



**Latin America in the International Political System.**

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Latin America in the International Political System by G. Pope Atkins. New York, The Free Press, 1977. 448 pp. \$11.95.

This book is designed to provide "a topically complete, factually current, introductory level general survey using political science concepts" (p. xiii). That is more or less what it is. It appears to have been inspired by a volume edited by Harold Davis and Larman Wilson, *Latin American Foreign Policies*, which contains a number of competent articles on the foreign affairs of individual Latin American states.

One of Atkins's main purposes is to determine to what extent the Latin American region may be considered "a significant unit" in international affairs (p. 1). In pursuit of this goal, he adopts a "systems" approach, using William Thompson's criteria for the valid designation of a regional subsystem: proximity, internal and external recognition, and intense and regular interaction. His conclusion is that the region is a proper subsystem and that it occupies "a unique place in political analysis" (p. 382). However, the author arrives at that conclusion by using a method which probably allows for no other conclusion. This method is the extraction of modal regional experiences by generalizing from the variance in national experiences. Thus, if most nations in Latin America demonstrate forms of nationalism in their foreign affairs, then the author concludes that the "force of nationalism is strong everywhere" (p. 42). In the same vein, the author asserts that political parties "rarely pursue strong or consistent policies on international issues" (p. 44), and that Latin American diplomats tend "to share upper class interests and goals" except in nations with large middle classes (p. 46). This method, which obscures both the variance and the forces behind the variance in national experiences, guarantees the conclusion.

Another major failing is the use of concepts such as "conflict," "cooperation," and "nonstate actors" as convenient devices for organizing chapters rather than as elements in a set of interrelated theoretical propositions.

Nevertheless, the book contains a number of redeeming features. Chapter three is a good survey of the relations between Latin America and the nonhemispheric great powers since the colonial era. Chapter four summarizes the conclusions from the major historical works on the foreign policy of the United States toward Latin America, starting with the Monroe Doctrine. Chapter five is dedicated to a survey of nonstate actors and contains a wealth of information on the role of the Roman Catholic Church and on guerrilla movements in Latin America. The discussion of multinational corporations and labor movements leaves a lot to be desired, however.

The author either omits, or cites but then fails to discuss, some of the more important studies: for example, the works of Ted Moran on Chilean copper, of Franklin Tugwell on Venezuelan petroleum, of Constantine Vaitsos on multinational pricing practices in Colombia. He also omits any reference to the charges by Philip Agee in *Inside the Company* that the CIA had helped to finance and had infiltrated many of the international and national labor organizations in Latin America.

I do not understand why economic investment, trade, aid, the training of military personnel, arms transfers, diplomatic exchanges and cultural relations are all lumped together under the heading of "cooperation" in the sixth chapter, while chapter nine is devoted to regional integration. Regional integration certainly fits the author's definition of coopera-

tion ("the conscious behavior of the differentiated units designed to produce results of value to all of them" p. 156) better than arms transfers.

Chapter eight, on the effects of the global and regional balances of power on Latin American affairs, is well done and concludes with some interesting statements: "While some individual regional actors have substantially increased their national capabilities (notably Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, and Peru), the region's generally increased freedom of action and the loosening of the balance of power system in their favor rests not so much on the power of individual states as on their ability to unify with each other and present a common front to the rest of the world. If external influence continues to decline relatively, then struggles for leadership within the region will become more important to international politics" (pp. 268-9).

Finally, the book provides a very complete bibliography and each chapter concludes with a short bibliographic essay. To summarize, this book provides few new insights into the subject of Latin American international affairs, mainly because of its lack of sophistication. Nevertheless it contains a great deal of useful information which has never before been assembled in one place. For that reason it would make good reading for advanced undergraduates or beginning graduate students if supplemented with works of greater theoretical sophistication.

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*The Politics of South Africa: Democracy and Racial Diversity by Howard Brotz.*  
New York, Oxford University Press, 1977. 164 pp. \$11.95.

The publishers of this book claim that Professor Brotz has "undone the ideological straight-jacket" surrounding South African politics and discovered, or rather rediscovered, a politically feasible path toward peaceful change in the republic. No one could be better qualified than Brotz, an outsider with expert knowledge of North American race relations who has closely followed South African politics for some thirteen years, to undertake this daunting task. However, after reading *The Politics of South Africa*, I remain unconvinced.

Brotz argues that the development of Afrikaner nationalism in the direction of doctrinaire *apartheid* was by no means inevitable. It arose because Smuts failed to sever his connections with the liberal wing of his party led by Hofmeyr and to unite instead with Havenga to form a new "center" coalition (Brotz's term) before the fateful 1948 elections. Consequently, moderate Afrikaners were alienated from the United Party and the eminently "realistic and practical" guidelines set out by Chief Justice Fagan's commission could not be implemented. The essence of Fagan's report rested on two proposals: that Africans, Coloreds, and Indians should be granted the greatest measure of self-administration compatible "with the general safety and welfare of the State," and that in all other matters there should be *effective* and *genuine* consultation. Most of the book consists of a discussion of the political, economic, and social bases of *apartheid*, interspersed with comments on the