

social and cultural life, but they no longer do so in an overtly religious context. Not all of Bottum's observations ring equally true, but any reader interested in American politics or culture needs to grapple with the insights of this fascinating book.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Massacre in Norway: The 2011 Terror Attacks on Oslo and the Utoya Youth Camp
BY STIAN BROMARK. TRANSLATED
BY HON KHIAM LEONG. Potomac
Books, 2014, 208 pp. \$24.95.

Since 2001, Europe has suffered more terrorist incidents than the United States, although none of the attacks has been as spectacular as those that struck New York City and Washington on 9/11. Among the most lurid European incidents was the 2011 massacre by a lone gunman of 69 young Norwegians at a summer camp near Oslo associated with the Labour Party, which was combined with a diversionary bomb blast in the city that killed eight people. Bromark, a Norwegian journalist, tells the story based on detailed eyewitness accounts, and his book serves as a corrective to wrong-headed foreign commentary that used the event to criticize Scandinavian social democracy. Despite the xenophobic rhetoric of the perpetrator, his crime was not evidence of widespread right-wing radicalism or of lax Norwegian law enforcement. The murderer, although

an adult, seems to have been a lonely outsider in a close-knit society, not unlike many of the teenagers responsible for school shootings in the United States. The most revealing anecdotes in this book illustrate something that foreigners often overlook: the deep bonds of friendship and community that continue to define what it means to be Norwegian.

Is the EU Doomed?

BY JAN ZIELONKA. Polity Press, 2014,
120 pp. \$45.00 (paper, \$12.95).

Zielonka is an intellectual provocateur in the best sense of the word. He has previously likened the EU to an empire; now, he claims the union is doomed to disintegrate into the governmental equivalent of polyphonic music. Underneath that strained analogy lies a serious point. Arguments over the future of Europe tend to fall into two extreme camps: the EU must either centralize power in Brussels and become a technocratic United States of Europe, as federalists advocate, or it must grant power back to national governments, as British conservatives and others desire. Zielonka argues, entirely plausibly, that neither idea would work. He suggests that decentralized networks of businesses, civil society groups, independent government agencies, EU officials, and European citizens should interact with one another in open-ended, nonhierarchical forums tailored to different issues. Some might object that such a vision simply repackages the EU as it already functions. Others might protest, as globalization theorists have for years, that any arrangement that does not formally allocate political

responsibility is bound to be dysfunctional, and even dangerous. Yet this book will stimulate debate on Europe's continuing multinational experiment.

*The Tragedy of the European Union:
Disintegration or Survival?*

BY GEORGE SOROS WITH GREGOR SCHMITZ. PublicAffairs, 2014, 208 pp. \$22.99.

This is the most honest and sensible book yet to tackle the euro crisis. Soros eschews the sanctimony and pseudoscience that frequently accompany commentary on the EU and gets right to the basic political conflicts and human foibles that underlie the union's problems. Although he is a bit imprecise on the origins of the euro system, he explains with clarity how the single currency created a financial system dominated by incorrect assessments of risk. One result has been the eurozone's domination by Germany, which benefits from the system in the short term and refuses to change it, blocking significant banking reform. This guarantees a long period of stagnation for southern European countries, which now find themselves in a position similar to that of developing countries that borrow in a foreign currency. Soros sees this as a "nightmare" from which Europe might never wake: for better or worse, the eurozone might not last. This book represents not merely the clear-eyed criticism of a single economist; it also marks a final loss of faith in the EU project on the part of one of its most prominent believers.

Land and Wine: The French Terroir
BY CHARLES FRANKEL. University of Chicago Press, 2014, 264 pp. \$27.50.

As do most books on wine, this one contains histories of famous regions and ancient vineyards, paeans to the distinctiveness of particular grapes, and florid descriptions of specific wines. And, as do nearly all wine books, it sings the praises of *terroir*—the qualities that a product such as wine exhibits owing to its place of origin. Yet I have never encountered a book quite like this one. In careful detail, it tells the geological history of France, at each point linking the character of the country's wines to the underlying geology of the land on which the grapes are grown. The story proceeds chronologically, starting 500 million years ago, when great oceans were swallowed up during tectonic shifts, and ends just 10,000 years ago, at the moment when the Strait of Gibraltar broke open and the Mediterranean ceased to be an inland sea. Throughout, one is struck by the violence and diversity of geological change and by the overarching lesson that few things are as essential to a place as its *terroir*.

*Lessons From Europe? What Americans
Can Learn From European Public Policies*
EDITED BY R. DANIEL KELEMEN.
CQ Press, 2014, 232 pp. \$44.00.

This book sets out to explore what the United States could learn about public policy from European countries. European models are increasingly cited in American public debates, often as negative examples in ideologically polarized discussions. This group of distinguished

authors seeks more sober conclusions, grounded in empirical evidence. They examine rules relating to issues of work-family balance, labor-market regulations, climate change policy, urban transport, election law, pensions, and immigration. Three lessons stand out. First, Europe is a continent of extreme diversity, and so a single European model rarely exists. Second, in all but the last two areas, plenty of European policy solutions exist that the United States could learn positive lessons from. Third, although some might criticize the entire notion of learning from Europe on the ground that the United States is “exceptional,” much of the distinctiveness of the United States results from policy choices and political institutions that could be reformed, should Americans desire better outcomes from their government.

Civil and Uncivil Wars: Memories of a Greek Childhood, 1936–1950

BY NICHOLAS X. RIZOPOULOS.
TidePool Press, 2014, 288 pp. \$26.95.

In the past few years, Greece has gone from being the protest-wracked poster child for European dysfunction to one of Europe’s most promising reformers. Dramatic as the turnaround has been, it pales in comparison to Greece’s experience during the first half of the last century, when it suffered through two Balkan wars, numerous skirmishes with Turkey, a military coup, German occupation, and a bitter civil war that ran, on and off, from 1942 to 1949. It’s a bloody and confounding history that few non-Greeks even remember today, let alone understand. This singular

book—part memoir, part history—should change that. In it, Rizopoulos, a historian and former director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, deftly weaves together his own implausible story—he was raised in Athens, was orphaned at 17, and yet somehow still found his way first to the Hotchkiss School, in Connecticut, and then to Yale—with that of his turbulent homeland. Shaped by a combination of striking detail and lack of self-pity that brings to mind Vladimir Nabokov’s *Invitation of a Bezar*, the book works well as both personal narrative and political saga.

JONATHAN TEPPERMAN

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

Globalization, Trade, and Economic Development: The CARIFORUM-EU Economic Partnership Agreement

BY RICHARD L. BERNAL. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 292 pp. \$110.00.

The Bolivian Revolution and the United States, 1952 to the Present

BY JAMES F. SIEKMEIER. Penn State University Press, 2011, 224 pp. \$64.95 (paper, \$29.95).

Contesting Trade in Central America: Market Reform and Resistance

BY ROSE J. SPALDING. University of Texas Press, 2014, 334 pp. \$60.00.

In international negotiations with seemingly much stronger states, astute developing countries can