

Loukas Tsoukalis, *The European Community and its Mediterranean Enlargement* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981) pp. 269.

Loukas Tsoukalis has written a fascinating book in which he discusses the politics and economics of accession to the European Community of Greece and the potential accession of Spain and Portugal. Tsoukalis, a political economist now at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, has written extensively on The Community, and combines a knowledge of economics and politics that is both rare and necessary for a synoptic view. This is not the political economy of John Stuart Mill, but a demonstration of economics tempered by politics and politics tempered (to a considerably lesser extent) by economics as it is played out in international bargaining and in domestic debates about membership. The author carefully examines the recent economic and political history of each country, revealing strengths and weaknesses, similarities and dissimilarities, and reminding us once again of what a paradoxical institution the Community really is. Essentially a transnational economic organization of minor political clout among its members, it stands for a liberal free trade policy and an illiberal Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the cartel provisions of which are uniquely severe and irrational.

The three Mediterranean countries place a high value on entry, it appears, for political reasons, an understandable need to preserve their new and fragile democracies from the blight of totalitarianism which characterizes their recent past. Further, they do not wish again to be the forgotten men of Europe. With old alliances shattered, they want an association with "democratic Western Europe", even if that is more of an ideal than a political reality. The political benefits which they seek may prove to be intangible and elusive, if they are forced to the periphery of the EC in a state of low growth, weak comparative advantages and a debilitated industrial structure as a result of the economic dynamics of integration. The enlargement is an experiment with risks to both sides, but with greater risks to the entrants, who in their enthusiasm have apparently neglected to weigh the long run economic costs to their still developing economies. Tsoukalis advocates enlargement in the most general terms and with the broadest considerations, arguing that it is better to be in than out in a world that may continue to stagnate under inflation and that may defensively resort to nationalist measures. He recognizes, somewhat ironically, "...the general principle that the weak (and relatively uncompetitive) lose from economic integration" (pg. 252), but fails to apply the principle to the subject at hand.

It is here that one may challenge the author and his admirable exposition. The integration of the three will be largely an integration of the poor with the rich (excepting Ireland), the developing with the developed, and the newly industrialized with the advanced industrialized. The economies of the three, at present, suffer from a missallocation of too many resources in agriculture and low productivity services, and too few in industry. What they require is investment and technology to modernize, particularly agriculture and manufacturing, which comprises about a fourth of total output and is a source of dynamic growth. Harmonization of their inefficient agriculture with the rest of the EC will proceed very gradually since most of CAP's substantial budget is devoted to price supports, but the manufacturing sector will bear the brunt of the competitive forces of integration, free trade, the common external tariff and trade preferences to third world countries. [Greek manufacturing] is a case in point; debt ridden, slow to change, it has exhausted its comparative advantages in trade with The Community, which has contributed to its expansion and which may now contribute to its demise. The cold winds of competition are a hostile climate for industria,

survival where capital, technology and entrepreneurship are especially scarce resources. In this respect, Greece is more likely to suffer than Spain, which has been far more successful in attracting foreign investment and what accompanies it, advanced technology and organization. Portugal, on the other hand, remains the least developed and the most problematic as a functioning member within the Community. If foreign investment is a source of risk taking capital and new techniques, there is simply no evidence that it will increase to the three if only because the labor costs of production (not only lower wages but higher productivity as well) are lower elsewhere. Tsoukalis presumes that the pattern of foreign investment will be undisturbed by accession. There are reasons to think otherwise. The risk of investment will be lower to Community countries than to the outside because of the free mobility of capital after the transition period, a Community investor can disinvest at will—and because of the cooperative nature of relationships among members. If so, foreign investment will shift its origins to West Germany, France, etc., and accordingly, the spectrum of available technologies will be more restricted to the host countries.

If the manufacturing sectors of the three diminish because of integration, it will spell a reverse economic development, and a regression to trading in services, agriculture and whatever light manufactures remain. I don't think this is a startling conclusion, and it was perceived by some astute Greeks who still supported membership even at such a cost. Nevertheless, it constitutes a *prima facie* argument for nonaccession that I wish the author had examined more closely. While internal policies of the entrants could compensate, these policies seem expensive, perhaps inefficient, and in potential conflict with *acquis communautaire*. One can await the actions, if any, of Papandreou's socialist government in regard to these issues, since Greece is a test case of the enlargement. Meanwhile, one can read with profit Tsoukalis' book.

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Karl Borromäus Glock, *Aufenthalt in Griechenland*. Entdeckungen im Norden, Tagebuch. Glock und Lutz Heroldsberg bei Nürnberg, Gelbes Schloß 1983.

Eines Tages erhielt ich überrascht, vom Verfasser selbst, dieses hübsche Büchlein, das den XXXVIII. Band der Nürnberger Liebhaberausgaben bildet. Wieder ein touristisches Buch über Griechenland, dachte ich mir und begann es durchzublättern. Aber meine Voreingenommenheit verschwand schon als ich die ersten Zeilen dieses Buches gelesen hatte. Je mehr ich mich in die Lektüre des Tagebuches vertiefte, um so vollkommener und interessanter erschien mir das geistige Porträt dieses modernen Philhellenen, der Nordgriechenland an Pfingsten 1982 mit Seele und Herz aufgesucht hatte.

Es ist kein Tagebuch und kein Reisebuch im üblichen Sinne. Trotz der Bemerkung des Autors im Unschlagtext, daß "dieses bescheidene Buch weder unsere literarische Welt 'erobert' noch den Leser zu einem Pro oder Contra stimulieren will", möchte ich betonen, daß diese interessanten Aufzeichnungen, doch ein Voyage littéraire bilden und mehr als das. Es handelt sich hier um einen liebevollen, innigen und objektiven Versuch während eines kurzen Aufenthaltes von 17 Tagen in Nordgriechenland, Wesen und Charakter des dortigen Landes und seiner Bevölkerung wiederzugeben. Ausgerüstet mit einem Lexikon der antiken