

has influenced U.S. foreign policy in many ways: the personal convictions of U.S. presidents and other leaders, the political power of religious organizations, and the public voices of religious thinkers and leaders, such as Reinhold Niebuhr and Billy Graham, have all had an impact on U.S. policy choices. Preston links the theological convictions of men such as Abraham Lincoln, William McKinley, the two Roosevelts, Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower to the policy choices they made. His analysis demonstrates that religious influence has hardly been limited to the political right: liberal and even radical approaches to foreign policy have also reflected religious ideas and lobbying. As in any work of this scope, it is impossible for Preston to get everything right or address every issue. But his book sets a standard for investigations into this subject that future scholars will struggle to match.

*Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power.*

BY DAVID E. SANGER. Crown, 2012, 496 pp. \$28.00.

Sanger is one of the leading national security reporters in the United States, and this astonishingly revealing insider's account of the Obama administration's foreign policy process is a triumph of the genre. Sanger finds much to admire in President Barack Obama's ideals and some of the decisions Obama has made, but he paints an unsettling picture of a White House perplexed by Afghanistan, confused by the dilemma of humanitarian intervention, and thrown off balance by the Arab Spring. Yet Sanger's most telling criticism is that Obama has not used the bully pulpit to explain his foreign policy and its goals to the nation and the world. The United

States may not be winning many wars these days, but it is clearly producing some very good journalists, as well as a host of senior officials who seem to think that long, frank conversations with reporters do not in any way conflict with their duty to the nation. One wonders how today's journalists would have reported on the Lincoln and Roosevelt administrations at war and whether those presidents would have appreciated aides who chose an energetic reporter as a confidant.

## Western Europe

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

*The Myth of the Muslim Tide: Do Immigrants Threaten the West?* BY DOUG SAUNDERS. Vintage, 2012, 208 pp. \$15.00.

*Fortress Europe: Dispatches From a Gated Continent.* BY MATTHEW CARR.

New Press, 2012, 304 pp. \$27.95.

The topic of Muslim immigration resonates among those who indulge nostalgic nationalism, religious prejudice, or even right-wing extremism—but also among those with an understandable fear of sudden social change. It is a subject ready-made for sensationalist journalists, resulting in a public debate poisoned by misinformation. Against that tide, Saunders has written a must-read takedown of anti-Muslim conservatives, demonstrating that their major claims are simply false. He debunks scaremongering about an emergent Muslim majority and disproves the notions that Islamic culture is impossible to assimilate and that most Muslim immigrants hold violent anti-Western views. Those slanders resemble the ones directed a century ago at Irish, Jewish, and Balkan newcomers, some

## Recent Books

of whom also had large families, required their women to be covered, and held heterodox religious beliefs that included some anti-Western ideologies. Today, Saunders concludes, the ideological clashes that matter most are taking place within Islam, and the central imperative is to create more economic and political opportunities for Muslim newcomers—an area in which Western governments have as much responsibility as the immigrants themselves.

Contrary to nativist alarmism, Europe is not flooded with immigrants, Muslim or otherwise. In fact, the disappearance of internal border checks within most of the European Union, domestic political pressure to restrict immigration, and heightened concerns about security during the past decade have led the countries on Europe's edges to seal their borders more tightly. Carr argues that this combination of internal liberalization and external hardening has increased criminal, abusive, and often deadly human trafficking, while only modestly reducing immigration. The unique virtue of the book lies in Carr's reporting from the brutal frontiers of the new Europe: Ukrainian border towns where illegal trafficking thrives, Spanish territories in Morocco where would-be immigrants are shot dead or left to die in the Sahara after attempting to scale razor-wire fences, Italian and Maltese islands where overfilled boatloads of Africans drown by the hundreds. One can understand why Carr sympathizes with these outsiders, but his advocacy is sometimes overwrought. Criticizing European leaders as fascist or racist sometimes obscures his more measured proposals for temporary work arrangements, pathways to citizenship for illegal immigrants, nuanced changes in visa requirements, respect for

basic human rights, and solutions to Europe's demographic deficit.

*Good Italy, Bad Italy: Why Italy Must Conquer Its Demons to Face the Future.*

BY BILL EMMOTT. Yale University Press, 2012, 304 pp. \$30.00.

Nearly all books on Italy draw the same dichotomy between the saint and the sinner. Italy's good qualities include its art, beauty, warmth, family values, individual creativity, and sparkling postwar economic record. Bad Italy is a land of bureaucracy, legalism, hierarchy, corruption, violence, and present-day economic doldrums, all abetted by irresponsible and self-dealing politicians. This book is not the most nuanced, well-informed, or original such analysis to appear in recent years. Still, Emmott—a former editor of *The Economist* who raised eyebrows a decade ago by questioning former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's fitness for leadership on the magazine's cover—writes clearly and succinctly. His bottom line: the current crisis could purge Italy of its evil dealings and spur labor, budgetary, and regulatory reforms. This is precisely the agenda the current prime minister, Mario Monti, is pursuing today. Yet the absence of a fine-grained analysis of Italian politics, society, and culture leaves the reader with little insight into exactly how this plan can succeed. In the end, as the book's subtitle suggests, the reader is left with little more than a religious metaphor to point the way forward for this lovely but exasperating nation.

*My Life in Politics.* BY JACQUES CHIRAC.

TRANSLATED BY CATHERINE SPENCER. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 352 pp. \$30.00.

Once admitted to an exalted and privileged

circle, French politicians enjoy extraordinarily long and full careers. Chirac started his in 1950 on the streets of Paris, handing out copies of the communist daily *L'Humanité*, and ended it in 2007 as a Gaullist president of the French Republic. True to his reputation, he comes across as likable, unpretentious, and intelligent. He describes with equal charm and ease his first sexual experience, the intricacies of European agricultural policies, and the pettiness of former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. But Chirac's story often seems like not much more than a series of excuses for why he achieved so little. During his first term as prime minister, in the 1970s, he was hamstrung by Giscard. In the 1980s, the Socialists cynically introduced proportional representation to strengthen the extreme right and undermine Chirac's Gaullist party. Chirac then "cohabited" as prime minister with a Socialist president, François Mitterrand. In the 1990s, he achieved the presidency himself only to rule over a motley coalition of conservatives and blunt the ambition of his rising successor, Nicolas Sarkozy. As with most political memoirists, Chirac portrays his motives throughout his struggles as uniformly noble and pure.

*The Political Construction of Business Interests: Coordination, Growth, and Equality.* BY CATHIE JO MARTIN AND DUANE SWANK. Cambridge University Press, 2012, 328 pp. \$99.00 (paper, \$31.99).

In the United States, it is widely assumed that businesses do not and should not cooperate with one another, let alone with unions or governments, to provide public goods such as education or worker training. Yet in many of the world's most competitive economies, notably Denmark, Germany,

and other northern European countries, most businesses reject the pure free-market ideal and band together to support government interventions of this kind in order to promote national competitiveness. In this detailed analysis, Martin and Swank trace this cooperative attitude to the existence of centralized business associations able to discipline their members in support of common projects. Such associations emerged nearly a century ago and have survived not because business leaders in northern Europe are intrinsically socialist but because in multiparty parliamentary systems, businesspeople struck a mutually beneficial bargain with politicians. They accepted the institutional constraints of robust government regulation in exchange for a seat at the policymaking table. There is a fundamental lesson here: the preferences of private companies are determined by social choices, not by the disembodied logic of markets. With a sound constitutional structure and proper leadership, a government can help shape how markets work, along with businesses and citizens—to the benefit of all.

## Western Hemisphere

RICHARD FEINBERG

*Export Pioneers in Latin America.* EDITED BY CHARLES SABEL, EDUARDO FERNÁNDEZ-ARIAS, RICARDO HAUSMANN, ANDRÉS RODRÍGUEZ-CLARE, AND ERNESTO STEIN. Inter-American Development Bank and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2012, 326 pp. Free online.

The traditional pessimism regarding Latin American economies is rapidly fading, and