

## Book Reviews

### Beating Free Trade

by Peyton Lyon

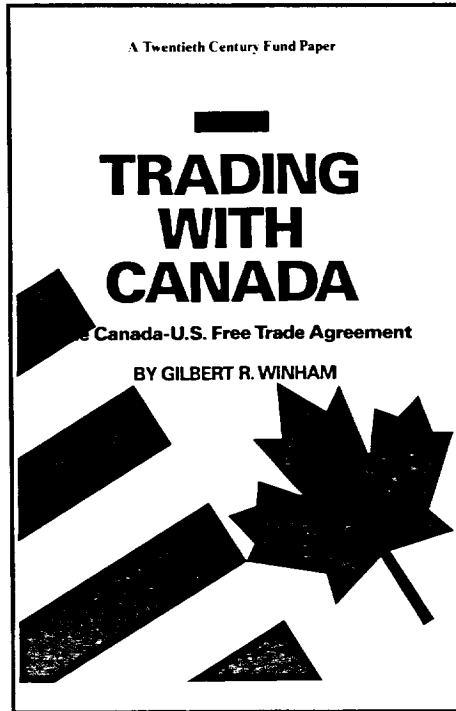
*Trade-offs on Free Trade: The Canada-US Free Trade Agreement* edited by Marc Gold and David Leyton-Brown. Agincourt, Ont.: Carswell Legal Publications, 1988, 458 pages, \$60.00.

*Trading with Canada: The Canada-US Free Trade Agreement* by Gilbert R. Winham. Winchester, Massachusetts: Unwin Hyman Inc. (for The Twentieth Century Fund, New York), 1988, 81 pages, US\$18.95 cloth, US\$8.95 paper.

Both these volumes were intended to make contributions to Canada's 1988 debate over free trade, but neither appeared in time to have much impact on the electoral outcome. *Trade-offs on Free Trade*, moreover, is too crammed to be likely to alter attitudes; those with firm positions will find ample support; those still confused are likely to have their confusion compounded.

*Trade-offs on Free Trade* consists of fifty-two short papers delivered at a conference at Osgoode Hall in Toronto and thirteen chapter introductions by the editors. The selections represent a fair balance of arguments in favor of the free trade agreement and those opposed; special pleaders and objective scholars; economists (mostly in favor), political scientists (all but one opposed), lawyers and others.

Most of Canada's authorities on international integration have contributed, notably Richard Lipsey, Ronald and Paul Wonnacott, Bruce Wilkinson, Rodrigue Tremblay, Katie Macmillan, Gilbert Winham, Debra Steger and Murray Smith. Absent are the negotiators, such as Simon Riesman and Gordon Ritchie; and the dominant politicians, such as Donald MacDonald, Mitchell Sharp, George Van Roggen, Peter Lougheed, Robert Bourassa, John Turner and John Crosby. Also missing are several of the more articulate interest group spokespersons, notably Thomas D'Aquino, Margaret Atwood, Robert White and Maude Barlow. Despite such absences, the strength of the volume is its inclusiveness. It does capture the flavor of the debate, and its handsome legal binding would make it an adornment on any bookshelf. The introductions are clear and



objective, but the editors were too gentle with their blue pencils when dealing with their contributors, as diverse in talent as they are in background and opinion.

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After this mix, it is a relief to turn to Gilbert Winham's solo effort. *Trading with Canada* was written for an American foundation, The Twentieth Century Fund, and presumably a primarily American readership. Winham, moreover, although a long time Professor of Political Science at Dalhousie and a significant contributor to the MacDonald Commission, is of American origin. Some will attribute to this fact his strong support for the free trade agreement, and relative neglect of the possible impact on Canadian culture and independence. Far more relevant is the fact that Winham is one of the rare political scientists in Canada who really has made a serious study of international integration and trade negotiations. He displays a keen awareness of the Canadian national interest, and the trade agreement and how it was achieved; and he argues his case with lucidity and authority. Anyone still in doubt about the path Canada has taken would do well to read this slim volume.

Both books neglect the comparative dimension, as did the debate itself. It almost seemed as though North America had invented free trade areas. Note how we persist in referring to *The Free Trade*

*Agreement* (or FTA). Experience elsewhere, however, is surely relevant, especially in 2-actor systems where one is much larger than the other. The Canada-US situation is far less unusual than many Canadians believe. In every case — such as Britain and Ireland — the smaller actor has gained the most from free trade, and has maintained or augmented its independence. Of course it *could* work out differently here. But surely it is up to the nay-sayers to show why. And the yea-sayers in these two volumes could have strengthened their case by looking beyond our shores.

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### UN in Lebanon

by Camille H. Habib

*UNIFIL: International Peacekeeping in Lebanon, 1978-1988* by Bjørn Skogmo. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, 279 pages, US\$28.50.

Since its establishment by the Security Council in March 1978, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has been trying to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from South Lebanon, to restore international peace and security in this part of the world, and to assist the government of Lebanon in regaining its effective authority. Unfortunately, none of these objectives has been fulfilled. Israel's control of Southern Lebanon through its surrogate — the South Lebanon Army (SLA) — and the "daily ritual" of armed clashes, shellings, and other terrorist activities across the Lebanese-Israeli border, are indications of UNIFIL's small achievements or its great failures in accomplishing its mission.

Writing under the conviction that the identification of a problem is part of the solution, Bjørn Skogmo provides a comprehensive analysis of the many obstacles that UNIFIL has had to face over the last ten years. According to Skogmo, UNIFIL's nightmare was caused by the lack of cooperation among all the parties involved — at the local, regional, strategic and UN levels. He argues that the weakness of the Lebanese government amid the country's ongoing civil war, the perplexity of the Palestin-