

Mission Failure: America and the World in the Post-Cold War Era

BY MICHAEL MANDELBAUM.
Oxford University Press, 2016, 504 pp.

Mandelbaum's latest book offers a biting sketch of U.S. foreign policy during the Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama administrations, skewering all three for their various mistakes. He argues that, bequeathed a rare gift of peace, prosperity, and relative international calm, the post-Cold War presidencies often wandered off into undisciplined adventures in humanitarianism and quixotic nation building, most of which turned out badly. Instead of squandering blood, treasure, and reputation on "foreign policy as social work" (as Mandelbaum put it in these pages two decades ago), Washington should have focused on other countries' external behavior, not their internal politics. Mandelbaum's blows hit their targets, as does his theoretical contention that the most important factor driving these policies was unprecedented relative power—the strong doing what they can once again, this time in a well-intentioned but clueless American mode. But since the author favors continuing "the American role as the chief custodian of the benign international order that . . . emerged from the end of the Cold War," it is not clear why the new era is truly distinctive, and the book would have benefited from less narration of familiar events and more discussion of the author's preferred courses of action.

GIDEON ROSE

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Scotland Now: A Warning to the World
BY TOM GALLAGHER. Scotview Publications, 2015, 356 pp.

The recent rise of Scottish nationalism has exposed the ideological contradictions of British conservatism. Among British Conservatives are Burkean nationalists who reject Scottish nationalism, Thatcherites who warn Scots not to trim their public sector, extremists who criticize the pro-independence Scottish National Party (for being extremist, naturally), and believers in "one nation" conservatism in theory who are dividing the United Kingdom in practice by striking a cozy electoral bargain with Scottish nationalists. In politics, when partisans contemplate such contradictions, they tend to fulminate, and Gallagher is no exception: his book is twice as long as it need be, not least because it is bloated with sarcastic asides, accusations of cynical motives, and the persistent use of quotation marks to indicate irony. Gallagher manages to see everything except the one thing he cannot: the central role the Conservative Party has played in leading so many modern Scots to despise being part of the United Kingdom. Yet he adds something to the conventional view of the Scottish issue as merely an unfortunate disagreement between two well-meaning groups, idealistic nationalists and sensible unionists. He highlights that even

without the independence movement, Scotland is becoming a populist one-party state. Governments in such places, he rightly warns, tend to be insular, intolerant, interventionist, and corrupt.

Government Favoritism in Europe
EDITED BY ALINA MUNGIU-PIPPIDI.
Budrich UniPress, 2015, 128 pp.

Public infrastructure projects and other types of government procurement almost everywhere in the world suffer from favoritism and corruption, if not outright criminality. The spoils always go to the people with the right connections, wealth, or the willingness to use or threaten violence. This is among the most difficult aspects of governance for scholars to study: those who talk don't know, and those who know don't talk. This slim volume summarizes detailed studies of favoritism in Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine. A final chapter shows how criminal organizations in many countries—including Mafia-like groups in Bulgaria and Italy—infiltrate national and EU-level public spending projects. Each chapter is packed with a remarkably rich set of charts, graphs, and statistical analyses that capture how much corruption exists and how it works. These succinct and eye-opening quantitative estimates of what really goes on beneath the surface of government make for indispensable reading and should straighten out anyone who doubts that the powerful always find ways to reinforce their influence and wealth, even on the "cleanest" of continents.

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Export Empire: German Soft Power in Southeastern Europe, 1890–1945

BY STEPHEN G. GROSS. Cambridge University Press, 2016, 398 pp.

From the British Empire a century ago to China today, powerful countries have often employed economic and cultural influence to bind smaller states in dependent relationships. Gross shows how German businessmen and academics in the Weimar and Nazi periods used development projects, trade fairs, scholarly research, and educational exchanges to help entrench Germany's role as the primary trade partner for many of its neighbors, establish itself as a development model, and fix its position atop central Europe's hierarchy of states. Gross stretches the terms "informal imperialism" and "soft power" to encompass this type of behavior, which immediately evokes images of Nazi imperialism. Yet his most telling conclusion is that Germany's informal influence during the interwar period had more in common with today's relations among the United States, European countries, and smaller states than with Adolf Hitler's military grasp for *Lebensraum* (living space) and a formal empire. In many ways, Hitler's counterproductive military expansion and ethnic cleansing reversed the interwar policy of mutually beneficial inducement and persuasion. This book offers an interesting historical perspective on the active trade and investment policies of great powers today.

Shadows of Revolution: Reflections on France, Past and Present

BY DAVID A. BELL. Oxford University Press, 2016, 456 pp.

Bell (who, like me, teaches at Princeton University) has emerged as a leading U.S.-based observer of France, the United States' oldest ally. This book contains more than 40 of his essays published over the past 25 years, covering everything from the French Revolution, Napoleon, and the Vichy government to contemporary politics and culture. Most of these essays are book reviews that engage authors in critical dialogues and that originally appeared in *The New Republic*, the *London Review of Books*, and other periodicals. But Bell is not a typical academic turned high-end journalist: he does not simply summarize books or briefly mention them as a springboard for a bit of reportage or op-ed writing. Instead, he seeks to stimulate serious debate about the past. For him, the test of a good argument is its fidelity to contextual details as historical actors actually perceived them. Although Bell writes well, his reviews do not always make for easy reading, given the complexity of his approach. Still, the book offers unusually rewarding insights into the past and the many ways it continues to influence contemporary France.

EU Leadership in Energy and Environmental Governance: Global and Local Challenges and Responses

EDITED BY JAKUB M. GODZIMIRSKI. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, 229 pp.

No single area of internal EU regulation is more essential to Europe's global role

today than energy policy. This is particularly true with regard to Russia. In recent years, EU officials in Brussels have become more active in regulating competition and funding infrastructure in the energy sector, with an eye toward limiting Russian leverage, which stems mostly from European countries' dependence on Russian natural gas. Meanwhile, individual EU member states have continued to adapt to evolving energy markets, with policies whose substance depends largely on the extent of their energy dependence and their financial means. These developments have had a decisive impact on diplomacy with Russia and the crisis in Ukraine: it is ultimately the EU that decides whether pipelines and connectors are built. The complex and conspiratorial world of energy politics is tough to research. Although more detailed and ambitious works on the subject exist, this volume of EU-funded research offers a useful introduction to some of the key data and perspectives.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World

EDITED BY JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ AND ANA COVARRUBIAS. Routledge, 2014, 482 pp.

The foreign policies of Latin American states have been woefully understudied. This comprehensive collection of essays by senior international relations scholars is a magnificent corrective to that shameful

lacuna. The contributors place their analyses within familiar theoretical frameworks, dive deeply into empirical evidence and keep their essays—30 in all—and succinct. The collection covers foreign policies of every major Latin American country; regional multilateralism and economic integration schemes and issues such as human rights, narcotics, global environmental governance, and migration. Oddly, there is one brief (although solid) essay on foreign policy even though many contributions contemplate Latin American efforts to restrain U.S. power. The pace of change in the region is that the enthusiasm some of the administrations demonstrate for assertive left-leaning governments that seek autonomy from U.S. influence is already a bit behind the curve, as Argentina turns toward pragmatism, Cuba's Raúl Castro endures, and U.S. President Barack Obama, as Venezuela flounders. Nevertheless, an authoritative handbook should be ecstatically received by anyone searching for high-quality material on Latin America's role in the contemporary world.

A Fragmented Continent: Latin America and the Global Politics of Climate Change
BY GUY EDWARDS AND J. TIM ROBERTS. MIT Press, 2015, 300 pp.

American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere

EDITED BY MAIAH JASKOSKI AND ARTURO C. SOTOMAYOR, AND HAROLD A. TRINKUNAS. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015, 300 pp.

Taken together, these two books reveal a paradox of Latin America: although its governments disagree