

# A Selected Bibliography for Further Reading

It is impossible, and would be tedious in the extreme, to read all that has been written about Americans and Europeans. The books listed below, both old and recent, are well worth the reading. In this selection I have made arbitrary divisions, according to time and place, because they make it easier for the reader to judge their interest and scope.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

Cooke, Alistair, *The Americans: Fifty Talks on Our Life and Times*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1979, 273 pages. Familiar to many as the host of Public Television's Masterpiece Theater, Alistair Cooke was a keen and witty, long-time observer of American life from a British perspective.

de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, 1833. Available are many excellent, English-language editions. No observer of Americans approaches the masterful insight of this brilliant French aristocrat. His examination of the tensions between Americans' love of liberty and their quest for equality is still relevant today. The accuracy of his predictions regarding America's future rings uncanningly true.

Dickens, Charles, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1874, 506 pages. The celebrated novelist remains well loved and widely read, largely because of his brilliant descriptions of

the human character. His penetrating and often critical observations of Americans are well worth reading.

Jusserand, J. J., *What Me Befell*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1933, 360 pages. Jean-Jules Jusserand was a distinguished diplomat, and an equally erudite student of history, whose commitment to friendship with America lasted his entire life. This is a fascinating memoir by the longest serving French ambassador to the United States during the twentieth century—from 1902 to 1925—who married an American woman, Elise Richards, whose family came from New England. His book—*With Americans of Past and Present Days*—won the first Pulitzer Prize in History in 1917.

Muirhead, James Fullarton, *The Land of Contrasts*, John Lane: The Bodley Head, London and New York, 1902, 282 pages. Muirhead traveled throughout America in 1888 and again between 1890 and 1893. The purpose of his visit was to prepare a handbook on the United States for Karl Baedeker. He did so, but during 1895 and 1896 he also wrote about the contrasts he had seen, drawn from visits “into almost every State and Territory in the Union, and . . . (from) direct contact with representatives of practically every class.”

Wilkinson, Walter, *Puppets through America*, Geoffrey Bles, London, 1938, 248 pages. Wilkinson was an English puppeteer whose traveling show toured America in the 1930s. This is a charming travelogue, full of interesting observations about America, some of which still hold true.

### TWENTIETH CENTURY—by *Europeans*

Ash, Timothy Garton, *Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West*, Random House, New York, 2004, 286 pages. The director of the European Studies Center at St. Anthony’s College Oxford presents a sophisticated soft power–hard power discussion, and argues that European-American cooperation will greatly extend the reach of freedom in the world.

- Joffe, Josef, *Überpower: The Imperial Temptation of America*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 2006, 271 pages. The German publisher-editor of the well-known Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* was educated in America and has taught there as well. This volume posits the notion that America must return “to an earlier, more generous tradition of its foreign policy” marked by more listening and less confrontation.
- Jospin, Lionel, *Le monde comme je le vois*, Gallimard, Paris, 2005, 324 pages. In this book the former French prime minister (1997–2002) analyzes the state of the world as he sees it, and presents his concerns about the future of France and socialism. The volume is full of Jospin’s reflections on the force of things political, economic, domestic and foreign.
- Leonard, Mark, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, Public Affairs, New York, 2005, 170 pages. The author, director of foreign policy at the European Center for Reform in London, avers that “Europe’s reach is broad and deep based on its cultural and economic influence,” and that “America’s military influence belongs to another era.” He does not address the fact that Americans exert a greater cultural and economic influence on much of the rest of the world than does contemporary Europe.
- Levy, Bernard-Henri, trans. Charlotte Mandell, *American Vertigo: Traveling America in the Footsteps of Tocqueville*, Random House Trade Paperbacks, New York, 2007, 320 pages.
- Michelin, François, *And Why NOT?* Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford, 2003, 89 pages. François Michelin, when serving as head of the company founded by his grandfather, was one of the most celebrated chief executives in France; on reading this book the reader discovers why. At the age of 87 he consented to an interview on the radio program *The Entrepreneurial Way* conducted by two French journalists who allowed Michelin to present, in his own words, a thoughtful and perceptive examination of the relationship between business and the individual as both customer and employee. He addresses questions concerning capitalism, socialism, competition, free markets, and sound business practice. In this vein he introduces the

Five-Step Method that his grandfather Edouard Michelin wrote as a memorandum in 1912. Since then the method has become the company's guiding management principle. This unique and tremendously powerful book should be required reading in every introductory course on economics, politics, and European history in U.S. colleges and universities, as well as in every graduate school of business in America and Europe.

Patten, Chris, *Cousins and Strangers: America, Britain and Europe in a New Century*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2006, 309 pages. The former European commissioner for external relations contrasts Americans and Europeans as cousins and strangers, and finds particular fault with an asserted American preference for unilateralism. He favors a top-down approach to the management of world affairs, by a multinational government elite.

Revel, Jean-François, *Anti-Americanism*, Encounter Books, San Francisco, 2003, 176 pages. Revel, a rare pro-American French intellectual, who died in 2006, presents a balanced and thought-provoking analysis of "anti-Americanism" that, in tone and argument, is far more critical of European failings than of American influence. Revel focuses, especially, on the forces opposing globalization, and, according to a reviewer from the Claremont Institute, Daniel J. Mahoney, "is particularly effective in exposing the economic illiteracy that informs anti-globalization."

Rosa, Jean-Jacques, *The Second Twentieth Century*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 2006, 390 pages. Rosa, professor of economics at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, has written an economic, organizational and technical analysis of the history, politics, and ideology of corporations and states at the beginning of the new millennium. He sheds much light on the objective conditions necessary for the preservation and diffusion of the values of freedom and democracy.

Zöllner, Michael, and Kamer, Hansrudolf, editors, *Der Westen—was sonst?* Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zürich, 2005, 216 pages. These two distinguished German scholars have assembled a collection of essays by both Europeans and Americans that argue what America and Europe have in common is of much greater importance than what divides them.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY—by *Americans***

Blankley, Tony, *The West's Last Chance*, Regnery Publishing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C., 2005, 232 pages. This book, by the editorial page editor for the *Washington Times*, is focused on European and American responses to Islamic terrorism. Blankley offers many insights into the differing ways that Americans and Europeans look at this vexing, contemporary problem. He argues, persuasively, that the West—America and Europe—must act together as “the West” to address the threat of terrorism in defense of our common values.

Kagan, Robert, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2003, 103 pages. Kagan's book is the most often read if not necessarily the best of the soft power versus hard power critiques which have been written in the last several years. Kagan is a hard-power advocate who misleads his readers into thinking that Europeans are completely unwilling to consider military action, and concludes, tritely, that “Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus.” Because of its popularity and influence this book is worth reading.

Kupchan, Charles A., *The End of the American Era: U. S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-First Century*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2003, 391 pages. Kupchan is a professor of international relations at Georgetown University and a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. In his view Europe is America's rival and the ascending power. This book is another soft power–hard power tome written by a believer in soft power which, he argues, is better understood and further developed in Europe.

Kuralt, Charles, *Charles Kuralt's America*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1978, 279 pages. Kuralt, who was a professional news commentator for thirty-seven years, has been called “the laureate of the common man” by *Time* magazine. His great affection for America and Americans is the hallmark of this book, written on the road while traveling across America from New Orleans, to Alaska, to New York City. His book contains enjoyable and entertaining stories about Americans he meets for the first time.

- Lindberg, Tod, editor, *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the Future of a Troubled Partnership*, Routledge, New York and London, 2005, 245 pages. This volume, with contributions by Europeans and Americans, contains twelve well-balanced essays on issues affecting transatlantic solidarity.
- Meacham, Jon. *American Gospel: God, the Founding Fathers, and the Making of a Nation*, Random House, New York, 2006, 399 pages. Meacham, the managing editor of *Newsweek*, has produced a historical study that is eminently readable. It provides, in the words of historian David McCullough, “a refreshingly clear, balanced, and wise historical portrait of religion and American politics at exactly the moment when such fairness and understanding are much needed. Anyone who doubts the relevance of history to our own time has only to read this exceptional book.”
- Prestowitz, Clyde, *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*, Basic Books, New York, 2003, 328 pages. This author, president of the Economic Strategy Institute in Washington, D.C., focuses on the excesses of American unilateralism in terms of American policies and rhetoric. He forcefully advocates a more restrained American projection of power, and increased use of diplomatic persuasion.
- Reid, T. R., *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*, the Penguin Press, New York, 2004, 305 pages. Reid, a journalist with the *Washington Post* and a commentator for National Public Radio, believes that the European Union is the emerging United States of Europe. While the EU may not become a rival, he suggests, it will certainly compete earnestly with the United States on matters concerning economics and soft power.
- Rifkin, Jeremy, *The European Dream: How Europe’s Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream*, the Penguin Group, New York, 2004, 434 pages. Rifkin believes that the European social model is the answer to America’s cowboy capitalism. The European model, he argues, is making the American dream passé. Rifkin ignores the fact that many Europeans, even those advocates of the current model, privately

acknowledge that the current economic arrangements are unsustainable.

- Schnabel, Rockwell A., *The Next Superpower? The Rise of Europe and its Challenge to the United States*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., New York, 2005, 198 pages. Schnabel, born in the Netherlands, served as American ambassador to the European Union in Brussels from 2001 to 2005. He has written a sensitive and thoughtful volume on “the complexity of our relationship, at once bilateral and multilateral . . .” An interesting focus of this book is the growing inter-dependence of the EU and the U.S. economies. His book has been generously praised by Jeffrey Immelt, chairman and CEO of General Electric Company.
- Walt, Stephen M., *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 2005, 320 pages. Dean of International Affairs at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, Walt argues that the United States has, in the conduct of its foreign policy since September 2001, moved from moderation to extremism in both word and deed, thus awakening doubts about the wisdom of U.S. dominance in foreign affairs.