

**SHARING DESTINY: A STUDY
OF GLOBAL INTEGRATION**
by Trygve Mathiesen

(Columbia University Press for Universitetsforlaget, Norway; 186 pp.; \$26.00)

Robert J. Myers

Those of us professionally involved in international relations eagerly seek out studies proclaiming progress in this arcane business, hoping against all evidence that someone will find a new theory, or a new way of interpreting the evidence, that justifies our efforts. So Trygve Mathiesen, a Norwegian scholar concerned with the polar regions and the relationships between great and small powers, is an important straw to clutch during the current dismay over the disarray in world politics. Norway, perhaps, has the answer.

The idea of a shared global destiny is no longer in much dispute, given the general acceptance of the "nuclear winter" theory popularized by Carl Sagan and associates. The idea of "global integration," however, may be more controversial. In international affairs, as in the stock market, it is essential to detect the main trend, up or down, to

which one then relates the ups and downs of short-term performance. It is in this light that one ought to approach this thin volume and discover either reinforcement of the integration thesis or affirmation of the exact opposite. As it turns out, there is a Hegelian character to this serious, idealistic work that leaves the impact and validity of the integrationist arguments very much in the eye of the beholder.

The creation of a system of world politics, Professor Mathiesen believes, is a hopeful development, since it enables states of "all sizes and stages of development" to enter into the process. This has been at a certain cost, however: "Beliefs, established moral standards, and social norms seem to be giving way almost everywhere in the world, without applicable alternatives being formed."

This counterpoint—an assertion of integrative factors and a concession that there is substantial evidence of disintegration—is carried throughout the book. Improved transportation and communications create worldwide fellow-feeling; and "without their psychological basis we cannot hope to master the mounting problems of world politics." But at the same time, one wonders

whether transportation and communications are not in fact part of the cause of the "mounting problems." Similarly, according to Mathiesen, the decline in the power of the superpowers (disintegration?) has produced a more complex multipolar state system (integration?).

One problem facing "world politics" is how to create a better balance between technological progress and political action; but Mathiesen calls this issue "child's play" compared to the problem of nuclear arms control. And further: "There is no guarantee that the present strong position of Western civilization will be maintained unless the nations concerned are able to cure its present illnesses, which will indeed require a determined moral rearmament." The current trend in world politics is, of course, dangerous and is abetted by "the revival of non-Western civilizations [which] may mean a temporary reversal of the social and moral adjustment which has been going on for some time, and which has improved the social basis for the acceptance of common human rights all over the world." Mathiesen does not see how it is possible to advocate human rights "in one part of the world and leave another part to the despots. That this

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policy should meet with great obstacles was only to be expected in a world where brute force still plays a dominant role."

Curiously, these positive normative propositions for a new integrated world community come up against the author's own often reluctant and insightful observations that the favorable trends he sees are at odds with his own estimates of the dominant trends of our day. The book seems to argue with itself in an often melancholy fashion.

A minor but irritating point: I noted ten egregious typos from page 30 to page 101 before I stopped counting. This suggests one of two courses for the future: (a) that the Norwegian publisher, Universitetsforlaget, invest in a good proofreader or (b) that Columbia University Press be more discriminating in distributing thin volumes at \$26.

In sum, there is more assertion and hope than real evidence to support the idea of world integration. The call seems to be for a vast program of social and ethical engineering beyond anything yet attempted. This expectation requires a high order of courage and faith, and an optimism that rises high above the current dismal state of international relations. WV

CITIZEN MACHIAVELLI

by Mark Hulliung

(Princeton University Press; xiii + 299 pp.; \$22.50)

John E. Becker

Modern scholars consistently omit the imperial theme in Machiavelli. They are too concerned, says Hulliung, with his republican thought and with trying to reconcile the monarchical Machiavelli of *The Prince* with the republican Machiavelli of *The Discourses*. Arguing against the long tradition of humanist readings of Machiavelli, Hulliung rejects the image of him as "torn, divided, and tortured by the necessity of doing evil for the sake of good." For Machiavelli the truths of power were not terrible; they were exciting. Hulliung cites J. R. Hale with approval: "'Because of its formal resemblance to old manuals *Of Princely Government*, Machiavelli's *Prince* was like a bomb in a prayerbook.'" Hulliung goes on: "What has been done for *The Prince* must now be done for the republican writings of Machiavelli: these too must be restored to their intellectual context, . . . classical political thought, Roman in particular."

"Eternal Summer

Our reviewers have liked these books. We recall them to you, hoping that summer will bring opportunities to read that winter has denied.

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