia: The Failure of Democratic Transformation (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1993); Fred Singleton, A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1993); Christopher Spencer, "The Former Yugoslavia: Background to Crisis" in Behind the Headlines Vol. 50/No. 4 (Summer 1993); Marcus Tanner, Croatia: A Nation Forged in War (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1997); Mark Thompson, A Paper House: The Ending of Yugoslavia (London: Vintage, 1992); Rebecca West Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia (New York: Penguin, 1982); Richard West Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994); John Zametica, The Yugoslav Conflict (London: IISS, Adelphi Paper No. 270, Summer 1992).

I. William Zartman, edit., Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995). - 11 country studies on a subject likely to become an increasingly serious problem for the UN, particularly in Africa. "The Group of

78" also submitted to the Canadian Government a report of its Sep 1995 conference on "Failed States - How Might Canada and the UN Help?". Both sources analyse UN options in general terms; Chapter by Deng in Zartman is particularly good on the rationale.

I. William Zartman & J. Lewis Rasmussen, edit., Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques (Washington: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997). - collection of practical essays, mostly by experts with personal background, but providing access to rapidly developing theories and experience through Reference lists. Includes: new global context of intra-state conflict; negotiation system; mediation; adjudication (ICJ); social-psychological factors; interactive conflict resolution (ICR - inter-disputant workshops); roles of NGOs and religion; training; UN (Security Council) methods.

CRIME: INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, DRUGS, CORRUPTION, ETC.

Masood Ahmed & Cheryl Gray, Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank (Washington: IBRD, 1997). - report was produced by World Bank's Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network (PREM). World Bank, World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World (op. cit.) deals with global corruption issues in a government context, while PREM report concentrates on how Bank / governments can address corruption as serious development problem. Daniel Kaufmann (op. cit.) lists more articles/books on this issue.

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article argues that greatest threat from weapons of mass destruction (WMD) comes not from nuclear or chemical, but from biological weapons since they combine maximum destructiveness with availability. Also, source and nature of WMD attack is more liable to be small scale, derived from rogue states or terrorists, and aimed (surreptitiously?) at civilians. Author urges improved civil defence and intelligence. (Latter world-wide?) Letters in Vol.77/No.3 (May/June 1998) presents qualifying comments.

John Deutch, "Terrorism: Think Again" in Foreign Policy Number 108 (Fall 1997). - former US DCI argues that terrorists are operating more globally, and are more likely to use non-conventional weapons

and cybersystems. Main categories are now: state-sponsored, Islamic and insurgent. Counter-terrorism above all needs more international information exchange, agreed policies and common action. UN role?

The Economist 28 Jun 97: "Only the Bangs are Genuine" (68). - brief article on a rare subject: the proliferation of counterfeit weapons including why, where and how they are made. Relevant to land-mines.

The Economist 26 Jul 97: "Cleaning Up Dirty Money" (13-14, 19-21). - editorial and articles on money-laundering problems and prospects. Two proposals: legalize some drugs; agreed worldwide controls (UN?).

Mathea Falco, "U.S. Drug Strategy: Addicted to Failure" in Foreign Policy Number 102 (Spring 1996) pp.120-133. - although illustrated by U.S. drug policy, provides an excellent critique of the supply-side approach to control, as well as some global recommendations.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Daniel Kaufmann, "Corruption: The Facts" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - a description of the various types and causes of corruption, particularly Third World, with proposals as to how it might be addressed - mainly multilaterally. Also The Economist 31 May 97 (61) re OECD negotiations on controlling corruption over global investment; 2 Aug 97 (52) re Peter Eigen's "Transparency International", Berlin-based anti-corruption pressure group; and 16 Aug 97 (60) re civil service pay, e.g. in May 97 IMF Working Paper.

Joshua S. Krasna, "Narcotics and the National Security of Producer States" in The Journal of Conflict Studies Vol.XVI/No.1 (Spring 1996) pp.100-133. - builds on broad concept of security as adopted by Jan 92 Security Council Summit. Describes the major impact of narcotics production and trade on political, military, economic, societal and environmental security of dozens of states. While UN role is mentioned, clear that coordinated global action is vital. See also Stares; UN International Drug Control Programme (op.cit.).

Walter Laqueur, "Postmodern Terrorism" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1996). - an extremely useful article in that it offers concentrated information on all the major elements of prospective terrorism, including possible sources, targets, weapons, etc.

Robert S. Leiken, "Controlling the Global Corruption Epidemic" in Foreign Policy 105 (Winter 1996-97). - essay provides discouraging evidence that corruption of many kinds is global, often pervasive in a society. Also argues that since reaction is now wide-spread and growing, global counter-action is necessary and real.

Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Commonsense Drug Policy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article points out that US "war on drugs" based on prohibition and criminalization of both hard and soft drugs is not working, while increasing numbers of governments are adopting "harm-reducing" policies instead. These include free syringes, needle-exchange, methadone treatments for heroin addicts, decriminalization of possession etc. Result is generally positive.

Samuel D. Porteous, "The Threat from Transnational Crime: An Intelligence Perspective" in Commentary (CSIS) No.70 (Winter 1996). - the author concludes that transnational crime has reached such a scale and into so many fields (including large-scale finance, top-level politics) that "stability of strategically important states, the maintenance of civil society and the integrity of economic and even environmental systems will suffer the consequences".

Ron Purver, "The Threat of Chemical/Biological Terrorism" in Commentary (CSIS) No.60 (August 1995). - a broad but non-technical survey of a serious and growing problem. Uses Tokyo subway attack as a base for illustrating capabilities and vulnerabilities.

Michael Renner, "Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms" in State of the World 1998 (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - article provides wealth of current global information on the users, sources, volume, value, components, concentrations and casualties of small-arms. It makes recommendations for their control, with landmines as example.

A. Robitaille and R. Purver, "Smuggling Special Nuclear Materials" in Commentary (CSIS) No.57 (May 1995). - collapse of the former Soviet Union has raised concern about attempts to smuggle material from its nuclear programs. Most serious implication is terrorism.

Paul B. Stares, Global Habit: The Drug Problem in a Borderless World (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1996). - good description of a problem requiring UN action. After reporting on the overall situation and gloomy prospects, the author recommends positive UN-based programs, using several types of exchanges and collaboration. See also Krasna; UN International Drug Control Programme (op.cit.).

Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - extremely valuable information/analysis directly relevant to UN's challenges. Argument is that power has devolved from states to non-state authorities (commercial-financial-criminal) in response to technology and global market. International organizations (UN, EU) have gained little since they are composed of states, so new global

financial and legal controls are needed. New global power analysed: telecoms, organized crime, insurance, accountancy, cartels, IOs. For a favourable review and related views, see Cox 1997 (op. cit.).

United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), "World Drug Report" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). - exhaustive source of facts and issues relating to the genuinely global drugs dilemma. UNDCP not only provides the latest information on illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption, but expert analyses of such matters as: traditional uses; consumer motivations; health/social/economic/financial impact; the delivery and counter-measures systems; and prohibition-legalization debate. Profiles: Australia, Colombia, Italy, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand, UK, USA. Also Krasna; Stares (op.cit.); "Mexico's Drug Menace" in Economist 15 Nov 97(36).

Vamik Volkan, Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997). - author (founder of Mind and Human Interaction centre) studies ethnic conflicts' causes and effects globally as a psychiatrist. *Some conclusions (202): two basic/related principles in group psychology: group cannot be same as neighbour; their psychological border must be maintained. Stress and anxiety increase reliance on principles: by exaggerating major differences, elevating minor ones, utilizing symbols, reactivating traumas and glories, experiencing borders as psychological "skins". Leaders (un)consciously monitor, inflame, or contain these rituals.*

Paul Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State (London: Macmillan Press, 1977). - possibly the best general survey of terrorism, its origins and political implications, and international consequences.

Paul Wilkinson, "Terrorism: Motivations and Causes" in Commentary (CSIS) No.53 (Jan 1995). - a brief survey, but more up to date than book (Ibid). Outlines valuable experience in handling terrorism.

DEVELOPMENT: NEEDS, GOALS, ISSUES, THEORIES

Robert J. Barro, Determinants of Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Empirical Study (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997). - these lectures draw on statistics, newly available for most countries over several decades, in order to study what causes growth. Among the findings: the main factors conducive to higher growth rates are a better rule of law, higher initial education and life expectancy, lower costs for official welfare, lower fertility, better terms of trade; more democracy up to a certain level favours economic growth, but beyond that other priorities intervene; inflation over 20% deters growth.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "A New Departure on Development", Foreign Policy, 98 (Spring 1995). - after a brief history of North-South confrontation in the UN, the Secretary-General argues that cooperation is now essential for both (environment, migration).

Obviously related to his 1993 report "Agenda for Development".

George Brown, "Debt and Development: Time to Act, Again" in The Economist 21 Feb 98 (pp.77-8). - on behalf of British government, Brown makes number of proposals to deal urgently with LDC debt. He proposes: G7 recommit accelerated debt relief; support for IMF-IBRD initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC's); emphasize macroeconomic stability, IMF-IBRD transparency, full private sector contribution, investment in education and health, productive export credits only; eliminate gaps and overlaps in IMF-IBRD activities.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Commission on International Development, Partners in Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969). - Chaired by Lester Pearson, this group of distinguished experts produced one of the most respected sets of recommendations on foreign aid ever written. It formed the basis for much UN and bilateral development policy.

Mihailo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama (Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1994). - a former Yugoslav ambassador takes a well-informed and realistic, but also constructive, look at the current trauma in the Balkans. While finding many causes and villains, he emphasises the common needs and interests of the area. He urges international community, particularly West, to play an active and continuing role to reconstruct and integrate the area, thus downgrading borders.

Hilary F. French, "Assessing Private Capital Flows to Developing Countries" in State of the World 1998 (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - IBRD believes international private investment in and lending to LDCs rose from \$44 billion in 1990 to \$244 billion in 1996 of which \$110 billion was FDI. With decline in ODA, this constituted 86% of capital flows to LDCs. After \$256 billion even in 1997 Bank expects rebound in 1998. Article assesses reasons and effects - political, economic, environmental -and voices concern re coal power projects.

David Harris, "Sao Paulo: Megacity" in Rolling Stone 9 Jan 97(126). - traumatic but informative description, from unexpected source, of the already intolerable situation in, and prospects for the world's second-largest city. Problems are even more catastrophic in other megacities with less money, but here scale and extremes seem worst.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Ivan L. Head, On a Hinge of History: The Mutual Vulnerability of South and North (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). - a well-argued case for international development assistance, based not on pity, or fear of escalation of a Third World conflict into global catastrophe, but on the enlightened self-interest of the North whose future willy-nilly is bound up with that of the South.

Gerald K. Helleiner, A Conference on Finance and Development? Notes for Presentation to UNGA Second Committee, 15 Oct 97. - Toronto U. economics professor raises issue why major UN conference on topic is needed. He argues it is critical to: get central macroeconomic financial institutions for newly globalized economy strengthened; get global economic governance more politically and economically representative; and put essential focus on development - things G7, Bretton Woods and BIS would not do. To this end UNGA could: have SG appoint an expert panel; set up N-S intergovernmental committee; begin regional reviews; let a few states initiate their own review.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

Richard Jolly, "Human Development: The World After Copenhagen" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - based on Holmes Memorial Lecture, delivered at 1996 Meeting of Academic Council on the UN System. Summarizes impact of recent UN global conferences in furthering national and multilateral action for human development.

Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis & Richard Webb, The World Bank: Its First Half Century; two volumes: 2041 pages. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997). - two reviewers give qualified praise. Lester C. Thurow in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998) (175-7) calls it a "uniformly strong work", able to say "nasty things" about the bank, and describe its crises, problems, relations and changing policies.

It omits any discussion of communist East Europe, and leaves future role unexamined. The Economist 4 Apr 98(78) finds lack of publicity suspicious, and the work "far too long, and of uneven quality". On the other hand it is a "unique resource" with fascinating chapters.

Tom Kemp, Industrialization in the Non-Western World: Second Edition (Harlow: Longman Group, 1990). - the purpose of this book is to analyse the very different methods (being) followed by several non-Western countries (Japan, USSR, India, China, Brazil, Nigeria) in the process of their industrialization, to report on their relative success and to identify the main reasons. The analysis is relevant to any UN-family organizations involved in economic development to ensure optimum advice and investments are provided to recipients.

Uner Kirdar and Leonard Silk, People: From Impoverishment to Empowerment (New York: New York University Press, 1995). - A diverse compendium of essays by over 50 experts on issues relevant to the 1995 UN-sponsored World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen. Major topics addressed include poverty, unemployment, social cohesion, people's security, and the UN system's role.

Deepak Lal, The Poverty of 'Development Economics' (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985). - a useful if early critique of the approach to development economics that stressed government guidance and investment and protection of infant industry. For an historical survey of changing attitudes in the Third World, see World Bank: The State in a Changing World (op. cit.). Lal was both prescient and influential since his book predated the USSR's fall.

David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - an overriding concern for most UN members and bodies is how to raise the economic standards of LDCs. Landes offers an excellent chronology/rationale for the 500-year Eurocentric Industrial Revolution and its results. Argument: combined geography, political/economic/cultural factors, and above all a scientific/aspiring outlook. Prognosis: uneven and uncertain gains globally. (Near)rich **can** defend their lead; Latin America **may** open up; ex-Sovbloc **must** overcome history; Middle East **could** reduce negative traits; Africa/India **face** huge cultural bars.

Eugene Linden, "The Exploding Cities of the Developing World" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - one of the half-dozen most critical world issues facing the international community is the fact that in many countries urban migration and growth are getting out of control. This is an up-to-date report.

Daniel Litvin, "Dirt Poor: Development and the Environment" in The Economist 21 Mar 98 (Survey:1-16). - this excellent report takes a fair perspective balanced between concern and realism with a global bottom-line, problem-solving emphasis. Point often strongly made is relevance of environmental issues to LDCs (cost of China's air and water pollution is equivalent of 8% of GDP, cancelling out whole

annual rate of growth!), while expense of meeting **their** priorities saves even more in other costs. LDC problems are mainly products of population, industrialization, urbanization - plus poverty. Most urgent: water scarcity/quality; urban air; cereal/fish production.

Michael Maren, The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity (New York: The Free Press, 1997). - disturbing account of recent international humanitarian activities based mainly on first-hand experience in Somalia. Author, both an aid practitioner and journalist specializing in Africa, is harshly critical of most US NGO's and UN agencies in aid/refugee/emergency fields, on basis not simply of gross inefficiency but for giving self-promotion priority. Argues food aid does net harm. US case in Peter Toma, Politics of Food for Peace (Tucson: Arizona U., 1967).

Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty: A World Anti-Poverty Program in Outline (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970). - with Barbara Ward (op. cit.), Myrdal was an early and eloquent spokesperson for global-scale (UN) development assistance. This book contains many substantive, demanding, and influential proposals, building on his seminal 3-volume "Asian Drama" which exposed LDC poverty and needs.

Nordic Project, The, "The Agencies at a Crossroads": Study of UN Specialized Agencies for Nordic Governments (Stockholm 1990). - a thorough study of the organization and financing of the Specialized Agencies. System is too leaderless; financing avoids coordination.

Gerard Piel, Only One World: Our Own to Make and to Keep (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1992). - the author's big concern is the divergence between the rich and poor worlds. Main recommendation is to provide the latter with more assistance to enable them to lower their population growth rates and break the poverty cycle.

Betty Plewes, Gauri Sreenivasan & Tim Draimin, "Sustainable Human Development as a Global Framework" in International Journal Vol. LI-/No.2 (Spring 1996). - this UNDP-supported approach has several aspects, including a global outlook derived from interdependence, a more holistic approach focussing on changes in both economic and social relations, and joint government-business-NGO involvement.

Jan Pronk, "Failing Currencies, Recriminations: Who's to Blame?" in The Earth Times 1-15 Nov 97. - Dutch development minister describes vast impact of globalization, e.g. while economic development has proceeded, so has internal violence, states have lost authority and incomes diverged. FDI (now \$350b) drives global economy even more than trade, with LDC share increasing rapidly. Market forces gain international support, but not dissension, poverty or environmental issues. Above all, financial markets have grown in size, volatility and instability, menacing exposed LDCs. International organizations must play special roles in setting limits and adjusting priorities.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Roger C. Riddell, "The Moral Case for Post-Cold War Development Aid" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.2 (Spring 1996). - essay argues that earlier ethical arguments for ODA have lost their impact because of competing donor priorities, negative past experience and counter-productivity or dependency among the recipients.

Jeffrey Sachs, "The Limits of Convergence: Nature, Nurture and Growth" in The Economist 14 Jun 97, pp.19-22. - important argument of Director of Harvard School of International Development is that while economic convergence will benefit much of world, some- mainly tropical - areas (particularly South Asia and Africa) face inherent disadvantages: initial conditions (momentum); physical geography (access, disease, soil); policies (openness, sound finance, rule of law); demography (dependency). Stability crisis in tropics likely. The Economist 28 Jun issue p.8 (Letters) contains expert critiques.

Gerald J. Schmitz, "The Verdict on Aid Effectiveness: Why the Jury Stays Out" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.2 (Spring 1996). - although mainly focused on Canadian bilateral aid, the problems and lessons of aid motivation/evaluation are relevant to the UN system. For US view on similar issues (e.g.conditionality) see Carol Graham & Michael O'Hanlon in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1997).

Claire Turenne Sjolander, "The Rhetoric of Globalization: What's in a Wor(l)d?" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - includes excellent survey of the meaning, origins, characteristics and implications of globalization. Main point in that, instead of homogenization, it creates (inter)national rich-poor divergence.

Joseph E. Stiglitz & Lyn Squire, "International Development: Is It Possible?" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - article notes not only that developing world has made dramatic advances on many fronts (per capita income; life expectancy), but varied experience has taught much. Among lessons learned: economic growth benefits most people most of the time; changes in inequality are modest; high saving/investment levels can be generated by egalitarian societies; investment in people stimulates growth; investment must be backed by three critical conditions: stable/credible policies, competitive open economy, focused public sector; financial restraints are key.

Maurice F. Strong et al., Connecting with the World: Report by the International Development Research and Policy Task Force (Ottawa:

IDRC, 1996). - while directed at Canada, report's analyses and recommendations have global (i.e.UN) relevance, including: North-South cooperation as urgent and enlightened self-interest for all; implications of long-term decline in commodity demand; problems becoming "globalized"; knowledge use is key to global development.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for several years has produced "Human Development Report" yielding a mine of statistical and related information on global economic and social situations, most of it by country. The 1995 issue concentrates on "gender" matters, the 1996 issue on "growth", the 1997 issue on "poverty".

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) produced a brief document outlining plans and priorities for the next six-year period: "Medium-Term Strategy: 1996-2001" (Paris: UNESCO, 1996). It involves two strategies: contributing to development and to peace-building respectively. In particular, UNESCO will concentrate on human resources (see GLOBAL ISSUES - A) through mass efforts at expanding literacy and life-long education.

Peter Uvin & Isabelle Biagiotti, "Global Governance and the 'New' Political Conditionality" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - traditional ODA economic conditionality is being amplified by political conditionality relating to: human rights, democracy, governance and military spending. This has been ineffective.

Charles K. Wilber & Kenneth P. Jameson edit., The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment: Fifth Edition (New York:McGraw-Hill, 1992). - a collection of 33 essays in seven parts: Theory and Method in Economic Development; Economic Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective; Development, Democracy, and Contemporary International Institutions [IFIs]; Agriculture in Development; Industry in Development; Development's Human Dimension; What Is To Be Done? Positions vary from socialist to free market.

DISARMAMENT: WEAPONS CONTROL AND VERIFICATION ISSUES

A. LeRoy Bennett, International Organizations: Principles and Issues (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991). - mostly on the UN. Focus is on philosophy and principles, not structure; breakdown is by broad issue, not organization: League of Nations; Genesis of UN; Basic UN Principles and Organization; Basic UN Issues; Peaceful Dispute Settlement; Collective Security and Alternatives; Justice Under Law; Arms Control; Regionalism; Transnationals and IOs; Economic Welfare; Global Resources (Environment); Social Progress; Human Rights/Self-Government; Administration/Leadership; Future.

Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article argues that greatest threat from weapons of mass destruction(WMD) comes not from nuclear

or chemical, but from biological weapons since they combine maximum destructiveness with availability. Also, source and nature of WMD attack is more liable to be small scale, derived from rogue states or terrorists, and aimed (surreptitiously?) at civilians. Author urges improved civil defence and intelligence. (Latter world-wide?) *Letters in Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) presents qualifying comments.*

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones & Steven E. Miller, edit., East Asian Security: An International Security Reader (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). - East Asia is major locus of post-Cold War arms build-up and of potential interstate war. Essays' consensus is that an effective regional security system or arms reduction (including PRC nuclear) are not imminent, but that same is true for revival of Japanese military. Likely: more positive UN role for PRC and Japan.

Canberra Commission, "Report of the Canberra Commission On the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons" in Arms Control Today Aug 1996. - provides Executive Summary of report for the UN General Assembly by 17 international government officials, scientists, disarmament experts and military strategists. Appears stronger on procedure than persuasion and slights non-official/-admitted nuclear threats.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions; "inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). - using neither a legalistic nor theoretical style, authors argue convincingly that a "management" approach is evolving to replace enforcement in ensuring compliance with international agreements. Massive UN-system evidence in all fields illustrates how interdependence makes this feasible.

Joseph Cirincione, "Why the Right Lost the Missile Defence Debate" in Foreign Policy No.106 (Spring 1997). - one of the most difficult aspects of global disarmament is the scale, source and likelihood of long-range missile attack using non-conventional warheads, and the possibility and need for defence against such attack. This article is globally relevant, though focused on related US debate.

A. Walter Dorn, "U.N. Should Verify Treaties" in The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (Jul/Aug 1990).- makes a case for one UN verification agency for non-nuclear treaties. More specifically, his "The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and

the IAEA: A Comparative Overview" in IAEA Bulletin 3/1993, argues that the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) set up under the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) has benefitted from the IAEA's verification experience. The Economist 22 Nov 97 (98) contains an article on a possible new form of nuclear energy that does not produce any radioactivity.

A. Walter Dorn, Andrew Fulton, "Securing Compliance with Disarmament Treaties: Carrots, Sticks, and the Case of North Korea" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - after summarizing the UN's disarmament activities, essay provides an excellent account of IAEA/UN/US actions to dissuade North Korea from developing any nuclear arms. Conclusion: that UN mechanisms must be strengthened.

The Economist 12 Apr 97: "Iraq's Germ-Warfare Program" (79-80). - two articles briefly up-date the attractions and potential of, and the difficulties in controlling and finding, biological weapons.

The Economist 2 May 98: "Chemical Weapons: Just Checking" (42-4). - appraisal that first year of Chemical Weapons Convention has gone well. CWC signed by 168 countries and ratified by 107. Over 200 inspections carried out in 25 states, including Russia and China. North Korea, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Egypt still outside, but pressed.

The Economist 2 May 98: "Landmines: Clearing the Killing Fields" (73). - report on development in NZ of method of locating plastic or other mines imperceptible to metal detectors. Microwave scanner exploits fact that mines, unlike surroundings, contain no water and so are unheated by microwaves. Infra-red cameras "see" anomalies.

The Economist 16 May 98: "Hey, Anybody Want a Gun?" (67-8). - report on the embryonic state of attempts to control "cascade" from one conflict zone to another of the huge number of small arms that have been produced (Kalashnikov:35-50m; M-16:8m; G3:7m; FN FAL:5-7m). G8 supports global agreement to stop illegal trafficking in hand-held weapons (\$5b+ annually). OAS 98 agreement to cooperate in clamping down on export of illegal weapons. UN agreed 98 to work on small-arms traffic protocol. European Union discussing an ethical code of conduct governing all types of legal arms exports including rifles. Article argues that ammunition restrictions may be more realistic.

The Economist 6 Jun 98: "Bombs, Gas and Microbes" (23-5). - concise view of current world disarmament/control moves against weapons of mass destruction. **NPT**:186 in; India, Pakistan, Israel, Brazil, Cuba outside. 1997 inspection protocol so far binds few. Trade control: **Zangger Committee** and **Nuclear Suppliers' Group**. **CTBT** (1996): 149 signed; 13 ratified, with major holdouts. Fissile-materials cut-off held up in UN. **CWC** (1997): 168 signed; 110 ratified, again major holdouts; chemical weapons outlawed and destroyed; trade limits; short-notice inspections. **BWC** (1972): 130+ ratified; biological/toxin weapons prohibited but no built-in checks. "Spread of weapons technology seems inexorable...[so hit] roots of regional disputes".

Steve Fetter, Verifying Nuclear Disarmament; Occasional Paper No.29 (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996). - a fairly technical but very useful layperson's discussion of the many difficulties in verifying nuclear-weapon-related activities. Realistic conclusion is that no airtight verification system is possible; hence nuclear disarmament will be gradual and dependent on global confidence. Two problems left out are non-state actors and nuclear blackmail/bluff.

Alton Frye, "Banning Ballistic Missiles" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75 /No.6 (November/December 1996). - in addition to a survey of the current state of strategic disarmament agreements, article proposes mutually supervised storage of existing nuclear weapons (escrow), and a total ban on ballistic missiles to discourage proliferation.

Peter Gizewski, "From Winning Weapon to Destroyer of Worlds: the Nuclear Taboo in International Politics" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.3 (Summer 1996). - the distinction is drawn between the actual military lethality of nuclear weapons and the strong global emotional reaction against their use. Hence their great deterrence.

Fen Osler Hampson with Michael Hart, Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). - neither overly technical nor theoretical, this book has dual value to those concerned with current UN issues: (1) fine accounts of key arms (LTBT, CSBM, CFE) trade (GATT-ITO, Uruguay Round) and environmental (Climate Change, Ozone, Toxic Waste) negotiations; (2) draws useful general lessons.

Fred Charles Ikle, "The Second Coming of the Nuclear Age" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - the changed global atmosphere and relationships that followed the Cold War have raised entirely new nuclear threats, particularly those from terrorism and catastrophic accident. Article analyses much that the UN must face.

Ashok Kapur, "Rogue States and the International Nuclear Order" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.3 (Summer 1996). - an unorthodox but stimulating discussion of the relative roles and attitudes of openly nuclear, unofficially nuclear, aspiringly nuclear, and other states, with stress on those classed - for NPT - as "rogue" states.

William W. Keller & Janne E. Nolan, "The Arms Trade: Business as Usual" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - article argues that the post-Cold War global arms trade is effectively unconstrained by multilateral agreements, and hence driven by very competitive economics. To minimally control proliferation, authors propose: monitor the end use of technologies with possible military applications; scrutinize cross-border investments, mergers, etc. of arms companies; oppose export of a range of "stigmatized" weapons.

Andrew Latham, "Taking the Lead? Light Weapons and International Security" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.3 (Spring 1997). - a thoughtful and very well argued proposal for controlling the

production, export, possession and use of weapons now effectively not covered by disarmament treaties yet responsible for 90% of all deaths/injuries in conflicts since 1993. Ideas appear realistic.

David A. Lenarcic, Anti-Personnel Land Mines: An Annotated Bibliography (Waterloo: Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 1996). - extremely topical source, containing material up to Aug 1996. Contents: Introduction; Part A: Reports and Resolutions of International Organizations; Part B: Scholarly Publications; Part C: Internet Resources; Part D: Annexes [May 1996 and 1980 Versions of Protocol II to Convention on...Use of Certain Conventional Weapons...]; Part E: Author Index; Part F: Country Index.

Robert A. Manning, "The Nuclear Age: The Next Chapter" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - article argues that end of Cold War and NPT, CTBT and START II, have not prevented likelihood of nuclear use actually increasing through Indo-Pakistani or Iraqi-Israeli exchange, further (non-admitted) proliferation or terrorist use. Debate now concentrates on reduction vs elimination. Author advocates progressive reduction plus safeguards (Turner op. cit.).

Ian Miller, United Nations Register of Conventional Arms: An Annotated Bibliography (Waterloo: Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 1995). - supported by DND and DFAIT Canada; covers 1991-1995 work. Contents: Introduction; Part A: United Nations Documents and Resolutions; Part B: Scholarly Publications; Part C: Appendix, General Assembly Resolution 46/36L, Transparency in Armaments; Part D: Author Index; Part E: Keywords.

Ian Miller, Small Arms and Light Weapons: An Annotated Bibliography (Waterloo: Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 1996). - supported by DFAIT Canada; covers 1993-1996 work. Contents: Introduction; Part A: UN, Regional Organizations and International Arrangements; Part B: Scholarly Studies; Part C: World Wide Web Sites; Part D: Author Index; Part E: Keywords.

T. V. Paul, "Strengthening the Non-Proliferation Regime: the Role of Coercive Sanctions" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.3 (Summer 1996). - a thoughtful analysis of the history, variety and effectiveness of nuclear-related sanctions. UN Security Council sanctions are seen as advantageous, but face several limitations.

Andrew J. Pierre edit., Cascade of Arms: Managing Conventional Weapons Proliferation (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation, 1997). - a unique and invaluable compendium of material on conventional arms manufacture, trade and recent deployment, with details by key areas (U.S., West Europe, Russia, China, Middle East, Asia-Pacific, South Asia). Book concludes with survey of recent and proposed restraint options, with emphasis on global supplier regimes/conditionality.

Ron Purver, "The Threat of Chemical/Biological Terrorism" in Commentary (CSIS) No.60 (August 1995). - a broad but non-technical

survey of a serious and growing problem. Uses Tokyo subway attack as a base for illustrating capabilities and vulnerabilities.

Michael Renner, "Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms" in State of the World 1998 (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - article provides wealth of current global information on the users, sources, volume, value, components, concentrations and casualties of small-arms. It makes recommendations for their control, with landmines as example.

A. Robitaille and R. Purver, "Smuggling Special Nuclear Materials" in Commentary (CSIS) No.57 (May 1995). - collapse of the former Soviet Union has raised concern about attempts to smuggle material from its nuclear programs. Most serious implication is terrorism.

Glenn E. Schweitzer, [International Science and Technology Center, Moscow] "A Multilateral Approach to Curbing Proliferation of Weapons Know-How" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996). - although center (and its Kiev "twin") are not UN-sponsored, essay makes good case for multilateral approach to organized scientific interaction in many circumstances, not just to curb proliferation.

Douglas Scott et al. (The Markland Policy Group), Disarmament's Missing Dimension: A UN Agency to Administer Multilateral Treaties (Toronto: Science for Peace/ Samuel Stevens, 1990). - proposes the establishment of a UN Disarmament Verification Agency (UNDVA) to administer any type of agreement dealing with disarmament by: (a) collecting data relating to compliance; (b) evaluating such data to determine violations; and (c) determining appropriate responses. Most arguments still apply. Annexes list valuable disarmament data.

Henry Sokolski edit., Fighting Proliferation: New Concerns for the Nineties (Maxwell AFB: Air University Press, 1996). - although USAF publication, valuable essays do not follow US policy or even agree. Authors face variety of topical issues, usually with imagination: e.g. NPT/MTCR features and options; satellites (imaging and trade); cruise missiles (excellent); US Counterproliferation Initiative; North Korea; Iran; "Competitive" Strategies; new role and emphasis of Intelligence. Regular theme: proliferation demands new approach.

John F. Sopko, "The Changing Proliferation Threat" in Foreign Policy 105 (Winter 1996-97). - extremely disturbing, expert report on major threat posed by proliferating non-conventional "weapons" (biological-chemical-nuclear-radiological) employable by diverging states, organizations or individuals, motivated by unprecedented objectives, and obtained/delivered by a variety of novel means. Author demands "a global response to this truly global threat".

John D. Steinbruner et al., Comprehensive Disclosure of Fissionable Materials: A Suggested Initiative (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1995). - brief discussion paper prepared for Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. Essentially asks "what next?" following indefinite extension of Non-Proliferation Treaty. It proposes a

comprehensive arrangement for full disclosure of all fissionable material by all countries, no further production of weapons-grade material, and enhancement of the IAEA's ability to track its flow.

John D. Steinbruner, "Biological Weapons: A Plague Upon All Houses" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - an extremely useful lay report on intensified attempts to constrain the development and use of biological weapons. Threat is both increasing (more people, movement and knowledge) and unique ("inexpensive, readily available and unusually dangerous" (86). Specialists must "work together to an unprecedented degree if the international community is to succeed in containing [it]" (87). The BWC does not now include enforcement provisions, but global rules of disclosure of selected pathogens to a WHO monitor seem possible. Intense discussion is unavoidable.

Gino Strada, "The Horror of Land Mines", in Scientific American May 1996, pp.40-45. - although the article is mainly (and disturbingly) about the characteristics and effects of anti-personnel land mines, it provides valuable material for diplomatic action against them. For views on controlling production see Webster (op.cit. p.246).

Stansfield Turner, Caging the Nuclear Genie: An American Challenge for Global Security (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997). - stimulating set of proposals for reducing number and dangers of nuclear weapons by former head of CIA. Turner first estimates minimum requirements for US/world security (appendices provide data). He then proposes US unilaterally puts part of its nuclear arsenal in "escrow", i.e. temporarily defused and under tight Russian inspection with hope of similar and increasing action by all nuclear powers, until entire global arsenal under multilateral inspection. Author also proposes US lead global "no-first-use" pledge and continue defence research.

ECONOMICS: UN-RELEVANT TRENDS AND THEORIES

Paul R. Abramson & Ronald Inglehart, Value Change in Global Perspective (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). - a statistical survey of most major countries, rich and poor, to determine that there is a generational trend for public opinion to change from primary concern with Materialism (economic development, security, etc.) to Postmaterialism (democracy, human rights). For another set of viable options available for basic changes in global values: Kimon Valaskakis et al., The Conserver Society: A Workable Alternative for the Future (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1979).

M. A. Adelman, The Genie Out of the Bottle: World Oil Since 1970 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). - possibly the most serious challenges facing global economic and environmental change relate to producing and consuming energy. Still the most critical energy source is oil. For those with at least some economic experience this book provides an excellent history of global trends in the oil industry since it

became a major factor in world affairs, including OPEC's formation, the OPEC-induced 1970s oil price shocks, and the 1986 collapse of OPEC's attempt to control prices. A major point: world oil will never be exhausted; it will cease being economically retrievable.

Jacques Attali, "The Crash of Western Civilization: The Limits of the Market and Democracy" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - democracy and market economy are mutually incompatible: former promotes the individual, is based on equality, relies on citizens' responsibilities and coalitions, needs sedentary voters, supports majority decisions; markets view people only as commodities, foster inequality, exploit selfishness, prefer nomads and aggregated selfishness. Civilization will collapse under market dictatorship!

Robert J. Barro, Determinants of Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Empirical Study (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997). - these lectures draw on statistics, newly available for most countries over several decades, in order to study what causes growth. Among the findings: the main factors conducive to higher growth rates are a better rule of law, higher initial education and life expectancy, lower costs for official welfare, lower fertility, better terms of trade; more democracy up to a certain level favours economic growth, but beyond that other priorities intervene; inflation over 20% deters growth.

Samuel Brittan, Capitalism with a Human Face (Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1995). - in the post-Cold War era, capitalism appears victorious over planned (or command) economies, and UN system advisors to the Third World have no hesitation about pushing it. The Bretton Woods institutions have no choice - even if they had doubts! Brittan, as an Editor of the Financial Times, writes clearly on liberal economics for the non-expert. Good background.

Edward Carr, "The Sea: A Second Fall", in The Economist 23 May 98 (1-18). - a broad if necessarily concise Survey of all major trends and problems relating to the oceans today, and anticipated. Among the varied subjects covered are: increasing human exploitation and dependency; end of "unlimited" utilization and last great hunting-gathering culture; need for global/state controls as for land; vast areas of unknown living and mineral resources; pollution (man-made/natural), algal blooms, coast/reef destruction; sealife/nutrients; (over)fishing: expansion/controls (fishing fleet 53% superfluous); trends/currents (El Nino, global warming); shipping; new lessons.

Fadhil J. Chalabi, "OPEC: An Obituary" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - in spite of title, invaluable summary of major trends in the oil/energy industry from before the establishment and impact of OPEC to the present. Conclusion is "Gone are the days of 'oil nationalism' and the 'oil weapon'. The catchwords of today's global marketplace are 'integration' and 'interdependence'... [O]il compan[y club] replaced by a hypercompetitive market that relies on the free flow of information and high technology to remain viable."

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Robert W. Cox, Review of Susan Strange, "The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) (op.cit.) in International Journal Vol.LIII/-No.2 (Spring 1997).- favourable report on a book of great relevance to UN's future. Cox sees Strange's aim not to describe the growing limitations on state power, but to identify what power constitutes, where and why it is going there, and the implications. For Cox's own related theoretical views see: Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1987), Theme & Part 1 (pp.1-15); Part 2 (pp.105-267).

Herman E. Daly & John B. Cobb, For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future :Second Edition, Updated and Expanded (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994). -outdated, US-focused analyses (trade deficit brings national ruin; postindustrial cyber- and service-based evolution ignored); extreme solutions (isolationism, decentralization, pacifism); nostalgia (family farms, semi-autarkic regions). Pro-UN attitude driven by desire to opt out of global affairs. Strongest arguments relate to environmentally-sound, sustainable economy, using restructured GNP. Updated free-trade counter-arguments: The Economist 19 Jul 97 (68).

Peter F. Drucker, "The Changed World Economy" in Foreign Affairs 64 (Spring 1986): 768-791. - although Drucker is one of the best known economic-business gurus, this short article has been described as seminal in that it explained simply the totally new characteristics of the post-industrial global economy: borders disappear.

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

The Economist 28 Mar 98: "At Last, a Market for Energy" (17-18); "Oil Shocked" (57-58); "The Electricity Business: Power to the People". - three articles deal with basic changes taking place in the global energy sector, particularly electricity and oil, because of new consumption/production trends (sources, types, scales), new ownership and market structures, and new or imminent technology.

Francis Fukuyama, Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity (London: Penguin Books, 1996). - seeks answer to issue of what has made some economies so successful. After cultural look at "family"-based societies ("Chinese", Italy, France, South Korea) and "high-trust"-based ones (Japan, Germany, US), book concludes that latter have inherent advantage. Relevant to UN aid activities.

John Kenneth Galbraith, The Culture of Contentment (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992). - as usual, Galbraith is wittily chiding the powers-that-be, and the existing capitalist system. However, his barbs here have a global resonance: the increasing intra- and inter-state gulf between the myopic elite and the rest.

Robert Gilpin, The Political Economy of International Relations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). - a carefully laid out study of international relationships from a political economic (PE) point of view. Main areas discussed are: Nature of PE; Three Ideologies of PE; Dynamics of the International PE; International Money Matters; The Politics of International Trade; Multinational Corporations and International Production; The Issue of Dependency and Economic Development; The PE of International Finance; The Transformation of Global PE; Emergent International Economic Order.

William Greider, One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997). - a vivid analysis of the globalized economy, that makes some disturbing if debatable predictions: global industrial surpluses; mass OECD unemployment; ungovernable financial crises; further concentrated wealth. Views: constrain capital movements and unfair trade surpluses; stimulate consumer demand; increase taxes on and dispersal of stocks; forgive hopeless debtors; apply global labor standards; include negatives in GNP. Good review by Walter Mead in Foreign Affairs (Jan/Feb 97).

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Herman Kahn, et al., The Next 200 Years: A Scenario for America and the World (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1976). - the Hudson Institute during the 1970's did much ground-breaking work on futures forecasting by interviewing specialists in various cutting-edge technologies. An optimistic view of world economic prospects is the result. While counter to most demographers' concerns, it is credible. Kahn & Anthony J. Wiener, The Year 2000: A Framework for

Speculation (New York: Macmillan, 1967) offers useful projection **techniques**, although many projections have of course proved wrong.

William Keegan, The Spectre of Capitalism: The Future of the World Economy after the Fall of Communism (London: Vintage, 1993). - author, an editor of Observer, takes a dim view of unalloyed "free market" capitalism and initial tendency of post-communist states to follow Reagan-Thatcher laissez-faire example. While fully critical of the economic errors of communism, Keegan prefers the Japanese and German partly-guided capitalist models to the opposite extreme.

Joel Kotkin, Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy (New York: Random House, 1993). - since the end of the Cold War, ethnicity seems to have taken on new strength in creating or demanding new sovereignty. Kotkin points out that several "tribes" have been globally influential but quite independent of their geographical origins, and are likely to become more so. Those so identified and described are the Jews, British, Japanese, Chinese and Indians. Very good on economic trends/ties.

David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - an overriding concern for most UN members and bodies is how to raise the economic standards of LDCs. Landes offers an excellent chronology/rationale for the 500-year Eurocentric Industrial Revolution and its results. Argument: combined geography, political/economic/cultural factors, and above all a scientific/aspiring outlook. Prognosis: uneven and uncertain gains globally. (Near)rich **can** defend their lead; Latin America **may** open up; ex-Sovbloc **must** overcome history; Middle East **could** reduce negative traits; Africa/India **face** huge cultural bars.

Jeffrey Madrick, The End of Affluence: The Causes and Consequences of America's Economic Dilemma (New York: Random House, 1995) and review by Robert Z. Lawrence "The Slow Growth Mystery" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - a particularly clear and valuable debate over the issue of whether the post-industrial society must produce a world economy characterized by slow growth, high unemployment, and extreme income divisions.

Gavan McCormack, The Emptiness of Japanese Affluence (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1996). - although book is focused on Japan, "Part One: Political Economy" (pp. 25-150), is relevant to the UN's challenges since it uses Japan's example as probably the world's most affluent society to analyse - glumly - the implications for global resources and its environment of current consumption and population patterns.

Hamish McRae, The World in 2020: Power, Culture and Prosperity: A Vision of the Future (London: HarperCollins, 1994). - a slightly different perspective on what drives current global change and will determine global success in a highly competitive world. One argument is that it is not by having an edge in technology (which will rapidly disperse) but the optimum culture to exploit all forms

of economic opportunity that winners will be produced (cf Fukuyama).

Donella H. Meadows et al., Beyond the Limits: Confronting Global Collapse, Envisioning a Sustainable Future (Post Mills: Chelsea Green Publishing, 1992). - in 1972 many of this team made a computer projection of how long existing trends in population growth, use of natural resources, agricultural and industrial output and pollution could continue before they "crashed". That study, The Limits to Growth (New York: Universe Books, 1972), under the sponsorship of the Club of Rome, predicted almost imminent collapse, and caused both panic and ridicule. Its main flaw was that it did not allow sufficiently for innovation and economic incentive. Hence a very productive exchange of direct value to the UN system developed. Mihajlo Mesarovic & Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point: A Second Report to the Club of Rome (Scarborough: Signet Books, 1976) was more cautious in its predictions. The Hudson Institute under Herman Kahn led the opposition; Simon 1984 (op. cit.) was a major riposte. The Ehrlichs (op. cit.) weighed in against Simon. Beyond the Limits is the latest, and a much more sophisticated projection.

Helen V. Milner, "International Political Economy: Beyond Hegemonic Stability" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - PE focus given as: politics' effect on stability/openness of international economy; explaining states' foreign economic policy; why states grow or fail; impact of international economy on domestic politics. Factors: world power distribution (hegemon's role); international institutions; role of ideas; domestic politics effects. US hegemony neither assured nor critical. Institutions' roles controversial. Social identity is key state idea. Rival groups affect policy, but so do state structures. Globalization impacts/limits all state policies/structures/powers.

Dennis Pirages, Global Technopolitics: The International Politics of Technology and Resources (Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1989). - a slightly specialized view of current trends and problems, but a useful one. This approach in particular tries to analyse the interaction of "techno-ecological" factors and the international system, a valuable global perspective for the UN.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Julian L. Simon and Herman Kahn edit., The Resourceful Earth: A Response to 'Global 2000' (London: Basil Blackwell, 1984). - this was critique of both above-noted 1980 Report to the President and of "The Limits to Growth" (see Meadows op. cit.). It notes that

since natural resource "reserves" are determined by market needs, they regularly increase; that technology has in past responded well to serious (and expensive) challenges; and that population well-being is not a function of density. Early "cornucopia" arguments.

Julian L. Simon edit., The State of Humanity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). - techno-optimistic successor to Simon/Kahn 1984, by famous opponent of population restraint: "Th[e] increase in the price of people's services is a clear indication that people are becoming more scarce even though there are more of us" p.13. (The over one billion un(der)employed would be delighted to learn this!) Although depending heavily on long-term trends and the US for good news, the essays contain much information on health, poverty, resources, food and pollution. Although 700 pp., useful for (cautious) reference.

Julian L. Simon, The Ultimate Resource 2 (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press, 1996). - updated version (750 pp.) of famous 1981 attack on enviro-population "doomsayers". Basically illogical thesis remains: global population growth is good since it brings economies of scale and (scarce?) minds to solve problems. However, "moderate rate of growth in LDCs is more likely to lead to higher standard of living in the long run than either zero population growth or a high rate of population growth" (p.507). Nuclear power/biodiversity sections stimulating. Global warming and ozone depletion issues dismissed.

Robert Skidelsky, The Road from Serfdom: The Economic and Political Consequences of the End of Communism (New York: Penguin Press, 1996). - a good, though biased, survey of global political-economic thinking and trends, and particularly this century's rivalry between generally liberal ("capitalist") and collective (socialist/corporative) approaches. Death and legacy of communism are seen as likely to confirm a predominantly private-enterprise world order.

Lester C. Thurow, The Future of Capitalism: How Today's Economic Forces Shape Tomorrow's World (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1996). - deals in non-technical terms with current economic trends and problems, including post-Communism, knowledge dominance, population trends, globalism, critical economic controls. Thurow's Head to Head: The Coming Economic Battle Among Japan, Europe, and America (New York: William Morrow, 1992) gives slightly earlier and more limited projections, including dismissal of China.

Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980). - book describes the variety and depth of changes that are taking place, and equates the importance of this "Third Wave" process to the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Toffler expects much friction from supporters of the "Second Wave".

Steven Weber, "The End of the Business Cycle?" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1997). - article contends that while business cycles are not eliminated, they have been dampened, so will be less serious in future. Contributing factors: globalized production;

changes in finance; employment moves to services and flexibility; government policy; large emerging markets; information technology. If true, major effects for whole UN system and developing world.

World Bank, The, World Development Report 19__ (Washington: Oxford University Press, 19__). - this publication annually addresses one major Bank concern (1995: workers; 1996: converting from planned to market system). 1997 issue, The State in a Changing World, again shows how far Bank has moved from early emphasis on infrastructure. Argument is that an effective - not minimalist - state is critical to development, so that it can play catalytic, facilitating role to encourage and complement business and citizen action. In a didactic but general way, Bank claims states must focus their capability on core public activities and then progressively improve institutions.

Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "A Second American Century" (18-31) and Paul Krugman, "America the Boastful" (32-45) in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998). - while this well-informed debate addresses the longer-term prospects for the US economy, many elements have global relevance and all will have global impact. Zuckerman argues that US prosperity shows no sign of, or need for collapse during the "next" business cycle; low inflation and innovation are self-perpetuating. Markets beckon: "the new frontier is the global economy". Krugman is not apocalyptic, but essentially deflating: "there is always a next recession". The boom is less profound and "unique" than it appears.

ECONOMICS: INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND MULTILATERAL FUNDS

C. Fred Bergsten, "The Dollar and the Euro" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1997). - Euro "will convert an international monetary system ... dominated by the dollar since World War II into a bipolar regime. Hence the structure and politics of ... financial cooperation will change dramatically" (92). So a major role for IMF.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "The Capital Myth: The Difference between Trade in Widgets and Dollars" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998). - "prevalent myth is that despite the striking evidence of the inherently crisis-prone nature of freer capital movements, a world of full capital mobility continues to be inevitable and immensely desirable". Author disagrees, arguing that while there is a correspondence between free trade in goods and services and free capital mobility, capital flows suffer from "panics and manias". Financial crises are very costly and cannot be eliminated by global banking system reform. Hence capital mobility needs some restraint. The Economist 23 May 98: "Capital Controversies" (112) - generally supports Bhagwati: capital liberalization must proceed cautiously.

George Brown, "Debt and Development: Time to Act, Again" in The Economist 21 Feb 98 (pp.77-8). - on behalf of British government, Brown makes number of proposals to deal urgently with LDC debt. He

proposes: G7 recommit accelerated debt relief; support for IMF-IBRD initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC); emphasize macroeconomic stability, IMF-IBRD transparency, full private sector contribution, investment in education and health, productive export credits only; eliminate gaps and overlaps in IMF-IBRD activities.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Peter F. Drucker, "The Global Economy and the Nation-State" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1997). - while anticipating survival of nation-state, argues that international financial flows (particularly of "virtual" money), and investments (particularly by global firms) demand change in domestic fiscal/monetary and foreign economic policies, control of international business, and perhaps rules of war. Calls for global banking controls and "development of international law and supranational organizations that can make and enforce rules for the global economy" - UN-system responsibilities.

The Economist 14 Mar 98: "The Talking FDI Blues: A Treaty to Protect Cross-Border Investments is a Good Idea. The One Now Being Crafted is Not" (Leader: 18-20); "The Sinking of the MAI: An International Agreement on Foreign Investment Has Slipped Out of Reach. What Went Wrong?" (Article: 81-82). Both discuss the impasse in the OECD over Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and argue that global WTO is better forum since, while LDCs need to accept a standard FDI treaty more, if only OECD members sign, trade rules make LDCs free riders.

The Economist 6 Jun 98: "African Development Bank: The Bank That Likes to Say No" (44): - report on hope that after years in crisis ADB is being revived. Irony is that credit policy is now so strict 39 ADB members are not allowed to borrow. However president claims capital will be increased to \$30b, and soft loan fund replenished.

The Economist 6 Jun 98: "The Bank for International Settlements is Trying to Change Its Ways." (69-70). - article questions value of world's oldest (1930) multilateral financial institution, which has acted as private banker to central bankers, and policy coordinator. Originally European, it brought in US, Japan and Canada (8 of 11 board members still European), and in 1996 admitted 9 second-class members who are not in G10 (sic). Recently emphasis has shifted to stabilizing the international financial system by strengthening financial regulation, but BIS had little influence on Asian crisis.

John C. Edmunds, "Securities: The New World Wealth Machine" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996); debate in 106 (Spring 1997). -non-technical

and startling account of the rapidly expanding and powerful role of securities, and their relationship to national wealth and economic growth. Exchange in latter issue adds greatly to the implications.

Martin Feldstein, "Refocusing the IMF" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998), and Pam Woodall, "Frozen Miracle: A Survey of East Asian Economies" in The Economist 7 Mar 98; pp.1-18. - a major multilateral issue, highlighted by Mexican, East European and East Asian financial crises, has been appropriate and legitimate role of IMF. These two excellent articles, while both favourable to IMF, come to different conclusions: Woodall supports Fund's attempts to change relevant structures of countries in crisis; Feldstein argues it should not, unless "absolutely necessary", use the "opportunity to force fundamental structural and institutional reforms" (p.32).

Hilary F. French, "Assessing Private Capital Flows to Developing Countries" in State of the World 1998 (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - IBRD believes international private investment in and lending to LDCs rose from \$44 billion in 1990 to \$244 billion in 1996 of which \$110 billion was FDI. With decline in ODA, this constituted 86% of capital flows to LDCs. After \$256 billion even in 1997 Bank expects rebound in 1998. Article assesses reasons and effects - political, economic, environmental -and voices concern re coal power projects.

Richard N.Haass & Robert E.Litan, "Globalization and Its Discontents :Navigating the Dangers of a Tangled World" in Foreign Affairs Vol. 77/No.3 (May/June 1998). - economic globalization is getting blame for state financial crises, job losses, income inequalities/stagnation, etc. Three prescriptions: **end** IMF-like rescue packages which might foster recklessness (but this is dangerous, and the reckless can be warned or punished); **create** institutions to add structure/direction to global marketplace and complement IMF etc. (but this would cramp states' sovereignty); structure and discipline financial operations by **reforming** and supplementing existing bodies. This is optimum.

Mahbub ul Haq, Inge Kaul and Isabelle Grunberg, edit., The Tobin Tax: Coping with Financial Volatility (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). - some sort of tax on foreign-exchange transactions may be the only or best means of producing direct income for the UN. While the book itself is for specialists, and only Chapter 10 deals specifically with potential uses of the revenue produced, The Economist 13 Jul 96; p.84, offers a useful review of the proposal.

Gerald K. Helleiner, A Conference on Finance and Development? Notes for Presentation to UNGA Second Committee, 15 Oct 97. - Toronto U. economics professor raises issue why major UN conference on topic is needed. He argues it is critical to: get central macroeconomic financial institutions for newly globalized economy strengthened; get global economic governance more politically and economically representative; and put essential focus on development - things G7, Bretton Woods and BIS would not do. To this end UNGA could: have SG

appoint an expert panel; set up N-S intergovernmental committee; begin regional reviews; let a few states initiate their own review.

Will Hutton, "Relaunching Western Economies: Case for Regulating Financial Markets" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1996). - a convincing argument that current high unemployment and slow growth must be met by constraining international finance not trade. The means include Tobin-like taxes (op. cit.) and capital controls.

Ethan B. Kapstein, "Shockproof" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - one of the international community's challenges is to control and regulate international financial flows of all types. This brief and non-technical article describes progress so far, and some of the problems still to be addressed.

Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis & Richard Webb, The World Bank: Its First Half Century; two volumes: 2041 pages. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997). - three reviewers give qualified praise. Lester C. Thurow in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998) (175-7) calls it a "uniformly strong work", able to say "nasty things" about the bank, and describe its crises, problems, relations and changing policies. It omits any discussion of communist East Europe, and leaves future role unexamined. The Economist 4 Apr 98 (78) finds lack of publicity suspicious, and the work "far too long, and of uneven quality". On the other hand it is a "unique resource" with fascinating chapters. Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) (135-6) notes book is more about economic development than organizational management; "there is also little evaluation of the bank's impact on the world economy".

John J. Kirton & Ella Kokotsis, "Revitalizing the G-7: Prospects for the 1998 Birmingham Meeting of the Eight" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - although the main purpose of this article is to look ahead, it provides a survey of the past activities of the G-7, mostly of course in the economic/financial field. The story of relations with the IMF is particularly useful.

Stephen J. Kobrin, "Electronic Cash and the End of National Markets" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - forecast of the speed and effects of the introduction of E-cash. Implications for government control or taxation of any domestic or international exchange or purchase, large or small, institutional or private, are huge. "A digital world economy will demand increasing international cooperation, harmonizing national regulations and legislation, and strengthening the authority of international institutions" i.e. UN.

Reuben P. Mendez, "Paying for Peace and Development" in Foreign Policy Number 100 (Fall 1995), pp. 19-32. - an example of the many proposals for a world levy to help meet the UN's chronic financial crisis. The "Tobin tax" would add a tiny charge to all foreign exchange transactions (now well over \$1 trillion daily and 90% speculative) mainly to dampen speculation and market volatility.

Mendez' variation is for the UN itself to establish a "discount" Foreign Currency Exchange charge in competition with the banks.

Reuben P. Mendez, "Financing the United Nations and the International Public Sector: Problems and Reform" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - an extremely useful overview of how the UN system is currently financed, the problems it is facing, and the reasons for them, plus a variety of the more realistic proposals for correcting the situation. Excellent source.

Alex C. Michalos, Good Taxes: The Case for Taxing Foreign Currency Exchange and Other Financial Transactions (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997). - as with ul Haq et al. book and Mendez article (op. cit.), book makes strong case in favour of a Tobin tax. In this case, the proliferating technical literature pro and con is summarized: 19 supporting arguments are identified and 20 critical points refuted.

David Pearce, Anil Markandya, Edward B. Barbier, Blueprint for a Green Economy (London: Earthscan Publications, 1989). - generally known as the "Pearce Report", it was prepared for the UK Department of the Environment, and published by London Environmental Economics Council - of which all authors are Directors. Report provides any government with proposals for financing sustainable development. It discusses the term; the value and accounting of the environment; project appraisal; "discounting the future"; prices and incentives.

John Peet, "An Awfully Big Adventure: Survey of EMU" in The Economist 11 Apr 98 (1-22). - thorough study of the history, advantages and dangers of a single European currency. Final conclusion is that "it should be good for Europe", mainly because it will force European economies to become far more flexible and competitive. Pages 17-20, dealing with **global** implications, suggests improved international coordination **may** be necessary in event of volatility in euro/dollar exchange rate. Related essay "Towards a New Financial System" (52-4) discusses benefits/issues raised by the global capital market. Anti-crisis proposals: transparency, supervision, limited moral hazard.

Tony Porter, "Capital Mobility and Currency Markets: Can They Be Tamed?" International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - a good survey of the problem and possible solutions for non-specialists. Favours Tobin Tax (op.cit.) but just mentions possible UN benefits.

Jan Pronk, "Failing Currencies, Recriminations: Who's to Blame?" in The Earth Times 1-15 Nov 97. - Dutch development minister describes vast impact of globalization, e.g. while economic development has proceeded, so has internal violence, states have lost authority and incomes diverged. FDI (now \$350b) drives global economy even more than trade, with LDC share increasing rapidly. Market forces gain international support, but not dissension, poverty or environmental issues. Above all, financial markets have grown in size, volatility and instability, menacing exposed LDCs. International organizations must play special roles in setting limits and adjusting priorities.

David P. Rapkin & Jonathan R. Strand, "The U.S. and Japan in the Bretton Woods Institutions: Sharing or Contesting Leadership" in International Journal Vol. LIII/No. 2 (Spring 1997). - a useful and non-technical report on two subjects: (i) the roles, policies and controversial voting procedures of the Bank and Fund; (ii) global power effects of Japan's economic and financial closing on the US.

David P. Rapkin, Joseph U. Elston & Jonathan R. Strand, "Institutional Adjustments to Changed Power Distributions: Japan and the United States in the IMF" in Global Governance Vol. 3/No. 2 (May-Aug 1997). - although specific to IMF, article complements Ibid. in describing voting arrangements, weighting and relationships, and the extent to which changes in them reflect objective economic criteria among G7.

Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - extremely valuable information/analysis directly relevant to UN's challenges. Argument is that power has devolved from states to non-state authorities (commercial-financial-criminal) in response to technology and global market. International organizations (UN, EU) have gained little since they are composed of states, so new global financial and legal controls are needed. New global power analysed: telecoms, organized crime, insurance, accountancy, cartels, IOs. For a favourable review and related views, see Cox 1997 (op. cit.).

United Nations Association of the USA, Crisis and Reform in United Nations Financing: A Report of the UNA-USA Global Policy Project (New York: UNA-USA, 1997). - extremely valuable survey of the UN financial crisis, US arrears problem, and what to do about them. Among recommendations: UN reform agenda is quite distinct from immediate and unconditional payment of all US assessed obligations - an admitted legal duty; UN assessments should be non-negotiable item in budget bargaining with Congress; present 25% US scale of assessment is fair; payments to UN budget made quarterly, with vote loss plus interest for arrears. Project Director: Jeffrey Laurenti.

James P. Walker, "Alternative Financing for the United Nations: An Idea Whose Time Has Finally Come?" in Policy Staff Commentary No. 10: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Dec 1995). - a survey of the various suggestions then current for obtaining reliable financing for the UN. Not Canadian policy.

ECONOMICS: TRADE (BLOCS), EMPLOYMENT, STRUCTURAL CHANGE

C. Fred Bergsten, "Globalizing Free Trade" in Foreign Affairs Vol. 75/No. 3 (May/June 1996). - a useful survey of existing and planned regional Free Trade Arrangements; their limitations are compared with the progress on WTO-based global liberalization.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "Fast Track to Nowhere" in The Economist 18 Oct 97 (21-23). - author, formerly with GATT, takes issue with C. Fred Bergsten's article of 27 Sep (23-26) in which latter argues that President Clinton should be given "fast-track" trade negotiating authority on basis President's aim is "Free Trade Agreement of the Americas" (in Bhagwati's view not a free but a **preferential** trade agreement). On current issue of regional vs multilateral approach, Bhagwati makes good case for WTO route. See also Ostry (op.cit.).

Charles R. Carlisle, "Is the World Ready for Free Trade?" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1996). - a good survey of the prospects for global and/or regional free trade. For a more detailed analysis of issues, see Sylvia Ostry (op. cit.).

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Peter F. Cowhey and Jonathan D. Aronson, "A New Trade Order" in Foreign Affairs 72/1 (1992-93): 183-195. - a good statement of the new trends in international trade, described here as an emerging "market access" regime that is more flexible about border barriers. It argues all must be coordinated by GATT/WTO: i.e. multilaterally.

Mihailo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama (Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1994). - a former Yugoslav ambassador takes a well-informed and realistic, but also constructive, look at the current trauma in the Balkans. While finding many causes and villains, he emphasises the common needs and interests of the area. He urges international community, particularly West, to play an active and continuing role to reconstruct and integrate the area, thus downgrading borders.

The Economist 25 Apr 98: "Asia's New Jobless" (20) and "Asia Goes on the Dole" (71-3) - East Asia's fast-growing economies seemed to be beating the Third World's massive challenge of un(der)employment until the 1997 financial crisis. Articles discuss how jobless had been kept so low, and the best options to control new unemployment. The strongest advice is to avoid the bad example of Western Europe.

The Economist: articles relating to 50 years of trade negotiations and anniversary conference: 16 May 98: "World Trade: Fifty Years On" (21-5) - survey GATT's history, its past, and WTO's current/future problems e.g. agriculture, services, environment, investment/labour standards, regional pacts. 23 May 98: "Geneva's Trade Convention" (20-1) - editorial regrets lack of new agreements. 23 May 98: "Trade Talks: The Water-Treading Organization" (111) - Unsolved problems at

conference included conflicts between free trade and environmental protection and health regulations and public pressure for openness.

Milton Ezrati, "Japan's Aging Economics" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.3 (May/June 1997). - article analyses the critical relationship between a (rapidly) aging population and an economy's ability to support it and maintain growth. While Japan faces the issue most acutely, its dilemmas are common to industrial states, and directly affect both global employment structures and migration (i.e. UN).

Bernard K. Gordon, "The Natural Market Fallacy: Slim Pickings in Latin America" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/June 1998). - author enters the regional free trade debate using as example case of US potential trade relationships with Hemispheric states beyond major/historic partners in NAFTA. He argues that in trade "distance has become essentially irrelevant", and that Free Trade Area of the Americas has several drawbacks, two being area's existing European trade ties, and the relatively greater advantages of WTO approach.

Fen Osler Hampson with Michael Hart, Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). - neither overly technical nor theoretical, this book has dual value to those concerned with current UN issues: (1) fine accounts of key arms (LTBT, CSBM, CFE) trade (GATT-ITO, Uruguay Round) and environmental (Climate Change, Ozone, Toxic Waste) negotiations; (2) draws useful general lessons.

Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life (New York: The Free Press, 1994). - one extremely controversial section concludes that average Negroid IQ is below Caucasian, which is below Mongoloid. The bulk is more relevant to UN reform, e.g. it deals extensively with proposition that more and more jobs are brain- not brawn-related. A typical if polemical example of IQ-debate rebuttal is: Steven Fraser edit., The Bell Curve Wars:... (New York: BasicBooks, 1995). For summary of current state of the general nature-nurture debate: "What We Learn From Twins", The Economist 3 Jan 98 (74-76).

Robert Johnstone, "The Singapore Conference and the World Trade Organization" in Behind the Headlines Vol.54/No.3 (Spring 1997). - a concise report on the first regular meeting of the WTO. Article offers insight into how the non-UN-related organization will work. The Economist 4 Apr 98: "The WTO: Crunch!" (78-9). - provides account of early troubles: the organization has rapidly-expanding workload, but a US-demanded 5-year budget freeze. A "funding crisis" looms.

Ethan B. Kapstein, "Workers and the World Economy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.3 (May/June 1996). - an extremely thought-provoking proposal for using the UN System to address problems of unemployment and income-divergence through coordinated global action to increase rates of growth. The means would be greater

investment in education and training, public works programs and employment subsidies, and tax policy and income transfers.

Uner Kirdar and Leonard Silk, People: From Impoverishment to Empowerment (New York: New York University Press, 1995). - A diverse compendium of essays by over 50 experts on issues relevant to the 1995 UN-sponsored World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen. Major topics addressed include poverty, unemployment, social cohesion, people's security, and the UN system's role.

Bruce Kogut, "International Business: The New Bottom Line" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - extremely useful survey of the basis of (economic) globalization: multinational corporations - their development, motives in locating abroad and characteristics. Among the subjects covered (+ bibliography) are: how they drive the global economy and guide foreign policy; FDI's motive to **control** something (cf portfolio investment); key role of hard-to-replicate proprietary advantage (cf just lower costs); function of ownership, location, internalization (OLI); value of coordinating a network of flexible operations and controlled knowledge transfers (arbitrage).

Paul Krugman, "Is Capitalism Too Productive?" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1997). - addresses major issue of whether post-industrial society's productivity increases and employment restructuring will produce world glut and unemployment - see e.g. Greider, Rifkin (op.cit). Concludes that experience shows demand is effectively unlimited, particularly with Third World prosperity which also raises wages-markets there, that layoffs are sectoral not universal, and that employment growth in services is enormous.

Charles A. Kupchan, "Reviving the West" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.3 (May/Jun 1996). - argues that best way both to expand EU and NATO and avoid rival trade blocs is to create a multi-role Atlantic Union. It would begin with the membership of both bodies, but fall short of EU's planned political role and NATO's duty to defend all members; inclusion of Russia and even Japan would then be possible.

Robert Z. Lawrence, Albert Bressand & Takatoshi Ito, A Vision for the World Economy: Openness, Diversity and Cohesion (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1996). - building on 21 "Integrating National Economies" studies, regional conferences, and the 1995 Davos World Economic Forum, this brief (125p.) "capstone" includes 8-page non-technical summary. The realistic judgment is to build a network of functional, regional and global bodies to create an optimum (UN-System based) world free-trade regime, using criteria in sub-title.

Ray Marshall, "The Global Jobs Crisis" in Foreign Policy Number 100 (Fall 1995), pp. 50-68. - a gloomy prognosis, with almost one-third of the Earth's 2.8 billion workers already either jobless or underemployed. In the West, the situation is less cyclical than structural as economies convert to almost entirely knowledge-based employment. Everywhere vastly increased education is essential.

Ralph Nader et al., The Case Against Free Trade: GATT, NAFTA, and the Globalization of Corporate Power (San Francisco: Earth Island Press, 1993). - a selection of essays arguing against recent and continuing trade negotiations and trends. Style and objectivity vary considerably, but most important anti-free trade reasoning is represented. Includes work by Margaret Atwood and William Greider.

Sylvia Ostry, The Post-Cold War Trading System: Who's on First? (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). - very authoritative if concentrated history and analysis of global trade and associated economic developments since 1945. Emphasis is inevitably on recent multilateral events (GATT Uruguay Round and creation of WTO) and on the growing productive convergence and hence rivalry among USA, EU, Japan. Ideal: "a new pluralistic system of global governance" (238). For differing views on two issues raised, see The Economist 6 Dec 97. Status of global financial services: pp79-80. Why globalization trends have not diminished the **net** powers of states: pp88-89.

Edmund S. Phelps, Rewarding Work: How to Restore Participation and Self-Support to Free Enterprise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). - one principal effect of the knowledge revolution has been the increasing divergence in both pay and numbers between high-income knowledge/education-related "service" jobs, and lower-paying, technology-replacable manufacturing and primary-industry jobs. Trend is global, suffusing OECD economies and now moving into NICs. Phelps convincingly proposes addressing the dilemma of the unemployed less-skilled/educated through subsidizing wages of those who can only thus gain low-wage jobs. Claims scheme self-financing.

Robert B. Reich, The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves of 21st-Century Capitalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1992). - an extremely influential book, but easy to read in spite of its often technical subject-matter. It addresses four basic topics: the economy of a nation (mainly the US); the global economic web (mainly the loss of national identity of corporations); employment's changing nature and needs (emphasis on education for "symbolic analysis"); and the effects on national identity (the famous question "who is us?").

Jeremy Rivkin, The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era (New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1995). - a very discouraging book, with a ray of hope. Rivkin contends that we must prepare ourselves for a world that is phasing out mass employment - even in the Third World - in the production and marketing of goods and services. Hence the individual's role in a near workerless society is likely to be the single most pressing issue in the coming decades. Since global unemployment is likely to be over 1 billion in five years, this challenges the UN.

Leonard Silk, "Dangers of Slow Growth," in Foreign Affairs Vol.72/No.1 (Winter 1992-93): - a case made (during the recent recession) that a great deal more is lost than jobs and production when there is slow-down in the West. The whole world is increasingly affected,

and fall-out incites political instability, environmental failures, and migration pressures. This is cost of sectoral interrelations.

Debora L. Spar, "The Spotlight and the Bottom Line: How Multinationals Export Human Rights" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - as rich nations' corporations invest in poor countries they come under increasing moral, market, and even legal pressure to maintain formers' human rights-labour standards. Increasingly, multinationals are cooperating to this end for economic reasons.

Kendall Stiles, "Negotiating Institutional Reform: The Uruguay Round, the GATT, and the WTO" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996). - provides good account of the history of GATT and most of the Uruguay Round, as well as the rationale behind the WTO.

Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980). - book describes the variety and depth of changes that are taking place, and equates the importance of this "Third Wave" process to the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Toffler expects much friction from supporters of the "Second Wave". Employment and structural change are clearly major issues already.

Gilbert R. Winham, "International Trade Policy in a Globalizing Economy" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - very useful survey of the history and prospects of trade policy - in particular the relative merits of WTO and regional approaches.

Robert Wolfe, "Global Trade as a Single Undertaking: the Role of Ministers in the WTO" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - broader than title implies, article discusses background and roles of WTO. It proposes small ministerial-level executive.

Pam Woodall, "The Hitchhiker's Guide to Cybernomics: A Survey of the World Economy" in The Economist 28 Sep 96, pp.1-46. - a fine survey of current trends in, and prospects for, new technology (mostly IT) and globalization. Generally very optimistic, even on labour issues. Plenty of new and surprising charts and statistics.

ENVIRONMENT: UN-RELEVANT SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS

M. A. Adelman, The Genie Out of the Bottle: World Oil Since 1970 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). - possibly the most serious challenges facing global economic and environmental change relate to producing and consuming energy. Still the most critical energy source is oil. For those with at least some economic experience this book provides an excellent history of global trends in the oil industry since it became a major factor in world affairs, including OPEC's formation, the OPEC-induced 1970s oil price shocks, and the 1986 collapse of OPEC's attempt to control prices. A major point: world oil will never be exhausted; it will cease being economically retrievable.

Ronald Bailey edit., The True State of the Planet: Ten of World's Premier Researchers in a Major Challenge to the Environmental Movement (New York: Free Press, 1995). - similar approach to Easterbrook, op. cit., but uneven in its claimed iconoclasm. Sections on forestry, biodiversity, fisheries, water and air pollution, chemical-cancer and technological-economic links seem sound and even orthodox; sections on population, food supply and global warming, while not inaccurate, seem unfairly selective in drawing facts and optimistic conclusions and ignoring key factors.

Frances Cairncross, "Environmental Pragmatism", in Foreign Policy No. 95 (Summer 1994), pp.35-52. - her recommendation is summed up: "[C]ombination of appropriate government policies and technological change is the best hope of fusing economic growth and environmental protection". A hard-nosed approach; water problems before climate.

Edward Carr, "The Sea: A Second Fall", in The Economist 23 May 98 (1-18). - a broad if necessarily concise Survey of all major trends and problems relating to the oceans today, and anticipated. Among the varied subjects covered are: increasing human exploitation and dependency; end of "unlimited" utilization and last great hunting-gathering culture; need for global/state controls as for land; vast areas of unknown living and mineral resources; pollution (man-made/natural), algal blooms, coast/reef destruction; sealife/nutrients; (over)fishing: expansion/controls (53% fishing fleet superfluous); trends/currents (El Nino, global warming); shipping; new lessons.

Gregg Easterbrook, A Moment on the Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995). - an environmentalist concerned with the rate of population growth etc. nevertheless argues that those who overstate the likelihood, scale or imminence of eco-disaster will ultimately hurt their own case. For a somewhat tongue-in-cheek argument that doom scenarios come in predictable cycles, plus the Simon/Club of Rome debate (Meadows op. cit.), see "Environmental Scares" in The Economist 20 Dec 97 (19-21).

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

The Economist 4 Apr 98 (85-6): "Squeezing Water from the Sea". - conflict over ever-shrinking per capita supply of usable water is widely seen as a major evolving global issue. Article describes status and costs of the two major current means of desalinization. **Distillation** heats salty water and catches condensed water vapour; distilled water costs about \$1/cubic meter. **Reverse osmosis** forces salty water through a composite membrane, holding back salt, etc.; product costs about \$.6/cubic meter. Conservation is even cheaper.

The Economist 18 Apr 98: Editorial and two articles all dealing constructively with economics of environmental problems: "Cleaner Energy: It is Political Poison, but a **Carbon Tax** Still Makes Sense" (17) - to make carbon taxes acceptable, balance them with tax cuts; "When Virtue Pays a Premium: **Renewable Energy** Has Long Been the Fuel of the Future. Could It Be That the Future Is At Last About to Happen?" (57-8) - even without carbon tax/subsidies, renewable energy is becoming competitive; "An Invaluable Environment: Statisticians Are Trying to Adjust Measures of National Wealth for Pollution and Depleted Resources. This Turns Out to Be All But Impossible" (75) - assigning **GDP value** to eco-costs and assets is rough and selective.

The Economist 9 May 98: "The Season of El Nino" (35-8). - general survey of the multiple effects probably of 1997-8 El Nino over the whole of Latin America. They have included disastrous droughts and fires, storms and floods throughout the entire area from Mexico to Patagonia, with permanent economic, health and political impact.

The Economist 30 May 98: "Biotech's Secret Garden" (75-7). - survey of several current advances in developing new drugs from natural substances. This is a major subject of discussion in UN environment debates due to ownership issues. Reports skill in plant biotesting.

Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, Healing the Planet: Strategies for Resolving the Environmental Crisis (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1991). - this book concentrates more on environmental than population issues. It identifies many problems clearly but also proposes counter-action. Basic environmental info.

Al Gore, Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992). - an extremely influential book, particularly since the author became US Vice-President. Displays considerable knowledge of environmental issues and has changed key US policy on "Rio". Criticized by Easterbrook as too pessimistic.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Paul Harrison, The Third Revolution: Population, Environment and a Sustainable World (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - using examples from the Third World, the author argues forcefully that population growth, rising consumption and damaging technologies have produced a global environmental crisis. This can only be overcome by a

third revolution, as fundamental as the agricultural and industrial revolutions, entailing a transition to sustainable development.

Daniel Litvin, "Dirt Poor: Development and the Environment" in The Economist 21 Mar 98 (Survey:1-16). - this excellent report takes a fair perspective balanced between concern and realism with a global bottom-line, problem-solving emphasis. Point often strongly made is relevance of environmental issues to LDCs (cost of China's air and water pollution is equivalent of 8% of GDP, cancelling out whole annual rate of growth!), while expense of meeting **their** priorities saves even more in other costs. LDC problems are mainly products of population, industrialization, urbanization - plus poverty. Most urgent: water scarcity/quality; urban air; cereal/fish production.

Jim MacNeill, Pieter Winsemius and Taizo Yakushiji, Beyond Interdependence: The Meshing of the World's Economy and the Earth's Ecology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). - a product of the Trilateral Commission, this report attempts to find middle ground between economists and environmentalists. The Economist is inclined to follow a similar line (economic sticks and carrots).

Anthony J. McMichael, Planetary Overload: Global Environmental Change and the Health of the Human Species (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). - covers, somewhat technically, all major environmental issues (scientific/evolutionary basis; history of homo sapiens; population pressure; climate change; ozone thinning; soil and water; biodiversity; urbanization; conceptual problems), with emphasis on their health implications for humans as a species.

David Pearce, Anil Markandya, Edward B. Barbier, Blueprint for a Green Economy (London: Earthscan Publications, 1989). - generally known as the "Pearce Report", it was prepared for the UK Department of the Environment, and published by London Environmental Economics Council - of which all authors are Directors. Report provides any government with proposals for financing sustainable development. It discusses the term; the value and accounting of the environment; project appraisal; "discounting the future"; prices and incentives.

James P. Pinkerton, "Enviromanticism" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/-No.3 (May/June 1997). - article argues that basic change in global perspectives brought by new scientific information and ecological priorities may have emotional influence on international politics.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Michael Renner, Fighting for Survival: Environmental Decline, Social Conflict, and the New Age of Insecurity (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996). - full-length book in Worldwatch Environmental Alert series which, together with well-known annuals State of the World and Vital Signs, are products of Lester R. Brown's (op.cit.) highly regarded Worldwatch Institute. Renner offers a convincing analysis of current global security-environmental-social interrelationship.

Stephen H. Schneider, Global Warming: Are We Entering Greenhouse Century? (New York: Vintage Books, 1990). - although relevant information and computer projections are constantly changing, this is probably still the best single book for the layperson on the whole issue of global warming. A good place to start, anyway.

Julian L. Simon and Herman Kahn edit., The Resourceful Earth: A Response to 'Global 2000' (London: Basil Blackwell, 1984). - this was critique of both above-noted 1980 Report to the President and of "The Limits to Growth" (see Meadows op. cit.). It notes that since natural resource "reserves" are determined by market needs, they regularly increase; that technology has in past responded well to serious (and expensive) challenges; and that population well-being is not a function of density. Early "cornucopia" arguments.

Julian L. Simon edit., The State of Humanity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). - techno-optimistic successor to Simon/Kahn 1984, by famous opponent of population restraint: "Th[e] increase in the price of people's services is a clear indication that people are becoming more scarce even though there are more of us" p.13. (The over one billion un(der)employed would be delighted to learn this!) Although depending heavily on long-term trends and the US for good news, the essays contain much information on health, poverty, resources, food and pollution. Although 700 pp., useful for (cautious) reference.

Julian L. Simon, The Ultimate Resource 2 (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press, 1996). - updated version (750 pp.) of famous 1981 attack on enviro-population "doomsayers". Basically illogical thesis remains: global population growth is good since it brings economies of scale and (scarce?) minds to solve problems. However, "moderate rate of growth in LDCs is more likely to lead to higher standard of living in the long run than either zero population growth or a high rate of population growth" (p.507). Nuclear power/biodiversity sections stimulating. Global warming and ozone depletion issues dismissed.

Peter J. Stoett, "To Trade or Not to Trade: the African Elephant and CITES" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.4 (Autumn 1997). - a thoughtful argument against the "preservationist" position (total bans on killing of elephants, whales and other endangered species) if this is unnecessary or even counterproductive. "Conservationist" position takes into account ecological balance and also human need.

David Vogel, Trading Up: Consumer and Environmental Regulation in a Global Economy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). -

among first and most complete studies of the increasingly important and global relationship between trade policy and international environmental, health and safety concerns and regulations. About as easy for a generalist to read as possible, given the topic.

Barbara Ward, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1962); Ibid., Spaceship Earth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); Ibid. with Rene Dubos, Only One Earth (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972); Ibid., The Home of Man (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976). - Barbara Ward is probably the greatest spokesperson for international cooperation and assistance who ever lived. Any of these books is still worth reading: the latter two are about the environment and urbanization.

Barbara Ward et al., Tribute to Barbara Ward: Lady of Global Concern (Ottawa: World Media Institute, 1987). - contains one of Ward's best essays, "A New Creation?", on global environmental interdependence and responsibility (first published in a religious volume). It also contains the first three Barbara Ward Memorial Lectures: "Only One Earth" by David Runnalls; "Looking at the World in New Ways" by Shridath S. Ramphal; and "Our Common Future" by Maurice Strong. All stress the need for new perspectives to reflect a new world system.

Peter Ward, The End of Evolution: A Journey in Search of Clues to the Third Mass Extinction Facing Planet Earth (New York: Bantam Books, 1995). - perhaps a strange book to put on a UN bibliography since it is mainly about past mass extinctions. However, its message is that **homo sapiens** should tread more carefully in his ecosphere or something may be started that can't be stopped. Easterbrook is too laid back, and optimists like Simon dead wrong.

World Commission on Environment and Development, The, Our Common Future (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). - this is the report of the famous Brundtland Commission which introduced the international community to the idea of sustainable development. It also laid the groundwork for the Rio Environment Conference. The informal definition of sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". The report then notes: "It contains...two key concepts: the concept of 'needs'... and the idea of limitations imposed by [technology/institutions]" (p. 43).

World Resources Institute, The, edit., World Resources 1994-95: A Guide to the Global Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). - an extremely useful biennial handbook of environmentally relevant statistics with much additional - and reliable - text.

World Resources Institute, The, edit., World Resources 1996-97: The Urban Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). - this popular biennial is now jointly published with UNEP, UNDP and World Bank, so its expertise and statistics are considerably strengthened. This issue also adds an in-depth study of urban problems.

Worldwatch Institute, State of the World (Annual) (New York: W.W. Norton & Co). - reliable/expert collection of broadly environment-related articles, giving latest and often unique information and statistics on developments. Most conclude with realistic solutions to problems. Excellent. 1997 highlights: greenhouse, ozone and "Rio" updates; food, cropland and disease prospects; GDP and subsidy corrections; new security threats (see Mathews and Renner op.cit.). 1998 highlights: growth issues; forestry; biodiversity; fisheries; cropland productivity; recycling organic wastes; climate change; small arms control; private capital flows to LDCs; seek stability.

Worldwatch Institute, Vital Signs (Annual) (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.). - complement to State of the World. Current trends in about 30 "Key Indicators" using best and latest statistics. Also about 15 longer environmental, economic, social or military "features". 1997 highlights: in 1996, world population increased by 80m (1.4%); CFCs down but carbon emissions up 2.8%; world economic growth 3.8% (DCs 2.3%, LDCs 6.3%); record fossil fuel use (8.1b toe); record 6m contracted HIV (total 36m); record grain crop (1.84b tons) but all-time low carry-over stocks; world's armed forces declined to 23m.

Oran R. Young, International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). - two of the unprecedented challenges of the post-industrial society are brought together: the first time **homo sapiens** needs to think about the ecological implications of all his works, and the growing inability of the sovereign state to act like one.

ENVIRONMENT: INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND TRENDS

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "A New Departure on Development", Foreign Policy, 98 (Spring 1995). - after a brief history of North-South confrontation in the UN, the Secretary-General argues that cooperation is now essential for both (environment, migration). Obviously related to his 1993 report "Agenda for Development".

G. V. Buxton, "Sustainable Development and the Summit: a Canadian Perspective on Progress," International Journal 47 (Autumn 1992): 776-795. - useful and authoritative summary of the results of the Rio Environment Summit by the Executive Director of the Canadian National Secretariat. Reduces mass of material into usable form.

Frances Cairncross, "The Environment: Sharing," in The Economist, 30 May 92, Survey pp.1-24. - good representative of the "business" approach to environmental concern: do what you have to do only when, and in a manner that, it makes economic sense; use economic levers as **both carrots and sticks**. The Economist of 28 Jun 97 (p.84) contains up-dated, generally positive, economic analysis of "Green Taxes", and (pp.41-2) related but gloomy report on "Rio"+5. The Economist 29 Nov 97 (16,83-5): edit./article in preparation for

Kyoto Climate Change Conference, which summarize current thinking and recommend policy of gradual action (including emission credit transfers) as information/technology improves and costs discounted. The Economist 13 Dec 97 (16,38-9) report gloomily on Kyoto results. Several letters in 20 Dec 97 issue (6-7) comment on climate issue.

Andrew F. Cooper and J.-Stefan Fritz, "Bringing the NGO's In: UNCED and Canada's International Environmental Policy," International Journal 47 (Autumn 1992): 796-817. - one of the important current issues in UN affairs is what Non-Governmental Organizations can and should do re global decision-making. Canada led the debate at Rio.

Richard N. Cooper, "Toward a Real Global Warming Treaty" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - author argues that agreement reached at 1997 Kyoto Conference, i.e. to undertake to negotiate national **rights** to greenhouse gas emissions, is unworkable for a number of reasons, including fact that proposal is unacceptable to developing countries. He believes that successful attack on global warming will only happen through mutually agreed-upon **actions**, and in particular through global price disincentive i.e. a carbon tax. For well-informed counter-argument see Stuart Eizenstat (op.cit.).

Elaine Dewar, Cloak of Green: The Links Between Key Environmental Groups, Government and Big Business (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1995). - considerable detail about the networking that goes on - including for UN conferences - between NGO's, MNC's and officials. As a former Canadian enviro-diplomat and National Defence College member, I realize only in retrospect what malign power I wielded!

Gregg Easterbrook, A Moment on the Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995). - an environmentalist concerned with the rate of population growth etc. nevertheless argues that those who overstate the likelihood, scale or imminence of eco-disaster will ultimately hurt their own case. For a somewhat tongue-in-cheek argument that doom scenarios come in predictable cycles, plus the Simon/Club of Rome debate (Meadows op. cit.), see "Environmental Scares" in The Economist 20 Dec 97 (19-21).

Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, Betrayal of Science and Reason: How Anti-Environmental Rhetoric Threatens Our Future (Washington: Island Press, 1996). - authors' directly-targetted and careful rebuttal of "brownlash", i.e. the sanguine or economically-motivated rejection of "scientific" concern about population growth and environmental threats. Particular criticism of Easterbrook and Simon (op. cit.). Includes texts: Statement by Fifty-Eight of the World's Scientific Academies; World Scientists' Warning to Humanity.

Paul R. Ehrlich et al., "No Middle Way on the Environment" in The Atlantic Monthly Dec 1997 (pp.98-104). - this useful article meets six basic "cornucopian" arguments as stated or implied by Mark Sagoff (Jun 1997 issue). A good summary of a critical debate.

Stuart Eizenstat, "Stick with Kyoto" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/June 1998). - detailed defence of Kyoto climate change protocol (which allocates greenhouse gas emissions rights among nations) in response to preference of R.Cooper (op.cit.) for global tax on carbon emissions. While both systems politically hot, Eizenstat notes only a tax transfers sovereignty to an international body. He sees three advantages in protocol: differentiated targets allow each state to address issue on basis national energy profile (key for LDCs); each state can apply own corrective system; uses market-based mechanism that allows global cost-transfers, so LDCs may save/make income.

Murray Feshbach, Ecological Disaster: Cleaning Up the Hidden Legacy of the Soviet Regime (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995). - describes, in such detail as is available, the ecological mess found in the former Soviet Union, and makes a number of fairly specific and quite realistic recommendations for multilateral aid.

Richard N. Gardner, Negotiating Survival: Four Priorities After Rio (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992). - a highly-praised summary of the most important lessons learned at the Environmental Summit at Rio. Areas to be given particular and urgent priority: population, finance, lawmaking, institutions.

Michael J. Grubb, "The Greenhouse Effect: Negotiating Targets," International Affairs 66 (Jan 1990): 67-89. - an extremely influential and carefully thought out proposal for the creation of transferrable pollution permits to solve the developing countries' problem of eventually paying the costs of pollution-free technology by selling any unused permits they receive. For expert summary of the economics: The Economist 6 Dec 97 (86).

Fen Osler Hampson with Michael Hart, Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). - neither overly technical nor theoretical, this book has dual value to those concerned with current UN issues: (1) fine accounts of key arms (LTBT, CSBM, CFE) trade (GATT-ITO, Uruguay Round) and environmental (Climate Change, Ozone, Toxic Waste) negotiations; (2) draws useful general lessons.

Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Change and Human Security," Behind the Headlines 48 (Spring 1991). - the reverse of Cairncross argument (i.e. postpone environmental corrections until we're sure they are needed and have more money); the argument here is for joint global action while we still have time and the capacity.

Rob Huebert, "Canada and the Law of the Sea Convention" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.2 (Winter 1996-7). - "common heritage of mankind" idea established by LOS. While concentrating on the evolving Canadian position, the article is of general interest since Canada has been a very major negotiator and beneficiary of the UN-sponsored Convention. More important, it offers a succinct history of major LOS events and issues to 1997.

Andrew Hurrell and Benedict Kingsbury edit., The International Politics of the Environment: Actors, Interests and Institutions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). - a collection of 16 authoritative essays on diplomacy involved in reaching agreement on environmental issues. A chapter deals with the role of the UN alone. Pre-"Rio".

Lee A. Kimball, Forging International Agreement: Strengthening Inter-Governmental Institutions for Environment and Development (Washington: World Resources Institute, Apr 1992). - preparatory paper for Rio Conference, particularly for the US delegation. Of broad value since gives background/issues more than instructions.

Lee A. Kimball, International Institutional Developments: The UN Conference on Environment and Development (Washington: Dec 1992). - a report on the results of the Rio Conference with emphasis on institutions, since the US delegation was very restrained in making treaty commitments. The US position has since moved under Clinton.

Robert Repetto & Jonathan Lash, "Planetary Roulette: Gambling with the Climate" in Foreign Policy Number 108 (Fall 1997). - President and VP of World Resources Institute (op.cit.) make strong case for immediate action to curb greenhouse gases, but acknowledge strong political and economic obstacles. To minimize these, propose: set concentration **goal** at double the pre-industrialization level; OECD accept weak US proposal of 1990 levels by 2010 while G77 pledge no-regrets policies as **initial** step only; strict implementation rules.

Thomas C. Schelling, "The Cost of Combating Global Warming: Facing the Tradeoffs" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - some hard issues for UN negotiators: need for OECD to reduce own emissions and help LDCs; cost and appropriate target of reduction; relative priority of lowering LDC emissions or raising their GNP.

Susan Sell, "North-South Environmental Bargaining: Ozone, Climate Change, and Biodiversity" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996). - an unusual and useful perspective on the UN-related negotiations in three different fields to determine the rationales behind North and South bargaining positions, and evolving results.

James Gustave Speth, "A Post-Rio Compact" Foreign Policy 86 (Autumn 1992): pp.145-161. - another post-mortem from the Rio Environment Conference, in this case seeking a mutually beneficial deal between North and South, whose differences almost caused it to fail.

Peter Thacher, Background to Institutional Options for Management of the Global Environment and Commons: Paper for World Federation of UN Associations (Washington: World Resources Institute, 1991). - author has been involved with UN environmental issues for decades. However, this paper, prepared for the Rio Environment Conference, offers background and options; it does not press recommendations.

United Nations Environment Programme, The (UNEP) publishes material on UN environment activities (e.g. "Our Planet") because of its role as coordinator and catalyst for the system. The most important recent UN document on environmental decisions by the UN members is United Nations Conference on Environment and Development: Official Report (Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 Jun 92) Five Volumes. Not as long as it sounds, the "Agenda" comprises most of it and can be used by subject. Unfortunately binding treaties were conspicuously absent.

Paul Wapner, "Environmental Ethics and Global Governance: Engaging the International Liberal Tradition" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - article demonstrates that most environmental degradation consists of displacement of problems across time and/or space, so they become someone else's problem. This constitutes an injustice against recipient and a strong moral element in treaties.

World Commission on Environment and Development, The, Our Common Future (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). - this is the report of the famous Brundtland Commission which introduced the international community to the idea of sustainable development. It also laid the groundwork for the Rio Environment Conference. The informal definition of sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". The report then notes: "It contains...two key concepts: the concept of 'needs'... and the idea of limitations imposed by [technology/institutions]" (p. 43).

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Worldwatch Institute, Vital Signs (Annual) (New York: W.W.Norton & Co.). - complement to State of the World. Current trends in about 30 "Key Indicators" using best and latest statistics. Also about 15 longer environmental, economic, social or military "features". *1997 highlights: in 1996, world population increased by 80m (1.4%); CFCs down but carbon emmissions up 2.8%; world economic growth 3.8% (DCs 2.3%, LDCs 6.3%); record fossil fuel use (8.1b toe); record 6m contracted HIV (total 36m); record grain crop (1.84b tons) but all-time low carry-over stocks; world's armed forces declined to 23m.*

ETHNICITY-NATIONALISM: GENOCIDE, IRREDENTISM, SECESSION

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition) (London: Verso, 1994). - among the rich variety of good sources on nationalism-ethnicity, this readable and often amusing text is particularly strong on the creation of a "sense" of nationality in European colonies who form the largest UN voting blocs. It is in many ways a study of social evolution and even of self-deception but the results are very real.

Michael E. Brown edit., Ethnic Conflict and International Security (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). - despite a fast-moving target, most analyses and recommendations in these varied essays remain highly topical. Particularly valuable: Adam Roberts' sympathetic critique of Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace" (1992) focused on: overload issue; changing character of conflict; limited major power harmony; UNSC structure; enforcement organization; laws of war; problematic forms of action; collective security prospects.

Michael E. Brown, edit., The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). - an excellent collection of essays, carefully structured and packed with realistic and specific advice, for UN policy-makers trying to control the proliferation of internal conflicts. Includes separate surveys of recent UN actions in ex-Yugoslavia, East-Central Europe, ex-Soviet Union, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Special sections address "Instruments", "Actors" and "Conclusions".

Kenneth D. Bush & E. Fuat Keyman, "Identity-Based Conflict: Rethinking Security in a Post-Cold War World" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - an essay more theoretical than usual in this bibliography. However, main argument is directly relevant to UN/global handling of "ethnic" conflicts: the "realist" views of security, sovereignty, ethnicity and identity need re-examination.

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Walker Connor, Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). - a collection of nine essays by one of the leading experts on the subject. Its main value is the careful analysis of the origins, characteristics and under-estimated strengths of ethnicity and nationalism. It warns of the irrational, emotional elements, exploited even by Marxists.

Robert Cooper, The Post-Modern State and the World Order (London: Demos, 1996). - a thoughtful essay, praised and summarized in The Economist of 20 Dec 97 (41-43). Argument derives from dividing all states into three categories: those characterised by chaos (pre-modern); those acting in the manner of traditional nationalistic states (modern); and those with less concern about borders than about mutual inspection and interference (post-modern). The last type is mostly in Europe and North America; Russia straddles all.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Mihailo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama (Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1994). - a former Yugoslav ambassador takes a well-informed and realistic, but also constructive, look at the current trauma in the Balkans. While finding many causes and villains, he emphasises the common needs and interests of the area. He urges international community, particularly West, to play an active and continuing role to reconstruct and integrate the area, thus downgrading borders.

Lori Fisler Damrosch, edit., Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993). - not just quickly-dated sitreps on the six cases studied: Yugoslavia, Iraq, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, Cambodia. Each expert tries to draw lessons of more general value; hence used as source in later studies of these cases, e.g. M. E. Brown op.cit.

Milovan Djilas, The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System (New York: Praeger, 1957). - the definitive insider's critique of how idealistic systems become self-serving, and rulers sacrifice others' concerns and lives to perpetuate their own group interests. The insights extend well beyond Yugoslavia in both time and place. Other Djilas works that illuminate both his case and the origins of the current conflicts include: Conversations with Stalin (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World 1962); Wartime: With Tito and the Partisans (London: Secker & Warburg, 1980); and Tito: The Story from Inside (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980). All remain relevant.

Alex N. Dragnich, Serbs and Croats: The Crisis in Yugoslavia (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992). - a frankly pro-Serb bias, probably intended to balance the anti-Serb bias of the majority of Western commentators. Book is useful not only in showing there is a Serb case but in helping understand the Serb perspective on a number of historical and current issues. Best on pre-1941 period.

Milton J. Esman, Ethnic Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). - analyses how and why "ethnic conflict has emerged as the principal source of destabilization and organized violence around the world" (p.2) in the post-Cold War years. Discusses situations in Malaysia, South Africa, Israel/Palestine and Canada/Quebec, as well as major current labour migrations (e.g. Mexicans into US). Author concludes that ethnic politics will likely continue in all regions.

Francine Friedman, The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996). - this is mainly a history of the origin and social problems of a group until recently distinguishable from its close neighbours only by its religion - itself only an historic relic for many. They did not therefore see themselves as a unified ethnic group until given political identity by Tito. The conclusion (pp.235-59) raises global (i.e. UN-relevant) lessons and questions.

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). - originally published in 1983, this brief and famous analysis of nationalism's economic and cultural origins and demands has only increased its relevance in the post-Cold War world. Clear insights into nationalism's context may help UN peacemakers today.

Daniela Gioseffi edit., On Prejudice: A Global Perspective (New York: Doubleday, 1993). - a moving - if often polemic - compendium of material of all kinds dealing with prejudice, genocide, racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, etc., rather than an objective scientific-academic analysis. However, subject is both essentially emotional and only too relevant to UN peacemaking and human rights duties.

Misha Glenny, The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War (London: Penguin, 1992). - among the earliest and best eye-witness accounts of events in former Yugoslavia, carrying them from mid-1990 to mid-1992. Book offers a wealth of factual detail, much of it vivid and

unique, and judgements that are balanced and insightful for their time. Often relied on and praised by later writers on the conflict.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). - UN appears only too likely to face violent ethnic (cleansing) issues. Author's general conclusion is: "... it can be said that certain kinds of dehumanizing beliefs about people, or the attribution of extreme malevolence to them, are necessary and **can** be sufficient to induce others to take part in the genocidal slaughter of the dehumanized people, if they are given proper opportunity and coordination, typically by a state." (p.418; original emphasis). Review by Fritz Stern in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1996) takes detailed issue with Goldhagen's arguments; **Goldhagen** rebuts strongly in Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). The Economist 7 Mar 98 (pp.89-90) reviews (critically) Norman Finkelstein & Ruth Bettina Birn, A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth.

Gidon Gottlieb, Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). - explores the diplomatic dilemmas raised by ethnic/national conflict against established states. Recommends international/UN policy based on a legal distinction between, and parallel recognition of, states (territorial) and nations (ethnic); enforcement action focused on firm (UN) measures where and how they are most effective; humanitarian assistance that carefully avoids complicating situations. All must reflect prudence and pragmatism.

Nik Gowing, Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - in fine study for Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, a respected correspondent and global news commentator addresses carefully and thoroughly the issue of whether and how the media influence UN/government policies towards - and help prevent - conflict, especially inter-ethnic. His conclusion: "The media's role in the new generation of regional conflict and substate violence is ambiguous, unclear, and often misconstrued" (p.1). He is also concerned about imbalanced reporting in respect to both location (too domestic) and judgement (Bosnia).

Stephen R. Graubard, "Reconstructing Nations and States", issue of Daedalus Vol.122/No.3 (Summer 1993). - a fine collection of essays relating to the post-Cold War situation and prospects of the nation state system. Graubard sees a need to rethink both the concept and reality of the nation, and how the nation's identity can be defined and preserved. The essays address these challenges. That by Michael Mann is valuable in that it studies the global relevance of the EU.

Liah Greenfeld, Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). - while ostensibly an analysis of the unique development of nationalism in England, France, Germany, Russia and the USA, the approach is more than simply historical. The book offers deep and multi-disciplinary insights into varying

circumstances. It therefore finds lessons relevant to all nations. For UN purposes, it provides valuable background to the current proliferation, (im)perfection and collapse of many states.

Ted Robert Gurr, "Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System" in Commentary (CSIS) No.50 (Nov 1994). - summary of Minorities at Risk project which focuses on the political mobilization of ethnic groups, and how governments respond. Unique statistical analyses help explain motivations.

Roy Gutman, A Witness to Genocide (New York: Macmillan, 1993). - 1993 Pulitzer Prize-winning Despatches on the "Ethnic Cleansing" of Bosnia. [Since there have been so many books written on conflict in former Yugoslavia, this collection only includes some that focus on the UN/multilateral role, and/or general lessons that can be drawn about modern conflict.] This book helps to explain how and why educated and "civilized" people can do terrible things to each other. For the relevant basic theory, see Tavis (op.cit.), Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression (New York: Bantam Books, 1967) or Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative (New York: Dell, 1971). For recent descriptive texts see Goldhagen/Zimmermann (both op.cit.).

Morton H. Halperin & David J. Scheffer with Patricia L. Small, Self-Determination in the New World Order (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1992). - addresses the major UN-global problem raised by the recent plethora of demands - and often conflicts - for ethnic/national sovereignty, all of which cannot be met. The causes and need for new approaches are described and three suggestions made: a revised Trusteeship Council role; multilateral forces acting under UNSC authority; timely US structural reaction.

David A. Hamburg, Preventing Contemporary Intergroup Violence (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1993). - annual essay by CCNY President, statement underscores fact that although the world differs "in profound respects from any that we have known before... [we keep] our tendency as a species toward prejudice, egocentrism, and ethnocentrism" (p.5). "[W]e will have to learn to broaden our social identifications" (p.11) as in "Agenda for Peace" (op. cit.).

Hurst Hannum, "The Specter of Secession: Responding to Claims for Ethnic Self-Determination" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - in light of the many new claims to "self-determination", author attempts to identify appropriate criteria for international community to apply. Inter alia these include: there is no "right" to secession; humanitarian intervention must not itself disturb the peace; two just purposes for secession are to protect individual and group identity and allow effective participation in government; self-determination applies to people, not territory; every group cannot be sovereign; action should reflect views of **all** involved.

Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life (New York: The Free

Press, 1994). - one extremely controversial section concludes that average Negroid IQ is below Caucasian, which is below Mongoloid. The bulk is more relevant to UN reform, e.g. it deals extensively with proposition that more and more jobs are brain- not brawn-related. A typical if polemical example of IQ-debate rebuttal is: Steven Fraser edit., The Bell Curve Wars:... (New York: BasicBooks, 1995). For summary of current state of the general nature-nurture debate: "What We Learn From Twins", The Economist 3 Jan 98 (74-76).

Karin von Hippel, "Resurgence of Nationalism and Its International Implications" in Washington Quarterly Vol.17/No.4 (Autumn 1994) pp.185-200 - the article addresses the implications and meanings of irredentism, secession, and self-determination, but focuses on the increased dangers posed by irredentism and how the UN should react.

Eric J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). - an excellent history of nationalism, its origins and evolution, but most UN-relevant regarding the post-1950 period. The traditional "nation" is no longer being created: "The call of ethnicity or language provides no guidance to the future at all. It is merely a protest against the status quo... 'the others' who threaten the ethnically defined group" (p.168). State-creation since 1945 has had nothing to do with Wilsonian self-determination; it has reflected decolonization, revolution and intervention. Multi-ethnic states are the norm; a world of **nation**-states is not a feasible prospect.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

Michael Ignatieff, Blood & Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism (Toronto: Viking, 1993). - ostensibly just a thoughtful journalist's chronicle of experiencing nationalism, its nature and effects in Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Ukraine, Quebec, Kurdistan and Northern Ireland. Book has however become very influential because of its unique perspectives and insights into issues relevant to UN-global ethnic conflict resolution. "[L]iberal civilization - the rule of laws not men, of argument in place of force, of compromise in place of violence - runs deeply against the human grain and is only achieved and sustained by the most unremitting struggle" (189).

Michael Ignatieff, The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience (Toronto: Viking, 1998). - a variety of concepts about the origin and nature of ethnic conflicts, and those who engage in

them. Includes sometimes controversial conclusions relevant to UN involvement in such conflicts, e.g. regarding whether, when and how long to get involved, "safe havens", tribunals, "trusteeship".

James Jupp, "Creating Multicultural Societies: Australia, Britain, Sweden and Canada" in International Journal Vol.LIII/No.3 (Summer 1997). - migration, globalization and other factors are increasing the need for and number of "multicultural" states. This essay looks at most advanced such regimes to determine their means and success.

Joel Kotkin, Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy (New York: Random House, 1993). - since the end of the Cold War, ethnicity seems to have taken on new strength in creating or demanding new sovereignty. Kotkin points out that several "tribes" have been globally influential but quite independent of their geographical origins, and are likely to become more so. Those so identified and described are the Jews, British, Japanese, Chinese and Indians. Very good on economic trends/ties.

Ruth Lapidoth, Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1997). - the hundreds of ethnic groups/minorities that exist with a growing desire for self-determination make it essential that the international community/UN finds some formula short of independence for all, that still meets their basic aspirations (pp.171-7). This very constructive analysis carefully and objectively investigates one possible solution that is flexible, but leaves the number and structure of states intact. Autonomy is studied in a number of successful/unsuccessful cases, and the many options, and several essential conditions, identified.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). - this powerful "I-told-you-so" by the influential US Senator-scholar is derived from a lecture delivered at Oxford in 1991. Its thesis is that neither Marxist proletarian internationalism (see Walker Connor, National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984) and op. cit.), nor the liberal confidence in the melting pot, has contained the power of ethnicity or prevented it from spawning violence - which will probably grow.

William Pfaff, The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993). - a pessimistic view of recent events, and the resilience they display of a basic human need for identity and connection. Bosnia demonstrated "the European postwar evolution was fragile, and that confronted with the malign power of nationalist violence and passion, liberal internationalism would yield" (p.224). Hence the inability of the UN in the Gulf or Bosnia to achieve peace except by being willing to use violence itself. "The fact that democracies do not like sacrifices...should be accepted with apprehension, not complacency" (p.229).

William R. Polk, Neighbours and Strangers: The Fundamentals of Foreign Affairs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). - a thoughtful and historically vast study of the constant or changing relationships among societies - from the diplomatic, intelligence, military and economic points of view. A serious oversight is lack of admission that interdependence has already forced all diplomacy to be overwhelmed by multilateralism. Polk's excuse: "there will be...no effective international institutions [while] nation-states ...refuse to diffuse their sovereignty" (278). He admits challenge will be to "coalesce" states into organizations that can address "great and growing transnational and multinational problems" (311).

Sabrina Petra Ramet & Donald W. Treadgold edit., Render Unto Caesar: The Religious Sphere in World Politics (Washington: American University Press, 1995). - this variegated collection contains much that is rare, valuable and (in)directly relevant to UN challenges. Particularly good are the essays on the Jerusalem impasse, the work ethic in Russia, and the role of religion in Korea and Vietnam. Ramet's essay on Serbia is unbalanced re WWII.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

John Ralston Saul, Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century (Toronto: Viking, 1997). - while obviously directed at the Canadian situation and reader, much of the argument has global and therefore UN relevance in that it revolves around the distinction between "positive" and "negative" nationalism, the latter contributing to breaking up societies based on cooperation.

Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977). - one of great books on the subject, still of contemporary relevance both as a reference for the origins of most modern states and nations, and as authoritative source on diaspora nations, class and nation, and ideological movements. Final chapter has particular relevance to UN/global issues since it looks at general patterns, nations as objects of worship, nationalism as causes of war, etc.

Laura Silber and Allan Little, The Death of Yugoslavia (London: Penguin-BBC, 1995). - written in 28 short chapters to accompany a BBC TV series, the book covers the increasingly violent period from Milosevic coming to power in the 1980's to June 1994. It claims to "attempt to identify, dispassionately and clinically, the crucial events in both the lead-up to the war and in its progress". Its

thesis is "that under Milosevic's stewardship, the Serbs were...the key secessionists", and its aim, using hundreds of interviews, is "to lay bare the dynamics of the war" (xxiii-xxv). A good source.

Anthony D. Smith, National Identity (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993). - a succinct and topical analysis by one of the world experts on nationalism. The purpose is to describe the reasons why people feel loyalty to a nation, and how that can be exploited for violence etc. This helps to explain the basis - and virulence - of many current conflicts, and perhaps how the UN can deal with them.

Thomas Sowell, Migrations and Cultures: A World View (New York: Basic Books, 1996). - a long-term and global view of migrations of Germans, Japanese, Italians, Chinese, Jews and Indians. Describes their motives, degrees of economic success, effects on countries of immigration, reasons for local prejudice or absorption, and future.

Peter J. Stoett, "This Age of Genocide: Conceptual and Institutional Implications", in International Journal Vol.L/No.3 (Summer 1995), pp.594-618.- a prize-winning essay on the highly topical subject of genocide. Very useful source text for many contemporary debates.

Charles Taylor (Amy Gutmann edit.) Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). - Taylor's "democratic dilemma" (amplified by others) is that effectively all countries are now multicultural, including the once "melting-pot" USA; hence all should respect both each individual's rights as equal and each group's need for distinct recognition.

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

Yugoslav History & Ethnicity: the diplomatic complexity and human tragedy of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia have had an immense impact on the UN's image, and perhaps on its entire future. Hence the importance of the flood of related books and articles, ranging from the highly polemical to the strictly objective. Those which have a strong case to make, and/or focus on the recent military and political events are listed individually. Among those that address the **causes** of the conflicts and appear at least relatively unbiased are: Stella Alexander, Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge U.Press, 1979); Phyllis Auty, Tito: Biography (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974); Ivo Banac, The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics (Ithaca: Cornell U.Press, 1984);

Lenard J. Cohen The Socialist Pyramid: Elites and Power in Yugoslavia (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1989); Lenard J. Cohen, Broken Bonds: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993); Bogdan Denitch, Ethnic Nationalism: Tragic Death of Yugoslavia (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1994); Robert J. Donia & John V.A. Fine, Bosnia & Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1994); Tim Judah, The Serbs: History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1997); Robert D. Kaplan, Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History (pp.1-76) (New York: St. Martin's Press 1993); Branka Magas, The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-Up 1980-92 (London: Verso, 1993); Noel Malcolm, Bosnia: A Short History (London: Macmillan 1994); Noel Malcolm, Kosovo: A Short History (New York: New York U. Press, 1998); Bruce McFarlane Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Society (London: Pinter, 1988); Hugh Poulton The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict (London: Minorities Rights, 1993); Hugh Poulton, Who Are the Macedonians? (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press 1995); Sabrina Petra Ramet, Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia 1962-91 (Second Edition) (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1992); Jim Seroka & Vukasin Pavlovic edit., The Tragedy of Yugoslavia: The Failure of Democratic Transformation (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1993); Fred Singleton, A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1993); Christopher Spencer, "The Former Yugoslavia: Background to Crisis" in Behind the Headlines Vol. 50/No. 4 (Summer 1993); Marcus Tanner, Croatia: A Nation Forged in War (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1997); Mark Thompson, A Paper House: The Ending of Yugoslavia (London: Vintage, 1992); Rebecca West Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia (New York: Penguin, 1982); Richard West Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994); John Zametica, The Yugoslav Conflict (London: IISS, Adelphi Paper No. 270, Summer 1992).

Warren Zimmerman, Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers (Toronto: Random House, 1996). - autobiography by last US ambassador offers eyewitness account complementary to David Owen (op.cit.) who starts where this ends (mid-1992). Even with personal and perspective differences, analyses are very similar. Zimmerman has high praise for UNHCR, sympathy for UNPROFOR, and criticism for Western (especially Pentagon) delay in taking military action. Good comments on future UN/NATO role in controlling ethnic exploitation.

EXTRA-STATE ACTORS: ROLE OF BUSINESS, MEDIA, NGO'S

Mark D. Alleyne, News Revolution: Political and Economic Decisions About Global Information (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). - a surprising look at media independence in post-industrial world - in view of the assumption that their current freedom is unprecedented. After recounting rise and decline of NWICO (New World Information and Communication Order) in UNESCO, author analyses: new uses of "propaganda"; misfit between free media and "distributive justice"; media freedom vs other priorities (eg privacy); journalist safety.

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions; "inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

Andrew F. Cooper and J.-Stefan Fritz, "Bringing the NGO's In: UNCED and Canada's International Environmental Policy," International Journal 47 (Autumn 1992): 796-817. - one of the important current issues in UN affairs is what Non-Governmental Organizations can and should do re global decision-making. Canada led the debate at Rio.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

Jacques Fomerand, "U.N. Conferences: Media Events or Genuine Diplomacy?" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - dealing with a controversial subject, essay concludes that while UN costs are small, the massive exchanges of information can play important clarifying roles, and move the global consensus and action forward.

Jeffrey E. Garten, "Business and Foreign Policy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.3 (May/Jun 1997). - addresses implications of modern

business corporations' immense power, wealth and other constraints on state policy; their global spread, mobility and independence; and their receding nationality. The state-MNC relationship, while focused here on the US, is now a global and hence a UN problem.

Nik Gowing, Media Coverage: Help or Hindrance in Conflict Prevention (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - in fine study for Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, a respected correspondent and global news commentator addresses carefully and thoroughly the issue of whether and how the media influence UN/government policies towards - and help prevent - conflict, especially inter-ethnic. His conclusion: "The media's role in the new generation of regional conflict and substate violence is ambiguous, unclear, and often misconstrued" (p.1). He is also concerned about imbalanced reporting in respect to both location (too domestic) and judgement (Bosnia).

Phillip Knightley, The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), - the major and often key influence of the media in creating or diverting a society's view of a conflict is of growing concern to the UN and all involved with conflict management. UN-sponsored "peaceful" media action is more and more attractive (see Metzl op. cit.). This famous book takes historic view of how media is manipulated and manipulates society. Subsequent cases: media and Yugoslav, Rwandan and Gulf conflicts.

Bruce Kogut, "International Business: The New Bottom Line" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - extremely useful survey of the basis of (economic) globalization: multinational corporations - their development, motives in locating abroad and characteristics. Among the subjects covered (+ bibliography) are: how they drive the global economy and guide foreign policy; FDI's motive to **control** something (cf portfolio investment); key role of hard-to-replicate proprietary advantage (cf just lower costs); function of ownership, location, internalization (OLI); value of coordinating a network of flexible operations and controlled knowledge transfers (arbitrage).

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

Steven Kull, "What the Public Knows that Washington Doesn't" [about American attitudes towards the UN] in Foreign Policy No.101 (Winter 1995-96) pp.102-115. - a valuable summary of recent public opinion polls in the US regarding support for the UN, peacekeeping and aid.

Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift: The Age of Non-State Actors" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - article outlines the

rapidly-increasing, technology-driven, strength of NGOs, business/financial firms and international organizations, and the resulting limits on states' sovereignty. "Earthquakes" are inevitable.

Jamie F. Metztl, "Information Intervention: When Switching Channels Isn't Enough" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - well-argued case that UN needs means between armed intervention and mere symbolic action to defuse situations where violence is being whipped up by local media. Proposes development of rapid reaction capacity to broadcast factual and non-inciting information, and even to jam sources that are acting contrary to international law. Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 98) pp.181-2 offers two differing critiques.

Claude Moisy, "Myths of the Global Information Village" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - article surveys global trends in all media, and comes to startling conclusion that as globalization and interdependence make international events critical to all consumers, they have switched their interest more to local affairs.

Moises Naim, "Clinton's Foreign Policy: A Victim of Globalization?" in Foreign Policy No.109 (Winter 1997-98). - in describing the US President's limitations in recent years, Naim identifies 4 factors that apply to many governments world-wide: unavoidably rigid fiscal constraints; increased number and influence of nonstate actors; the growing role of media; internationalization of public-sector actors.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, On the Eve of the Millennium: CBC Massey Lecture Series (Concord: Anansi, 1994). - the author of these lectures has thought much about the UN and where it is going. He is concerned that the foundation of democratic society is threatened by modern communications technology, particularly the media.

Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, The New Peacekeeping Partnership (Halifax: CIPTC, 1996). - article describes increasing number and variety of organizations and specialists becoming involved in multilateral peace-management operations. Discussed are military, police, humanitarian agencies, politicians/diplomats, human rights agencies, media, as well as UN.

Betty Plewes, Gauri Sreenivasan & Tim Draimin, "Sustainable Human Development as a Global Framework" in International Journal Vol.LI-/No.2 (Spring 1996). - this UNDP-supported approach has several aspects, including a global outlook derived from interdependence, a more holistic approach focussing on changes in both economic and social relations, and joint government-business-NGO involvement.

Thomas Risse-Kappen edit., Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). - not as "academic" as the title implies, this practical book deals with two developments of direct relevance to the UN: the weakening sovereignty of states, and growing role of other major groupings.

Benjamin Rivlin, UN Reform from the Standpoint of the United States (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1996). - the US, which played the key role in creating the existing UN System and Charter, is now strongly influenced by many who disdain or even fear the UN. While immensely powerful in an organization ostensibly of equals, US is perceived as lacking the influence on UN policy that the nation's global status and financial obligations merit. This fine essay surveys the tensions and crises between UN foes and supporters.

Robert I. Rotberg and Thomas G. Weiss edit., From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation, 1996). - while doubting that "CNN factor" drives global policy, recommends that in dealing with humanitarian crises the media: become more knowledgeable; extend issue coverage; support local media; and exceed consumers' self-interest. Aid organizations should: become more sophisticated in media relations; work together on media; develop specialist targeting; explain root causes. Policymakers should set own agenda.

John Ralston Saul, The Unconscious Civilization (1995 Massey Lectures), (Concord: Anansi Press, 1995). - these lectures are pretty heavy going but raise such fundamental questions as whether both citizens and governments have given up power to corporations.

Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - extremely valuable information/analysis directly relevant to UN's challenges. Argument is that power has devolved from states to non-state authorities (commercial-financial-criminal) in response to technology and global market. International organizations (UN, EU) have gained little since they are composed of states, so new global financial and legal controls are needed. New global power analysed: telecoms, organized crime, insurance, accountancy, cartels, IOs. For a favourable review and related views, see Cox 1997 (op. cit.).

John Stremmler, Sharpening International Sanctions: Toward a Stronger Role for the United Nations (Washington: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1996). - Report notes economic sanctions suffer from growing political opposition, frequent ineffectiveness, and lack of focus on target. Hence it recommends: increased implementation capacity; regional, business and NGO cooperation; ties to other carrots and sticks; elite-aimed financial sanctions.

James S. Sutterlin, The Imperative of Idealism : 1997 John W. Holmes Memorial Lecture in ACUNS Reports and Papers . 1997 No.3 (Providence: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1997). - after arguing that the UN should rebuild on its foundation of idealism, author concludes that civil society must have a genuine participatory role, e.g. in a second advisory chamber of the UNGA, "where the focus would be on the liberal agenda of the UN system".

Garrick Utley, "The Shrinking of Foreign News" in Foreign Affairs

Vol.76/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1997).- there is hope that technology - and maybe the UN, can ensure everyone access to the world's knowledge. But Utley fears that, increasingly, competition and politics are restricting TV's unique global news access to elites and experts.

Vamik Volkan, Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997). - author (founder of Mind and Human Interaction centre) studies ethnic conflicts' causes and effects globally as a psychiatrist. Some conclusions (202): two basic/related principles in group psychology: group cannot be same as neighbour; their psychological border must be maintained. Stress and anxiety increase reliance on principles: by exaggerating major differences, elevating minor ones, utilizing symbols, reactivating traumas and glories, experiencing borders as psychological "skins". Leaders (un)consciously monitor, inflame, or contain these rituals.

John L. Washburn, "United Nations Relations with the United States: The UN Must Look Out for Itself" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996). - US political system and public opinion are seen as complex, uninformed and potential danger for UN's future. Hence Secretariat is urged to develop closer and mutually informative relations with Administration, Congress and particularly NGOs.

Thomas G. Weiss & Leon Gordenker edit., NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996). - a rare and thorough coverage of a complex but increasingly important subject. Useful sections on the NGO roles in UN human rights, humanitarian, environmental, AIDS and women's issues, and their key functions in global conferences, development aid, relief work and treaty-making. Includes an invaluable annotated bibliography about NGOs.

GLOBALIZATION: RELATION TO INTERDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY

Yusaf H. Akbar & Bernhard Mueller, "Global Competition Policy: Issues and Perspectives" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - globalization produces "governance gap", i.e. the growing linkages between economies outstrip rate at which interdependent national policies can adapt. But harmonization of conflicting competition policies (UN/WTO) must first reflect a consensus.

Martin Albrow, The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). - a mainly theoretical look at globalization, but offering many practical insights about global institutions. Basic thesis is that while political, social, economic and technical elements of modernity and the nation-state continue, we are entering a new era where globality, i.e. a global viewpoint, will gradually replace them. UN system, representative of states, need not be world state, but will become increasingly a system reflecting views and debating values of humanity (119-144).

James Anderson, Chris Brook & Allan Cochrane, edit., A Global World? Re-ordering Political Space (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). - concluding textbook of five on "The Shape of the World" written for the Open University, UK. Main thrust is to determine effects of globalization on the (nation)state, using EU, Islam and Green movement as sources. Conclusion: the complexity and unevenness of global trends will change, not end, the state system.

Michael Billig, Banal Nationalism (London: Sage Publications, 1995). - relevant to the future role of UN as the global element of any multi-tiered world power system in which the sovereign state fills only one niche. The unusual analysis displays the many subtle ways in which nationalism/"patriotism" is maintained today.

Maxwell A. Cameron & Maureen Appel Molot, edits., Democracy and Foreign Policy: Canada Among Nations (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995). - while essays are focused on Canada, issues have broad relevance. Problem is whether and how foreign policy can reflect informed and representative public opinion while society gets larger, sovereignty weakens, and more issues become global.

E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations Second Edition (London: Macmillan & Co., 1956). - this famous 1939 book's relationship to UN results from its negative influence on Western hope to create a peaceful world through law, e.g. by declaring war illegal. By emphasizing the unpalatable facts of the interwar period and above all the key role of state power, Carr helped kill misconceptions and illusions that had weakened the League of Nations or encouraged idealistic diplomacy. Specifically, he helped ensure the UN Charter reflected the realities of power (if not realism). *Ku op.cit.* (p16).

Philip G. Cerny, "Globalization and Other Stories: the Search for a New Paradigm for International Relations" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - more theoretical than most selections in this list, but offers jargon-free overview of debates underway regarding the characteristics and implications of globalization and interdependence for states - and hence for the UN system.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Clive Crook, "The World Economy: The Future of the State" in The Economist 20 Sep 97 (Survey 1-48). - this economic analysis makes several unorthodox arguments regarding the implications for state sovereignty of globalization: the ability of governments to make

economic/fiscal policy is not (yet) significantly constrained; it is not all bad anyway; globalization may not play a decisive role.

The Economist 31 May 97: "Disappearing Taxes: The Tap Runs Dry" (15, 21-23). - a useful survey of the reduced powers of states to control their own finances: "The forces of globalization and new technology threaten to weaken the power of governments to tax their citizens."

David J. Elkins, Beyond Sovereignty: Territory and Political Economy in the Twenty-First Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). - a "light" academic look at one of the most globally important and perplexing results of recent economic and social events: the undermining of the sovereign state as we know it, with its traditional authority being diverged both up (UN) and down.

Jeffrey E. Garten, "Business and Foreign Policy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.3 (May/June 1997). - addresses implications of modern business corporations' immense power, wealth and other constraints on state policy; their global spread, mobility and independence; and their receding nationality. The state-MNC relationship, while focused here on the US, is now a global and hence a UN problem.

Gidon Gottlieb, Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). - explores the diplomatic dilemmas raised by ethnic/national conflict against established states. Recommends international/UN policy based on a legal distinction between, and parallel recognition of, states (territorial) and nations (ethnic); enforcement action focused on firm (UN) measures where and how they are most effective; humanitarian assistance that carefully avoids complicating situations. All must reflect prudence and pragmatism.

Richard N. Haass & Robert E. Litan, "Globalization and Its Discontents: Navigating the Dangers of a Tangled World" in Foreign Affairs Vol. 77/No.3 (May/June 1998). - economic globalization is getting blame for state financial crises, job losses, income inequalities/stagnation, etc. Three prescriptions: **end** IMF-like rescue packages which might foster recklessness (but this is dangerous, and the reckless can be warned or punished); **create** institutions to add structure/direction to global marketplace and complement IMF etc. (but this would cramp states' sovereignty); structure and discipline financial operations by **reforming** and supplementing existing bodies. This is optimum.

David G. Haglund and Michael K. Hawes, World Politics: Power, Interdependence and Dependence (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990). - an in-depth approach by 24 Canadian experts on the recent major changes in relationships between sovereign states. These in turn throw considerable light on shifting UN power relationships.

Marianne Heiberg edit., Subduing Sovereignty: Sovereignty and the Right to Intervene (London: Pinter Publishers, 1994). - a useful layman's guide to the background and legal issues created by the

declining power of state sovereignty. UN faces Charter limitations on intervention in domestic affairs, but more duties to do so.

David Held, Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern States to Cosmopolitan Governance (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). - an imaginative but credible proposal for responding to the many challenges now facing both the sovereign state and democracy. Derived mainly from economics- and technology-driven globalization, new pressures and circumstances demand the devolution of selected powers from the state to other levels - including to the global/UN.

David Held, "Democracy and Globalization" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - a succinct and well-organized survey of globalization and the challenge it poses for democracy. Deduction: democracy "requires entrenchment in regional and global networks as well as in national and local polities". Otherwise "powerful regional and global forces will escape democratic mechanisms of accountability and legitimacy" (267). Hence UN role.

Mathew Horsman and Andrew Marshall, After the Nation State: Citizens, Tribalism and the New World Disorder (London: Harper-Collins, 1994). - less about the reasons for the decline in the power of the sovereign state, and more about the political, social, and economic challenges it raises - including for the UN. In a world where 47 of the 100 largest economies in the world are companies, not states, who - if anyone - is in charge?

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Power and Interdependence: Second Edition (New York: HarperCollins, 1989). - even before 1990s globalization, the effects of interdependence had overtaken realism and neorealism as the dominant political science theory for global relationships. This book, with its wealth of examples (e.g. Canada-USA), was particularly influential, even though it emphasised that "complex" (i.e. dominant) interdependence was as unlikely as pure realism. Two related books are: Robert O. Keohane, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984); Robert O. Keohane edit., Neorealism and its Critics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - article notes "the

growing importance of international institutions for maintaining world order" (82) since global issues need systematic coordination. Organizations proliferated because interdependence prompted states to reduce uncertainty and the costs of making/enforcing agreements. Ideas, norms and information, and individual and NGO networking, all have greater institutional roles but democracy remains limited.

Bruce Kogut, "International Business: The New Bottom Line" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - extremely useful survey of the basis of (economic) globalization: multinational corporations - their development, motives in locating abroad and characteristics. Among the subjects covered (+ bibliography) are: how they drive the global economy and guide foreign policy; FDI's motive to **control** something (cf portfolio investment); key role of hard-to-replicate proprietary advantage (cf just lower costs); function of ownership, location, internalization (OLI); value of coordinating a network of flexible operations and controlled knowledge transfers (arbitrage).

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

Flora Lewis, "The 'G-7 1/2' Directorate," Foreign Policy 85 (Winter 1991-92): 25-40. - Lewis is the New York Times' European specialist. The '1/2' allusion is to the indeterminate position at Group of 7 meetings of the EC representative at all times, and increasingly of Russia as well. The UN parallel is to refer to peacekeeping action as authorized under Chapter '6 1/2', i.e. half-way between 6 and 7, but the question addressed here is the power and unity of states.

Flora Lewis, Europe: Road to Unity (New York: Touchstone, 1992). - the gradual development of the European Union constitutes a unique and unprecedented process of bringing together more and more the traditionally competitive and often combative sovereign elements of a continent that contains the largest collection of mature nation states in the world. The degree of failure or success is of immense importance to the entire international community and hence the UN. This country-by-country study offers a flexible backdrop to events.

Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, edit., Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). - although primarily an academic work, most of it is not heavy. It deals thoroughly with the basic question of the future of state sovereignty.

Samuel M. Makinda, "Sovereignty and International Security: Challenges for the United Nations" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.2 (May-Aug 1996). - both status of, and attitudes towards, national

sovereignty and international security are in a process of change. Since the Charter gives the UN responsibilities for protecting both, it must find a way - if imperfectly - to do this.

Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift: The Age of Non-State Actors" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - article outlines the rapidly-increasing, technology-driven, strength of NGOs, business/financial firms and international organizations, and the resulting limits on states' sovereignty. "Earthquakes" are inevitable.

Helen V. Milner, "International Political Economy: Beyond Hegemonic Stability" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - PE focus given as: politics' effect on stability/openness of international economy; explaining states' foreign economic policy; why states grow or fail; impact of international economy on domestic politics. Factors: world power distribution (hegemon's role); international institutions; role of ideas; domestic politics effects. US hegemony neither assured nor critical. Institutions' roles controversial. Social identity is key state idea. Rival groups affect policy, but so do state structures. Globalization impacts/limits all state policies/structures/powers.

James H. Mittelman, "Rethinking the 'New Regionalism' in the Context of Globalization" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.2 (May-Aug 1996). - while offered within a theoretical structure, the description and analyses of current regional economic trends are both concise and credible. Only the prognosis seems too optimistic.

Claude Moisy, "Myths of the Global Information Village" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - article surveys global trends in all media, and comes to startling conclusion that as globalization and interdependence make international events critical to all consumers, they have switched their interest more to local affairs.

Hans J Morgenthau, Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace; Brief Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993). - seminal work on "realist" international relations (original text 1948 but revised by author or on basis his evolving views until 1980s). Interest derives from its critique of UN or "superstate". Stresses nationalism and legitimacy of states pursuing own interests; then poses dilemma that despite these, with nuclear threat "in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state" (343). For legal- vs power-oriented world peace: Ku (16); Carr (op.cit.).

Moises Naim, "Clinton's Foreign Policy: A Victim of Globalization?" in Foreign Policy No.109 (Winter 1997-98). - in describing the US President's limitations in recent years, Naim identifies 4 factors that apply to many governments world-wide: unavoidably rigid fiscal constraints; increased number and influence of nonstate actors; the growing role of media; internationalization of public-sector actors.

Martha C. Nussbaum et al., For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996). - thoughtful collection of essays by 18 of North America's top specialists, debating the highly topical Nussbaum proposition that we should henceforth see ourselves first as "citizens of the world". Cosmopolitanism vs patriotism seems to end by supporting "Render Unto Caesar" (Intro).

Kenichi Ohmae, The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991). - one of the world's most prolific and respected gurus, he specializes in the impact of modern trends on modern business, which ignores borders.

Kenichi Ohmae, The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies (New York: Free Press, 1995). - here Ohmae goes out on a limb and predicts that geographic/ethnic regions as we know them, let alone sovereign states, will no longer be the main centres of economic development. Instead, these will be found in new trans-national regions built on strategic location and complementarity.

Jan Pronk, "Failing Currencies, Recriminations: Who's to Blame?" in The Earth Times 1-15 Nov 97. - Dutch development minister describes vast impact of globalization, e.g. while economic development has proceeded, so has internal violence, states have lost authority and incomes diverged. FDI (now \$350b) drives global economy even more than trade, with LDC share increasing rapidly. Market forces gain international support, but not dissension, poverty or environmental issues. Above all, financial markets have grown in size, volatility and instability, menacing exposed LDCs. International organizations must play special roles in setting limits and adjusting priorities.

Anatol Rapoport, The Dual Role of the Nation State in the Evolution of World Citizenship (Unpublished Essay, 1996). - the author sees the sovereign nation state as serving an essential purpose if it can be separated from its role as the primary source of large-scale "defence". State powers should be re-allocated functionally.

Robert B. Reich, The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves of 21st-Century Capitalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1992). - an extremely influential book, but easy to read in spite of its often technical subject-matter. It addresses four basic topics: the economy of a nation (mainly the US); the global economic web (mainly the loss of national identity of corporations); employment's changing nature and needs (emphasis on education for "symbolic analysis"); and the effects on national identity (the famous question "who is us?").

Wolfgang H. Reinicke, "Global Public Policy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - author argues that interdependence (narrowing of distance between sovereign states) and globalization (integration of cross-national dimensions into companies' structure and actions) - which comes later - have different implications for sovereignty. Globalization ends government monopoly of power over territory; markets of all types ignore boundaries. Governance does

not have to be equated with government, however, and can be ensured by public and private global institutions: IBRD, IMF, WTO, UNSC etc.

Thomas Risse-Kappen edit., Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). - not as "academic" as the title implies, this practical book deals with two developments of direct relevance to the UN: the weakening sovereignty of states, and growing role of other major groupings.

Dani Rodrik, "Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - arresting argument is that over past half-century governments, particularly those of more vulnerable smaller developed countries, have compensated for pain of accepting free trade by increasing their social programs. Now competition from globalization makes such programs unaffordable.

Richard Rosecrance, "The Rise of the Virtual State" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1996). - argues that the post-industrial world has made nations' territory and natural resources of less importance than "mobile factors of production", i.e. their highly-educated personnel, knowledge, and management - globally.

James N. Rosenau, The United Nations in a Turbulent World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992). - author has developed a realistic (but anti-Realist) view of some likely effects of current global change. It focuses on the partial but inevitable diffusion of power from sovereign states - in this book, to the UN level. Full theory is in Turbulence in World Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990).

David Rothkopf, "In Praise of Cultural Imperialism?" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - the alleged negative effects of cultural homogenization produced by globalization are questioned. First, the distinction is made between the essential elements of culture, which can be preserved, and those of modernization, which are unavoidable. Essay also argues, however, that all US standards are good in their own right, which seems less "self-evident".

Carl Sagan & Ann Druyan, Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors: A Search for Who We Are (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993). - this study is relevant to many issues being faced by the global community/UN since it relates to the origin of human society and our resulting characteristics. "We must work...to understand who we are, how we got to be that way, and how to transcend our deficiencies. Then we can begin to create a society less apt to bring out the worst in us...Our species is becoming an intercommunicating whole, with powerful economic and cultural bonds...Our problems, increasingly, are global in venue, admitting only global solutions" (pp.414-415).

Leonard Silk, "Dangers of Slow Growth," Foreign Affairs 72/1 (1992-93): pp.167-182. - a case made (during the recent recession) that a great deal more is lost than jobs and production when there is a

slow-down in the West. The whole world is increasingly affected, and fall-out incites political instability, environmental failures, and migration pressures; the cost of sectoral interrelations.

Mary Simon, "Building Partnerships: Perspectives from the Arctic" in Behind the Headlines Vol.54/No.3 (Spring 1997). - rapid changes in technology are fundamentally affecting the political, economic, social, transport and environmental role of the Arctic. The eight "Arctic" states and three international indigenous organizations are beginning a process of cooperation that may become important in a variety of fields. This article provides a useful introduction.

Claire Turenne Sjolander, "The Rhetoric of Globalization: What's in a Wor(l)d?" in International Journal Vol.LI/No.4 (Autumn 1996). - includes excellent survey of the meaning, origins, characteristics and implications of globalization. Main point in that, instead of homogenization, it creates (inter)national rich-poor divergence.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1997). - author, concerned about diminution of sovereignty, arbitrarily divides persons less concerned into two groups: "liberal internationalists", who ostensibly would guide it through supranationalism; and "new medievalists", who "proclaim the end of the nation-state". Article very usefully describes the many ways in which national legal and regulatory bodies cooperate, but then claims that this obviates need for state powers to dissipate.

Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - extremely valuable information/analysis directly relevant to UN's challenges. Argument is that power has devolved from states to non-state authorities (commercial-financial-criminal) in response to technology and global market. International organizations (UN, EU) have gained little since they are composed of states, so new global financial and legal controls are needed. New global power analysed: telecoms, organized crime, insurance, accountancy, cartels, IOs. For a favourable review and related views, see Cox 1997 (op. cit.).

Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - essay offers an excellent layperson's guide to the rapid evolution of international relations theory forced by post-Cold War uncertainty and accelerating change. Walt concisely explains recent trends in (neo)realism, liberalism, and constructivism, and their tendency to converge as multilateral methods become necessity. New issues: environment, ethnic conflict, states' futures; new aims: democracy, free markets, human rights.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of

collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

Randall White, Global Spin: Probing the Globalization Debate (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995). - a broad and interdisciplinary survey of the history, features, and implications of the growing trends towards globalization. Particularly interesting are the speculations on its impact on the UN, states and global governance.

Oran R. Young, International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). - two of the unprecedented challenges of the post-industrial society are brought together: the first time homo sapiens needs to think about the ecological implications of all his works, and the growing inability of the sovereign state to act like one.

HEALTH ISSUES: GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THREATS

Diane Ackerman et al., The New Age of Discovery: A Celebration of Mankind's Exploration of the Unknown (Toronto: Time Canada, 1997). - although "popular" in format, purpose and content are serious: 17 thoughtful essays contributed by leading scientists/academics. Aim is to survey where scientific discovery now stands and where it is taking us. Many topics are or will be global/UN issues: **health and aging**; defence against asteroids; **DNA** and climatic discoveries and implications; "Third World" technology; **gender differences**; care of global commons/indigenous peoples; extraterrestrial life; new energy forms; ethical computing; world homogenization; biggest challenges.

Barbara Beck, "The Economics of Ageing: The Luxury of Longer Life" in The Economist 27 Jan 96, Survey pp.1-16. - the longer average lifespans worldwide are raising global not simply national problems in fields like economics/finance, travel/migration, medicine/health care, social/cultural change, and even moral standards.

Arthur Caplan, Due Consideration: Controversy in the Age of Medical Miracles (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998). - a useful, popular (if US-oriented) introduction to the ethical issues raised by new medical technology and trends. Wide variety of "bioethical" issues are addressed, many with a light touch but serious concern. Chapter headings: Abortion and Birth Control; Genetics (including cloning); Technological Reproduction; The Ethics of Research; New Treatment/New Challenges; Rationing Cost (Medicaid etc.); Managed Care (HMO); Starting and Stopping Care (preserving life); Assisted Suicide; AIDS and Other Plagues (including testing); Smoking and Other Bad Habits.

Geoffrey Carr, "The Alchemists: A Survey of the Pharmaceutical Industry" in The Economist 21 Feb 98 (pp.1-18). - survey contends a scientific and technological revolution is sweeping the industry. It describes the new technologies, examines huge present and future changes in the industry's structure, and asks what this could mean for future health care: (1) increase in range of diseases treatable with drugs; (2) increase in drug precision and effectiveness; (3) increase in ability to anticipate disease. All have global impact.

The Economist 24 Jan 98: "Pigged Out" (17). - Editorial reporting on proposals to use pigs on a large scale for replacing human organs. Recommends great caution with "xenotransplantation", even if it appears successful, until "a strong international system [is] in place for monitoring recipients" because of risk of disease.

The Economist 14 Mar 98: "Smokescreens: World Health Organization is Showing Signs of Allowing Politics to Get in the Way of the Truth" (91-92). - article identifies three cases where WHO research findings appear to have been played down for political reasons. They related to evidence that links between lung cancer and passive smoking were less than expected; that thyroid cancer incidence from Chernobyl nuclear accident was higher than findings from US nuclear tests; and that cannabis is less harmful than smoking or alcohol.

The Economist 4 Apr 98 (85-6): "Squeezing Water from the Sea". - conflict over ever-shrinking per capita supply of usable water is widely seen as a major evolving global issue. Article describes status and costs of the two major current means of desalinization. **Distillation** heats salty water and catches condensed water vapour; distilled water costs about \$1/cubic meter. **Reverse osmosis** forces salty water through a composite membrane, holding back salt, etc.; product costs about \$.6/cubic meter. Conservation is even cheaper.

The Economist 9 May 98 (79-81): "Repositioning the WHO: The World Health Organization is About to be Given a Much-Needed Kick in the Backside". - article gives a gloomy description of the management problems accumulated by the WHO, particularly under last Executive Director Nakajima. These are already being tackled energetically by successor, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Most needed are central control, transparency, better relations with World Bank and private sector.

The Economist 16 May 98 (111-2): "Genetic Warfare: A Private Genome Project"- article reports on a new and rapid process for reading or "sequencing" the human genome, the key in biotechnology for finding out what genetic messages pieces of DNA carry. Developed by two US private companies, the technology refines existing ideas and may be able to provide from scratch a complete sequence of the 3b genetic "letters" that constitute the human genome as soon as 2000, and at a cost of \$150-200m. This compares with the US Government's project expected to take another seven years (total 15), and costing \$4b.

The Economist 30 May 98: "Biotech's Secret Garden" (75-7). - survey of several current advances in developing new drugs from natural substances. This is a major subject of discussion in UN environment debates due to ownership issues. Reports skill in plant biotesting.

Laurie Garrett, The Coming Plague: Newly Emerging Diseases in a World Out of Balance (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994). - an exciting and even frightening book, ultimately about whether the medical community and the World Health Organization in particular will be able to prevent a global and terminal pandemic.

Laurie Garrett, "The Return of Infectious Disease" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - fortunately shorter than her 750-page book (Ibid.), this essay summarizes her disturbing thesis, emphasizing the importance of rapid urbanization and human mass movement in spreading diseases, old and new. A WHO challenge. See Economist 31 May 97 (73-4): update on antibiotic-resistant bacteria.

Laurie Garrett, "Runaway Diseases and the Human Hand Behind Them" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - comprises reviews: Sheldon Watts, Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Michael B. A. Oldstone, Viruses, Plagues, and History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Garrett is critical of Watts for being "stridently anti-development, anti-colonialist, and critical of Christianity" and of Oldstone for concentrating on vaccines despite "enormous economic and legal barriers to vaccine production". Garrett's position: "the only relevant point of view for microbial issues is global"; health policy should concentrate on the amplification phases of epidemics.

Roger Gosden, Cheating Time: Science, Sex and Ageing (London: Macmillan, 1996). - deals in generously non-technical manner with the colourful history, rapidly advancing status, and surprising prospects of knowledge about ageing - and its trade-off with human reproduction. Any major extensions in the human lifespan would raise immense global and UN problems, including population change.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Philip Jacobson, "Killer From Beyond the Grave" in Sunday Telegraph Magazine 24 May 98 (20-3). - article recalls "Spanish flu" pandemic which killed 40 million people worldwide in 1918. It reports that two projects are underway in Norway and Alaska by Canadian and US

scientists to find a living example of the virus in a victim buried under permafrost. Hope is to prevent another outbreak, even worse.

Peter D. Kramer, Listening to Prozac: A Psychiatrist Explores Anti-Depressant Drugs and the Remaking of the Self (New York: Viking, 1993). - while book's claim that it announces a "revolution in the science of the self" is controversial, there is no doubt that the unprecedented rate of change in global society is producing global stress and trauma. This can be more than a health problem, and affect the stability of societies. Prozac is defended as safe and much more than an anti-depressant. For many anti-Prozac arguments see Peter R. Breggin, Talking Back to Prozac (New York: St. Martins 1994). For look at broader possibilities see Norden 1995 (op.cit.).

Andrew Nikiforuk, The Fourth Horseman: A Short History of Plagues, Scourges and Emerging Viruses (Revised Edition) (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1996). - given the scale and growth of human population, the vast number and speed of (in)voluntary migrants, the massive biological/social revolutions, and growing antibiotics crisis, the WHO faces an increasing threat of pandemics and UN a global need to control them. This introduces the scale/nature of the implications.

Michael J. Norden, Beyond Prozac: Brain-Toxic Lifestyles, Natural Antidotes & New Generation Antidepressants (New York: Harper-Collins, 1995). - given the immense stresses of global change and poverty, an optimistic but realistic survey of recent and unfolding breakthroughs in stress and anti-depressant care. Constraints: new medical problems (Garrett op.cit.); high costs of global coverage. See also Kramer (op. cit). for a more detailed report on Prozac.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

K. R. Rozee, "Emerging Pathogens in the Epidemic Era" in Commentary (CSIS) No.58 (Jun 1995). - distinguishes between serious endemic diseases and unique problems posed by new diseases such as AIDS. For more detailed analysis, see Laurie Garrett (op. cit.).

Lee M. Silver, Remaking Eden: Cloning and Beyond in a Brave New World (New York: Avon Books, 1997). - perhaps the most controversial field of rapid scientific advance today concerns human reproductive technology ("reprogenetics"). Silver covers wide area, particularly ethical/political issues, generally defending a permissive point of view. Sections cover: the origin and evolution of life; the human reproductive process; the abortion/"quickenning" issue; artificial

insemination; in vitro fertilization; cryopreservation; surrogate parents; cloning's many applications; shared genetic motherhood; genetic engineering - its imminent and virtually unlimited options.

Carol Tavris, Anger, The Misunderstood Emotion: Revised Edition (New York: Touchstone, 1989). - any organization dealing with (violent) conflict deals with anger. This book mainly addresses anger at the individual or social rather than national level, but it is this potential or actual anger that demagogues exploit, and which makes the conflict managers' task so difficult. For sources on the origin and results of collective anger see Gutman (op.cit.).

World Bank, The, Confronting Aids: Public Priorities in a Global Epidemic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). - with major input from UNAIDS and European Commission, Report is addressed to LDC governments, and all bodies helping them deal with epidemic. Conclusions: about 30m have contracted HIV virus and 6m died of AIDS, 90% in LDCs; if present trends continue, by 2020 up to 30m more will contract HIV in LDCs; however all affected areas offer chance to pre-empt/control epidemic by active, cheap and earliest possible intervention; method is to promote safe sex and injections among those most at risk; continued global support must be focused.

Robert Wright, The Moral Animal: Evolutionary Psychology and Everyday Life (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994). - one question facing UN and international community in era of revolutionary change is whether and how humanity's way of thinking will react to unprecedented need for new relationships and institutions. While Wright does not see challenges in these specific terms, using Darwinian focus he argues that a paradigm shift in human thinking is already changing the way we see our lives and world. This bodes well for adaptation in time.

HUMAN RIGHTS: DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, WORLD STANDARDS

Diane Ackerman et al., The New Age of Discovery: A Celebration of Mankind's Exploration of the Unknown (Toronto: Time Canada, 1997). - although "popular" in format, purpose and content are serious: 17 thoughtful essays contributed by leading scientists/academics. Aim is to survey where scientific discovery now stands and where it is taking us. Many topics are or will be global/UN issues: health and aging; defence against asteroids; DNA and climatic discoveries and implications; "Third World" technology; **gender differences**; care of global commons/indigenous peoples; extraterrestrial life; new energy forms; ethical computing; world homogenization; biggest challenges.

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions

of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

Glenys A. Babcock, "Getting to Democracy" in Behind the Headlines 53 (Autumn 1995). - a brief but useful survey of the recent and disappointed hope that democracy was an unstoppable global trend. Explores the experience, needs, and processes actually involved.

A. LeRoy Bennett, International Organizations: Principles and Issues (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991). - mostly on the UN. Focus is on philosophy and principles, not structure; breakdown is by broad issue, not organization: League of Nations; Genesis of UN; Basic UN Principles and Organization; Basic UN Issues; Peaceful Dispute Settlement; Collective Security and Alternatives; Justice Under Law; Arms Control; Regionalism; Transnationals and IOs; Economic Welfare; Global Resources (Environment); Social Progress; Human Rights/Self-Government; Administration/Leadership; Future.

Mayra Buvinic, "Women in Poverty: A New Global Underclass" in Foreign Policy Number 108 (Fall 1997). - disturbing evidence that increased national income and female employment has not prevented lowered living standards for poorest women - particularly single parents. Investment in family-planning/health services, education, credit, infrastructure, etc. to their benefit pays big dividends.

Thomas Carothers, "Democracy: Think Again" in Foreign Policy Number 107 (Summer 1997). - challenges a number of widespread assumptions about democracies, e.g. there are many forms; democracy cannot be exported; one is easily identifiable; new ones are most threatened by coups and/or cannot carry out tough economic reforms; they don't fight each other; economic and political development go together.

Erskine Childers edit., Challenges to the United Nations: Building a Safer World (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). - a useful but uneven collection of essays on the various aspects of the UN's activities. Although most authors tend to blame the selfish, rich world for all the UN's failures and imperfections, those on **human rights** and humanitarian challenges are informative and balanced.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

James Cooper, "Child Labour: Legal Regimes, Market Pressures, and the Search for Meaningful Solutions" and John English, "Imitating

the Cries of Little Children': Exploitative Child Labour and the Growth of Children's Rights", complementary essays in International Journal Vol.LII/No.3 (Summer 1997): 411-444. - both articles, while advocating different approaches to this complex problem, agree that it must be met globally, including through UNGA, ILO, WTO, UNICEF.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Sonia Correa, Population and Reproductive Rights: Feminist Perspectives from the South (London: Zed Books, 1994). - a useful explanation, from the (Third World) feminist point of view, of the important relationship between feminist and population concerns and movements. Such views influential at recent UN World Conferences.

Donna Lee Van Cott, "Prospects for Self-Determination of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: Questions of Law and Practice" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996). - although deals particularly with indigenous peoples in Latin America, the questions addressed relate to all UN issues of group rights and representation.

Milovan Djilas, The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System (New York: Praeger, 1957). - the definitive insider's critique of how idealistic systems become self-serving, and rulers sacrifice others' concerns and lives to perpetuate their own group interests. The insights extend well beyond Yugoslavia in both time and place. Other Djilas works that illuminate both his case and the origins of the current conflicts include: Conversations with Stalin (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World 1962); Wartime: With Tito and the Partisans (London: Secker & Warburg, 1980); and Tito: The Story from Inside (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1980). All remain relevant.

David P. Forsythe, "The UN and Human Rights at Fifty: An Incremental but Incomplete Revolution" in Global Governance Vol.1/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1995) 297-318. - a particularly interesting subject, not simply because of its importance but because it is the area in which the UN is increasingly eroding the sovereignty of states.

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium" in International Journal Vol.LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - while article stresses US foreign policy, US human rights-related perspectives and actions remain pivotal. Author sees both driven by "exceptionalism": "belief in the exceptional freedom and goodness of American people", reflected in either exemplary isolation or moral activism. Personal civil rights are stressed; few UN texts enacted. Recent US activism: support for UN human rights peacekeeping and

criminal courts. More progress likely, with backing of liberal bloc and Russia, and illiberal states such as Iran put on the defensive.

Daniela Gioseffi edit., On Prejudice: A Global Perspective (New York: Doubleday, 1993). - a moving - if often polemic - compendium of material of all kinds dealing with prejudice, genocide, racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, etc., rather than an objective scientific-academic analysis. However, subject is both essentially emotional and only too relevant to UN peacemaking and human rights duties.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). - UN appears only too likely to face violent ethnic (cleansing) issues. Author's general conclusion is: "... it can be said that certain kinds of dehumanizing beliefs about people, or the attribution of extreme malevolence to them, are necessary and **can** be sufficient to induce others to take part in the genocidal slaughter of the dehumanized people, if they are given proper opportunity and coordination, typically by a state." (p.418; original emphasis). Review by Fritz Stern in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1996) takes detailed issue with Goldhagen's arguments; **Goldhagen** rebuts strongly in Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). The Economist 7 Mar 98 (pp.89-90) reviews (critically) Norman Finkelstein & Ruth Bettina Birn, A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth.

Roy Gutman, A Witness to Genocide (New York: Macmillan, 1993). - 1993 Pulitzer Prize-winning Despatches on the "Ethnic Cleansing" of Bosnia. [Since there have been so many books written on conflict in former Yugoslavia, this collection only includes some that focus on the UN/multilateral role, and/or general lessons that can be drawn about modern conflict.] This book helps to explain how and why educated and "civilized" people can do terrible things to each other. For the relevant basic theory, see Tavis (op.cit.), Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression (New York: Bantam Books, 1967) or Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative (New York: Dell, 1971). For recent descriptive texts see Goldhagen/Zimmermann (both op.cit.).

Morton H. Halperin & David J. Scheffer with Patricia L. Small, Self-Determination in the New World Order (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1992). - addresses the major UN-global problem raised by the recent plethora of demands - and often conflicts - for ethnic/national sovereignty, all of which cannot be met. The causes and need for new approaches are described and three suggestions made: a revised Trusteeship Council role; multilateral forces acting under UNSC authority; timely US structural reaction.

Garrett Hardin, Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Population Taboos (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). - a relatively unorthodox but insightful and compelling analysis of population, carrying-capacity, and what society can do about it. Among the proposals: reward fertility constraint (i.e. positive coercion); concentrate on individual societies (allow different

approaches); discourage migration; recognize limits and impact of exponential growth; **emphasize female literacy**; ZPG is NORMAL.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

William G. Hollingsworth, Ending the Explosion: Population Policies and Ethics for a Human Future (Santa Ana: Seven Locks Press, 1996). - unlike most population-crisis books, this one accurately outlines current problems and debates (noting Cairo Conference decisions and emphasis), but then focuses on a carefully-structured global plan. This aims at a rapid decline to world-wide replacement fertility rates, making maximum use of indirect and noncoercive incentives.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life, Caring for the Future: Making the Next Decades Provide a Life Worth Living (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). - report, prepared by 20 notables in diverse fields, offers many varied insights and ideas (demography, poverty, environment, employment, education, health, **reproductive rights**, aid finance, etc.). Amazingly, it avoids mankind's most urgent problem: how to stop population growth most quickly. Much of report **emphasises women's rights** and UN roles.

Jane S. Jaquette, "Women in Power: From Tokenism to Critical Mass" in Foreign Policy Number 108 (Fall 1997). - brief survey of current global status of women in political power, how they collectively got there and the possible implications if present trends continue.

Stanley Johnson, The Politics of Population: The International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo 1994 (London: Earthscan Publications, 1995). - a semi-official and therefore authoritative account of this watershed Conference. Major debates on abortion, sexual education and ODA are covered thoroughly, as

are the key roles of the Vatican and women's NGOs. The main result is that "population" has become a **women's empowerment** issue.

Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" in The Atlantic Monthly Dec 1997 (pp.55-104). - a stimulating if not entirely convincing argument that democracy is not the wave of the future; indeed it may serve many countries less well than "hybrid" regimes which "can provide security for their subjects and spark economic growth" (p.69). Essentially Lee Kuan Yew case from a Western source.

W. Andy Knight, "Changing Human Rights Regime, State Sovereignty, and Article 2(7) in the Post-Cold War Era" in ACUNS Reports and Papers 1994 No.5 pp.37-81. - one of the biggest dilemmas facing the UN is how to deal with violations of human rights when Charter Art. 2(7) prevents it from interfering in matters that are essentially within domestic jurisdiction. This shows how 2(7) is broken.

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

Gallya Lahav, "International Versus National Constraints in Family-Reunification Migration Policy" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - one of the most controversial aspects of the globally contentious issue of migration is the right of migrants' families to accompany/join them. Article shows that in this field state sovereignty and restraints are actually growing, thus running counter to current trends in both human rights conventions and the apparent weakening of state authority (Cairo op.cit. confirmation).

David Little, "Human Rights: East and West" in Behind the Headlines Vol.53/Nos.2&3 (Winter/Spring 1996): pp.15-21. - a brief outline of the case for universal human rights standards, essentially Western.

Karen A. Mingst & Margaret P. Karns, The United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). - introductory study of the history, structure, problems and prospects of the UN, containing useful new perspectives. The balance and objectivity of most parts are hurt by a biased section on aid/women's affairs.

Aryeh Neier, "The New Double Standard" and Jeffrey E. Garten, "Comment: The Need for Pragmatism" conduct a Human Rights Debate in Foreign Policy 105 (Winter 1996-97). - the exchange revolves around the best way to make others improve their human rights practices - by using carrots and/or sticks. Both seem agreed that any "high-profile protests or sanctions...should be multilateral efforts".

Sadako Ogata/ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, The State of the World's Refugees, 1995: In Search of Solutions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). - not only an excellent survey of the current state and care of refugees, but a thoughtful and outspoken account of changing attitudes towards their handling and status.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Kenneth Roth, "Sidelined on Human Rights: America Bows Out" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - in negotiating three global human rights-related treaties, US is finding itself raising objections supported by virtually no others. In the discussion of a ban on anti-personnel landmines, on prohibition of child soldiers and to establish international criminal court, US discovers itself not only alone but increasingly bypassed, to Roth's embarrassment.

Eisuke Sakakibara, "The End of Progressivism" in Foreign Affairs Vol.74/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1995). - this essay touches on one of the major issues in the UN human rights field: is there a body of universal human rights that transcends all cultures? Here a case is made more against the thesis than against, say, feminism.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Has Democracy a Future?" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1997). - although democracy seems triumphant ("more people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship", Clinton quoted p.2; Fukuyama op.cit.), it was almost extinct in 1941, and could be threatened again. Main threats arise from its own sources: technology and capitalism, neither of which is under control by "a world polity". "Guidance" is essential. UN?

Lee M. Silver, Remaking Eden: Cloning and Beyond in a Brave New World (New York: Avon Books, 1997). - perhaps the most controversial field of rapid scientific advance today concerns human reproductive technology ("reprogenetics"). Silver covers wide area, particularly ethical/political issues, generally defending a permissive point of view. Sections cover: the origin and evolution of life; the human reproductive process; the abortion/"quickenning" issue; artificial insemination; in vitro fertilization; cryopreservation; surrogate parents; cloning's many applications; shared genetic motherhood; genetic engineering - its imminent and virtually unlimited options.

Debora L. Spar, "The Spotlight and the Bottom Line: How Multi-nationals Export Human Rights" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - as rich nations' corporations invest in poor countries

they come under increasing moral, market, and even legal pressure to maintain formers' human rights-labour standards. Increasingly, multinationals are cooperating to this end for economic reasons.

Cedric Thornberry, "Saving the War Crimes Tribunal" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996) pp.72-85. - while concentrating on post-Yugoslav tribunal, gives information/ideas about general problems/prospects. Mary Ann Tetreault emphasizes **wartime rape** as a Tribunal human rights issue in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997).

J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992). - relevant to international affairs practitioners as well as academics. Aim is to show a feminist viewpoint can alter and improve perceptions in several fields: political, military, economic and ecological. While disputable, the new focus is valuable in forcing an investigation of global theories and assumptions that may be wrong or at least distorted.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for several years has produced "Human Development Report" yielding a mine of statistical and related information on global economic and social situations, most of it by country. The 1995 issue concentrates on "**gender**" matters, the 1996 issue on "growth", the 1997 issue on "poverty".

Myron Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis: Challenge to States and to Human Rights (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). - an excellent survey of all the major trends and issues relating to migration, including the policies of various states (except Canada), and the moral questions raised by growing pressure for migration. Final chapter on options before the global community particularly good.

Thomas G. Weiss & Leon Gordenker edit., NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996). - a rare and thorough coverage of a complex but increasingly important subject. Useful sections on the NGO roles in UN human rights, humanitarian, environmental, AIDS and **women's issues**, and their key functions in global conferences, development aid, relief work and treaty-making. Includes an invaluable annotated bibliography about NGOs.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - 118 of the world's 193 countries are democratic in that they hold popular elections, now often under UN supervision. Article points out, however, that increasing numbers are also authoritarian: ruling by decree, ignoring the rule of law and limiting human rights. As they are illiberal in constitutional terms, the world community (UN?) should stress liberal ideals more. Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998) contains two excellent Responses: first (167-170) by John Shattuck & J.Brian Atwood, the other (171-180) by Marc F. Plattner. Vol.77/No.3 (May/June 1998) offers four (122-8): by Charles A. Kupchan, Juliana Geran Pilon, Nigel Gould-Davies, Kenneth Cain. Debate centers on affinity between liberalism and democracy.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES: ISSUES AND SURVIVAL OPERATIONS

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

Enrico Augelli & Craig Murphy, "Lessons of Somalia for Future Multilateral Humanitarian Assistance Operations" in Global Governance Vol.1/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1995) 339-365. - a detailed account of what went wrong in Somalia, and why. For another analysis of this important case, see Sapir and Deconinck in Weiss (1995).

Ben Barber, "Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1997). - describes standard techniques used increasingly by combatants to exploit refugees for cover and aid supplies. Recommends: disarming camps; careful siting of refugees; aid distribution by selected agency/recipient; barring aid from interested parties; full information.

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Erskine Childers edit., Challenges to the United Nations: Building a Safer World (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). - a useful but uneven collection of essays on the various aspects of the UN's activities. Although most authors tend to blame the selfish, rich world for all the UN's failures and imperfections, those on human rights and **humanitarian challenges** are informative and balanced.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - fine account of the errors and lessons of the Somalia operation. Concludes that in failed states, UN operations cannot be short or neutral, and may require full UN administration.

John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations (Washington: Brassey's, 1998). - an extremely valuable and thought-provoking study of the expressly **military** aspects and challenges of UN-sponsored peace-and-security operations. Divided into: observer missions, traditional peacekeeping, "second-generation" peacekeeping, enforcement operations. Hillen credits military calm in first two categories to fact that UNs role is approved by both sides who have already stopped fighting. Problem with second-generation is that as combatants still fighting and may not welcome UN, peacekeepers must be fully combat-ready. So must "contract" forces as in enforcement.

W. Andy Knight, "Changing Human Rights Regime, State Sovereignty, and Article 2(7) in the Post-Cold War Era" in ACUNS Reports and Papers 1994 No.5 pp.37-81. - one of the biggest dilemmas facing the UN is how to deal with violations of human rights when Charter Art. 2(7) prevents it from interfering in matters that are essentially within domestic jurisdiction. This shows how 2(7) is broken.

Michael Maren, The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity (New York: The Free Press, 1997). - disturbing account of recent international humanitarian activities based mainly on first-hand experience in Somalia. Author, both an aid practitioner and journalist specializing in Africa, is harshly critical of most US NGO's and UN agencies in aid/refugee/emergency fields, on basis not simply of gross inefficiency but for giving self-promotion priority. Argues food aid does net harm. US case in Peter Toma, Politics of Food for Peace (Tucson: Arizona U., 1967).

Michael O'Hanlon, Saving Lives with Force: Military Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1997). - since Gulf conflict and complexities of Somalia and Bosnia actions, Security Council and certainly US, have been very cautious about military interventions. This study puts possibility of future interventions in perspective by detailing military force and costs actually entailed. "Selective humanitarian interventions can often do a great deal to mitigate human suffering and to reduce the prevalence of conflict...at modest financial and human cost"(79).

David Owen, Balkan Odyssey (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995). - exceptional source of information and analysis, not only on complex diplomacy of international involvement in post-Yugoslav crisis, but on general role of UN in intra- and international conflicts. Owen, who had personal Yugoslav experience before becoming key peace co-negotiator 1992-95, recommends all UNSC members be pre-committed to contribute troops etc. to any UN peace operation they agree to, and that UN maintains an instantly deployable Brigade so constituted.

Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre, The New Peacekeeping Partnership (Halifax: CIPTC, 1996). - article describes increasing number and variety of organizations and specialists becoming involved in multilateral peace-management operations. Discussed are military, police, humanitarian agencies, politicians/diplomats, human rights agencies, media, as well as UN.

Robert I. Rotberg and Thomas G. Weiss edit., From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation, 1996). - while doubting that "CNN factor" drives global policy, recommends that in dealing with humanitarian crises the media: become more knowledgeable; extend issue coverage; support local media; and exceed consumers' self-interest. Aid organizations should: become more sophisticated in media relations; work together on media; develop specialist targeting; explain root causes. Policymakers should set own agenda.

Laura Silber and Allan Little, The Death of Yugoslavia (London: Penguin-BBC, 1995). - written in 28 short chapters to accompany a BBC TV series, the book covers the increasingly violent period from Milosevic coming to power in the 1980's to June 1994. It claims to "attempt to identify, dispassionately and clinically, the crucial events in both the lead-up to the war and in its progress". Its thesis is "that under Milosevic's stewardship, the Serbs were...the key secessionists", and its aim, using hundreds of interviews, is "to lay bare the dynamics of the war" (xxiii-xxv). A good source.

Cyrus R. Vance and David A. Hamburg, Pathfinders for Peace: A Report to the UN Secretary-General on the Role of Special Representatives and Personal Envoys (New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997). - this useful paper advocates three changes in high-level S-G appointments: (a) more active use of them as low-cost, low-risk UN instruments for preventing/resolving conflict; (b) an expanded pool of potential candidates; (c) increased funds.

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., The United Nations and Civil Wars (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995). - an extremely useful book, taking a number of new perspectives (e.g. on Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Somalia, and El Salvador). Jarat Chopra in "UN Civil Governance-in-Trust" tackles the delicate but rapidly developing need for UN administration of failed states.

Thomas G. Weiss & Amir Pasic, "Reinventing UNHCR: Enterprising Humanitarians in the Former Yugoslavia, 1991-1995" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - UN is challenged by basic changes taking place in the status, numbers, and needs of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other types of war victims. UNHCR's lead role in former Yugoslavia provides valuable precedent.

I. William Zartman, edit., Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995). - 11 country studies on a subject likely to become an increasingly serious problem for the UN, particularly in Africa. "The Group of 78" also submitted to the Canadian Government a report of its Sep 1995 conference on "Failed States - How Might Canada and the UN Help?". Both sources analyse UN options in general terms; Chapter by Deng in Zartman is particularly good on the rationale.

Warren Zimmerman, Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers (Toronto: Random House, 1996). - autobiography by last US ambassador offers eyewitness account complementary to David Owen (op.cit.) who starts where this ends (mid-1992). Even with personal and perspective differences, analyses are very similar. Zimmerman has high praise for UNHCR, sympathy for UNPROFOR, and criticism for Western (especially Pentagon) delay in taking military action. Good comments on future UN/NATO role in controlling ethnic exploitation.

INTELLIGENCE: UN-RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

James Adams, The New Spies: Exploring the Frontiers of Espionage (London: Hutchinson, 1994). - Intelligence is of major and growing importance to UN activities as the System attempts more preventive and advisory acts and gets directly impacted by violence and crime. Its probably unavoidable reliance on members' Intelligence systems makes rapidly evolving trends in latter of unusual relevance. This survey of "big three" (US, UK, Russian) developments is of special value. See also books by Herman, Richelson and Shulsky (op.cit.).

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article argues that greatest threat from weapons of mass destruction (WMD) comes not from nuclear

or chemical, but from biological weapons since they combine maximum destructiveness with availability. Also, source and nature of WMD attack is more liable to be small scale, derived from rogue states or terrorists, and aimed (surreptitiously?) at civilians. Author urges improved civil defence and intelligence. (Latter world-wide?)

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions; "inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

John Deutch, "Terrorism: Think Again" in Foreign Policy Number 108 (Fall 1997). - former US DCI argues that terrorists are operating more globally, and are more likely to use non-conventional weapons and cybersystems. Main categories are now: state-sponsored, Islamic and insurgent. Counter-terrorism above all needs more international information exchange, agreed policies and common action. UN role?

A. Walter Dorn and David Bell, "Intelligence and Peacekeeping: The UN Operation in the Congo, 1960-64", in International Peacekeeping Vol.2/No.1 (Spring 1995) provides a detailed example of the key role of intelligence for the success of UN operations.

A. Walter Dorn, "Keeping Tabs on a Troubled World: UN Information-Gathering to Preserve Peace" in Security Dialogue Vol.27/No.3 (Sep 1996). - provides an excellent summary of the UN's urgent need for security-relevant information of all kinds, the currently improving situation, and future prospects.

Alexander L. George & Jane E. Holl, The Warning-Response Problem and Missed Opportunities in Preventive Diplomacy (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict report relates to weaknesses/improvements in preventive intelligence and policy reaction. Authors note key intelligence role in giving timely and accurate warning of potential crises but

suggest may be **no policy response** if: stakes low; ambiguity; too complex; past errors; overload; politics. **Actions** may include: seek more facts; less vulnerable; commitments up; dialogue; lower costs; consult others; publicity; assess impact; clarify position; plan; negotiate. If inaction, **review**: was action possible; what options?

Michael Herman, Intelligence Power in Peace and War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - major new text on the nature and role of Intelligence. Focuses on the closely inter-related history and similar structure of Intelligence in US and UK, the accepted leaders in field. Among conclusions: in info-rich unstable and interdependent post-Cold War world, more analysis is needed, not specific collection; since UN has growing need for Intelligence but no in-house capacity and little prospect, members must share.

Robert S. Leiken, "Controlling the Global Corruption Epidemic" in Foreign Policy 105 (Winter 1996-97). - essay provides discouraging evidence that corruption of many kinds is global, often pervasive in a society. Also argues that since reaction is now wide-spread and growing, global counter-action is necessary and real.

Michael S. Lund, Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996). - a concise survey of recent interest in, and mixed experience with, preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Makes a convincing case for organizing and expanding such action, ("typically and necessarily a multilateral endeavour" p.169) based on better global intelligence and use of local/regional capacity.

Janne E. Nolan edit., Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1994). - analyses by experts from various disciplines argue that in the post-Cold War era a global (UN?) system of cooperative security based on agreed norms should replace collective defence. Approach attracts comparison with Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace".

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and William A. Owens, "America's Information Edge" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - authoritative if highly controversial argument that its massive superiority in exploiting the information revolution has given the USA such an intelligence, diplomatic and military edge, that its global dominance is virtually permanent and invincible, and can be maintained at greatly reduced cost, inter alia by preventing wars.

Samuel D. Porteous, "The Threat from Transnational Crime: An Intelligence Perspective" in Commentary (CSIS) No.70 (Winter 1996). - the author concludes that transnational crime has reached such a scale and into so many fields (including large-scale finance, top-level politics) that "stability of strategically important states, the maintenance of civil society and the integrity of economic and even environmental systems will suffer the consequences".

Evan H. Potter edit., Economic Intelligence and National Security (Ottawa: Carleton University Press & Centre for Trade Policy and Law, 1998). - a study of a subject of great and growing interest - and debate. Although drawing from a Canadian perspective, most of the issues and options raised have global relevance. Subject is addressed from four points of view (with writers not in agreement): The System of Intelligence-Gathering in Canada; Economic and Commercial Interests and Intelligence Services; The Impact of the Legal Regime; The Economics of Economic Intelligence. Potter also provides very useful introductory summary of main points discussed.

Jeffrey T. Richelson, A Century of Spies: Intelligence in the Twentieth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). - since this is essentially a serious history of Intelligence worldwide since 1900, its main relevance to UN problem is to show how the System can best use such material as it obtains from members' capabilities. Implication: good Intelligence is not only critical to success of UN's changing activities, but is itself in evolution.

Berel Rodal, "The Environment and Changing Concepts of Security" in Commentary (CSIS) No. 47 (Aug 1994). - a somewhat different approach from that by Jessica Tuchman Mathews op. cit.. Emphasizes international implications and relevance and value of intelligence.

Peter Schweizer, "The Growth of Economic Espionage" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - in a global society where knowledge is power, who has critical specialized knowledge, how they obtain it, and whether and with whom they share it, have a direct bearing on world prosperity and security. This short essay addresses one vital trend - though not the UN's key role.

Abram N. Shulsky, Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence Second Edition, Revised by Gary Schmitt (New York: Brassey's (US), 1993). - takes a broad almost philosophical look at Intelligence and the rationales behind it. Inter alia, this study questions the "realist" assumption that it must be a form of inter-state struggle, and hence examines its relevance and release to UN.

Henry Sokolski edit., Fighting Proliferation: New Concerns for the Nineties (Maxwell AFB: Air University Press, 1996). - although USAF publication, valuable essays do not follow US policy or even agree. Authors face variety of topical issues, usually with imagination: e.g. NPT/MTCR features and options; satellites (imaging and trade); cruise missiles (excellent); US Counterproliferation Initiative; North Korea; Iran; "Competitive" Strategies; new role and emphasis of Intelligence. Regular theme: proliferation demands new approach.

John F. Sopko, "The Changing Proliferation Threat" in Foreign Policy 105 (Winter 1996-97). - extremely disturbing, expert report on major threat posed by proliferating non-conventional "weapons" (biological-chemical-nuclear-radiological) employable by diverging states, organizations or individuals, motivated by unprecedented

objectives, and obtained/delivered by a variety of novel means. Author demands "a global response to this truly global threat".

Christopher Spencer, "Intelligence Analysis Under Pressure of Rapid Change: The Canadian Challenge" in The Journal of Conflict Studies Vol.XVI/No.1 (Spring 1996). - while essay is aimed at contemporary Canadian structural problems and options, identified challenges and options apply much more broadly. Issues addressed include: profound effects of knowledge revolution and post-industrial society, trends towards intra-state conflicts and limitations on state sovereignty, novel security threats, information overload, global cooperation.

KNOWLEDGE REVOLUTION: TECHNOLOGY, CAPACITY, EDUCATION

*John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.***

Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976). - the origin of the now-famous term used to describe the extraordinary social trends transforming the West, rather than the economic revolution that is causing them. The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976) "stands in dialectical relation to [the above, in which Bell] sought to show how technology...[was] reshaping the techno-economic order...In these essays, I deal with culture, especially the idea of modernity, and with the problems of managing a complex polity when the values of the society stress unrestrained appetite" (p.xi).

James R. Beniger, The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986). - this book is neither technical nor theoretical in the usual sense. Its aim is to explain how and why current society with focus on knowledge exploitation came about. The author credits what he call the Control Revolution, "a complex of rapid changes in the technological and economic arrangements by which information is collected, stored, processed and communicated, and through which formal or programmed decisions might effect societal control." (p.vi). Third World must master this revolution.

Alan S. Blinder & Richard E. Quandt, "The Computer and the Economy" in The Atlantic Monthly December 1997.- mainly addresses the global puzzle of why, given the huge investment in information technology,

productivity in the service sector has not improved faster. Reaches many of the same conclusions as others (e.g. Cairncross), including inappropriate statistics, inefficient application, etc., but in the end emphasises the historic time-lag in technological revolutions.

Daniel F. Burton, Jr., "The Brave New Wired World" in Foreign Policy No.106 (Spring 1997). - describes significance of imminent worldwide system of interconnected computers or "Network". This global evolution of Internet (with perhaps 250m users by 2000) will not even require PCs to access any selected services. "As borders become more porous and the role of nation-states more tenuous, the distinction between domestic and foreign policy will fade" (33).

Barry Buzan and Gerald Segal, Anticipating the Future: Twenty Millennia of Human Progress (London: Simon & Schuster, 1998). - this book is both stimulating and misleading - points made in Reviews in The Economist 14 Feb 98 (12) and Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998) (134-9). In spite of title, almost entire book deals with the broad sweep of the human past and present, in order to put 1998 and possible futures into focus. This it does clearly and usefully, if in fairly orthodox terms. My criticism is that it underestimates the depth and acceleration of current global change. Future section anticipates UN system stymied, mainly by US, requiring replacement.

Frances Cairncross, The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change Our Lives (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1997). - Superb survey. Major UN-relevant points: **distance** will no longer determine costs of electronic communication; **location** will no longer key most business decisions; most people will access omni-address, two-way, picture-capable, selective, filterable **networks**; global bonds among **like-minded**; **home-office** roles blurred; distance **education**; rapid, global **information** dispersal; **qualified people** ultimate scarce resource; state **info-control** and **privacy** both down; global **leveling** of pay for similar work but more **divergence** by job; less global and urban **migration** as standards level; **taxes** harder to collect, so lowered to attract skills; **cities** concentrate less work but more culture; **English** strengthens its global role, but **cultures** reinforced by new opportunities; better **written** communications; governments more sensitive to **public views**; **peace** helped by mutual experience and needs. Many trends stress more global **cooperation**. See also Brief on TV globalization: The Economist 29 Nov 97 (71-2).

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

David Crystal, English as a Global Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). - carefully-worded description of English' present status, controversies and prospects by renowned linguistics expert. While noting it is spoken well by about 1.5 billion people and is expanding rapidly in both use and influence, author neither sees nor advocates English becoming more than the essential, common second language for most of world. For more on English' history and geographical variations, see Robert McCrum, William Cran, & Robert MacNeil, The Story of English (New York: E. Sifton - Viking, 1986). For more general information on languages, see Ingram (op. cit.).

Peter David, "The Knowledge Factory: A Survey of Universities", The Economist, 4 Oct 97 (1-22). - while survey stresses trends/problems facing higher learning in the most advanced societies, ubiquity of post-industrial change makes its judgments global and UN-relevant. They include: cyberspace is less likely to hurt universities than help them reach more students at lower cost, and create connections among scholars; blurring of basic and applied research may in fact revitalize university science; the necessity to adapt will produce inter-campus competition for talent; massive expansion can still meet society's needs without hurting academe's mission or freedom.

Michael L. Dertouzos, What Will Be: How the New World of Information Will Change Our Lives (New York: HarperCollins, 1997). - Director, MIT Laboratory for Computer Science is realistic, non-technical and thoughtful. He provides a wide-ranging picture of technical trends and their profound effects on nations, groups and individuals. Book concludes: "left to its own devices, the Information Marketplace will increase the gap between rich and poor countries...[so in the global **self-interest**] the wealthy must help the poor access and use the new technologies" (241ff). Generally, all states must coordinate economic and security agreements to handle borderless information.

Jack Fincher, Human Intelligence (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976). - while now somewhat dated since fast-developing field (see Herrnstein & Murray (op. cit.) for instance) this book still serves many a layperson as painless and fascinating introduction not only to human intelligence but to several related subjects. It describes the brain itself, **how it works and learns**; the tricky IQ debates; effects of nature, nurture, sex and age; the hopes and prospects of research. Useful background for any study of global human affairs.

Alexander L. George, Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1993). - a practical and convincing plea for greater cooperation between academics and policymakers in interest of better foreign policy. UN is an area where such mutual assistance would be particularly useful. Indeed policy towards Iraq 1988-91 is the example used.

Jean-Marie Guehenno, The End of the Nation-State (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). - addresses less the weakening

power of sovereignty than the effect of the information revolution on democracy, individuality, power and personal relationships. on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994 (see UNFPA op. cit.).

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Jay Ingram, Talk, Talk, Talk: An Investigation into the Mystery of Speech (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1993). - many ethnic conflicts the UN must address, have their origin in, or focus on, language. This book provides a non-technical but valuable introduction to many aspects of what is known about the development and use of speech and language. For a fully detailed and authoritative reference book see: David Crystal, edit., The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For information on the unique global use and role of English, see Crystal (op. cit.). For information on how the popularity of English in particular is resulting in the final disappearance of a language a day (sic), see The Economist 6 Jun 98: "Dying Languages: English Kills" (83-4).

David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - an overriding concern for most UN members and bodies is how to raise the economic standards of LDCs. Landes offers an excellent chronology/rationale for the 500-year Eurocentric Industrial Revolution and its results. Argument: combined geography, political/economic/cultural factors, and above all a scientific/aspiring outlook. Prognosis: uneven and uncertain gains globally. (Near)rich **can** defend their lead; Latin America **may** open up; ex-Sovbloc **must** overcome history; Middle East **could** reduce negative traits; Africa/India **face** huge cultural bars.

Edmund S. Phelps, Rewarding Work: How to Restore Participation and Self-Support to Free Enterprise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). - one principal effect of the knowledge revolution has been the increasing divergence in both pay and numbers between high-income knowledge/education-related "service" jobs, and lower-paying, technology-replacable manufacturing and primary-industry jobs. Trend is global, suffusing OECD economies and now moving into NICs. Phelps convincingly proposes addressing the dilemma of the unemployed less-skilled/educated through subsidizing wages of those who can only thus gain low-wage jobs. Claims scheme self-financing.

Steven Pinker, How the Mind Works (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). - fine layperson's guide to the current state of scientific knowledge

and speculation about the human mind, its development and capacity. The basic assumption is that the mind is a biological computer that evolved through natural selection and can therefore evolve further. Pinker discusses the state of knowledge on language in The Language Instinct (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). Material with special UN relevance: universality of most traits, adaptiveness, emotion, war.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Richard Rosecrance, "The Rise of the Virtual State" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1996). - argues that the post-industrial world has made nations' territory and natural resources of less importance than "mobile factors of production", i.e. their highly-educated personnel, knowledge, and management - globally.

Steven A. Rosell et al., Changing Maps: Governing in a World of Rapid Change (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995). - the report of a roundtable of senior Canadian officials and private-sector executives plus selected papers presented to it. The ultimate purpose was to learn how best to cope with a society run by knowledge, inundated with information, and changing ever faster.

Lee M. Silver, Remaking Eden: Cloning and Beyond in a Brave New World (New York: Avon Books, 1997). - perhaps the most controversial field of rapid scientific advance today concerns human reproductive technology ("reprogenetics"). Silver covers wide area, particularly ethical/political issues, generally defending a permissive point of view. Sections cover: the origin and evolution of life; the human reproductive process; the abortion/"quickenning" issue; artificial insemination; in vitro fertilization; cryopreservation; surrogate parents; cloning's many applications; shared genetic motherhood; genetic engineering - its imminent and virtually unlimited options.

Maurice F. Strong, The United Nations at Fifty: Issues and Opportunities (Ottawa: UN Association in Canada, 1997). - influential 1995 speech argues: "most immediate need is for improvements in [UN] management" (probably well over half UN Secretariat now engaged in activities better done by others or of marginal priority); UN needs right to borrow; expand rule of law in international life; UN role - provide other actors with framework, leadership and orchestration; more systemic relationship among all levels of government; **most critical LDC need is to develop knowledge**, with UN as mobilizer.

Don Tapscott, The Digital Economy: Promise and Peril in the Age of Networked Intelligence (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996). - more angled to UN questions than other business-oriented books, this tries hard to look at all global implications - good and bad - of Information Revolution. Using US and Canada as world pace-setters, it analyses a wide range of political-social-economic trends and effects.

Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970). - in his first book, Toffler makes the case for reorganizing basic education so that the population can adjust as easily and quickly as possible to the massive changes they will experience. While he was dealing with educational problems in late 20th century society, at a more intellectual level, Allan Bloom is actually expressing similar basic concerns with the effects of change in The Closing of the American Mind (New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1988).

Alvin Toffler, Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century (New York: Bantam Books, 1990). - thesis: that the nature of power has shifted, first from capacity to apply violence, to wealth, and now to knowledge. Those with the last can obtain the other forms of power at will, but the reverse is untrue.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) produced a brief document outlining plans and priorities for the next six-year period: "Medium-Term Strategy: 1996-2001" (Paris: UNESCO, 1996). It involves two strategies: contributing to development and to peace-building respectively. In particular, UNESCO will concentrate on human resources (see GLOBAL ISSUES - A) through mass efforts at expanding literacy and life-long education.

Garrick Utley, "The Shrinking of Foreign News" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1997). - there is hope that technology - and maybe the UN, can ensure everyone access to the world's knowledge. But Utley fears that, increasingly, competition and politics are restricting TV's unique global news access to elites and experts.

Pam Woodall, "The Hitchhiker's Guide to Cybernomics: A Survey of the World Economy" in The Economist 28 Sep 96, pp.1-46. - a fine survey of current trends in, and prospects for, new technology (mostly IT) and globalization. Generally very optimistic, even on labour issues. Plenty of new and surprising charts and statistics.

Walter B. Wriston, The Twilight of Sovereignty: How the Information Revolution is Transforming our World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992). - as a successful businessman, Wriston thinks and writes like one. His thesis is that human intelligence and our intellectual resources are now the world's "prime capital". He also feels that technology in itself is less important than adapting our institutions - public and private - to the new circumstances.

Walter B. Wriston, "Bits, Bytes, and Diplomacy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1997). - Information Age (third technological

revolution, after agriculture and industry) has demolished time and distance, changed problem-solving and recast economics, warfare and sovereignty. Knowledge is the prime source of power in all three, but dependence on information networks is also a dangerous source of vulnerability to cheap, non-state disruption. Can only UN help?

LEGAL ISSUES: INTERNATIONAL LAW, COURTS, ATTITUDES

A. LeRoy Bennett, International Organizations: Principles and Issues (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991). - mostly on the UN. Focus is on philosophy and principles, not structure; breakdown is by broad issue, not organization: League of Nations; Genesis of UN; Basic UN Principles and Organization; Basic UN Issues; Peaceful Dispute Settlement; Collective Security and Alternatives; Justice Under Law; Arms Control; Regionalism; Transnationals and IOs; Economic Welfare; Global Resources (Environment); Social Progress; Human Rights/Self-Government; Administration/Leadership; Future.

Thomas Carothers, "The Rule of Law Revival" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - author notes that spreading rule of law is enjoying great popularity because of its profound political, economic and social relationship to liberal democracy. Hence donor countries have made efforts to dispense relevant aid. "Globally there has been a great deal of legal reform related to economic modernization and a moderate amount of law-related institutional reform, but little deep reform [of higher government levels]" (103).

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Francis M. Deng, "Dealing with the Displaced: A Challenge to the International Community", Global Governance Vol.1/No.1 (Winter 1995). - one of the best short descriptions of the complex legal/political implications of the growing demand for mass migration and refugee status: an expanding global crisis that must be faced.

The Economist 6 Dec 97: "A Criminal Court for the World" (18-9,47) -favourable comments on setting up an International Criminal Court: "The lack of such a court has been the most glaring omission in the system of international institutions established" after WW II (47). Two thoughtful letters comment on article in 20 Dec 97 issue (6). Article in 14 Mar 98 issue (50-1) explains why agreement difficult.

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - while article stresses US foreign policy, US human rights-related perspectives and actions remain pivotal. Author sees both driven by "exceptionalism": "belief in the exceptional freedom and goodness of American people", reflected in either exemplary isolation or moral activism. Personal civil rights are stressed; few UN texts enacted. Recent US activism: support for UN human rights peacekeeping and criminal courts. More progress likely, with backing of liberal bloc and Russia, and illiberal states such as Iran put on the defensive.

Gidon Gottlieb, Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993). - explores the diplomatic dilemmas raised by ethnic/national conflict against established states. Recommends international/UN policy based on a legal distinction between, and parallel recognition of, states (territorial) and nations (ethnic); enforcement action focused on firm (UN) measures where and how they are most effective; humanitarian assistance that carefully avoids complicating situations. All must reflect prudence and pragmatism.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

Rob Huebert, "Canada and the Law of the Sea Convention" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.2 (Winter 1996-7). - "common

heritage of mankind" idea established by LOS. While concentrating on the evolving Canadian position, the article is of general interest since Canada has been a very major negotiator and beneficiary of the UN-sponsored Convention. More important, it offers a succinct history of major LOS events and issues to 1997.

Michael Ignatieff, Blood & Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism (Toronto: Viking, 1993). - ostensibly just a thoughtful journalist's chronicle of experiencing nationalism, its nature and effects in Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Ukraine, Quebec, Kurdistan and Northern Ireland. Book has however become very influential because of its unique perspectives and insights into issues relevant to UN-global ethnic conflict resolution. "[L]iberal civilization - the rule of laws not men, of argument in place of force, of compromise in place of violence - runs deeply against the human grain and is only achieved and sustained by the most unremitting struggle" (189).

Michael Ignatieff, The Warrior's Honour: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience (Toronto: Viking, 1998). - a variety of concepts about the origin and nature of ethnic conflicts, and those who engage in them. Includes sometimes controversial conclusions relevant to UN involvement in such conflicts, e.g. regarding whether, when and how long to get involved, "safe havens", tribunals, "trusteeship".

Stephen D. Krasner edit., International Regimes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). - since UN has little binding authority except from Security Council and by sponsoring treaties, its power must usually be moral and through the gradual build-up of precedent and customary law. This process relates directly to the creation of "regimes", i.e. "principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area." This collation of essays is standard work on regimes.

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

Gallya Lahav, "International Versus National Constraints in Family-Reunification Migration Policy" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - one of the most controversial aspects of the globally contentious issue of migration is the right of migrants' families to accompany/join them. Article shows that in this field state sovereignty and restraints are actually growing, thus running counter to current trends in both human rights conventions and the apparent weakening of state authority (Cairo op.cit. confirmation).

Ruth Lapidot, Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1997). - the hundreds of

ethnic groups/minorities that exist with a growing desire for self-determination make it essential that the international community/UN finds some formula short of independence for all, that still meets their basic aspirations (pp.171-7). This very constructive analysis carefully and objectively investigates one possible solution that is flexible, but leaves the number and structure of states intact. Autonomy is studied in a number of successful/unsuccessful cases, and the many options, and several essential conditions, identified.

Theodor Meron, "Answering for War Crimes: Lessons from the Balkans" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1997). - a report from an assistant to the former chief prosecutor at the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on the difficulties it has faced, and how they might be reduced/avoided in future. Also why such UN tribunals must continue and not be seen to fail. The Economist of 31 Jan 98 contains an editorial (pp.19-20) and an article (pp.51-52), both praising the Tribunal's efforts to date. Letter (p.10) in issue of 28 Feb 98 defends Tribunal for Rwanda.

John E. Noyes edit., The United Nations at 50: Proposals for Improving Its Effectiveness (Washington: American Bar Association, 1997). - strongly supportive, legally-focused survey of UN System's value and problems - particularly with US which, by breaking its legal obligations, "may destroy the [UN] by causing its financial bankruptcy." Contains many ABA Recommendations: US should recognize ICJ compulsory jurisdiction, push for International Criminal Court, support trained standby UN military forces, help IMF "stabilize" global capital markets, enhance IAEA safeguards and create separate energy agency, rejoin UNESCO and LOS Convention, and **pay arrears**.

Steven R. Ratner, "International Law: The Trials of Global Norms" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - author gives good summary of the principles, aims and limitations of international law, e.g. distinction between binding treaties and gradually more influential customary law; how to make universal rules of conduct legitimate in world of diverse states and impose law in absence of an enforcement mechanism. He sees four basic shifts in issues: soft law, i.e. non-binding precepts emanating from international bodies (UN); greater roles for NGOs; raw power used (by US?) under authority of bodies like Security Council, WTO; law and social trends' interaction.

Kenneth Roth, "Sidelined on Human Rights: America Bows Out" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998). - in negotiating three global human rights-related treaties, US is finding itself raising objections supported by virtually no others. In the discussion of a ban on anti-personnel landmines, on prohibition of child soldiers and to establish international criminal court, US discovers itself not only alone but increasingly bypassed, to Roth's embarrassment.

Irving Sarnoff edit., International Instruments of the United Nations (New York: United Nations Publications, 1997). - compilation of full texts of agreements, charters, conventions, declarations,

principles, proclamations, protocols, and treaties adopted between 1945 and 1995 by the General Assembly. Also contains chapters on legal definitions and how UNGA works, and accessing information on instruments of all UN agencies. To order call: Friends of the UN at (310) 453-8489. ISBN 92-1-100612-0. Paperback US\$30.00. 480pp.

David J. Scheffer, "International Judicial Intervention" in Foreign Policy Number 102 (Spring 1996) pp.34-51. - a short and useful summary of the development and present status of international war crimes tribunals, and of the prospects for UN-sponsored Permanent International Criminal Court. See The Economist 6 Dec 97 (op.cit.).

Cedric Thornberry, "Saving the War Crimes Tribunal" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996) pp.72-85. - while concentrating on post-Yugoslav tribunal, gives information/ideas about general problems/prospects. Mary Ann Tetreault emphasizes wartime rape as a Tribunal human rights issue in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997).

United Nations Publications, Annual Catalogue: Contents (A) Subject Index by groups: Reference; Political Science; Social Science; **Law**; Environment; Economics; Regional Studies; Educational Aids, Gifts; (B) Alphabetical Listing; **(C) International Court of Justice**; **(D) Treaty Series**; (E) Electronic Products; (F) Sales Number Listing; (G) Standing Orders; (H) Periodicals; (I) Mimeographed Documents. Any of above can be ordered from UN Publications: (205) 995-1567 or (800) 633-4931, or UN Publications can identify your local agent. For new information on UN material: <http://www.un.org/Publications>.

Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe & Roger A. Coate, The United Nations and Changing World Politics, Second Edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997). - although described as an introduction to the UN for students, text gives much more than simply descriptions of three general areas of UN activity: peace and security, human rights and sustainable development. In particular, "Groping Toward the Twenty-first Century" (99-119) offers excellent analyses of UN prospects and options in security field. Many of the criticisms and possibilities presented are reflected in Annan's program (op.cit.).

MIGRATION: (IN)VOLUNTARY MOVEMENT, TRANSPORT, URBANIZATION

Virginia D. Abernethy, Population Politics: The Choices that Shape Our Future (New York: Insight Books, 1993). - takes the now widely accepted position that more motivation, not contraceptives, is the key to birth control. Hurts case by proposing US immigration ban.

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions

of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

Gerald L. Bailes, "Fear of Flying" in Foreign Policy Vol.76/No.3 (May/June 1997). - 40% of world trade and persons crossing borders travel by air. Yet ICAO does not constitute an international regime to govern air transportation and replace 1200 bilateral agreements in same manner WTO standardizes trade in goods and services. The proposal is for global deregulation of air services through WTOetc.

Ben Barber, "Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.4 (Jul/Aug 1997). - describes standard techniques used increasingly by combatants to exploit refugees for cover and aid supplies. Recommends: disarming camps; careful siting of refugees; aid distribution by selected agency/recipient; barring aid from interested parties; full information.

William Bauer, "Refugees, Victims or Killers: the New Slave Trade?" in International Journal (677-94) Vol.LII/No.4 (Autumn 97). - powerful report on the exploitation of desperate would-be immigrants to rich countries, particularly by smuggling/misusing refugee claims. Much evidence of appalling conditions en route, and by profiteers after arrival. In same issue (575-80), Daniel Stoffman, "Making Room for Real Refugees", argues that bogus refugee claimants are unusually numerous in Canada because of overly generous adjudication system.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "A New Departure on Development", Foreign Policy, 98 (Spring 1995). - after a brief history of North-South confrontation in the UN, the Secretary-General argues that N-S cooperation is now essential for both (e.g. re environment and migration). Related to his 1993 report "Agenda for Development".

Stephen Castles & Mark J. Miller, The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World (New York: Guilford Press, 1993). - "Conclusion" gives a fine overview of the relevant issues. **Highlights:** migration is more global, pervasive, significant than ever before; mainly impervious to government policy and resistance; almost always results in some permanent settlement; **central issues:** regulation and integration, illegal migration, durable solutions to pressures (trade, ODA, regional action, policy), ethnic diversity/social change (for foreseeable future, most states face migration and new ethnic pluralism as element of post-industrial transition).

Michael A. Cohen et al., edit., Preparing for the Urban Future: Global Pressures and Local Forces (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996). - published "in cooperation with the United Nations Centre on Human Settlements" as a background source for the second UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul June 1996. Unavoidably a compendium of many varied disciplines and perspectives given the extremely broad subject matter. The 1996 issue of The State of the World Population, published annually by

the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) (op. cit.), also concentrates on urban trends, problems and figures in anticipation of Habitat II.

Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin, & James F. Hollifield edit., Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995). - migration histories, attitudes, policies and prospects of key immigrant-receiving states (West Europe, North America, Japan). Diverse control formulas, including multilateral pacts (many with immigrant-source states), are analysed. For a financial look at the cost-benefit of immigration, see Nov 97 OECD economic report "United States", summarized in The Economist 29 Nov 97 (p.81), which concludes that immigration is a net benefit.

Francis M. Deng, "Dealing with the Displaced: A Challenge to the International Community", Global Governance Vol.1/No.1 (Winter 1995). - one of the best short descriptions of the complex legal/political implications of the growing demand for mass migration and refugee status: an expanding global crisis that must be faced.

The Economist 15 Nov 97: "Delivering the Goods" (85-6). - excellent Brief on the very recent revolution in the transportation of goods, and how it contributed to the globalization of trade. WTO-relevant.

The Economist 4 Apr 98: "Millions Want to Come" (55-6). - regional problem with wider implications: a useful study of the difficulties faced by the EU managing legal and illegal immigration, and refugee claimants, particularly with EU and Schengen (no intra-EU controls) both expanding. Main problems: differing aims, rules, attractions.

Paul George, "Immigration by Sea to North America" in Commentary (CSIS) No.43 (Apr 1994). - a particularly relevant example for Canada of a major global problem: pressures for mass migration.

David Harris, "Sao Paulo: Megacity" in Rolling Stone 9 Jan 97(126). - traumatic but informative description, from unexpected source, of the already intolerable situation in, and prospects for the world's second-largest city. Problems are even more catastrophic in other megacities with less money, but here scale and extremes seem worst. "Sao Paulo: Brazil's Troubled Metropolis" in The Economist 23 May 98 (68) gives an equally disturbing but mainly economic analysis of the city's problems, its conversion from manufacturing to services impeded by inefficient government, pollution, traffic and poverty.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central

part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Ellis J. Juan, "Aviation: The Politics and Economics of a Boom" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - comprehensive article describes the globalization of the aviation industry, driven by air transport and communications revolutions and the fact that 10.2% of GWP is generated by tourism. Economic-technological forces create ever fewer and bigger world airline, aircraft and airport companies and thus demand firmer standards and procedures through ICAO which then must become a "true international regulatory agency" (p.153).

Gallya Lahav, "International Versus National Constraints in Family-Reunification Migration Policy" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - one of the most controversial aspects of the globally contentious issue of migration is the right of migrants' families to accompany/join them. Article shows that in this field state sovereignty and restraints are actually growing, thus running counter to current trends in both human rights conventions and the apparent weakening of state authority (Cairo op.cit. confirmation).

Eugene Linden, "The Exploding Cities of the Developing World" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1996). - one of the half-dozen most critical world issues facing the international community is the fact that in many countries urban migration and growth are getting out of control. This is an up-to-date report.

Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller edit., Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995). - a collection of essays on Rethinking Security, Environmental Issues and International Security, Migration and International Security, and Nationalism and International Security.

Doris M. Meissner et al., International Migration Challenges in a New Era Report to the Trilateral Commission:44 (New York: Trilateral Commission, 1993). - although this report by specialists in the migration field concentrates on the problems posed for industrial countries by recent increases in pressure for/from migration and refugee flows, it has special relevance for the UNHCR, etc. The recommendations, while generally restrictive, are also curative.

Sadako Ogata/ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, The State of the World's Refugees, 1995: In Search of Solutions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). - not only an excellent survey of the current state and care of refugees, but a thoughtful and outspoken account of changing attitudes towards their handling and status.

David Owen, Balkan Odyssey (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995). - exceptional source of information and analysis, not only on complex diplomacy of international involvement in post-Yugoslav crisis, but on general role of UN in intra- and international conflicts. Owen, who had personal Yugoslav experience before becoming key peace co-

negotiator 1992-95, recommends all UNSC members be pre-committed to contribute troops etc. to any UN peace operation they agree to, and that UN maintains an instantly deployable Brigade so constituted.

Demetrios G. Papademetriou, "Migration: Think Again" in Foreign Policy Number 109 (Winter 1997-98). - essay refutes misconceptions on migration: immigration to West is out of control; legal migrants impose net costs on hosts; illegal immigration is major economic-social problem; only drastic measures can stop it; open borders are best solution; immigration is largely an internal/unilateral issue.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

Mark Roberts, "Dream Factories: A Survey of Travel and Tourism" in The Economist 10 Jan 98 (pp.1-16). - wide-ranging, mainly business oriented survey of the rapid development and enormous scale of the travel and related entertainment industry (tourism sustains more than one in ten jobs around the world and effectively supports many countries). Air travel progress and prospects (see also Juan op. cit.) and hotel/cruise/theme park evolution analysed. Optimistic.

Michael Shenstone, World Population Growth and Movement: Towards the 21st Century (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1997). - a report plus recommendations solicited by Foreign Affairs and Immigration departments. It first provides brief but accurate summaries of current global population and migration trends. It then discusses their key implications and effects. Included are valuable surveys of multilateral activities, particularly throughout the UN system, the commitments (including financial) made at relevant UN global conferences (e.g. ICPD) etc., and sound implementation proposals.

Thomas Sowell, Migrations and Cultures: A World View (New York: Basic Books, 1996). - a long-term and global view of migrations of Germans, Japanese, Italians, Chinese, Jews and Indians. Describes their motives, degrees of economic success, effects on countries of immigration, reasons for local prejudice or absorption, and future.

Michael S. Teitelbaum and Myron Weiner, Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders: World Migration and U.S. Policy (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995). - while emphasis is on the history and analysis of U.S. immigration and related foreign policy, much if not most material applies generally, and hence to UN. Above all, "Final Report" recommends more international planning, preventive aid, consultation, coordination, and norms, i.e. all UN business.



United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "The State of the World's Refugees 1995: In Search of Solutions" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) - the single most useful document from this source and on this subject, this book contains not simply factual information about the present world refugee situation, but prospects and proposals relating to the ominous future.

Barbara Ward, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1962); *Ibid.*, Spaceship Earth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); *Ibid.* with Rene Dubos, Only One Earth (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972); *Ibid.*, The Home of Man (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976). - Barbara Ward is probably the greatest spokesperson for international cooperation and assistance who ever lived. Any of these books is still worth reading: the latter two are about the environment and **urbanization**.

Myron Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis: Challenge to States and to Human Rights (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). - an excellent survey of all the major trends and issues relating to migration, including the policies of various states (except Canada), and the moral questions raised by growing pressure for migration. Final chapter on options before the global community particularly good.

Myron Weiner, "Nations Without Borders", a favourable review of Thomas Sowell, Migrations and Cultures: A World View (op. cit.) in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1996). - concludes that "transnational populations" are emerging as a major global force.

Thomas G. Weiss & Amir Pasic, "Reinventing UNHCR: Enterprising Humanitarians in the Former Yugoslavia, 1991-1995" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - UN is challenged by basic changes taking place in the status, numbers, and needs of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other types of war victims. UNHCR's lead role in former Yugoslavia provides valuable precedent.

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

World Resources Institute, edit., World Resources 1996-97: The Urban Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). -since this popular biennial is now jointly published with UNEP, UNDP and World Bank, expertise and statistics are considerably strengthened. This issue also provides an in-depth study of urban problems.

Warren Zimmerman, Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and Its Destroyers (Toronto: Random House, 1996). - autobiography by last US ambassador offers eyewitness account complementary to David Owen (op.cit.) who starts where this ends (mid-1992). Even with personal and perspective differences, analyses are very similar. Zimmerman has high praise for UNHCR, sympathy for UNPROFOR, and criticism for Western (especially Pentagon) delay in taking military action. Good comments on future UN/NATO role in controlling ethnic exploitation.

POPULATION ISSUES: GLOBAL TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS

Virginia D. Abernethy, Population Politics: The Choices that Shape Our Future (New York: Insight Books, 1993). - takes the now widely accepted position that more motivation, not contraceptives, is the key to birth control. Hurts case by proposing US immigration ban.

Lester R. Brown and Hal Kane, Full House: Reassessing the Earth's Population Carrying Capacity (New York: W.W.Norton & Co, 1994). - Brown is expert on food-carrying capacity; he sees China nearing maximum production, but soon able to import its shortfall; India can increase production but cannot afford to import its shortfall. More detailed arguments in Lester R. Brown, Who Will Feed China? Wake-Up Call for a Small Planet (New York: W.W.Norton & Co, 1995).

Roy Calne, World in Crisis: Too Many People (London: Calder Publications, 1994). - a unusual look at the population crisis by a distinguished surgeon who emphasizes the role of science in creating it, what science knows about it, and the responsibility of scientists, working through a UN research effort, to help ease it. Contains 1993 joint "population statement" by Scientific Academies.

Andrew Clarke, "Food and Population: The Approaching World Crisis" in Canadian World Federalist Jul 1996.- speech to Annual Symposium of the Canadian Association for the Club of Rome. Summarizes the current pessimists' views: shrinking grainland area; declined plant yield gains; falling per capita irrigation; world fish catch halt.

Joel E. Cohen, How Many People Can the Earth Support? (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995). - with many controversies surrounding population issues - and their major re-focus since the 1994 UN Conference in Cairo - this extremely thorough and authoritative but non-polemical study by a renowned biologist is particularly useful. Its essential approach is that of ecological "carrying capacity". For a fully unified biological approach to the earth's capacity, see J. E. Lovelock, Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); it views all life as one organism.

Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson, Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1996).- 42 expert and practical essays

(675pp) on new facts and thinking regarding global challenges, and how resulting conflicts might be met (e.g. UN). Includes: many weak states; ethnic conflicts; religio-cultural militancy; population pressures; resource crises; global competition; radical military technology/megaterrorism. Responses stress preventive action.

Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, The Population Explosion (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1991). - written more cautiously but just as vehemently as The Population Bomb (1968) which caused much concern and debate by predicting massive famines and resource shortages that did not materialize, at least in the way expected.

Roger Gosden, Cheating Time: Science, Sex and Ageing (London: Macmillan, 1996). - deals in generously non-technical manner with the colourful history, rapidly advancing status, and surprising prospects of knowledge about ageing - and its trade-off with human reproduction. Any major extensions in the human lifespan would raise immense global and UN problems, including population change.

Garrett Hardin, Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Population Taboos (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). - a relatively unorthodox but insightful and compelling analysis of population, carrying-capacity, and what society can do about it. Among the proposals: reward fertility constraint (i.e. positive coercion); concentrate on individual societies (allow different approaches); discourage migration; recognize limits and impact of exponential growth; emphasize female literacy; ZPG is NORMAL.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

William G. Hollingsworth, Ending the Explosion: Population Policies and Ethics for a Human Future (Santa Ana: Seven Locks Press, 1996). - unlike most population-crisis books, this one accurately outlines current problems and debates (noting Cairo Conference decisions and emphasis), but then focuses on a carefully-structured global plan. This aims at a rapid decline to world-wide replacement fertility rates, making maximum use of indirect and noncoercive incentives.

Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life, Caring for the Future: Making the Next Decades Provide a Life Worth Living (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). - report, prepared by 20 notables in diverse fields, offers many varied insights and ideas (demography, poverty, environment, employment, education, health,

reproductive rights, aid finance, etc.). Amazingly, it avoids mankind's most urgent problem: how to stop population growth most quickly. Much of report emphasises women's rights and UN roles.

Stanley Johnson, The Politics of Population: The International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo 1994 (London: Earthscan Publications, 1995). - a semi-official and therefore authoritative account of this watershed Conference. Major debates on abortion, sexual education and ODA are covered thoroughly, as are the key roles of the Vatican and women's NGOs. The main result is that "population" has become a women's empowerment issue.

Kelley Lee et al., Population Policies and Programmes: Determinants and Consequences in Eight Developing Countries (London: School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine/UNFPA, 1995). - two aims: to learn why and how some LDCs create effective population policies while others rather similar, do not (pairs: Tunisia/Algeria; Bangladesh/Pakistan; Zimbabwe/Zambia; Thailand/Philippines); assess demographic effects of divergencies. Conclusions: policy elites played key role making and sustaining policies; policy and fertility trends influenced by cultural, religious, historical differences; government policies can make major difference to timing of fertility decline; later or weaker policies have huge impact on population size/rate of growth.

Digby J. McLaren, "Population Growth - Should We Be Worried?", in Population and Environment Vol.17/No.3 (Jan 1996): pp.243-259. - a succinct summary of the current situation and issues, including the 1994 UN Population Conference. A pithy rejoinder to Simon.

George D. Moffett, Critical Masses: The Global Population Challenge (New York: Viking Penguin, 1994). - a well-balanced and up-to-date survey of the implications of the current population growth scale. Comments on changing Catholic and Islamic attitudes and doctrine.

Gerard Piel, Only One World: Our Own to Make and to Keep (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1992). - the author's big concern is the divergence between the rich and poor worlds. Main recommendation is to provide the latter with more assistance to enable them to lower their population growth rates and break the poverty cycle.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

William N. Ryerson, "Sixteen Myths About Population Growth" in Focus (Carrying Capacity Network) Vol.5/No.1 1995 (pages 22-37). -

excellent article since it addresses specific issues and points of disagreement. Sources include Abernethy (op. cit.).

Michael Shenstone, World Population Growth and Movement: Towards the 21st Century (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1997). - a report plus recommendations solicited by Foreign Affairs and Immigration departments. It first provides brief but accurate summaries of current global population and migration trends. It then discusses their key implications and effects. Included are valuable surveys of multilateral activities, particularly throughout the UN system, the commitments (including financial) made at relevant UN global conferences (e.g. ICPD) etc., and sound implementation proposals.

Julian L. Simon and Herman Kahn edit., The Resourceful Earth: A Response to 'Global 2000' (London: Basil Blackwell, 1984). - this was critique of both above-noted 1980 Report to the President and of "The Limits to Growth" (see Meadows op. cit.). It notes that since natural resource "reserves" are determined by market needs, they regularly increase; that technology has in past responded well to serious (and expensive) challenges; and that population well-being is not a function of density. Early "cornucopia" arguments.

Julian L. Simon edit., The State of Humanity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). - techno-optimistic successor to Simon/Kahn 1984, by famous opponent of population restraint: "Th[e] increase in the price of people's services is a clear indication that people are becoming more scarce even though there are more of us" p.13. (The over one billion un(der)employed would be delighted to learn this!) Although depending heavily on long-term trends and the US for good news, the essays contain much information on health, poverty, resources, food and pollution. Although 700 pp., useful for (cautious) reference.

Julian L. Simon, The Ultimate Resource 2 (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press, 1996). - updated version (750 pp.) of famous 1981 attack on enviro-population "doomsayers". Basically illogical thesis remains: global population growth is good since it brings economies of scale and (scarce?) minds to solve problems. However, "moderate rate of growth in LDCs is more likely to lead to higher standard of living in the long run than either zero population growth or a high rate of population growth" (p.507). Nuclear power/biodiversity sections stimulating. Global warming and ozone depletion issues dismissed.

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA): Publishes many documents of general interest. Its annual "The State of World Population" offers a variety of non-technical information, statistics and hundreds of reference sources. 1997 issue concentrates on "The Right to Choose: Reproductive Rights and Reproductive Health". Other publications include those produced for and by the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo organized by the UNFPA, e.g. the ICPD Programme of Action (2 volumes); the Summary of the ICPD Programme of Action (27pp.); National Perspectives on Population and Development: synthesis of 168 ICPD national reports.

SCIENCE: GLOBAL ETHICAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

Diane Ackerman et al., The New Age of Discovery: A Celebration of Mankind's Exploration of the Unknown (Toronto: Time Canada, 1997). - although "popular" in format, purpose and content are serious: 17 thoughtful essays contributed by leading scientists/academics. Aim is to survey where scientific discovery now stands and where it is taking us. Many topics are or will be global/UN issues: health and aging; defence against asteroids; DNA and climatic discoveries and implications; "Third World" technology; gender differences; care of global commons/indigenous peoples; extraterrestrial life; new energy forms; ethical computing; world homogenization; biggest challenges.

*John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.***

Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976). - the origin of the now-famous term used to describe the extraordinary social trends transforming the West, rather than the economic revolution that is causing them. The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976) "stands in dialectical relation to [the above, in which Bell] sought to show how technology...[was] reshaping the techno-economic order...In these essays, I deal with culture, especially the idea of modernity, and with the problems of managing a complex polity when the values of the society stress unrestrained appetite" (p.xi).

R. A. Buchanan, The Power of the Machine: The Impact of Technology from 1700 to the Present (London: Penguin Books, 1994). - differs from, say, Bell, Drucker or Toffler (op. cit.) in that author, in analysing the accelerating transformation of society, deals more with the physical than societal changes, with structures more than implications. "[M]ost pervasive and persistent stimulus to change has been the technological combination of scientific discovery and technical innovation" (p.254). UN actions must reflect both views. For a remarkable but realistic example of the technology now being explored, see K. Eric Drexler, Engines of Creation: The Coming Era of Nanotechnology (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1987).

Roy Calne, World in Crisis: Too Many People (London: Calder Publications, 1994). - a unusual look at the population crisis by a distinguished surgeon who emphasizes the role of science in

creating it, what science knows about it, and the responsibility of scientists, working through a UN research effort, to help ease it. Contains 1993 joint "population statement" by Scientific Academies.

Arthur Caplan, Due Consideration: Controversy in the Age of Medical Miracles (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998). - a useful, popular (if US-oriented) introduction to the ethical issues raised by new medical technology and trends. Wide variety of "bioethical" issues are addressed, many with a light touch but serious concern. Chapter headings: Abortion and Birth Control; Genetics (including cloning); Technological Reproduction; The Ethics of Research; New Treatment/New Challenges; Rationing Cost (Medicaid etc.); Managed Care (HMO); Starting and Stopping Care (preserving life); Assisted Suicide; AIDS and Other Plagues (including testing); Smoking and Other Bad Habits.

Joel E. Cohen, How Many People Can the Earth Support? (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995). - with many controversies surrounding population issues - and their major re-focus since the 1994 UN Conference in Cairo - this extremely thorough and authoritative but non-polemical study by a renowned biologist is particularly useful. Its essential approach is that of ecological "carrying capacity". For a fully unified biological approach to the earth's capacity, see J. E. Lovelock, Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); it views all life as one organism.

David Crystal, English as a Global Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). - carefully-worded description of English' present status, controversies and prospects by renowned linguistics expert. While noting it is spoken well by about 1.5 billion people and is expanding rapidly in both use and influence, author neither sees nor advocates English becoming more than the essential, common second language for most of world. For more on English' history and geographical variations, see Robert McCrum, William Cran, & Robert MacNeil, The Story of English (New York: E. Sifton - Viking, 1986). For more general information on languages, see Ingram (op. cit.).

Paul Davies, Are We Alone? Philosophical Implications of the Discovery of Extraterrestrial Life (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). - scientist examines chances of contacting extraterrestrial life, and its great political-psychological-religious impact on global society. This in turn would have implications for the UN. For perhaps the best explanation of the origin of life on this (or any) planet, see Richard Dawkins, The Selfish Gene: New Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Other relevant Dawkins: The Blind Watchmaker (Harlow: Longman Scientific & Technical, 1986); Climbing Mount Improbable (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996).

The Economist 24 Jan 98: "Pigged Out" (17). - Editorial reporting on proposals to use pigs on a large scale for replacing human organs. Recommends great caution with "xenotransplantation", even if it appears successful, until "a strong international system [is] in place for monitoring recipients" because of risk of disease.

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

The Economist 4 Apr 98 (85-6): "Squeezing Water from the Sea". - conflict over ever-shrinking per capita supply of usable water is widely seen as a major evolving global issue. Article describes status and costs of the two major current means of desalinization. **Distillation** heats salty water and catches condensed water vapour; distilled water costs about \$1/cubic meter. **Reverse osmosis** forces salty water through a composite membrane, holding back salt, etc.; product costs about \$.6/cubic meter. Conservation is even cheaper.

The Economist 18 Apr 98 (77-8): "Get Off My Frequency: Nobody Can Argue With the Utility and Convenience that Wireless Communication Offers. Nobody, That Is, Except Radio Astronomers". - one of the major roles of the International Telecommunication Union (UN S.A.) is to allocate radio frequencies globally. A rapidly compounding problem is the difficulty radio telescopes face with interference.

The Economist 16 May 98 (111-2): "Genetic Warfare: A Private Genome Project"- article reports on a new and rapid process for reading or "sequencing" the human genome, the key in biotechnology for finding out what genetic messages pieces of DNA carry. Developed by two US private companies, the technology refines existing ideas and may be able to provide from scratch a complete sequence of the 3b genetic "letters" that constitute the human genome as soon as 2000, and at a cost of \$150-200m. This compares with the US Government's project expected to take another seven years (total 15), and costing \$4b.

Luc Ferry, The New Ecological Order (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). - an eminent French philosopher examines - not too technically - the implications of a developing split between those who see humanity as the purpose and measure of existence, and the "deep ecologists" who see it as merely a selfish and threatening intrusion into nature. A division becoming relevant to the UN.

Jack Fincher, Human Intelligence (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976). - while now somewhat dated since fast-developing field (see Herrnstein & Murray (op. cit.) for instance) this book still serves many a layperson as painless and fascinating introduction not only to human intelligence but to several related subjects. It describes the brain itself, how it works and learns; the tricky IQ debates; effects of nature, nurture, sex and age; the hopes and prospects of research. Useful background for any study of global human affairs.

Roger Gosden, Cheating Time: Science, Sex and Ageing (London: Macmillan, 1996). - deals in generously non-technical manner with the colourful history, rapidly advancing status, and surprising

prospects of knowledge about ageing - and its trade-off with human reproduction. Any major extensions in the human lifespan would raise immense global and UN problems, including population change.

Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life (New York: The Free Press, 1994). - one extremely controversial section concludes that average Negroid IQ is below Caucasian, which is below Mongoloid. The bulk is more relevant to UN reform, e.g. it deals extensively with proposition that more and more jobs are brain- not brawn-related. A typical if polemical example of IQ-debate rebuttal is: Steven Fraser edit., The Bell Curve Wars:... (New York: BasicBooks, 1995). For summary of current state of the general nature-nurture debate: "What We Learn From Twins", The Economist 3 Jan 98 (74-76).

Jay Ingram, Talk, Talk, Talk: An Investigation into the Mystery of Speech (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1993). - many ethnic conflicts the UN must address, have their origin in, or focus on, language. This book provides a non-technical but valuable introduction to many aspects of what is known about the development and use of speech and language. For a fully detailed and authoritative reference book see: David Crystal, edit., The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For information on the unique global use and role of English, see Crystal (op. cit.). For information on how the popularity of English in particular is resulting in the final disappearance of a language a day (sic), see The Economist 6 Jun 98: "Dying Languages: English Kills" (83-4).

David S. Landes, The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor (New York: W.W.Norton, 1998). - an overriding concern for most UN members and bodies is how to raise the economic standards of LDCs. Landes offers an excellent chronology/rationale for the 500-year Eurocentric Industrial Revolution and its results. Argument: combined geography, political/economic/cultural factors, and above all a scientific/aspiring outlook. Prognosis: uneven and uncertain gains globally. (Near)rich **can** defend their lead; Latin America **may** open up; ex-Sovbloc **must** overcome history; Middle East **could** reduce negative traits; Africa/India **face** huge cultural bars.

Steven Pinker, How the Mind Works (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997). - fine layperson's guide to the current state of scientific knowledge and speculation about the human mind, its development and capacity. The basic assumption is that the mind is a biological computer that evolved through natural selection and can therefore evolve further. Pinker discusses the state of knowledge on language in The Language Instinct (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). Material with special UN relevance: universality of most traits, adaptiveness, emotion, war.

Enzo Russo & David Cove, Genetic Engineering: Dreams and Nightmares (Oxford: W.H.Freeman, 1995). - one of the more responsible sources on the theory, development and effects of current genetic capacity. Biotechnology not only raises ethical and political problems but,

since any controls on "S & T" inevitably clash with global concerns over security, profits and intellectual freedom, may absorb the UN.

Lee M. Silver, Remaking Eden: Cloning and Beyond in a Brave New World (New York: Avon Books, 1997). - perhaps the most controversial field of rapid scientific advance today concerns human reproductive technology ("reprogenetics"). Silver covers wide area, particularly ethical/political issues, generally defending a permissive point of view. Sections cover: the origin and evolution of life; the human reproductive process; the abortion/"quickenning" issue; artificial insemination; in vitro fertilization; cryopreservation; surrogate parents; cloning's many applications; shared genetic motherhood; genetic engineering - its imminent and virtually unlimited options.

Eugene B. Skolnikoff, The Elusive Transformation: Science, Technology, and the Evolution of International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). - the author deliberately takes a focused view of the current global revolution. He argues that the structure and operation of scientific and technological enterprises have "interacted with international affairs to lead to the dramatic evolution of world politics". States have not (yet) caught up.

C. P. Snow, Science and Government: Godkin Lectures (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961). - the international community must try to prevent or regulate scientific/technological developments in areas that could constitute or lead to threats to human security. Snow discusses this challenge via the participation of scientists in top government decision-making. With caveats, he firmly supports this mainly because scientists' vision is more future-oriented than administrators'. But, "a [UN?] scientific committee set to advise on the welfare of all mankind is not likely to get very far" (p.74).

Edward Tenner, Why Things Bite Back: Technology and the Revenge of Unintended Circumstances (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). - while fairly optimistic about human future in terms of Ehrlich-Simon (op. cit.) debate, text depicts graphically modern technology's many negative side-effects. In light of growing global technical and physical interdependence, author recommends we aim towards greater "diversification, dematerialization and finesse" in developing new technology, as well as a constant global monitoring of its effects.

Timothy L. Thomas, "The Mind Has No Firewall" in Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly Vol. XXVIII/No.1 (Spring 1998). - article reports that both US and more particularly Russia have researched varied forms of "information warfare" in which troops themselves rather than their equipment would become targets of attack. Media claims US technology was designed to "vibrate the insides of humans, stun or nauseate them, put them to sleep, heat them up, or knock them down". Russians claim "psy" weapons are under wide development and have described many types. While a US official undertook "to work within the scope of any" relevant treaties, they are very few.

Peter Ward, The End of Evolution: A Journey in Search of Clues to the Third Mass Extinction Facing Planet Earth (New York: Bantam Books, 1995). - perhaps a strange book to put on a UN bibliography since it is mainly about past mass extinctions. However, its message is that **homo sapiens** should tread more carefully in his ecosphere or something may be started that can't be stopped. Easterbrook is too laid back, and optimists like Simon dead wrong.

Robert Wright, The Moral Animal: Evolutionary Psychology and Everyday Life (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994). - one question facing UN and international community in era of revolutionary change is whether and how humanity's way of thinking will react to unprecedented need for new relationships and institutions. While Wright does not see challenges in these specific terms, using Darwinian focus he argues that a paradigm shift in human thinking is already changing the way we see our lives and world. This bodes well for adaptation in time.

UNITED NATIONS: HISTORY, STRUCTURE, PROCEDURES

A. LeRoy Bennett, International Organizations: Principles and Issues (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991). - mostly on the UN. Focus is on philosophy and principles, not structure; breakdown is by broad issue, not organization: League of Nations; Genesis of UN; Basic UN Principles and Organization; Basic UN Issues; Peaceful Dispute Settlement; Collective Security and Alternatives; Justice Under Law; Arms Control; Regionalism; Transnationals and IOs; Economic Welfare; Global Resources (Environment); Social Progress; Human Rights/Self-Government; Administration/Leadership; Future.

Phyllis Bennis, Calling the Shots: How Washington Dominates Today's UN (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1996). - clearly a polemic; this results in strengths (a 50+year, often very detailed survey of USA relationship with the whole UN system), and weaknesses (inclined to exaggerate USA role and oversimplify its motives and consistency).

Dimitris Bourantonis & Jarrod Wiener, edit., The United Nations in the New World Order: The World Organization at Fifty (Houndsmills: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995). - generally useful collection of essays on all the major areas of UN activities and headaches. Includes succinct surveys on such subjects as US leadership, reform options, S-G, peacekeeping, sanctions, disarmament, human rights, NGOs, etc.

E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations Second Edition (London: Macmillan & Co., 1956). - this famous 1939 book's relationship to UN results from its negative influence on Western hope to create a peaceful world through law, e.g. by declaring war illegal. By emphasizing the unpalatable facts of the interwar period and above all the key role of state power, Carr helped kill misconceptions

and illusions that had weakened the League of Nations or encouraged idealistic diplomacy. Specifically, he helped ensure the UN Charter reflected the realities of power (if not realism). *Ku op.cit. (p16)*.

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes edit., Preventing Conflict in the Post-Communist World: Mobilizing International and Regional Organizations (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1996). - most relates to the UN, even if it concentrates on East Europe and the former USSR, and deals particularly with possible roles of European bodies. Three essays address UN peace and security activities.

Antonia Handler Chayes, Abram Chayes & George Raach, "Beyond Reform : Restructuring for More Effective Conflict Intervention" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - good business management techniques are tested on the plethora of UN coordination problems in dealing with conflicts. Conclusions: more responsibilities from center to field; better mission definition, strategy development, training/planning; leaders/members adapted for consensus-building.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Inis L. Claude, Jr., "Peace and Security: Prospective Roles for the Two United Nations" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - useful distinction is made between First UN: the impartial organization consisting of the Secretariat which assists states, conducts peacekeeping on request, etc.; Second UN: the judgemental member states, which on occasion must intervene/involve themselves in a conflict. The two roles and "UN"s must be kept distinct.

Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson, "Making Peace Settlements Work" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996): pp.54-71. - using recent UN experience, both good and bad, article recommends five elements: control the definition of "success"; defer elections if necessary; disarmament and demobilization are key; promote new norms and codes of conduct; economic and social reconstruction are crucial.

Paul Francis Diehl edit., The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997). - group of mostly innovative, non-theoretical essays, exploring international organizations from various angles. Articles address Decisionmaking, Peace/Security, Economics, Social /Humanitarian issues, but are specific, so necessarily selective.

Particularly relevant to this bibliography is article by Giulio M. Gallarotti on some inherent systemic limitations to IO's (375-414).

Robert A. Divine, Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America During World War II (New York: Atheneum, 1967). - the United Nations Organization and its Charter are both essentially American creations. The products of many individuals and groups, mainly over the years 1941-45, their development and acceptance was strongly influenced by a widespread feeling that US refusal to join Wilson's League of Nations led directly to WWII. This is by far the best account of the process, according to Hoopes and Brinkley (op.cit.).

The Economist 9 May 98 (79-81): "Repositioning the WHO: The World Health Organization is About to be Given a Much-Needed Kick in the Backside". - article gives a gloomy description of the management problems accumulated by the WHO, particularly under last Executive Director Nakajima. These are already being tackled energetically by successor, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Most needed are central control, transparency, better relations with World Bank and private sector.

David Hannay, "The UN's Role in Bosnia Assessed" in Oxford International Review Vol.VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - an authoritative and favourable (if defensive) account of the UN in Yugoslavia by the British Permanent Representative to the UN 1990-1995. Clarifies several points regarding the reasons for Security Council actions.

Lukas Harrison Haynes, "Great Power Relations and the United Nations" in Oxford International Review Vol.VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - an argument for restraining Security Council reform since its 1945 purposes and continuing value are to promote cooperation among great powers, constrain their conduct, and lock in the US.

John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations (Washington: Brassey's, 1998). - an extremely valuable and thought-provoking study of the expressly **military** aspects and challenges of UN-sponsored peace-and-security operations. Divided into: observer missions, traditional peacekeeping, "second-generation" peacekeeping, enforcement operations. Hillen credits military calm in first two categories to fact that UNs role is approved by both sides who have already stopped fighting. Problem with second-generation is that as combatants still fighting and may not welcome UN, peacekeepers must be fully combat-ready. So must "contract" forces as in enforcement.

James Holtje, Divided It Stands: Can the United Nations Work? (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1995). - more optimistic than title implies, provides a fine non-expert's guide to UN's organization, history, present status and challenges. In particular it probes the UN-US love-hate relationship, so critical to its future.

Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, FDR and the Creation of the U.N. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). - essentially a fine diplomatic history of the origins and establishment of UN system,

with emphasis on Roosevelt's views and role. While focus is mainly on US activity, lesson is that UN was primarily US concept/creation designed mainly to deal with security. Controversy over veto is key and implies it remains essential. Epilogue: realistic but positive.

Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, A Global Affair: An Inside Look at the United Nations (New York: Jones & Janello, 1995). - although this looks like a coffee-table book (and has hundreds of evocative photos - including one of a dying Audrey Hepburn carrying a dying Somali child), there is an excellent main text for non-experts plus dozens of brief essays, many with surprising personal insights.

Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis & Richard Webb, The World Bank: Its First Half Century; two volumes: 2041 pages. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1997). - two reviewers give qualified praise. Lester C. Thurow in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998) (175-7) calls it a "uniformly strong work", able to say "nasty things" about the bank, and describe its crises, problems, relations and changing policies. It omits any discussion of communist East Europe, and leaves future role unexamined. The Economist 4 Apr 98(78) finds lack of publicity suspicious, and the work "far too long, and of uneven quality". On the other hand it is a "unique resource" with fascinating chapters.

Charlotte Ku & Thomas G. Weiss edit., Toward Understanding Global Governance: International Law and International Relations Toolbox (Providence: Academic Council of the UN System, 1998). - although designed as research and theoretical aid, ACUNS Report No.2/98 also offers much valuable information about history of global policy and legal thinking, international law/relations systems/approaches, the growing role of NGOs, and UN sovereignty and human rights debates.

David Malone, "Security Council Decision-Making and the Future of UN Peace-Keeping" in Oxford International Review Vol.VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - Canadian expert on peace-keeping offers realistic if tough advice, including: "other member states must develop the means to influence American policy at the UN to a greater extent".

James Mayall edit., The New Interventionism 1991-1994: United Nations Experience in Cambodia, Former Yugoslavia and Somalia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - analyses of three controversial UN operations to determine what errors were made and why, and suggesting means of avoiding them in future. Post-Yugoslav case carried forward to Dayton Agreement. Over 100pp. of documents.

Patrick A. McCarthy, "Positionality, Tension, and Instability in the UN Security Council" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - offers mainly permanent members' positions/rationales in current debate on UNSC size, membership and veto powers in terms of their reduced powers. Includes Open-Ended Working Group history.

Stanley Meisler, "Dateline UN: A New Hammarskjold?", Foreign Policy 98 (Spring 1995). - although the framers of the UN Charter expected

the Secretary General to be no more than an administrator, the few openings they left for initiative were exploited well by good incumbents. Boutros-Ghali was one; this article provides evidence.

Stanley Meisler, United Nations: The First Fifty Years (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995). - an excellent easy-to-read history of the UN, with particular emphasis on the great crises, on the personalities, strengths and weaknesses of the Secretary-General and on the shame of the US government. It concludes: "While taking part in some of the most tumultuous events of the century, the UN ha[s] served the world nobly and well for fifty years." (p.340).

Linda Melvern, The Ultimate Crime: Who Betrayed the UN and Why (London: Allison and Busby, 1995). - a book whose anger and frustration detracts from its value as a history, mainly of what the UN has done wrong over 50 years. While most criticism is valid, it is imbalanced and misleading by under-reporting successful programs.

Karen A. Mingst & Margaret P. Karns, The United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995). - introductory study of the history, structure, problems and prospects of the UN, containing useful new perspectives. The balance and objectivity of most parts are hurt by a biased section on aid/women's affairs.

Karen A. Mingst & Craig P. Warkentin, "What Difference Does Culture Make in Multilateral Negotiations?" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.2 (May-Aug. 1996). - a useful, if specialized, entree to the UN-topical subject of negotiating techniques. Concludes that influence of cultural differences varies with topic, but is declining.

Hans J Morgenthau, Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace; Brief Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993). - seminal work on "realist" international relations (original text 1948 but revised by author or on basis his evolving views until 1980s). Interest derives from its critique of UN or "superstate". Stresses nationalism and legitimacy of states pursuing own interests; then poses dilemma that despite these, with nuclear threat "in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state"(343). For legal- vs power-oriented world peace: Ku (16); Carr (op.cit.).

Nordic Project, The, "The Agencies at a Crossroads": Study of UN Specialized Agencies for Nordic Governments (Stockholm 1990). - a thorough study of the organization and financing of the Specialized Agencies. System is too leaderless; financing avoids coordination.

Anthony Parsons, From Cold War to Hot Peace: UN Interventions 1947-1994 (London: Michael Joseph, 1995). - a first-hand history and analysis, mainly of peacekeeping, divided by geographical area, and drawing lessons from the author's own varied personal experience. His service as UK ambassador on the UN Security Council is crucial.

David P. Rapkin & Jonathan R. Strand, "The U.S. and Japan in the Bretton Woods Institutions: Sharing or Contesting Leadership" in International Journal Vol. LII/No. 2 (Spring 1997). - a useful and non-technical report on two subjects: (i) the roles, policies and controversial voting procedures of the Bank and Fund; (ii) global power effects of Japan's economic and financial closing on the US.

David P. Rapkin, Joseph U. Elston & Jonathan R. Strand, "Institutional Adjustments to Changed Power Distributions: Japan and the United States in the IMF" in Global Governance Vol. 3/No. 2 (May-Aug 1997). - although specific to IMF, article complements Ibid. in describing voting arrangements, weighting and relationships, and the extent to which changes in them reflect objective economic criteria among G7.

Rosemary Righter, Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995). - one of the best books to be published recently on the UN as it is. The author is an expert on its weaknesses, problems, and strengths; so provides an informed impetus and guide for reform. Essentially sympathetic.

Benjamin Rivlin, "Leadership in the U.N., 1997: the Secretary-General and the U.S. - a Symbiotic Relationship Under Stress" in International Journal Vol. LII/No. 2 (Spring 1997). - very valuable explanation of the domestic political reasons why US alone voted against a second term for Boutros-Ghali. Article also provides a history of the varying powers and problems of past S-G's, and their changing relations with the US, including over financial arrears.

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury edit., United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations - Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). - revised/expanded in 1993 from dated 1988 edition. Consists of major high-quality essays on vital UN roles: overview (editors); security role history (Howard); post-Cold War security (Urquhart); states' interests (Parsons); S-G role (Perez); good offices (Franck/Nolte); peacekeeping (Morphet); human rights (Farer/Gaer); development (Dadzie); environment (Birnie); law (Singh); reform history (Bertrand); current reform (Wilenski).

Irving Sarnoff edit., International Instruments of the United Nations (New York: United Nations Publications, 1997). - compilation of full texts of agreements, charters, conventions, declarations, principles, proclamations, protocols, and treaties adopted between 1945 and 1995 by the General Assembly. Also contains chapters on legal definitions and how UNGA works, and accessing information on instruments of all UN agencies. To order call: Friends of the UN at (310) 453-8489. ISBN 92-1-100612-0. Paperback US\$30.00. 480pp.

Hans-Albrecht Schraepler, Directory of International Organizations (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1996). - now available in paperback (450+pp; 150+ deal solely with the UN System). I cannot improve on this extract from its own blurb: "Organized in a concise and easy-to-use format, this reference book provides practical info

about international and European governmental organizations of political, economic, social, and cultural importance in the world community....[E]ach entry includes their addresses, structure, functions, activities, purpose, political evolution and membership. It also contains a comprehensive list of abbreviations, a time line of the major events in the history of international cooperation and a table showing the organizations to which each country belongs."

Cheryl Shanks, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan, "Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, 1981-1992" in International Organization Vol.50/No.4 (Autumn 1996) pp.593-627.- complementary to Ibid., article analyses statistically the number, life-span and membership characteristics of intergovernmental organizations - and finds them very complex.

James S. Sutterlin, The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met (Westport: Praeger, 1995). - a short book by a leading UN expert. A special advantage is its breakdown into short subject headings: Old Principles, New Realities; Preventing Conflict; Peacekeeping; Enforcement; Building Peace; Nuclear Security; Regional Organizations; Secretary-General Under Challenge; Challenge: Governments and Peoples. Bibliography.

John Tessitore & Susan Woolfson, edit., A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 52nd General Assembly of the United Nations USA-UNA (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). - for general description of these annuals, see UN Association of the USA (op. cit.). Like all issues, this one covers most UN "challenges". Although in areas where debates have been complex there is space for little more than their outline, document references are offered. In 1997, specific comments provided on: "Beyond Peacekeeping", WTO, LOS, disarmament, development, environment, refugees, drugs, health, crime/tribunals.

Yasuhiro Ueki, "Japan's UN Diplomacy: Sources of Passivism and Activism" in Gerald L. Curtis, edit., Japan's Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Coping with Change (Armonk: M.E.Sharpe, 1993). - explains Japan's past low-profile role as combination of ambiguous position between East and West and effect of "no-war" constitution.

United Nations, Setting the Record Straight: Facts About the United Nations (New York: UN Department of Public Information, regularly updated). - this booklet, latest probably issued as DPI/1848/Rev.?, contains a general fact sheet of statistics on such things as the size of the budget, the number of employees, major programs, and some comparative (mostly US) statistics. It also contains more specific fact sheets on such subjects as: The UN Financial Crisis; UN Peace-Keeping; UN Conferences; The UN: Protecting the Global Environment; The UN and Business. The main target is the US public.

United Nations Association of the USA, A Global Agenda: Issues Before the General Assembly of the United Nations (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 19__). - a key annual source book for UN

delegates and UN specialists generally. Well researched, and then written by experts in each field, sections (grouping issues as per Main UNGA Committee) not only cover entire key agenda of next UNGA, but also describe related events since last issue (e.g. wonderful summaries of global summits). Provides broad contexts, points of conflict, group positions with rationales and key UN document refs. US concerns focused, but not sacrosanct. Unique general reference. For highlights of 1997-8 issue (52nd UNGA) see Tessitore (op.cit.).

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

UNITED NATIONS: NEW AND MODIFIED RESPONSIBILITIES

Martin Albrow, The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). - a mainly theoretical look at globalization, but offering many practical insights about global institutions. Basic thesis is that while political, social, economic and technical elements of modernity and the nation-state continue, we are entering a new era where globality, i.e. a global viewpoint, will gradually replace them. UN system, representative of states, need not be world state, but will become increasingly a system reflecting views and debating values of humanity (119-144).

Mark Almond, Europe's Backyard War: The War in the Balkans (London: Heinemann, 1994). - a combination of background information on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and their military and political conduct to the date of publication. Highly critical of the diplomatic actions of virtually all involved, including most Yugoslav groups, UN and Europe, author warns of ominous precedent set by a Balkan failure.

John Arquilla & David Ronfeldt edit. In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997). - while addressed to US concerns, issues raised are global. Included: new world epoch of conflict will revolve around knowledge; information revolution, being both organizational and technological, empowers small, non-state, networked actors vis-a-vis hierarchies (states); threats are diffused, nonlinear, complex; conflict tends militarily towards "cyberwar"- socially to diverse but comprehensive "netwar"; new trends in: state, business, and NGO roles, information warfare, global crime, and terrorist capacity; **information promotes peace.**

Lloyd Axworthy, "Canada and Human Security: Need for Leadership" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.2 (Spring 1997). - the Foreign Minister puts national powers and prospects in the evolving global context (as does Strong Task Force, op. cit.). He concludes that stability demands a broad, interlinked and complex "human"-oriented security. Canada will pursue prosperity and peacebuilding through development and sharing of knowledge, and "soft power" diplomacy.

Richard K. Betts, "The New Threat of Mass Destruction" in Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.1 (Jan/Feb 1998). - article argues that greatest threat from weapons of mass destruction(WMD) comes not from nuclear or chemical, but from biological weapons since they combine maximum destructiveness with availability. Also, source and nature of WMD attack is more liable to be small scale, derived from rogue states or terrorists, and aimed (surreptitiously?) at civilians. Author urges improved civil defence and intelligence. (Latter world-wide?) Letters in Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) presents qualifying comments.

Dimitris Bourantonis & Marios Evriviades, edit., A United Nations for the Twenty-First Century: Peace, Security and Development (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1996). - a mixed bag of essays on global political trends, security and UN diplomacy, peacekeeping, disarmament, and UN development aid. Faults include unbalanced or doubtful cases and shocking proofreading (in a \$200+ book!). Assets include fine articles on S-Gs(Rivlin), PKing and human development.

Dimitris Bourantonis & Jarrod Wiener, edit., The United Nations in the New World Order: The World Organization at Fifty (Houndsmills: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1995). - generally useful collection of essays on all the major areas of UN activities and headaches. Includes succinct surveys on such subjects as US leadership, reform options, S-G, peacekeeping, sanctions, disarmament, human rights, NGOs, etc.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Global Leadership after the Cold War", Foreign Affairs, 75 (Mar/Apr 1996). - a current summary of the challenges facing the UN and the Secretary-General personally in a world simultaneously fragmenting and going global. While these closely parallel the issues listed above, independence is stressed.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "UN's Future Role: Choices and Challenges Facing the International Community" in Oxford International Review Vol. VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - makes same case as Ibid. but amplifies several points, e.g. five sources of secure UN financing.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Democratization (New York: United Nations, 1996). - the valedictory element of the Secretary-General's "Agendas" trilogy on Peace, Development and Democracy (op.cit.) which he saw as the UN's three great goals. Effectively consists of two parts: a carefully-worded defence of democracy as a Charter responsibility - even if interpreted slightly differently by diverse cultures - and a summary of UN activities in this field; and the case for increasing non-state actors' roles in UN affairs.

Michael E. Brown edit., Ethnic Conflict and International Security (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). - despite a fast-moving target, most analyses and recommendations in these varied essays remain highly topical. Particularly valuable: Adam Roberts' sympathetic critique of Boutros-Ghali's "Agenda for Peace" (1992) focused on: overload issue; changing character of conflict; limited major power harmony; UNSC structure; enforcement organization; laws of war; problematic forms of action; collective security prospects.

Michael E. Brown, edit., The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). - an excellent collection of essays, carefully structured and packed with realistic and specific advice, for UN policy-makers trying to control the proliferation of internal conflicts. Includes separate surveys of recent UN actions in ex-Yugoslavia, East-Central Europe, ex-Soviet Union, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Special sections address "Instruments", "Actors" and "Conclusions".

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21st Century (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993). - Author argues that the UN may increase its political and moral **authority**, but will lack the requisite **power** for a very long time. "[I]nteraction between the dynamics of global political awakening, the continued...socioeconomic crisis...and the philosophic confusion inherent in the postutopian phase of contemporary history do not augur a period of historical placidity" (p.152). "[T]he UN's time has finally come. It is only within [its global] framework... that the common problems of mankind can be...addressed" (p.225).

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill & Wang 1997). - while addressed to US, fine analysis and recommendations apply to UN and active members. Thesis: recent trend for intra-state ethnic violence will continue - if decrease. All states have interest in ending - ideally preventing, such wars. UN must be empowered to play more effective role, and have greater capacity for using standing forces, in managing internal conflicts. Regional bodies, UN financing, arms trade control, cooperation with NGOs and aid to failed states must be strengthened. Diplomacy and intelligence (mainly analysis) must be updated and UN-cooperative.

Edward Carr, "The Sea: A Second Fall", in The Economist 23 May 98 (1-18). - a broad if necessarily concise Survey of all major trends and problems relating to the oceans today, and anticipated. Among the varied subjects covered are: increasing human exploitation and dependency; end of "unlimited" utilization and last great hunting-gathering culture; need for global/state controls as for land; vast areas of unknown living and mineral resources; pollution (man-made/natural), algal blooms, coast/reef destruction; sealife/nutrients; (over)fishing: expansion/controls (fishing fleet 53% superfluous); trends/currents (El Nino, global warming); shipping; new lessons.

Erskine Childers edit., Challenges to the United Nations: Building a Safer World (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). - a useful but uneven collection of essays on the various aspects of the UN's activities. Although most authors tend to blame the selfish, rich world for all the UN's failures and imperfections, those on human rights and humanitarian challenges are informative and balanced.

Jarat Chopra edit., Special Issue on Peace-Maintenance Operations of Global Governance Vol.4/No.1 (Jan-Mar 1998). - since end Cold War UN has undertaken many peace-related operations of new complexity and scale (often called second-generation). Several (Bosnia Rwanda Somalia) were deficient for multiple reasons (mandate, management, resources). Papers analyse **peace-maintenance** system: UN exercises (some) political authority to harmonize diplomatic, humanitarian, military and other civil aspects of operations where local system fails. Authority-Knight; Administration-Morphet; Humanitarianism-Donini; Law-Plunkett; Military-Cousens; Accepting Authority-Adibe.

Inis L. Claude, Jr., "Peace and Security: Prospective Roles for the Two United Nations" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - useful distinction is made between First UN: the impartial organization consisting of the Secretariat which assists states, conducts peacekeeping on request, etc.; Second UN: the judgemental member states, which on occasion must intervene/involve themselves in a conflict. The two roles and "UN"s must be kept distinct.

Daryl Copeland, "Globalization, Enterprise, and Governance: What Does a Changing World Mean for Canada?" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - worldwide approach despite title. Succinct but broad survey of globalization covers both rationale and effects: borderless business-first priorities; technological shrinking of time, space and ignorance; job insecurity/divergence; cultural convergence/ethnic reaction; structural standardization; uncontrolled finance. Author fears the end of the welfare state.

Robert W. Cox, "An Alternative Approach to Multilateralism for the Twenty-First Century" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - report of a UNU-sponsored program on Multilateralism and the UN System (MUNS). Project took "the crisis" as being whether UN could function "if it came to be perceived as the instrument of its most powerful member[s]". Hence, taking a long-term structural approach, the report supports greater global social equity, varied global cultures, and the dissipation of state power.

Robert W. Cox with Timothy J. Sinclair, Approaches to World Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). - collection of Cox's works contains two of direct relevance to this UN bibliography (pp. 494-536). These note **inter alia** that: "Multilateralism is not just a passive, dependent activity. It can appear...as an active force shaping world order." (494) "[It] will be schizophrenic - one part... involved in the present predicaments of the state system, another ...the social and political foundations of a future order" (534).

Mihailo Crnobrnja, The Yugoslav Drama (Montreal: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1994). - a former Yugoslav ambassador takes a well-informed and realistic, but also constructive, look at the current trauma in the Balkans. While finding many causes and villains, he emphasises the common needs and interests of the area. He urges international community, particularly West, to play an active and continuing role to reconstruct and integrate the area, thus downgrading borders.

Chester A. Crocker & Fen Osler Hampson, "Making Peace Settlements Work" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996): pp.54-71. - using recent UN experience, both good and bad, article recommends five elements: control the definition of "success"; defer elections if necessary; disarmament and demobilization are key; promote new norms and codes of conduct; economic and social reconstruction are crucial.

Paul Francis Diehl edit., The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997). - group of mostly innovative, non-theoretical essays, exploring international organizations from various angles. Articles address Decisionmaking, Peace/Security, Economics, Social/Humanitarian issues, but are specific, so necessarily selective. Particularly relevant to this bibliography is article by Giulio M. Gallarotti on some inherent systemic limitations to IO's (375-414).

Abba Eban, "The U.N.Idea Revisited" Foreign Affairs Vol.74/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1995). pp.39-55. - Reflects fact that Israel has been highly critical of the UN; although UN was responsible for the State's founding, resolutions are frequently critical of Israeli actions and sympathetic towards the Palestinians. Ends positively.

The Economist 3 Jan 98: "Little Countries" (65-67). - UN is becoming unwieldy with 185 members trying to reach agreement and find space. Prospects are for more members. Article reports 193 independent countries already exist, 35 having less than .5m people. Yet global political, economic and technological trends support ministates. Full report on small states problems: Commonwealth Report (op.cit).

The Economist 14 Mar 98 (71): "Moonrakers: Who Own the Moon?". - the discovery of water on the moon makes its exploitation much more feasible, and revives the issue of ownership. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty states the moon belongs to all mankind but is legally vague. Attempt in 1979 to draft Moon Agreement using same approach as LOS seabed principles failed. Commercial options are under study in US.

The Economist 9 May 98 (79-81): "Repositioning the WHO: The World Health Organization is About to be Given a Much-Needed Kick in the Backside". - article gives a gloomy description of the management problems accumulated by the WHO, particularly under last Executive Director Nakajima. These are already being tackled energetically by successor, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Most needed are central control, transparency, better relations with World Bank and private sector.

The Economist 6 Jun 98: "Bombs, Gas and Microbes" (23-5). - concise view of current world disarmament/control moves against weapons of mass destruction. **NPT**:186 in; India, Pakistan, Israel, Brazil, Cuba outside. 1997 inspection protocol so far binds few. Trade control: **Zangger Committee** and **Nuclear Suppliers'Group**. **CTBT** (1996): 149 signed; 13 ratified, with major holdouts. Fissile-materials cut-off held up in UN. **CWC** (1997): 168 signed; 110 ratified, again major holdouts; chemical weapons outlawed and destroyed; trade limits; short-notice inspections. **BWC** (1972): 130+ ratified; biological/toxin weapons prohibited but no built-in checks. "Spread of weapons technology seems inexorable...[so hit] roots of regional disputes".

Jacques Fomerand, "UN Conferences: Media Events or Genuine Diplomacy?" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - dealing with a controversial subject, essay concludes that while UN costs are small, the massive exchanges of information can play important clarifying roles, and move the global consensus and action forward.

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy in the Next Millennium" in International Journal Vol.LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - while article stresses US foreign policy, US human rights-related perspectives and actions remain pivotal. Author sees both driven by "exceptionalism": "belief in the exceptional freedom and goodness of American people", reflected in either exemplary isolation or moral activism. Personal civil rights are stressed; few UN texts enacted. Recent US activism: support for UN human rights peacekeeping and criminal courts. More progress likely, with backing of liberal bloc and Russia, and illiberal states such as Iran put on the defensive.

Robert Fowler, Louise Frechette, Geoffrey Pearson, Harald von Riehoff, Gregory Wirick, David Carment, Kenneth Bush, Roy Culpeper, "The UN System: 50th Anniversary Review" in Big Enough to be Heard: Canada Among Nations 1996 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996). - eight essays, mainly from global viewpoint, on UN's: credibility and finances; peace/security role; adaptability; Security Council change; reform proposals; peacemaking correctives; NGO roles; IFIs.

Louise Frechette, The John Holmes Memorial Lecture, Americas Society, New York, 21 Jan 93. - a thoughtful look at the role and future of the UN system as seen by the Canadian Government at the time of this prestigious lecture.

Alexander L.George & Jane E.Holl, The Warning-Response Problem and Missed Opportunities in Preventive Diplomacy (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict report relates to weaknesses/improvements in preventive intelligence and policy reaction. Authors note key intelligence role in giving timely and accurate warning of potential crises but suggest may be **no policy response** if: stakes low; ambiguity; too complex; past errors; overload; politics. **Actions** may include: seek more facts; less vulnerable; commitments up; dialogue; lower costs;

consult others; publicity; assess impact; clarify position; plan; negotiate. If inaction, **review**: was action possible; what options?

Nancy Gordon and Bernard Wood, "Canada and the Reshaping of the United Nations," International Journal 47 (Summer 1992): 479-503. - a short, accurate and realistic history of Canada's principal activities in the UN, particularly in peace and security. One conclusion is that Canada has been good for the UN and vice versa.

Government of Canada, Canada in the World: Government Statement (Ottawa: Canadian Government, 1995). - foreign policy paper mainly in response to report of Special Joint Parliamentary Committee submitted in Nov 1994. Most substantial reference to Canada's UN policy is found on page 27 under "Instruments for Building Security". It begins: "The UN continues to be the key vehicle for pursuing Canada's global security objectives. Canada can best move forward its global security priorities by working with other member states. The success of the UN is fundamental, therefore, to Canada's future security." Canadian undertakings to reinforce the UN follow.

Paul Harrison, Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty (Third Edition) (London: Penguin Books, 1993). - while this classic description of underdeveloped countries' problems and their causes was written in 1979, most of the tragic conditions still exist and the bleak predictions proved accurate. Although author was strongly against all aspects of colonialism, and supported then-current New International Economic Order, his 1993 Overview reflects realistic up-dating of views prescient in 1979. These include women's central part in development; key importance of environment/demography; huge roles of diet, health, urbanization, land-area, literacy, bribery.

Jesse Helms, "Saving the U.N.: A Challenge to the Next Secretary-General" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1996). -carefully-worded hatchet-job by one of UN's most powerful enemies. A demand for either substantial UN weakening or US withdrawal, the essay distorts UN activities, statistics and motivations to accuse it of exceeding its mandate and planning worse. Many experts take issue with both facts and interpretations in Vol.75/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1996).

John Hillen, Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations (Washington: Brassey's, 1998). - an extremely valuable and thought-provoking study of the expressly **military** aspects and challenges of UN-sponsored peace-and-security operations. Divided into: observer missions, traditional peacekeeping, "second-generation" peacekeeping, enforcement operations. Hillen credits military calm in first two categories to fact that UNs role is approved by both sides who have already stopped fighting. Problem with second-generation is that as combatants still fighting and may not welcome UN, peacekeepers must be fully combat-ready. So must "contract" forces as in enforcement.

John W. Holmes, "The United Nations in Perspective," Behind the Headlines 43 (Oct 1986). - Canada's most noted scholar on the UN

wrote this defence of the Organization during its lowest period and still found much to be cheerful about. A lesson for today.

James Holtje, Divided It Stands: Can the United Nations Work? (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1995). - more optimistic than title implies, provides a fine non-expert's guide to UN's organization, history, present status and challenges. In particular it probes the UN-US love-hate relationship, so critical to its future.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Human Rights and the Culture Wars: Globalization and the Universality of Human Rights" in International Journal Vol. LIIII/No.1 (Winter 1997-8). - excellent survey of the global/UN debate over what constitute human rights, and whether there are universal standards. Lecture contends that human rights are possessed by all persons equally, merely by being human. Three types of rights are claimed: civil, economic, collective. Last were introduced by LDCs which, feeling cultural identity threatened, claim civil rights are Western or subordinate. New Western debate over individual vs group rights has added emotional fuel which could even result in warfare.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Myth of Post-Cold War Chaos" in Foreign Affairs Vol.75/No.3 (May/June 1996). - plays down the significance of the Cold War's end by emphasizing that greatest accomplishment after World War II was the creation of the UN System, which has always worked better than recognized, and should now move faster.

Harold K. Jacobson, "The United Nations System in the Nineties: Opportunities and Challenges," International Journal 45 (Autumn 1990): 765-795. - this paper identifies four broad trends affecting UN prospects in 1990: consolidation of peace; democratization; marketization and privatization of economic activity; and rise of global environmentalism. None has turned out quite satisfactorily.

Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000 (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988). - the UN connection derives from the question whether Kennedy scenarios are relevant to a post-industrial world. "Great power overextension" seems to have worked with new twists for the USSR (speed and totality of collapse; key roles of information and expensive technology). Current sole great power, US, also faces new circumstances (usurping of military power by economic or knowledge power; relative reluctance to play a "proper" role). Europe, Japan and China for various reasons are unlikely heirs. Does the UN win?

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" in Foreign Policy No.110 (Spring 1998). - article notes "the growing importance of international institutions for maintaining world order" (82) since global issues need systematic coordination. Organizations proliferated because interdependence prompted states to reduce uncertainty and the costs of making/enforcing agreements. Ideas, norms and information, and individual and NGO networking, all have greater institutional roles but democracy remains limited.

Robert Lawson, "Towards a New Multilateralism: Canada and the Landmine Ban" in Behind the Headlines Vol.54/No.4 (Summer 1997): 18-23. - article contends that the end of the Cold War has opened up new opportunities for middle powers: "International public opinion, transnational NGOs, and revolutions in telecommunications and the mass media have eroded the traditional boundaries and prerogatives of diplomatic praxis". Landmine initiative is example.

Edward C. Luck and Gene M. Lyons, The United Nations: Fifty Years After San Francisco: A Conference Report (Hanover: Dickey Center, Dartmouth College, 1995). - this "Occasional Paper" from the Center consists of an Introduction and two excellent and realistic papers by experts Luck and Lyons respectively entitled "Peacekeeping Plus: The UN and International Security" and "Managing Global Change".

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," Foreign Affairs 68 (Spring 1989): 162-177. - an extremely influential article which, while it dealt mainly with environmental concerns as security problems, began the process - now UN-wide - of defining security in broad terms and not simply in relation to military threats. This was confirmed formally by the 1992 Security Council Summit meeting.

Charles William Maynes, "Bottom-Up Foreign Policy" Foreign Policy 104 (Fall 1996) pp.35-53. - although addressed to US, includes policy recommendations relevant to UN, e.g.: cooperation instead of hegemony; Concert of Powers to include Russia and China; greater peace role for Europe and Japan; world denuclearization; new roles and resources for UN; "not a talent wasted" in the global economy.

Karen A. Mingst & Craig P. Warkentin, "What Difference Does Culture Make in Multilateral Negotiations?" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.2 (May-Aug. 1996). - a useful, if specialized, entree to the UN-topical subject of negotiating techniques. Concludes that influence of cultural differences varies with topic, but is declining.

Internet may include item on Morgenthau book here. Transferred.

Nordic Project, The, "The Agencies at a Crossroads": Study of UN Specialized Agencies for Nordic Governments (Stockholm 1990). - a thorough study of the organization and financing of the Specialized Agencies. System is too leaderless; financing avoids coordination.

Michael Oliver, "Reforming the United Nations" in Commentary (CSIS) No.62 (Oct 1995). - broad-brush look at UN challenges from viewpoint of Common Security, Common Development, Common Rights, Common Participation, and Global Community and the State.

William Pfaff, The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993). - a pessimistic view of recent events, and the resilience they display of a basic human need for identity and connection. Bosnia demonstrated "the European postwar evolution was fragile, and that confronted with the malign

power of nationalist violence and passion, liberal internationalism would yield" (p.224). Hence the inability of the UN in the Gulf or Bosnia to achieve peace except by being willing to use violence itself. "The fact that democracies do not like sacrifices...should be accepted with apprehension, not complacency" (p.229).

Donald Puchala and Roger Coate, The Challenge of Relevance: the United Nations in a Changing World Environment (New York: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1989). - one of a series of excellent essays produced by ACUNS. Even more relevant today.

John Reader, Africa: A Biography of the Continent (New York: Borzoi 1998). - perhaps the most complex challenge facing UN is to deal with Africa's multiple problems. This engrossing book addresses all : geography, climates, ecology, life forms/numbers, (in)fertility, resources, culture, migration, isolation/foreigners, slaves/rulers, diseases/deaths, chain/consequence of history. Fortunately 800-page text has 55 almost independent chapters with cross-references, plus 40-page bibliography bound to footnotes; hence usable for specific topics. Much material has direct global relevance. Highly endorsed.

James N. Rosenau, The United Nations in a Turbulent World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992). - author has developed a realistic (but anti-Realist) view of some likely effects of current global change. It focuses on the partial but inevitable diffusion of power from sovereign states - in this book, to the UN level. Full theory is in Turbulence in World Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990).

John Gerard Ruggie, Winning the Peace: America and World Order in the New Era (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). - a well-argued analysis of the best options for US and the world. After excellent surveys of 1944-5 UN rationale, UNSC's new difficulties in developing its agenda, and the implications of global economic trends for WTO, it concludes that US should help broaden NATO/OSCE, continue its Asian role and pursue a multilateral (UN) world order.

Mihaly Simai, The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 1994). - not as academic as it sounds; a very practical description of recent past, present problems, and probable future. After a geographic and sectoral survey of global trends, the author argues (pp.352-3) that the UN-served global community of the future will be quite unlike 1945 or present: it will require a cooperative system that is more democratic, complex, flexible and harmonized.

Maurice F. Strong, Common Security: The Interdependence of Nations: Notes for Remarks at National Conference on "Peacemaking and Peacekeeping: Canada and the United Nations" (Halifax, 1988). - still one of best logical arguments made for international cooperation.

Maurice F. Strong, The United Nations at Fifty: Issues and Opportunities (Ottawa: UN Association in Canada, 1997). - influential

1995 speech argues: "most immediate need is for improvements in [UN] management" (probably well over half UN Secretariat now engaged in activities better done by others or of marginal priority); UN needs right to borrow; expand rule of law in international life; UN role - provide other actors with framework, leadership and orchestration; more systemic relationship among all levels of government; most critical LDC need is to develop knowledge, with UN as mobilizer.

James S. Sutterlin, The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met (Westport: Praeger, 1995). - a short book by a leading UN expert. A special advantage is its breakdown into short subject headings: Old Principles, New Realities; Preventing Conflict; Peacekeeping; Enforcement; Building Peace; Nuclear Security; Regional Organizations; Secretary-General Under Challenge; Challenge: Governments and Peoples. Bibliography.

Paul Taylor, International Organization in the Modern World: The Regional and the Global Process (London: Pinter Publishers, 1993). - quite different from other international organization textbooks in that it deals substantially with regional groupings, an important consideration for the UN system just when it is trying to determine which activities, where, could best be conducted regionally.

United Nations Publications, Annual Catalogue: Contents (A) Subject Index by groups: Reference; Political Science; Social Science; Law; Environment; Economics; Regional Studies; Educational Aids, Gifts; (B) Alphabetical Listing; (C) International Court of Justice; (D) Treaty Series; (E) Electronic Products; (F) Sales Number Listing; (G) Standing Orders; (H) Periodicals; (I) Mimeographed Documents. Any of above can be ordered from UN Publications: (205) 995-1567 or (800) 633-4931, or UN Publications can identify your local agent. For new information on UN material: <http://www.un.org/Publications>.

United Nations Secretary-General, The Annual Report on the Work of the Organization. The 50th Anniversary Report covers the 50th (1995) session of the General Assembly, the special events that took place at that time, and others to Oct 1996. A good annual reference book, the Reports include key statistics and at least the main activities of all UN bodies. 1996 Report divides issues thus: Coordinating a comprehensive strategy and strengthening administrative structures; Building foundations of peace: development, humanitarian action, human rights; Preventing, controlling and resolving conflict. 1997 Report is different in style, and described under Annan (op. cit.).

Cyrus R. Vance and David A. Hamburg, Pathfinders for Peace: A Report to the UN Secretary-General on the Role of Special Representatives and Personal Envoys (New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997). - this useful paper advocates three changes in high-level S-G appointments: (a) more active use of them as low-cost, low-risk UN instruments for preventing/resolving conflict; (b) an expanded pool of potential candidates; (c) increased funds.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe & Roger A. Coate, The United Nations and Changing World Politics, Second Edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997). - although described as an introduction to the UN for students, text gives much more than simply descriptions of three general areas of UN activity: peace and security, human rights and sustainable development. In particular, "Groping Toward the Twenty-first Century" (99-119) offers excellent analyses of UN prospects and options in security field. Many of the criticisms and possibilities presented are reflected in Annan's program (op.cit.).

Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995). - probably the best analysis of origins/escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, and why international involvement on balance plausibly made situation worse. Argument is that basic cause of crisis was neither ethnic hatreds producing a civil war (although ethnicity was exploited) as most European states and Canada argued, nor communist aggression by Serbia (although Serbia had territorial axes to grind) as perceived by USA. Author argues Yugoslav state was politically/economically unstable and order disintegrating. Nationalism made breakup bloody.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" in Foreign Affairs Vol.76/No.6 (Nov/Dec 1997). - 118 of the world's 193 countries are democratic in that they hold popular elections, now often under UN supervision. Article points out, however, that increasing numbers are also authoritarian: ruling by decree, ignoring the rule of law and limiting human rights. As they are illiberal in constitutional terms, the world community (UN?) should stress liberal ideals more. Vol.77/No.2 (Mar/Apr 1998) contains two excellent Responses: first (167-170) by John Shattuck & J.Brian Atwood, the other (171-180) by Marc F. Plattner. Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) offers four (122-8): by Charles A. Kupchan, Juliana Geran Pilon, Nigel Gould-Davies, Kenneth Cain. Debate centers on affinity between liberalism and democracy.

Danilo Zolo, Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997). - a key debate about longer-term global future is whether/how nation states will continue, or be replaced by world government. In spite of title, Zolo argues that latter would result in turmoil and autocracy. Instead, he advocates that UN be replaced by decentralized international institutions engaged in non-coercive preventive and peacemaking diplomacy and fact-finding arms control.

This "weak pacifism" results from his belief that: "conflictuality cannot be suppressed or annulled, but should instead be patiently channelled, directed and, where...possible, contained" (p.168).

UNITED NATIONS: REFORM PROPOSALS AND ACTIONS

Chadwick F. Alger, "Thinking About the Future of the UN System" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - a selective but representative summary of major UN reform proposals. Includes a useful survey (from 1815) of the multilateral development of "peace tools". Emphasis on direct representation and rich-poor equity.

Kofi A. Annan, Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform (New York: UN DPI SG/SM/6284 or GA/9282 16 Jul 97 and attachments; [http://www.un.org/reform/track2/\[6 documents\]](http://www.un.org/reform/track2/[6 documents])). - Secretary-General/Maurice Strong's reform proposals comprise two types: **29 "Actions"**, mostly multiple and many already initiated, that consist of reforms which S-G has authority under Charter to undertake by himself; **15 "Recommendations"**, single or grouped, that require decisions by member states. Included are: new leadership/management structure; financial solvency; consolidation of Secretariat; staff and budget reductions; raised staff efficiency; top priority to sustained/able development; improved support to committees; quicker peacekeeping/field deployment; better post-conflict peacebuilding; strong action against crime, drugs, terrorism; expanded human rights/disarmament/humanitarian activities; changed public info/communication systems; short/focused UNGA sessions; ministerial study of Charter revision.

Kofi A. Annan, Renewal Amid Transition: Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, 1997, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (New York: UN DPI/1927 or Sales No.: E.97.I.23 - Sep 1997). - distinctly shorter (70pp) than most Annual Reports, Annan's first covers only some highlights of various UN activities from mid-1996 to mid-1997. It complements his "Programme for Reform" (Ibid.) by reporting on a number of early changes. Tessitore (op.cit.) gives much more detail on each subject covered by Annan, but S-G's Report offers a quick overview that UNA-USA can then amplify selectively. For information on Annual Reports: UN Secretary-General (op. cit.).

Frank Barnaby edit., Building a More Democratic United Nations: Proceedings of the First International Conference On a More Democratic UN (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1991). - an uneven mix of sensible proposals for UN reform and far-out idealism. Main value lies in emphasis on the injustice of one-government-one-vote; main weakness in the plethora of unrealistic plans to correct situation. Many comments on roles of NGOs, of which best by Lisinka Ulatowska who admits limitations, but argues UN democracy starts with **states**.

Yves Beigbeder, Internal Management of United Nations Organizations : The Long Quest for Reform (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1997). -

a thorough and balanced study of the structure, characteristics and faults of the UN system to 1996. This valuable primer and reference work contains chapters on: leadership; the system; decentralization issues; management; financing; fraud and losses; staff selection; staff remuneration; gender issues; staff legal protection; unions. Many reforms are explained, often supported, and all evaluated.

Christopher Bellamy, Knights in White Armour: The New Art of War and Peace (London: Hutchinson - Random House, 1996). - although it concludes with detailed proposals for a permanent UN force along the lines of French Foreign Legion and/or Canadian "Rapid Reaction Capacity" submission (op. cit.), the book's main thrust relates to the nature and implications of recent basic changes in national security, war and armed forces. Hence the need for a key UN role.

Maurice Bertrand, Some Reflections on Reform of the United Nations (Geneva: Joint Inspection Unit, 1985). - one of the most insightful analyses ever made of what reforms might and should be made to the UN administrative and financial structure. No punches pulled.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Empowering the United Nations," Foreign Affairs, 71 (Winter 1992-93). - the Secretary-General calls for a number of reforms, particularly in the "peace and security" field: a special fund for peacekeeping and standby troops and equipment. Broadens the canvas of his official 1992 report "Agenda for Peace", and partly anticipates his less sanguine 1995 "Supplement".

Canadian Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations, The, Canadian Priorities for UN Reform: Proposals for Policy Changes by the UN and the Government of Canada (Ottawa: UN Association in Canada/Canada Communications Group, 1994). - report contains 52 recommendations under six groupings: Security Council Reform; Finances; Agenda for Peace; Arms Proliferation; Agenda for Development; Agenda for Human Rights. Some became Canadian policy.

Ingvar Carlsson, Shridath Ramphal et al., Our Global Neighbourhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). - an outstanding and realistic collection of recommendations for UN reform, including something for every group. Compiled by 28 independent experts including Maurice Strong. Main sections: A New World; Values for the Global Neighbourhood; Promoting Security; Managing Economic Interdependence; Reforming the UN; Strengthening the Rule of Law World-Wide; A Call to Action.

Ingvar Carlsson, "The U.N. at 50: A Time to Reform" in Foreign Policy Number 100 (Fall 1995), pp.3-18. - a summary of the main recommendations of Report Ibid. Lee-Anne Broadhead, "Commissioning Consent: Globalization and Global Government" in International Journal Vol.LI/ No.4 (Autumn 1996). - critique of the Report, mainly arguing that it is not radical enough in resisting globalization.

Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997). - while containing little original or radical, Report makes a well-argued and convincing case for much more and earlier preventive diplomacy, particularly by the UN. Among the proposals (all op.cit.) from well-qualified members: better intelligence; more S-G initiatives; well-targeted sanctions; "inducements"; conditionality; preventive deployments; a UN rapid reaction force; non-deployed nuclear weapons; tighter verification for all arms treaties; making development sustainable; rule of law; involvement by NGOs, religions, science, schools, business, media.

Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. - a handy small grey-blue booklet carried by every UN delegate, and referred to as much as Billy Graham checks his Bible.

Antonia Handler Chayes, Abram Chayes & George Raach, "Beyond Reform : Restructuring for More Effective Conflict Intervention" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - good business management techniques are tested on the plethora of UN coordination problems in dealing with conflicts. Conclusions: more responsibilities from center to field; better mission definition, strategy development, training/planning; leaders/members adapted for consensus-building.

Erskine Childers (with Brian Urquhart), Renewing the United Nations System, Development Dialogue 1994:1 (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994). - a fine description of the UN as it is, warts and all, by two long-time experts. They make several constructive recommendations that clearly influenced Carlsson group (op.cit.).

Erskine Childers, "The United Nations and Global Institutions: Discourse and Reality" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1997). - one of Childers' last, if typical, diatribes, it predicts the UN's imminent demise and accuses "the North" of deliberate ill-will, deceit and trickery in supporting free trade, globalization, market democracy, etc. Supports several worthy, if utopian, reform ideas: e.g. centralization of UN system; a Parliamentary Assembly.

Roy Culpeper, The United Nations and the World Economy (Ottawa: UNAC, 1997). - Carlsson-Ramphal, Childers-Urquhart and Qureshi-von Weizsacker (all op. cit.) make similar proposals for a new UN body which (unlike ECOSOC) could deal substantively with world economic and financial issues in manner similar to Security Council on peace and security. Existing **ministerial** groups are G7, IMF/IBRD Interim and Development Committees, and various Basle bodies (G10 BIS etc). Paper proposes that IMF/IBRD committees combine and replace ECOSOC.

Dennis Dijkzeul, The Management of Multilateral Organizations (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997). - the UN's secretariat has received almost continuous study and criticism. Uniquely, this book analyses the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), and their coordinating Joint Consultative Group on Policy

(JCGP), from a public-management perspective. In doing so, it tells much about the entire system's strengths, weaknesses and potential.

The Economist 15 Feb 97: "Reworking the UN" (17-18); "United Nations :Towards Reform" (38-39); Iraq and the UN: Oil But No Food" (39-40). - three brief, well-informed items relating to the current state of major UN problems: Secretariat, finances, priorities, etc.

The Economist 19 Jul 97: "Another Go at Reviving the UN" (40). - description of Secretary-General Annan's reform proposals including summary of his report (op.cit.) plus US criticisms/demands/reaction. Positive Canadian reaction in DFAIT News Release No.118, 16 Jul 97.

The Economist 22 Nov 97: "The Best World Club We Have" (8,49-50). - gloomy report on UN financial and political troubles, particularly with the US. Letter in same issue proposes unique Security Council reform formula; letter from UNDP in 20 Dec 97 issue censures gloom.

The Economist 9 May 98 (79-81): "Repositioning the WHO: The World Health Organization is About to be Given a Much-Needed Kick in the Backside". - article gives a gloomy description of the management problems accumulated by the WHO, particularly under last Executive Director Nakajima. These are already being tackled energetically by successor, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Most needed are central control, transparency, better relations with World Bank and private sector.

Eric Fawcett and Hanna Newcombe, United Nations Reform: Looking Ahead After Fifty Years (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1995). - a compendium of individual essays by Canadian experts on various UN programs and problems (the UN System; Peace/Security; Human Rights; Environment/Development; International Law; Information). One recurring theme is that the UN should be for people, not states.

James Fergusson & Barbara Levesque, "The Best Laid Plans: Canada's Proposal for a U.N. Rapid Reaction Capability" in International Journal Vol.LII/No.1 (Winter 1996-7). - a detailed, if slightly theoretical, critique of the Canadian 1995 proposal (see Government of Canada op. cit.). The main argument is that in our attempt to continue to play a major role in UN peace-related activities, Canada's "realistic" approach actually strengthens the "P5" role.

Leon Gordenker, The UN Tangle: Policy Formation, Reform, and Reorganization (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation - Report No.12, 1996). - a carefully argued and limited proposal for institutional reform by outstanding UN expert. Means: to list types of UN bodies, their histories and resulting problems; to identify those of each type most usefully abolished, and resulting savings (almost 50% of budget); to suggest how welcome reform be undertaken - gradually.

Wendell Gordon, The United Nations at the Crossroads of Reform (Armonk: M.E.Sharpe, 1994). - very careful and thorough description of the UN system in all its parts (including the International

Court of Justice, Trusteeships, the Specialized Agencies, etc.) The reforms recommended are somewhat more radical than Carlsson's.

Government of Canada, Towards a Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations Ottawa: Canadian Government, Sep 1995. - study done for UN in response to Boutros-Ghali plea for a Rapid Reaction Force. Proposal includes a "Vanguard Concept" under which "UN would be able to assemble from Member States a multi-functional force of up to 5,000 military and civilian personnel and rapidly deploy it under the control of an operational-level headquarters upon authorization of the Security Council." Fergusson-Levesque op.cit.

Lukas Harrison Haynes, "Great Power Relations and the United Nations" in Oxford International Review Vol.VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - an argument for restraining Security Council reform since its 1945 purposes and continuing value are to promote cooperation among great powers, constrain their conduct, and lock in the US.

Gerald K. Helleiner, A Conference on Finance and Development? Notes for Presentation to UNGA Second Committee, 15 Oct 97. - Toronto U. economics professor raises issue why major UN conference on topic is needed. He argues it is critical to: get central macroeconomic financial institutions for newly globalized economy strengthened; get global economic governance more politically and economically representative; and put essential focus on development - things G7, Bretton Woods and BIS would not do. To this end UNGA could: have SG appoint an expert panel; set up N-S intergovernmental committee; begin regional reviews; let a few states initiate their own review.

Robert Johansen, "The Future of United Nations Peacekeeping and Enforcement: A Framework for Policymaking" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1996). - recommends: (1) ensure nations comply with norms against aggression and genocide; (2) decrease reliance on large-scale military force when enforcement is required; (3) reduce national military capabilities to conduct offensives; and (4) strengthen non-military enforcement instruments.

Paul Kennedy and Bruce Russett, "Reforming the United Nations" in Foreign Affairs Vol.74/No.5 (Sep/Oct 1995), pp.56-71. - a useful summary of the reform proposals currently under discussion, with the reasons for them. A lot of information in a short space, and valuable as an indicator of the situation in 1995.

Keith Krause et al., Canada, the United Nations and the Reform of International Institutions (Draft paper by Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto; 1990). - the only known detailed account, derived from Departmental files, of Canadian activities since 1945 to reform the UN, in most cases through changes in procedure and structure (reform not adaptation).

Richard Langhorne, "Reforming the United Nations: The International and Institutional Contexts of Reform" in Wilton Park Paper No.95

(Dec 1994).- this conference report takes a broad and long-term look at the aims and perspectives of UN Charter drafters, using Congress of Vienna and Versailles Conference for useful comparison. Conclusion is that current conditions also demand basic reforms.

David Malone, "Security Council Decision-Making and the Future of UN Peace-Keeping" in Oxford International Review Vol.VII/No.2 (Spring 1996). - Canadian expert on peace-keeping offers realistic if tough advice, including: "other member states must develop the means to influence American policy at the UN to a greater extent".

Charles William Maynes & Richard S. Williamson edit., U.S. Foreign Policy and the United Nations System (New York: W.W.Norton & Co., 1996). - clear, expert and realistic survey of major UN activities and problems, including peacemaking, disarmament, development, human rights, refugees, plus Urquhart on the Secretary-General and Puchala on possible systemic change. Although aimed at US policy-makers, most UN reforms proposed have general attractions.

Patrick A. McCarthy, "Positionality, Tension, and Instability in the UN Security Council" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.2 (May-Aug 1997). - offers mainly permanent members' positions/rationales in current debate on UNSC size, membership and veto powers in terms of their reduced powers. Includes Open-Ended Working Group history.

Joachim Muller edit., Reforming the United Nations: New Initiatives and Past Efforts (Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1997). - this work consists of 3 volumes and 3,464 pages, and costs US\$536.00. I have **not** bought it, but Foreign Affairs Vol.77/No.3 (May/Jun 1998) (132-3) reports that it reprints "every major reform proposal laid out for the UN since its inception. A reference work intended for legal experts, it makes no pretense of evaluating or analysing...".

Robert Muller and Douglas Roche, Safe Passage into the Twenty-First Century: The United Nations' Quest for Peace, Equality, Justice and Development (New York: Continuum, 1995). - two UN experts discuss current challenges, and make proposals. Main tasks (amplifying four aims in title) are: Curing the sickness of violence; Toward a new philosophy; Universal enforcement needed; and Human person at the centre. Global Education is advocated "as a basis of hope" [see A: GLOBAL ISSUES]. Book concludes with Blueprint: 7-21 recommendations for action under each heading. Appendix lists 50 UN accomplishments.

Nordic Project, The, "The Agencies at a Crossroads": Study of UN Specialized Agencies for Nordic Governments (Stockholm 1990). - a thorough study of the organization and financing of the Specialized Agencies. System is too leaderless; financing avoids coordination.

John E. Noyes edit., The United Nations at 50: Proposals for Improving Its Effectiveness (Washington: American Bar Association, 1997). - strongly supportive, legally-focused survey of UN System's value and problems - particularly with US which, by breaking its

legal obligations, "may destroy the [UN] by causing its financial bankruptcy." Contains many ABA Recommendations: US should recognize ICJ compulsory jurisdiction, push for International Criminal Court, support trained standby UN military forces, help IMF "stabilize" global capital markets, enhance IAEA safeguards and create separate energy agency, rejoin UNESCO and LOS Convention, and **pay arrears**.

David Owen, Balkan Odyssey (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1995). - exceptional source of information and analysis, not only on complex diplomacy of international involvement in post-Yugoslav crisis, but on general role of UN in intra- and international conflicts. Owen, who had personal Yugoslav experience before becoming key peace negotiator 1992-95, recommends all UNSC members be pre-committed to contribute troops etc. to any UN peace operation they agree to, and that UN maintains an instantly deployable Brigade so constituted.

Donald Puchala, "Outsiders, Insiders, and UN Reform" in Washington Quarterly Vol.17/No.4 (Autumn 1994) pp.161-173 - succinct essay on the UN's reform needs and proposals, US official attitudes, and the distinct probability that Washington will take little or no action.

Moeen Qureshi, Richard von Weizsacker, et al., The United Nations in its Second Half-Century: A Report of the Independent Working Group on the Future of United Nations (New York: Ford Foundation, 1995). - another excellent collection of possible reforms of the UN system produced by a group of independent experts. Latter have the advantage that they have no particular axe to grind and can put forward a package including something for everyone.

Rosemary Righter, Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995). - one of the best books to be published recently on the UN as it is. The author is an expert on its weaknesses, problems, and strengths; so provides an informed impetus and guide for reform. Essentially sympathetic.

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury edit., United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations - Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). - revised/expanded in 1993 from dated 1988 edition. Consists of major high-quality essays on vital UN roles: overview (editors); security role history (Howard); post-Cold War security (Urquhart); states' interests (Parsons); S-G role (Perez); good offices (Franck/Nolte); peacekeeping (Morphet); human rights (Farer/Gaer); development (Dadzie); environment (Birnie); law (Singh); reform history (Bertrand); current reform (Wilenski).

Bruce Russett, Barry O'Neill, & James Sutterlin, "Breaking the Security Council Logjam" in Global Governance Vol.2/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1996) - following a detailed analysis of all the factors involved in size/permanence/veto issues, package proposal is: (1) eliminate prohibition of immediate reelection; (2) expand nonpermanent membership to 16 (total 21); (3) raise necessary votes for passage

of resolutions to 13 (or 14); (4) restrict scope of veto somewhat; (5) delete Charter's "enemy" clauses. A little for everyone.

Bruce Russett edit., The Once and Future Security Council (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). - a thorough and up-to-date survey by varied experts, on the background to and elements of the current debate on UNSC reform. Issues analysed from viewpoint of (aspirant) Permanent Members, Non-Aligned, excluded activists, voting patterns and implications, stakes and balances. Ends with proposal (ibid.).

Joseph E. Schwartzberg, "A New Perspective on Peacekeeping: Lessons from Bosnia and Elsewhere" in Global Governance Vol.3/No.1 (Jan-Apr 1997). - detailed case (including costs) for fully, but not heavily, armed 300,000-man UN Peace Corps (UNPC) capable of meeting ample variety and complexity of crises if supported by transport, and national high-tech ground, naval and air forces as necessary.

Modesto Seara-Vazquez, "The UN Security Council at Fifty: Midlife Crisis or Terminal Illness?" in Global Governance Vol.1/No.3 (Sep-Dec 1995). - excellent article outlining the criticisms of most of the Third World about the Council, but with reasonable proposals.

Max Singer & Aaron Wildavsky, The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/ Zones of Turmoil (Chatham: Chatham House Publishers, 1993). - authors see post-Cold War world divided into wealthy and militarily powerful democracies, which are inherently peaceful; and developing countries, which are inherently unstable, and often authoritarian. This dualist perspective is used as basis for new global strategy to "develop" the whole world by the end of the 21st century. UN is seen as needing reform through a "binding caucus" of democratic members following same system as a governing parliamentary party.

South Centre, The, For a Strong and Democratic United Nations: A South Perspective on UN Reform (Geneva: The South Centre, 1996). - prepared for and under auspices of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), this "policy paper" offers an excellent summary of NAM/Group of 77 positions and rationales on several key UN reform issues. Advocates: transfer of powers from "North-dominated" Security Council and IBRD/IMF/WTO to "democratic", all-year, General Assembly; more, stricter, non-voluntary, and direct financing; more expert, diverse and independent UN staff; larger Security Council without permanent members or vetoes; stronger ECOSOC and UNCTAD; and better UN image.

Stanley Foundation, The, The United Nations and the Twenty-First Century: The Imperative for Change (Muscatine: Stanley Foundation, 1996). - report of a UN experts conference held June 1996. While no recommendations were drafted, several broad ideas were supported. With reduced support and reputation, UN needs a reform impetus from key members, agreement on its primary purpose, active government commitment, a reasonable reform process, and sound financing (US?). Reform working groups must reorganise, and postpone Charter debate.

Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance, The, "Common Responsibility in the 1990's" (Stockholm, 22 Apr 91). - an earlier product of a group of "wise men" similar to the Carlsson Report but not as detailed. It does contain reform proposals, however.

Maurice F. Strong, The United Nations at Fifty: Issues and Opportunities (Ottawa: UN Association in Canada, 1997). - influential 1995 speech argues: "most immediate need is for improvements in [UN] management" (probably well over half UN Secretariat now engaged in activities better done by others or of marginal priority); UN needs right to borrow; expand rule of law in international life; UN role - provide other actors with framework, leadership and orchestration; more systemic relationship among all levels of government; most critical LDC need is to develop knowledge, with UN as mobilizer.

James S. Sutterlin, The Imperative of Idealism : 1997 John W. Holmes Memorial Lecture in ACUNS Reports and Papers . 1997 No.3 (Providence: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1997). - after arguing that the UN should rebuild on its foundation of idealism, author concludes that civil society must have a genuine participatory role, e.g. in a second advisory chamber of the UNGA, "where the focus would be on the liberal agenda of the UN system".

Ramesh Thakur, edit., The United Nations at Fifty: Retrospect and Prospect (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996). - 18 papers by UN experts presented at the 1995 Otago Foreign Policy School. Most are of very high standard, demonstrate personal - particularly NZ and Australian - experience of UN operations (Cambodia (3), Angola, Bosnia, UNSC), and offer extremely valuable insights and proposals on UN reform. Particularly useful is mix of top-level diplomatic, military, and academic advice on Council and peacemaking reform.

United Nations Efficiency Board, "UN 21 : Better Service, Better Value, Better Management: Progress Report of the Efficiency Board to the Secretary General" (New York: United Nations, 1996). - the Board, including 15 top experts, aims "to help solve problems, not just describe them." It appears to have inspired fast progress in better management of UN programs, personnel, money and information.

Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1996 2nd ed). - two long-term UN experts justly criticize the system of choosing a UN Secretary-General and propose alternative methods.

Thomas G. Weiss, "Round Up the Usual Suspects: The Selection Process for the UN Secretary General is in Need of Radical Overhaul," Peace and Security 6 (Autumn 1991): 6-7. - another excellent and well-deserved critique of the manner in which the Secretary General is chosen: essentially for the harm he or she won't do.

Thomas G. Weiss edit., Collective Security in a Changing World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993). - although book compiled at high-

tide of optimism about UN's future, tone is realistic and deeply concerned. New challenges - for both UN and states - of post-Cold War world are analysed, with conclusion that "original notions of collective security clearly need modification" (214). Idea examined as follows: origins of concept; relevance to sovereignty and states system; potential of conflict management; viable SC/SG initiatives; enforcement capability; regional arrangements; history/future of US position; must now govern many complex international relationships.

World Federalists of Canada, An Agenda for Reform of the United Nations (Ottawa: WFC, 1995). - proposals comprise: UN Parliamentary Assembly; make ECOSOC centre of global economic governance; provide UN with direct funding base; make Security Council more democratic; strengthen UN peace operations structure; strengthen ICJ powers; create Permanent International Criminal Court; give Trusteeship Council new role; improve human rights law; enhance NGO role.

Danilo Zolo, Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997). - a key debate about longer-term global future is whether/how nation states will continue, or be replaced by world government. In spite of title, Zolo argues that latter would result in turmoil and autocracy. Instead, he advocates that UN be replaced by decentralized international institutions engaged in non-coercive preventive and peacemaking diplomacy and fact-finding arms control. This "weak pacifism" results from his belief that: "conflictuality cannot be suppressed or annulled, but should instead be patiently channelled, directed and, where...possible, contained" (p.168).

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