1983

The Other European Community - Integration and Cooperation in Nordic Europe, by T. Turner and G. Nordquist

Leon Hurwitz
Cleveland State University, l.hurwitzl@csuohio.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clpolsci_facpub

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Publisher's Statement

Original Citation

Repository Citation
https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/clpolsci_facpub/24

This Book Review is brought to you for free and open access by the Political Science Department at EngagedScholarship@CSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Political Science Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of EngagedScholarship@CSU. For more information, please contact library.es@csuohio.edu.
due to the strength of the Israeli lobby and the
commitment of American Jewry; (3) the only
viable way to reconcile interest in Israeli security
with the other interests is through the creation of
a Palestinian state in virtually all of West Bank-
Gaza; (4) the United States can achieve this neces-
sary reconciliation of interests only by changing
its role from mediator to arbiter of peace; and (5)
success in this effort requires the participation if
not the partnership of the Soviet Union.

I find Tillman’s thesis flawless and irrefutable.
For this reason, I also find his concluding chapter,
“Peace and How to Get It,” very disappointing
and profoundly depressing. The chapter is short,
only 15 pages, and thin. Indeed, he has almost
nothing to recommend. Tillman rightly sees the
basis of the United States’ dilemma in the Middle
East in its domestic politics. “If there is a
remedy,” he writes in an earlier chapter (p. 71),
“it would seem to lie . . . in the reintroduction of
rationality, on which Madison counted heavily,
into the American political process. This is essen-
tially a matter of placing in office wiser, more
competent leaders. . . . The remedy offered is
perhaps a lame one. . . .” (p. 71). What depresses
me is the gloomy thought that Tillman’s failure to
offer more is due to the fact that sometime after
1973 we went beyond the point of no solution,
and that Israel and United States interests in the
Middle East are simply doomed. Still, the fine
first 275 pages lead me to hope that Tillman
would prove me wrong in a follow-up book on
Middle East “peace and how to get it.”

ROBERT BURROWES

New York University

The Other European Community: Integration and
Co-operation in Nordic Europe. By Barry
Turner with Gunilla Nordquist. (New York:
$25.00.)

The Other European Community treats the five
countries of Scandinavia (Sweden, Denmark,
Norway, Finland, Iceland) that Turner and Nord-
quist term “Norden.” Although these five are
separate and distinct with their own cultures,
traditions, histories, and levels of economic de-
velopment, Turner and Nordquist ably discuss
the several strands of communalities—the growth
of social democracy, the success of cultural and
social interchange, the shared bedrock of political
values, and the noninstitutionalized patterns of
cooperation and consensus formation.

Norden does engage in international integration
and cooperation, but it is on a very low level and
quite noninstitutionalized when compared to the
European Community structures in Brussels. It is
unfortunate, however, that Turner and Nordquist
only narrate some of these cooperative efforts
without really attempting to analyze why these
countries, after establishing a mechanism for in-
tergovernmental cooperation (the Nordic Coun-
cil), maintain a low level of policy harmonization.
The narrative would have been strengthened by a
discussion of the tension between the need for
international organization and the fear of inter-
dependence costs.

The governmental decision whether to organize
multilaterally for the pursuit and satisfaction of
particular interests depends on a large extent on a
country’s political, economic, security, and tech-
nological capabilities and resources. If these are
perceived to be sufficient to ensure the successful
implementation of appropriate domestic and
foreign policies, then international organization
through establishing or joining IGOs may not be
desirable. If, on the other hand, national capabil-
ities are not regarded as adequate while IGOs ap-
pear to offer a more likely path to assuring the
satisfaction of important national interests, then
a state may be more inclined to encourage the per-
formance of the necessary tasks multilaterally
through the creation of appropriate IGOs. These
are basically the circumstances forming the back-
ground for what John Ruggie calls a state’s “pro-
penisity for international organization” (“Collect-
ive Goods and Future International Collabora-
tion,” American Political Science Review, 1972,
66, 874-893).

It would seem that Norden should have a high
“propensity for international organization,” but
the fear of “interdependence” costs has put limits
on Norden’s institutionalized cooperation. William
Coplin and Michael O’Leary (“A Policy
Analysis Framework for Research, Education and
Policy-Making in International Relations,” paper
delivered at the 1974 International Studies
Association Convention, St. Louis) describe inter-
dependence as the existence of conditions in
which the perceived needs of some individual
groups in one state are satisfied by resources or
capabilities that exist in at least one other state.
The patterns of transnational interdependence
thus are a product of the relationship between
needs and capabilities across national boundaries.
Other views of interdependence stress “sensitiv-
ity” or “vulnerability” to external events.

But it is this very inequality of capabilities
within interdependence relationships that at times
evoke fears of dependence on the part of the
governments. Instead of producing perceptions of
reciprocal dependence that might induce govern-
ments to treat the acts of other governments as
though they were events within their own borders
and might be seen within the context of con-
verging interests, unequal capabilities among states are likely to lead to suspicion, envy, and tensions. Norden all too frequently resorts to national means and solutions as a countervailing force against the threat of dependence, and such actions harm the prospects of useful collaboration among the states.

This book is not for the serious student. It is a broad, sweeping overview with very little analysis or theory-building (the dust jacket recommends it to tourists—it does have some of the travelogue in it). The absence of footnotes is a drawback, and both the bibliography and the index are rather skimpy. But the book will suffice as a general introduction to Norden's surface characteristics.

LEON HURWITZ

Cleveland State University

U.S. Influence in Latin America in the 1980s.

The premise of this collection is that the decline of U.S. hegemony in Latin America has been insufficiently related to factors of political culture and change that condition the intensity of outside influence. Although U.S. power remains predominant, "the desire to maintain a positive image and to assure the generally favorable disposition of the . . . republics" (p. 2) constrains United States actions.

Each of the contributions offers an illuminating account of U.S. policy over the last 10 years through syntheses of recent scholarship, Latin American journalism, and government documents. Controversies such as CIA complicity in Allende's overthrow and the diplomatic maneuvering to displace Somoza are treated judiciously. The complex nuances of nongovernmental sources of influence—which extend, or sometimes diminish, normal channels of political power—are assessed carefully. Examples include Paul Sigmund's analysis of the role of Chicago-trained economists in formulating social policy in Pinochet's Chile, Thomas Anderson's discussion of AFL-CIO activity within Salvadoran trade unions, and David Blank's examination of the intellectual impact of Euro-socialism upon Venezuelan party politics.

A concluding chapter by Wesson amplifies several common themes including the counterproductive effects of withholding military aid, the decline of U.S. moral prestige since Vietnam, and the occasionally positive impacts of Carter's human rights policies in moderating reactions toward dissidents in some regimes.

The articles on Brazil, Venezuela, Panama, Cuba, and Argentina most thoroughly link the variable of influence with the advent of political change by incorporating empirical data. Wesson contends that Brazilian aspirations "to a seat at the top" (p. 71) result in the pursuit of multiple foreign policies and opposition to U.S. pressures toward nuclear nonproliferation. Venezuela's goals of defending democracy and equitably disposing of its oil wealth, notes Blank, has produced a philosophical eclecticism concerning the proper role of government in economic development. In both instances it is implied that such assertions of maturity benefit hemispheric stability, although they limit direct American influence.

Steven Ropp's account of U.S. economic dominion in Panama suggests that declining influence has resulted from the eclipsed fortunes of U.S.-favored commercial elites whose power has been supplanted by nationalistic elements, including an increasingly Latin American-trained National Guard. Edward Gonzalez provocatively suggests that prospects for improved relations with Cuba may be greater than at any time since 1959, since overdependence upon Soviet largesse, internal party rivalries, and negative third-world repercussions resulting from a "maximalist" foreign policy have made Cuba a virtual hostage to Soviet interests. The absence of U.S. leverage is due to practical constraints: there is "simply no way that the United States could displace the USSR as Cuba's economic patron and supporter" (p. 212).

Finally, Kenneth Johnson's chapter on Argentina hints at one reason for the failure of Alexander Haig's mediation efforts during the Malvinas crisis of 1982: "so sensitive are the Argentines in the matter of how one treats them" (p. 53) that they are easily flattered. Considerable evidence suggests that Argentina was led to mistakenly inflate its importance to U.S. security interests by Haig's efforts. Other contributions on Colombia and Mexico discuss immigration, land reform, and narcotics trafficking.

The book's only serious deficiency is the lack of a coherent conception of an appropriate object for U.S. influence. Wesson's final prescription rests upon a disappointing geopolitical premise: "if the United States cannot make itself felt in Latin America, its position in the world will have sunk low indeed" (p. 225).

Although reinforcing critics' contentions that U.S. actions in Latin America are responses to problems in other arenas, this aphorism is an inadequate point of departure for policymakers. Area specialists, however, can benefit from the book's even-handed prognosis of U.S. capacity to direct recent events.

DAVID LEWIS FELDMAN

Moorhead State University