

ments, but because it would seem to call into question the very involvement of the bishops in social and political matters. However, Benestad's counsel of restraint is not aimed at silencing the bishops but at encouraging them to consider social and political problems in a more comprehensively and explicitly Catholic perspective. On these terms, his analysis of the bishops' failings is keen and persuasive. WV

NON-ALIGNMENT: ORIGINS, GROWTH AND POTENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE

by Rikhi Jaipal

(Allied Publishers [New Delhi]; 214 pp.: \$9.00)

Ralph Buultjens

The Non-Aligned Movement is a unique and little-understood phenomenon in international affairs. From a meeting of twenty-five nations of the Third World in 1961, it now consists of 101 nations representing more than half of the global population. While its impact and achievements can be and are debated, it is an extraordinary structural success—a creative effort that provides some international organizational coherence for the recently decolonized part of the world.

In that sense, it is a horizontal and voluntary replacement of the vertical and compulsory order of colonial empires. The structure of empire reflected the world political condition from about 1500 to 1950.

In the same way, the Non-Aligned Movement reflects one part of the political condition of our planet today. It may also be the harbinger of a future world order in which Third World nations will have a more formidable role.

If they are to grow in importance and mature in their capacities, movements need both a sense of their history and a progressive refinement of their vision. In the case of the Non-Aligned Movement this has been singularly absent. During the past twenty-three years there have been many political statements, a number of official documents, and some analyses, but no effective attempt to develop a comprehensive historico-vision or an updated definition of the movement's potential.

Now, in an exceptionally well-crafted effort, Rikhi Jaipal fills this need. Although presented as a single volume, Jaipal's book is, in fact, five separate works skillfully articulated into the story of the Non-Aligned Movement. The book is a chronological and thematic history, a political evaluation, an analysis of diplomatic modalities, an intellectual and philosophic vision, and a projection of potentials. Each facet deals with a critical element, and Jaipal's conceptual approach makes possible an understanding of the integration that undergirds the movement as a whole. Each facet deserves a word of comment.

As chronological history, Jaipal's book faithfully documents the physical growth of the movement, the six major summit conferences of heads of governments from Belgrade in 1961 to Havana in 1979, and the other notable bench marks as the movement

proceeded to its seventh summit in New Delhi this past March. What is more important here is the focus on theme—from the early concerns with decolonization, through periods when the abatement of cold war tensions was a major preoccupation, to more recent economic issues. As the non-aligned consciousness unfolds, we watch the development of the principal features of international politics in our time.

As a political evaluation, the book is outstanding. It gives us an analysis both of the strengths and weaknesses of the movement and of the variety of responses and approaches to global problems and to relationships with Western and Soviet power blocs. Non-alignment, implies Jaipal, has moved from attempts to mediate between power blocs to a role primarily protective of Third World interests. There is a sense of loss in this evolution, perhaps an inevitable progression, but one to be regretted. Maybe, under the guidance of the current chairman, Indira Gandhi, some of this mediating function can be recaptured. It is much needed.

The description of diplomatic modalities contained in this work helps to clarify the abstractions of conference diplomacy. While it is the least interesting portion of the book, dealing with technicalities rather than substance and personalities, it is also essential. A careful reading makes for an awareness that great decisions in international affairs are shaped as much by the apparent minutiae of diplomacy as by the great initiatives of policy.

As a statement of philosophic vision, Jaipal's work subsumes two streams of thought. At one level he discusses the expectations of the great visionaries of the early days of non-alignment. The ideas of Nehru, U Nu, Tito, Nkrumah, and others are evaluated and explained against the background of their times. Underlying this exposition is Jaipal's own vision: "In a world that remains polarized between two great powers and ideologies, the non-aligned still have the unfinished task of acting as a bridge of understanding between the two, of preventing a world war and of promoting peaceful co-existence." And he warns of the dangers in the non-aligned not respecting their own non-alignment.

Finally, in Part III, Jaipal provides us with an elegant essay on the potentials of non-alignment. Reading it, one is struck by the possibilities that remain. As the United Nations fades into political impotence, can the Non-Aligned Movement provide the framework that once was lodged in the U.N.? Jaipal suggests a number of alternative strategies, any one of which will enhance



"Things have been going so well that I'm afraid I've been reduced to robbing the comfortably well off to give to the relatively underprivileged...."

