Recent Books

respect for private property, small government, and the rule of law reflects the God-fearing tradition of the Founding Fathers. The depiction of the American left as a howling Jacobin mob is part of a venerable tradition in American politics; Coulter reproduces core arguments that Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists made against the Jeffersonian Republicans in the 1790s. This is reassuring, since it suggests that the partisanship and bitterness of the present day is no more threatening to the country than many past episodes of polarization.

Western Europe

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

Europe 2020: Competitive or Complacent?

BY DANIEL HAMILTON. SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2011, 150 pp. $22.50.

Hamilton has made something of a career of stating an obvious truth that most observers willfully ignore: Europe is the world’s largest economic power. In most respects, such as trade, investment, research, and development assistance, Europe dwarfs China and India and continues to surpass the United States. Yet the generally antigovernment bias of most economic analyses, the tendency to treat Europe as a set of small countries rather than as a whole, and salient events such as the recent euro crisis lead many to question whether the European model is sustainable. This data-rich volume evaluates Europe’s global competitive position and suggests ways to strengthen it. The advice is sensible: European policymakers should focus on services, knowledge-intensive sectors, and green technology and work collectively through the EU to liberalize markets, streamline regulations, and promote innovation. To be sure, the recommendations are somewhat technocratic. For example, liberalizing immigration laws, promoting intergenerational equity, and deregulating public services appear as economic objectives, not as contested social and political issues. Yet this optimistic prognosis is an important corrective to the prevailing pessimism.

Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union.


The EU has developed an adversarial rights-based legal system much like the U.S. one. Kelmén, a political scientist, argues that this is not because Europe copied the United States but because the two have faced similar challenges. The decentralized nature of the EU means that when leaders seek to liberalize markets and enact common regulations, they often must do so by granting individual rights and privileges that will ultimately be enforced by courts. As a result, EU law, like U.S. law, is both transparent and legalistic, formally defined yet subject to constant adjudication. Kelmén traces parallel trajectories in antitrust law, disability rights, and securities regulation. Sometimes resulting from economic interests and sometimes from normative beliefs, the legal system that has emerged in the EU is a complex one firmly grounded in European society. This book is more synthetic than analytic, building on two decades of work by many scholars, but it serves as a useful introduction to the subject. And by demonstrating the flexibility
and sophistication of European law, it poses a challenge to skeptics who, perhaps encouraged by recent headlines, believe that the EU is an insubstantial and inessential organization likely to collapse in the face of economic crisis.


The history of Europe over the past century has unfolded in, and remains inscribed in, the public spaces of its cities. Based on this premise, this original and engaging book offers a unique, street-level view of European history. Politics have played out on the European street through strikes, revolutions, and coups but have ultimately achieved bourgeois tranquility. Culture—opera, jazz, nightclubs, soccer stadiums, cinemas, television studios—has become essentially urban. Cities have spawned new lifestyles, from novel sexual mores to complex ethnic and racial identities. The mass planning of cities to achieve environmental, epidemiological, ideological, and aesthetic objectives has become a model for state intervention in the economy as a whole. Indeed, perhaps the greatest danger facing European cities today is that government policy threatens the creativity, diversity, and chaos that define the continent’s identity.


Commentators argue endlessly about whether the EU’s foreign policy is a success or a failure. Vaïsse, a foreign policy analyst at the Brookings Institution, and Kundnani, a former journalist working for the European Council on Foreign Relations, assembled a team of researchers in an effort to get beyond such “glass half empty or half full” debates. They assign numerical ratings to the annual performance of EU foreign policy and intend to update them every year. The strength of the exercise lies in the details: 80 separate issues are rated on the extent to which EU member states agree on a policy, the resources committed to the issue, and the outcome. Its weakness lies in the media-friendly aggregation of scores into a single number and a letter grade (A to F) for each issue. This oversimplifies. Is unity a component of success, or are some issues better handled by a vanguard of leading countries? Does grading Europe down for failing to devote massive resources and political will to difficult areas with nearly intractable tradeoffs, such as climate change or Chinese human rights, simply penalize politicians for setting sensible priorities? Readers should ignore the grades and focus on the subtler virtues of this pioneering experiment in foreign policy analysis.


Is conflict between the West and Islam the result of mistaken ideas about the Islamic world? Do Europeans (and Americans) portray Islam as static, monolithic, and reactionary? This volume, edited by a French researcher at Harvard, examines whether such “cultural talk” triggers Western overreaction and inflames Muslim opposition both inside and outside Europe and the United States. It is something of a grab bag of perspectives, heavier on
Recent Books

speculation than on hard sociological, economic, and political data. Yet the general tendency—oddly enough, given the premise of the book—seems to disconfirm the notion that Western perspectives on Islam matter much. One contribution finds such hostile stereotypes mainly among extremists. Another points out that European efforts to combat terrorism have been largely successful. Still another points out that such views are more prevalent in the United States, where Muslims have been more fully integrated than in Europe. One comes away with the impression that the integration of minorities reflects a far more complex range of factors than cultural stereotypes.


Marquand has had a long and distinguished political and academic career: he has been a member of the British parliament, an adviser to the European Commission (the EU’s executive body), and an honorary fellow at Oxford University. In that time, he has tended to support political causes—notably the British Social Democratic, New Labour, and Liberal Democratic movements—only to turn on them later. He has also supported European integration, and in this book he turns on it, too. He does so for a reason that has led many other Europeans to reject integration: he cannot tolerate its ambiguity. The EU’s unique structure, half state and half international organization, has facilitated success and growth for over a half century—longer than most nation-states in the world today have existed. Yet now, Marquand believes, only transforming the EU into something more like the United States, with stronger central institutions and direct democratic representation, can save it from dissolution. In the end, Marquand gives no reason why this will—or, indeed, should—take place. Perhaps what Europe needs instead is a new, more decentralized vision. Yet the mere fact that so many books of this kind are written testifies to the controversy over the meaning of the European experiment.


Although not all readers will accept Castañeda’s core thesis—that Mexico’s drive toward modernity is being delayed by traditional cultural characteristics that have proved counterproductive—Mañana Forever is brimming with lively observations on all things Mexico. A former foreign minister, Castañeda settles scores with the intellectual and media elites who frustrated his efforts to update Mexican foreign policy. Castañeda wants to ramp up the North American Free Trade Agreement, turning it into a full-fledged regional economic union with a single currency (in effect, dumping the peso for the greenback). But first, he maintains, Mexicans must rise out of their backward-looking defensive crouch, rewrite their history books, and stop denigrating the United States; it is high time, he says, for Mexicans to improve their self-esteem and build a more cooperative