## COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

Review

Reviewed Work(s): Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century by Mark Mazower

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## Recent Books

through payroll taxes. Finally, he examines the possibilities of pan-European coordination of social policies, concluding that the European Union may not become a democratic polity but could still expand legal integration to enhance what Scharpf calls its "output legitimacy." A brilliant and concise analysis of extraordinarily complex issues.

Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century.

BY MARK MAZOWER. New York:

Alfred A. Knopf, 1999, 512 pp. \$30.00. Mazower has written a timely book dissecting the notion of "Europe" just as the EU launches its single currency. For him, this century's brutal first half—with its bloody legacy of communism and fascism, world war, genocide, and ethnic cleansing—defined European identity as much as postwar liberal democracy did thereafter. He reminds the reader that many countries under the Third Reich's shadow initially drew considerable popular support for Hitler's agenda. Western Europe made the postwar transition to democracy thanks primarily to widespread war-weariness and the postwar economic boom, not an idealistic commitment to liberalism. In his account of these years, Mazower deftly weaves together strands of social, political, and economic thought, including a fascinating section on how Hitler grafted Europe's legacy of imperialism on to his own vision of pan-European domination. But the book loses steam in its second half, an unexceptional treatment of postwar Europe that is more straightforward narrative than analysis. Mazower offers little to explain the phenomenon of European integration; he meekly concludes that Europe should avoid trying to find a "single

workable definition" of itself. Still, the book's provocative thesis merits attention from Europhiles and Euroskeptics alike.

HELEN FESSENDEN

## Western Hemisphere

KENNETH MAXWELL

Free Markets, Open Societies, Closed Borders? Trends in International Migration and Immigration Policy in the Americas. EDITED BY MAX J. CASTRO. Coral Gables: North-South Center Press, 1999, 282 pp. \$26.95 (paper). A remarkable and original book. In the opening, distinguished Princeton sociologist Alejandro Portes frames the immigration debate by pointing out how minor a role the state actually plays in immigration flows. Other authors detail the resilience of migration over time, the relationship between migrants and labor in host countries, their social and political reception, and assimilation. The book expands its scope beyond U.S.-bound flows to look at immigration issues in Canada, Colombia, Venezuela, Central America, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. The editor's conclusion investigates the U.S. backlash against Latin American immigration, culminating with California's Proposition 187 in 1994, which denied illegal immigrants government services, and welfare-reform legislation in 1996 that barred most legal immigrants from receiving public assistance. Yet he also emphasizes that the tide has recently turned: legislative attempts to slash legal immigration have failed, many government benefits have been restored to legal immigrants, and immigration

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