

Vitalis is less convincing, however, in casting his analysis as an indictment of the postwar discipline of international relations, let alone its contemporary incarnation. To get there, one has to share his politics. Vitalis sees a project of U.S. imperial domination playing out over the course of the past century, with the “subjection” continuing today, “through new-old policies of intervention, tutelage, and targeted killings in new-old zones of anarchy and civilization deficit.” Given such a reading of U.S. foreign policy, it is not surprising that he believes “the history of ideas, institutions, and practices [in the field] has a constitutive role in their present forms and functions”—or that he sees today’s mainstream international relations scholars as handmaidens of an evil national security state and as the direct descendants of their racist predecessors of a century ago.

Scorning the notion that the postwar liberal international order represents anything particularly new or admirable, Vitalis scores a few points in noting how long it took for some earlier social and racial hierarchies, both international and domestic, to erode. But he refuses to accept the fact that they have indeed eroded. One is left wanting more analysis of how and why the attitudes and patterns of domination Vitalis describes gave way over time, and how the mid-century theorists and practitioners of the liberal international order understood and handled the paradoxes of its halting and inconsistent implementation.

GIDEON ROSE

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Europe's Orphan: The Future of the Euro and the Politics of Debt

BY MARTIN SANDBU. Princeton University Press, 2015, 336 pp.

Between Debt and the Devil: Money, Credit, and Fixing Global Finance

BY ADAIR TURNER. Princeton University Press, 2015, 320 pp.

These two books, the first by a noted *Financial Times* commentator and the second by a former British business leader and financial regulator, challenge two pillars of conventional wisdom about Europe. First, they deny that the so-called euro crisis had anything to do with the euro itself. Sandbu goes so far as to view the euro as a sound currency that even the British should adopt. Rather, they argue, the debt crisis resulted from the bad macroeconomic policy choices of EU member states, namely, a focus on fiscal austerity, high interest rates, and debt repayment. Second, both authors reject the view that the EU will need to establish a fiscal and economic union to fully recover. Rather, they claim, EU governments simply need to spend more, loosen their monetary policies, and restructure their debts. This would be good news for Europe, because the solution would be so simple, even pleasant, to implement. It would be bad news for utopian technocrats in Brussels, who for five years have tried to convince everyone that the only solution to the

shortfalls of European federalism is more federalism.

These provocative and insightful arguments are particularly valuable at a time when austerity retains its intellectual luster despite its manifest failures. Yet Sandbu's and Turner's analyses both omit the politics behind EU decision-making. Saying that governments should pursue different fiscal and monetary policies is tantamount to blaming the crisis, albeit indirectly, on Germany, for not wanting to change course, and on the eurozone institutions that Berlin deliberately helped create in its image, for not letting any other countries adopt alternative policies, either. As Turner states more clearly than Sandbu, if Germany will not budge, it would be better to break up the eurozone than to tolerate permanent stagnation in the EU.

The Merkel Republic: An Appraisal
EDITED BY ERIC LANGENBACHER.
Berghahn Books, 2015, 210 pp.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel dominates her country's politics, has outlasted all competition as the longest-serving current head of government in Europe, and bestrides the globe as the world's most powerful woman. Amid the hagiography, however, it is easy to forget that behind all successful politicians lie the sober electoral calculations and coalitions that keep them in power. On the surface, this collection of essays tells readers more than they likely want to know about the German parliamentary elections of 2013. Underneath, however, it reveals the fascinating intricacies and paradoxes

of German political life. One learns why the German government is consistently headed by center-right parties even though most Germans vote for leftist ones, why more and more Germans throw their votes away on extremist parties, why Merkel favors a coalition with the opposition rather than ruling alone, why Germany can hold a national election that costs two percent of what an American one costs, why Germans disagree so much about the euro, and much more. Although uneven, the book is a must-read for those who seek to get behind the headlines about the chancellor.

Margaret Thatcher: At Her Zenith; In London, Washington, and Moscow
BY CHARLES MOORE. Knopf, 2016,
880 pp.

Moore is a Tory journalist who has been working on a definitive Margaret Thatcher biography for 18 years—with the third volume still to come. The first volume explored Thatcher the person; this second one looks more closely at Thatcher the politician, covering her time in office from 1979 through her third election, in 1987. At her best, she was energetic, committed, and courageous. She faced down striking coal miners, imposed privatization, reformed local government, and negotiated a British rebate from the EU. She was realistic, compromising on China's demands regarding Hong Kong, the EU's single-market initiative, the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the conflict in Northern Ireland. She was visionary, seeing the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as a man with whom she could do business

and, for better or worse, completely overhauling the British economy. And she was lucky, as every successful politician must be, waging and winning the Falklands War and thus transforming a prime ministership whose days seemed numbered into one of the postwar United Kingdom's longest. In the end, however, she could not escape the fate of so many powerful leaders: the narrowing of vision, and ultimately paranoia, that comes from relying on ever-fewer close advisers.

The New Intergovernmentalism: States and Supranational Actors in the Post-Maastricht Era

EDITED BY CHRISTOPHER J. BICKERTON, DERMOT HODSON, AND UWE PUETTER. Oxford University Press, 2015, 368 pp.

Most scholarly literature on the EU gets mired in the weeds of technocratic policymaking or floats in the clouds of supranational institutions. So it is a pleasure to read a book that returns to the biggest historical puzzle posed by the evolution of European integration: How is it possible to have such intense and deepening cooperation (albeit with occasional failures) without strong, authoritative institutions of the type traditional nation-states possess? Europe continues to integrate in areas such as foreign policy, immigration, and internal security, without delegation to central authorities, but these authors do not wring their hands. Instead, they argue that the EU is not about "ever-closer union." Rather, the default setting of the EU is informal consensual deliberation. This analysis is not new, and its plausibility rests

on explaining away the powerful European Central Bank and on a blanket assertion that the EU is in disequilibrium and might change. Yet this book bears close reading as an effort to return theories of European integration to the debate about the EU's future.

Genoa, "La Superba": The Rise and Fall of a Merchant Pirate Superpower

BY NICHOLAS WALTON. Oxford University Press, 2015, 256 pp.

British expats have written so many books about Italian daily life that I habitually ignore them when selecting titles to review. Yet this one caught my eye. Most such books cover standard tourist spots or cute country houses, but this one profiles Genoa, a gritty port city that once held a privileged spot on the Grand Tour of the continent that was a rite of passage for wealthy Europeans from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Genoa now attracts few foreigners aside from those changing trains. Although the book is filled with the requisite stories about colorful locals, architectural monuments, and the unique cuisine served in neighborhood restaurants, it also dwells extensively on Genoa's fascinating history. Even well-read Europhiles tend to forget about the bold Genoese, who held their own for centuries through trading and piracy and also supplied naval mercenaries to the world, notably John Cabot and Christopher Columbus. Walton's description of the city's past and present may convince readers, as it convinced me, to put Genoa on the itinerary of a future visit to Italy.