
Company Man: Thirty Years of Controversy and Crisis in the CIA

BY JOHN RIZZO. Scribner, 2014, 336 pp. \$28.00.

Rizzo was the top lawyer for the CIA during much of the George W. Bush administration and was at the center of some of the most bitter controversies of the “war on terror.” Now retired, he has written as close to a tell-all memoir as the CIA’s review board will permit. Rizzo’s book will not be the last word on the “enhanced interrogation techniques” that were employed by the CIA under controversial guidelines produced by lawyers in the Bush administration’s Justice Department. Few skeptics will be convinced by Rizzo’s argument, however detailed, that such notorious incidents as the destruction of videotapes depicting the waterboarding of detainees at CIA “black sites” were not part of a deliberate cover-up. Passions run strong on these subjects, and, as Rizzo candidly acknowledges, mistakes were made—sometimes by him. Rizzo writes with a dry wit and reserves his harshest criticism for what he sees as irresponsible, dilettantish, and intellectually lazy congressional and senatorial oversight committees.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Europe’s Deadlock: How the Euro Crisis Could Be Solved—and Why It Won’t Happen

BY DAVID MARSH. Yale University Press, 2013, 144 pp. \$15.00.

The Euro Crisis and Its Aftermath

BY JEAN PISANI-FERRY. Oxford University Press, 2014, 224 pp. \$29.95.

These two books are the best on the euro crisis to have appeared in recent years. Both books cover the subject in admirable detail and with much insight. Yet both are also flawed in ways that illustrate precisely why the euro is stuck in a dead end.

Marsh is a consummate insider journalist, and his book reads like a collection of op-eds. Pisani-Ferry is the former head of Europe’s top economic think tank and now advises French Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault; his book reads like a collection of policy briefs. Both perfectly capture the current conventional wisdom among European technocrats, who seem unable to chart an attractive way forward. It goes like this: The euro system is basically good for Europeans, but specific institutional design flaws triggered a crisis. The logical solution is for governments that maintain a budget surplus, such as Germany, to accept more risk and liability, while countries with deficits, such as Greece and Spain, must impose controls on their government spending. But politicians lack the requisite political will to implement this solution. So Europeans

should muddle through with the current, second-best arrangement.

Every step of that analysis is not only empirically questionable but also strikingly apolitical. By neglecting the question of who gains and who loses within and between countries, and who wields influence, these authors overlook more radical alternatives and ignore the political forces that will ultimately decide whether Europe sustains or abandons the euro.

The Gypsy "Menace": Populism and the New Anti-Gypsy Politics

EDITED BY MICHAEL STEWART.
Oxford University Press, 2012,
382 pp. \$55.00.

This book documents public attitudes and official policies toward Europe's largest and most consistently shunned indigenous minority: Gypsies, or Roma. Extreme right-wing parties are not alone in favoring policies that lead to discrimination against the nearly ten million Roma who live in Europe. These have included tolerating hate speech; running second-rate and segregated schools for Roma children; going easy on those who harass, assault, or murder Gypsies; and, most shocking, forcibly sterilizing Roma women. Even the Socialist president of France, François Hollande, has suggested that the free movement of people in the EU should not apply to Gypsies. Stewart and his contributors are anthropologists who favor integration and argue that the central problem is that European societies have "ethnicized" the Roma, making their ethnicity their primary identifying feature, thereby highlighting

differences between them and others that otherwise might have remained invisible. Although this book is short on empirical social science or concrete policy analysis, it is a must-read for anyone interested in this critical issue of fairness and identity.

Multilateralism in the Twenty-first Century: Europe's Quest for Effectiveness
EDITED BY CAROLINE BOUCHARD,
JOHN PETERSON, AND NATHALIE
TOCCI. Routledge, 2012, 314 pp.
\$130.00 (paper, \$39.95).

How well does the EU promote multi-lateral action to solve global problems? Most analyses of this question focus on issues of "high security"—in particular, military intervention. Yet the comparative advantage the countries of the EU enjoy is civilian power. That is the subject of this pathbreaking volume, which analyzes topics such as trade, conflict resolution, climate change, development, energy, health, immigration, the Middle East, the UN Security Council, and the G-20. Although the book concludes with a familiar call for a more centralized EU foreign policy, its findings also offer some welcome correctives to the widespread view that the EU is an overly idealistic and ineffective organization. Although European institutions remain a complement, rather than a substitute, for national policymaking, the EU is becoming more effective over time. Moreover, EU decision-makers, far from being sentimentally attached to global multilateral institutions, successfully exploit bilateralism when it suits their own interests.

The Politicization of Europe: Contesting the Constitution in the Mass Media

BY PAUL STATHAM AND HANS-JÖRG TRENZ. Routledge, 2012, 208 pp. \$135.00 (paper, \$44.95).

The EU has traditionally all but ignored national publics in Europe and has been all but ignored by them. Yet one of the major developments of the last decade is that ordinary Europeans now pay more attention to what happens in Brussels and often respond negatively. This book traces the origins of that trend to a number of national referendums held in 2005 on a draft European constitution, most notably those held in France and the Netherlands. The constitution was the work of supranational officials in Brussels hoping to create a tighter union. The effort backfired when publics across the continent turned against the idea of an even more unified Europe. Still, Statham and Trenz contend that this shift has been less significant than it might appear. Their careful data analysis shows that political debates over Europe remain essentially national, with voters paying relatively little attention to foreign voices or issues. To be sure, debates about the euro are the exception; the single currency is the first pan-European issue of sustained interest to voters, mostly because it has created clear winners and losers.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

The Man Who Loved Dogs

BY LEONARDO PADURA.
TRANSLATED BY ANNA KUSHNER.
Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014,
592 pp. \$35.00.

The Havana-based Padura writes noir crime thrillers that have proved very popular in Cuba. His gritty novels usually explore the moral compromises required to survive in his communist homeland. But in this ambitious, at times gripping work of historical fiction, Padura re-creates the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico. The novelist draws a surprisingly sympathetic portrait of the outcast Bolshevik, hounded by Joseph Stalin. Padura's Trotsky is arrogant and intransigent but also extraordinarily resilient and industrious in exile, self-critical and prescient, and emotionally devoted to his loving wife and children. In Padura's version of this story, the macabre horrors of Stalinism, its reliance on fear and hatred, and its utter corruption of the utopian dream of socialism were embodied in the meticulous psychological conditioning of Ramón Mercader, the Spanish revolutionary selected by Stalin's murderous machine to penetrate Trotsky's fortified compound and drive an ice ax into the aging revolutionary's brain. Padura laments the similar snuffing out of credulous dreams of Cuban revolutionaries but notes that the Soviet Union collapsed when the terror and lies began to subside. It is not clear whether the novelist foresees the same fate for Cuba.