

Book Reviews

Other international politicians

by Peyton V. Lyon

The Third World Coalition in International Politics by Robert A. Mortimer. Boulder (Colorado): Westview Press, 1984, 194 pages, US\$22.00 (cloth) and US\$9.95 (paper).

Nonstate Actors in International Politics by Phillip Taylor. Boulder (Colorado): Westview Press, 1984, 247 pages, US\$30.00 (cloth) and US\$13.95 (paper).

Nonstate actors, it is now widely accepted, are increasingly important in the congested international arena. They deserve systematic study. By attempting to be systematic, however, Phillip Taylor has produced a book that reads like a cross between a textbook and an encyclopedia. Robert Mortimer, by contrast, limits himself to an historical account of the two main institutions of the Third World. The result is both readable and insightful.

Apart from a dozen pages on multinational corporations and international labor unions, and comparable attention to transnational ethnic groups such as the PLO, Taylor treats only inter-governmental entities such as NATO, the European Community, ASEAN and OPEC. His decision to ignore the United Nations and its agencies is perhaps justified by the extent of the existing literature. (Even so, it is high time for a contemporary study of the UN of the quality of Innis Claude's *Swords into Ploughshares*, but Taylor's pedestrian style suggests that he is not the author for the task.) Taylor makes a serious effort to be comparative by drawing a common set of questions from the literature on international integration. The attempt, however, becomes tedious and offers little enlightenment. Do we really need to be told, for example, "The Secretariat is always located in the city considered to be the headquarters of that organization?" After treating NATO as by far the more significant decision-making body, Taylor concludes curiously that it is "perhaps no less" important than the Warsaw Pact Organization. He considers that Canada and the United States provide the best example of international integration between the two countries, but says nothing about their institutional arrangements.

Robert Mortimer's updated study of the growing pains of the Nonaligned Movement, and its somewhat larger economic counterpart, The Group of 77, is as authoritative as it is sympathetic. Frequently it catches the drama in the creation of new institutions. Only in his conclusions does Mortimer's commitment to the Third World, combined with a clear awareness of the painful facts, create confusion.

Starting almost from scratch, the Third World nations have evolved a complex set of institutions capable of formulating and defending common positions on many issues of central importance. Yet they are rarely able to settle disputes between their own members, and East-West rivalry continues to strain Southern cohesion. Mortimer, however, shows how "creative diplomacy," notably that of Yugoslavia and India, has enabled Third World unity to

survive such trials as the blatantly biased Presidency of Cuba; the "moderates" do at times prevail and it is only the shortsighted hostility of the United States, he maintains, that has blocked progress towards a more equitable economic system.

Fair enough; United States policies towards the Third World are as indefensible as they are pivotal. Mortimer contends that the Third World through its organizations has achieved "power" that it would be "perilous" to neglect. But is "power" the right word when the organizations have so clearly failed to make gains towards their primary goal, economic justice? Neither militancy nor moderation has succeeded in budging the principal barrier to change, and Mortimer fails to show how the United States, now that it no longer minds being disliked, suffers because of its opposition. The ability to maintain a substantial degree of Third World unity may well be a diplomatic triumph, but to what purpose when economic disparity continues to increase?

The Third World's cause might well be less daunting if its posture were seen to be truly nonaligned. Since little can be expected of the Soviet Union, it is folly to accept for membership its close associates, such as Cuba and North Korea, while rejecting those of the United States, notably Pakistan. Mortimer states briefly the official nonaligned explanation that it is a matter of bases, not ideology. Had he been less committed, he might have been more critical. These are minor flaws, however, in a generally superb study.

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International organizations at work

by Robert P. Cameron

Multilateral Negotiation and Mediation edited by Arthur S. Lall. Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1985, 206 pages, \$30.00.

For students of international affairs or interested laymen, this compact collection of articles provides a comprehensive survey of the scope, limitations and *modus operandi* of the principal international organizations where multilateral negotiation and mediation are regularly practised. Most of the authors, including Britain's Lord Caradon and Canada's Arnold Smith, have drawn on their long experience as outstanding practitioners of the diplomatic profession. The editor is Arthur Lall who also has a wealth of experience both as India's Ambassador to the UN and as a Professor of International Relations at Columbia University.