

lively analysis and sensible recommendations make it an important resource for anyone who agrees that U.S. power, not U.S. decline, is the true issue of the day.

Abigail Adams. BY WOODY HOLTON.

Free Press, 2009, 512 pp. \$30.00. Readers who know Abigail Adams only through the biographies of her husband, John Adams, will appreciate this fresh, entertaining, and exhaustive take on the life of one of the most independent and influential American women of her time. Holton's biography is not without faults, however. His overeager attempts to burnish Adams' feminist credentials feel patronizing and forced, especially when he tendentiously dwells on her wish to keep and bequeath property in her own name. Fortunately, such lapses are rare enough that Holton's considerable biographical talents shine through: Adams and members of her circle emerge as rounded characters, and Holton is an admirable guide to their intellectual and political concerns. Even though private lives were less thoroughly documented in the eighteenth century than they are now, he gives his readers an unforgettable portrait of an American original.

Western Europe

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

Why NATO Endures. BY WALLACE J.

THIES. Cambridge University Press, 2009, 334 pp. \$90.00 (paper, \$29.99). Most military alliances have tended to be temporary expedients, aimed at gaining short-term advantage or lulling potential enemies into complacency. NATO is

different: it was designed from the start to be permanent and has endured for over 60 years. Thies, a political scientist, argues on the basis of case studies drawn mostly from the Cold War that two factors account for this staying power: the world's bipolar distribution of power in the second half of the twentieth century and the existence of a homogeneous political ideology among NATO's members. One wonders if Thies' explanation can be simplified further, since two decades after the Cold War, NATO lives on, even though bipolarity is gone. Perhaps the organization owes its staying power simply to the shared values and institutions of liberal democracy: Western governments are thus left with little to fight over and much to cooperate on. *Why NATO Endures* provides a useful reminder of NATO's essential stability in the face of deep fissures over many small issues. What might need to be explained are the policy writings of the 1990s and the first decade of this century that have heralded the collapse of an institution that shows no sign of disappearing.

Can Islam Be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State.

BY JOHN R. BOWEN. Princeton

University Press, 2009, 242 pp. \$35.00.

Americans' conception of Islam in France is dominated by the specter of demographic or political apocalypse. Lurid jeremiads regularly ask, "Will France become Islamic?" Bowen, an anthropologist, demonstrates that this view is nonsense—not just because Muslims constitute a tiny minority of the French population but also, and more important, because most Muslims in France seek to assimilate in ways that

are secular, moderate, and peaceful. Polls suggest that the French are more optimistic than most Westerners about the assimilation of Muslims and that French Muslims are not especially committed to asserting their religious identity vis-à-vis the state. This book is not for people who think that headscarves, *burqas*, and the annulment of marriages to nonvirgins mark the beginning of the end for French civilization and Western civilization more generally. But it will be engaging to those who see these matters as complex social issues that pose difficult but ultimately surmountable challenges for Muslims and indigenous French alike. Bowen has prowled French streets, suburbs, and villages to investigate the subtle cultural accommodations that are emerging. In striking contrast to overwrought fear mongering, his scholarly reportage reveals a nation of real French people resolving everyday problems—where to buy meat, how to get married—and getting on with their lives.

The Atlantic Century: Four Generations of Extraordinary Diplomats Who Forged America's Vital Alliance With Europe.

BY KENNETH WEISBRODE. Da Capo Press, 2009, 496 pp. \$30.00.

Many books have been written about the presidents, secretaries of state, ambassadors, and “wise men” who fostered the transatlantic partnership over the past half century. Weisbrode retells the story from the bottom up, focusing on the diplomats in the State Department’s European Bureau. Until recently, many of the bureau’s members viewed themselves as more politically astute and culturally refined than average diplomats. Yet this carefully documented study reveals that they made their share of mistakes, from

questioning EU integration to encouraging the United Kingdom to join the EU a few years later to promoting NATO’s nuclear-armed Multilateral Force. Still, none of this mattered, because—despite Weisbrode’s effort to show the contrary—the presidents, secretaries of state, ambassadors, and “wise men” determined policy after all. For over 50 years, they may have complained that Europe lacked unity, military might, and resolve, but they had no choice but to acknowledge Europe as the United States’ most important and powerful ally.

The Politics of Citizenship in Europe.

BY MARC MORJÉ HOWARD.

Cambridge University Press, 2009, 256 pp. \$85.00 (paper, \$24.99).

Right-wing rhetoric and unruly referendums in Europe can give the impression that Brussels is imposing common standards on the EU countries’ citizenship policies. Nothing could be further from the truth. Rules concerning citizenship, particularly for immigrants from countries outside Europe, vary extraordinarily—from the relatively liberal rules of France and Sweden to the exclusionary ones of Austria and Italy. (This large divergence is one reason why Brussels has almost no say in this area.) Howard sets out to explain these striking differences, finding that colonialism, despite its manifest cruelty and inequality, had the ironic consequence of spreading egalitarian sentiments in colonial powers. As a result, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom tend to have liberal citizenship policies. These countries also made relatively early transitions to democracy, which further encouraged open-mindedness. Of those countries that were not colonial powers, those with left-wing or centrist govern-

ments (such as Germany and Sweden) have been more welcoming to immigrants, whereas those with powerful extreme right-wing parties (such as Austria, Denmark, and Italy) have remained closed. Of course, treating extreme right-wing activism as a cause of strict immigration policies begs the question of why some countries are subject to this sort of partisan mobilization. Howard's explanation is nonetheless a welcome first step beyond the usual stereotypes about Europe's immigration policies.

Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations. BY JEREMY SHAPIRO AND NICK WITNEY.

European Council on Foreign Relations, 2009, 75 pp. Free online.

Accusing Europeans of "infantile" behavior and "fetishizing" the transatlantic relationship, this provocative report calls on Europe to pursue a more unified and assertive foreign policy toward the United States. Shapiro and Witney argue that Europe's treatment of the United States is characterized by bad habits: knee-jerk solidarity, excessive deference, and instinctive submissiveness. They claim that the pushback should start in Afghanistan, where the EU countries matched the United States when it came to foreign aid and provided nearly 40 percent of the military forces through 2008 but let Washington call the shots. To be sure, the authors' argument reflects a U.S. perspective; military operations in Afghanistan and the Middle East are primarily for the United States, not Europe. When Europe's own interests are at stake—on the issues of EU enlargement, Russia, and climate change, to name a few—the continent has been remarkably united. Thus, one might read Shapiro and Witney's critique

as a plea not for Europe to stand up to the United States but for Europe to rescue the United States from itself—particularly when the sole superpower is irresolute (in Afghanistan), indifferent (toward Russia), or internally gridlocked (on the Israeli-Palestinian question).

Western Hemisphere

RICHARD FEINBERG

Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform. BY ENRIQUE MAYER.

Duke University Press, 2009, 328 pp. \$84.95 (paper, \$23.95).

For centuries, in Peru, as elsewhere in Latin America, wealthy hacendados ruled with iron authority from their large estates while humble indigenous peasants kept their gazes fixed on the ground beneath their feet. This all changed in 1968, when the Peruvian military seized power, swiftly expropriated these estates, and converted them into agrarian cooperatives. Mayer, a Yale anthropologist of Peruvian ancestry, witnessed the agrarian reform firsthand and returned in the 1990s to plumb the memories of the participants: displaced landowners and their offspring, aging revolutionary peasants, and former union leaders. Their heart-wrenching stories express the shocks and thrills of mass social change—and the inevitable disillusionments that set in as utopian dreams run into hard realities. Paradoxically, Mayer found that most of his interviewees were materially much better off than before the reform—not only the peasant beneficiaries but also many of the expropriated landlords, who had become urban businesspeople, and the political activists,