

dysfunctional campaign of Hillary Clinton that failed to stop Donald Trump's improbable march to the White House. It is a gripping read about a dispiriting team. One of the interesting phenomena of recent American elections has been the increasing mismatch between the quality of the reportage and the quality of the candidates; rarely in the long annals of political history have so many good books been produced about such mediocre figures. Anyone with an interest in the U.S. political process will want to consult this book, but in the end, it is hard to believe that the root causes of Clinton's failure lay with the team she assembled. Future historians seeking to understand her defeat will learn less from tales about squabbling among her aides than from the story of the troubled American polity outside the bubble they inhabited.

Ike and McCarthy: Dwight Eisenhower's Secret Campaign Against Joseph McCarthy
BY DAVID A. NICHOLS. Simon & Schuster, 2017, 400 pp.

The rise in President Dwight Eisenhower's reputation is one of the most striking trends in the historiography of U.S. politics. Mocked and scorned by liberals as an inarticulate bumbler during his presidency, Eisenhower has had his strategic gifts, strong values, and prudent statesmanship come into clearer relief with the passage of time. One of the deep stains on his reputation, and a key reason why so many liberals disliked him so strongly in the 1950s, was the perception that he avoided confrontations with Senator Joseph McCarthy, the flamboyantly demagogic anticommunist. In *Ike and McCarthy*, Nichols argues persuasively

that Eisenhower was in fact deeply engaged in the fight against McCarthy and even orchestrated a series of attacks, culminating in the famous Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, that ultimately destroyed McCarthy and his movement. The story draws attention to Ike's darker side: deliberate perjury by government witnesses was part of the strategy that brought McCarthy down. Love of covert operations was a central feature of Eisenhower's "hidden hand" approach to foreign policy. In suggesting that the same tendencies helped defeat McCarthy, Nichols reminds readers that Eisenhower's legacy is more complex and shadowy than some of his more earnest defenders care to admit.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

The Politics of Opera: A History From Monteverdi to Mozart
BY MITCHELL COHEN. Princeton University Press, 2017, 512 pp.

Toscanini: Musician of Conscience
BY HARVEY SACHS. Liveright, 2017, 944 pp.

For centuries, opera was not only the most prestigious form of Western music but also the most political. Cohen observes that the invention of opera coincided with the emergence of the modern nation-state, and the art form's subsequent evolution has mirrored changes in state power. Many of the greatest operas raise profound questions of

political philosophy. Claudio Monteverdi's operas portray the ruthless political intrigue that the composer saw around him in small Italian courts. Operas by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Jean-Philippe Rameau explore how absolutist monarchs, such as the Bourbon kings for whom the two composers wrote, can wield their power for moral ends. Mozart's three great Da Ponte operas trace subtle shifts in eighteenth-century society and question whether a social hierarchy headed by aristocratic men is truly consistent with Enlightenment values. This subtly insightful book helps readers experience these timeless masterpieces anew.

Composers have not been the only figures in the opera world to take on politics; conductors have as well, including Arturo Toscanini, one of the greatest in history. From the moment in 1886 when Toscanini, then a 19-year-old cellist and chorus master, stepped in as a last-minute substitute and conducted Verdi's *Aida* from memory, he excelled not just at Italian operas but also at those by Beethoven, Wagner, and many others. Other books have analyzed his exceptional musical interpretations and traced his impact on the way we listen to music today. This long biography updates Sachs' two previous books on Toscanini and seeks to be the final word on the conductor's life and times. Much of the book concerns his intimate personal life, which was at times risqué. Yet the author also emphasizes Toscanini's role as the most prominent antifascist musician of the mid-twentieth century. His courageous opposition to Francisco Franco, Adolf Hitler, and Benito Mussolini made headlines worldwide. Eventually, violent assaults on him in Italy, along with Hitler's success,

forced him to flee to the United States. Yet he won in the end when, after the war, the octogenarian returned to Italy to inspire a new generation. His life stands as a lesson that artists can be the most visible conscience of an era.

Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law
BY JAMES Q. WHITMAN. Princeton University Press, 2017, 224 pp.

Historians of the twentieth century often represent the New Deal-era United States and Nazi Germany as polar opposites. This unsettling book demolishes that orthodoxy. It carefully documents how the tradition of racist laws in the United States inspired and instructed Adolf Hitler and Nazi lawmakers in fashioning their own racist policies. Many forget that as late as the 1930s, the United States remained one of the world's most salient models of legally institutionalized racism. Nazi lawyers closely studied Jim Crow laws imposing segregation, denying equal citizenship, banning nonwhite immigration, and criminalizing miscegenation. Hitler himself praised the United States for its record on race relations, not least for its westward expansion through the conquest and extermination of Native Americans. Whitman is admirably careful not to exaggerate the influence of the U.S. model on Nazi Germany: he recognizes that twentieth-century American southern racism was decentralized rather than fascist and incapable of inspiring mass murder on the industrial scale of the Holocaust. Indeed, Nazi jurists criticized their American counterparts for their hypocrisy in publicly denying

yet locally practicing systematic racism. Whitman reminds readers of the subtle ironies of modern history and of the need to be constantly vigilant against racism.

Exception Taken: How France Has Defied Hollywood's New World Order

BY JONATHAN BUCHSBAUM.
Columbia University Press, 2017,
424 pp.

Today, global capitalism pervades nearly every nook and cranny of national economies. Some believe resistance is futile. Yet Buchsbaum describes the French government's surprisingly successful defense of French cultural identity in the face of winner-take-all globalization. His book traces in precise but engaging detail France's preservation of its cinema industry. By the early 1990s, U.S. films controlled 60 percent of the French market, and that proportion was rising steadily. Since then, the French state has systematically deployed its power to reverse that trend. At the center of this effort has been a program of domestic state subsidies to filmmakers, theaters, and television stations, all linked to maintaining quotas for French-produced content. Stiff opposition from Hollywood followed, as did a concerted U.S. effort to get the World Trade Organization to ban such subsidies and liberalize trade in films. French diplomats and regulators went on the offensive, forming alliances with other countries, notably Canada, and successfully pushed for the establishment of an international legal right to cultural sovereignty. EU regulations and Europe's ability to

negotiate lent France clout. For those who prize global cultural diversity, this is a hopeful tale.

Faster, Higher, Farther: The Volkswagen Scandal

BY JACK EWING. Norton, 2017,
352 pp.

In 2015, a scandal rocked Volkswagen, the world's largest automobile company, when investigators found that it had equipped its diesel-engine cars with computer code that allowed them to evade antipollution regulations. Nitrous oxide is responsible for asthma, heart attacks, and other health risks, and Volkswagen's "defeat devices" hid emission levels that were up to 20 times as high as the legal limits. In the end, the fraud cost the company over \$10 billion in fines and restitution. This book by a reporter who covered the story has the vices and virtues of a journalistic account. It is repetitive, peddles cheap stereotypes of Germans and business executives, and struggles to develop a bottom line: indeed, readers never learn exactly who in the company knew about the fraud. Yet the book is nonetheless quite readable—and worth reading for its insights into global corporations and efforts by governments to regulate them. Readers learn how assiduously the German government protects its big businesses from national and EU regulations, how easily large organizations can be directed to harmful and illegal purposes, and how essential academic scholars and independent government regulators are to the protection of the public interest.

The Holocaust: A New History

BY LAURENCE REES. PublicAffairs, 2017, 552 pp.

The Holocaust has become an iconic event in modern history, known to almost everyone across the globe. It is also one of the most widely studied: an interested reader can now choose among a dozen good general histories and tens of thousands of specialized volumes. Rees has compiled a readable, moving, and comprehensive overview of this scholarship, enlivened by vivid first-person reminiscences. He highlights three critical points of historiographic consensus. First, the mass killing was not inevitable. Although Adolf Hitler was a vicious anti-Semite, the extermination of the Jews was not his initial conception of the Final Solution. Nor did the mass murder result from a single, clear decision. Rather, it evolved out of incremental bureaucratic escalation and adaptation during wartime and was pursued unevenly. Second, the Jews were neither the only group nor even the first one that the Nazis targeted for industrial extermination. They pioneered concentration camps to house political and war prisoners and invented the technique of gassing individuals in showers to liquidate disabled people. Third, neither the Jews nor the Germans were passive. Many, perhaps most, concentration camp guards simply followed orders, but some went to special lengths to be inhumanly cruel, and a few others engaged in acts of humanity. And contrary to common misunderstandings, Jews organized defiance and armed opposition, most notably in the Warsaw ghetto. Readers looking for a single-

volume history of the Holocaust will have trouble finding one better than this.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

Better Neighbors: Toward a Renewal of Economic Integration in Latin America

BY CHAD P. BOWN, DANIEL LEDERMAN, SAMUEL PIENKNAGURA, AND RAYMOND ROBERTSON. World Bank, 2017, 199 pp.

If the Trump administration adopts the economic protectionism that the U.S. president threatened to pursue during his 2016 campaign, the countries of Latin America could respond with “open regionalism”—bringing their economies closer together while deepening their integration into other inviting global markets. Although crafted prior to the U.S. election, the message of this volume by World Bank economists is even more pertinent today. It offers a warning to those who imagine that Latin America has no alternative to U.S. markets and so can be readily bullied into unilateral trade concessions. The authors recognize that advocates of open regionalism—hardly a new concept—have failed to raise intra-regional exports beyond 20 percent of total exports. But a cold shoulder from the Trump administration might act as a catalyst. The authors recommend further trade liberalization, especially between Mexico and countries in Central and South America, and argue