

in grand jury testimony about Ethel's involvement in espionage. The government's case against her was recognized to be extremely weak, but neither President Harry Truman nor President Dwight Eisenhower dared to appear soft on communism by admitting as much and dropping the case. Ultimately, it seems that although she was a Communist, Ethel was not a spy.

Last Best Hope: America in Crisis and Renewal

BY GEORGE PACKER. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021, 240 pp.

A more searing, accurate dissection of Donald Trump and his associates will likely never be written. Trump, Packer writes, is "an all-American flimflam man and demagogue, . . . spawned in a gold-plated sewer." He was able to articulate so effectively the resentment that is the essence of his supporters' condition because its taste "was in his mouth, too." Of Jared Kushner, Trump's son-in-law and a senior official in Trump's White House "with expertise in nothing," Packer notes that "he interfered in the work of more competent officials, compromised security protocols, dabbled in conflicts of interest, flirted with violations of federal law and then promised nationwide [COVID-19] testing through his business connections, which never materialized." Packer's main interest, however, is not Trump and his circle but the country that elected him, since "a failure the size of Trump took the whole of America." The book focuses on the events of 2020 because "nothing Trump did was more destructive than turning the pandemic into a central

front in the partisan war," thereby causing hundreds of thousands of needless deaths. Packer traces recent U.S. history through a piercingly insightful exploration of what he discerns as four overlapping national narratives. They are not those captured by statistics but those that describe Americans' "deepest needs and desires . . . [and] convey a moral identity." He calls them "Free America" (libertarian), "Smart America" (meritocratic), "Real America" (the populists' mythical provincial village), and "Just America" (more accurately, Unjust America). All have emerged from a half century of rising inequality, which has produced a country that, in Packer's view, is no longer governable.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

The Chancellor: The Remarkable Odyssey of Angela Merkel

BY KATI MARTON. Simon & Schuster, 2021, 368 pp.

In a few months, Angela Merkel will step down after a decade and a half as the chancellor of Germany. Polls show she remains the world's most respected political leader, perhaps because she cuts against the stereotype of modern politicians as egotists pandering to public opinion. She is unglamorous and reserved, instinctively moderate, slow to make decisions, and prone to communicate in cerebral, fact-based monologues. This is the best English-

language biography of her rise from a tough and traditional family, through her career as a physical chemist in communist East Germany, to her current renown—but it is far from definitive. As with most traditional journalistic accounts, Marton's book focuses a great deal on what Merkel said and did at various critical meetings, attributing her success to her intelligence and tenacity and her failures to her idealistic moral courage. The reader learns far less about the electoral, partisan, diplomatic, and technical constraints under which Merkel acted. The picture is further limited by the author's curious decision to focus almost exclusively on German relations with the United States and Russia, thereby excluding economic diplomacy, climate change, China, the European Union, and the developing world—not to mention German domestic politics, about which the book says hardly anything.

Future War and the Defense of Europe
BY JOHN R. ALLEN, FREDERICK
BEN HODGES, AND JULIAN
LINDLEY-FRENCH. Oxford
University Press, 2021, 352 pp.

The authors begin with a 20-page hypothetical scenario in which Russia attacks and defeats Europe, despite U.S. military support. The rest of the book recommends a policy to head off such a calamity: the Western allies, led by the Europeans, need to “sharpen NATO's spear tip” by spending more—much more, clearly, although exactly how much remains a mystery—on high-tech military development and the procurement of weapons compatible with U.S. systems. As the authors note

in the preface, some may view such scenarios as scaremongering by defense planners and military contractors—an assessment with which I have considerable sympathy. Others may wonder why the authors do not stop to ask how this plan would be funded—and whether the backlash against such an immense outlay would actually undermine Western security. Yet everyone concerned about transatlantic relations should read this book, because the authors are neither obscure extremists nor writers of alternative history. Instead, they are pillars of the transatlantic foreign policy establishment: two distinguished retired U.S. generals, one who now heads the centrist Brookings Institution, and a British academic prominent in NATO circles. This is how many, perhaps most, Western military planners think—particularly those in the United States.

*Embattled Europe: A Progressive
Alternative*

BY KONRAD H. JARAUSCH.
Princeton University Press, 2021,
344 pp.

This provocative book argues that Europe is the global beacon of progressive politics today. Among global powers, Europe alone espouses a model of the future that is politically legitimate, socially just, and technologically sustainable, Jarausch claims. Only European countries have established fair political systems that limit campaign spending, guarantee the proportional electoral representation of diverse views, and maintain effective government bureaucracies. Only European countries guarantee minimal subsid-

tence and medical care to all. Other countries cater to the wealthiest one percent of their people; European countries remain the best places for those of modest means. Only European governments divert resources from military spending to more cost-effective nonmilitary tools, such as aid, trade, and multilateral institutions. And European countries consistently uphold the world's strongest regulatory protections in areas such as the environment, digital privacy, finance, business competition, and consumer safety. The author, a celebrated historian of Europe, acknowledges that the Old Continent faces challenges, but this book remains a useful corrective to the pervasive and misleading Europe-bashing that often occupies the global press.

The Greek Revolution: 1821 and the Making of Modern Europe
BY MARK MAZOWER. Penguin Press, 2021, 608 pp.

This year marks the bicentennial of the beginning of the Greek Revolution of 1821, through which Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire. This lively introduction persuasively argues that the rebellion was not just a local squabble but an epochal shift in modern history. The American Revolution aside, it was the first of many conflicts in which a small nation asserted its right to self-determination and self-government against an ancient empire. The dynamics of such conflicts have since become familiar. Although some Greeks sought to vindicate a vision of nationhood, most fought to defend their right to practice Christianity, avenge oppression, depose foreign

landlords, or simply make money. Diaspora communities and small powers got involved, and powerful local groups grabbed land, resources, and power. Both sides committed atrocities and massacres. Many Greeks fought heroically, but in the end, they prevailed only because France, Russia, and the United Kingdom intervened to crush the imperial Egyptian and Ottoman forces. Over the next 200 years, in much the same way, many nation-states would replace principalities, kingdoms, empires, and colonies that had existed for centuries.

The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States
BY ANTJE ELLERMANN. Cambridge University Press, 2021, 444 pp.

Immigration is the most volatile foreign policy issue in the world today. Since the end of World War II, developed countries have allowed over 100 million foreign nationals to resettle within their borders. Governments had to carefully manage the tensions between economic incentives and special interest groups that favored increased immigration, on the one hand, and restrictionist public opinion, on the other. This book points out that the concrete policies countries pursued often differed considerably, depending on which political body—the executive branch, the legislature, or a local authority—made the key decisions. Bodies more vulnerable to public opinion adopted restrictive policies, whereas those less so chose more open policies. As an analysis of how developed countries have gotten where they are today, this argument seems persuasive. But it might miss the contempo-

rary forest for the historical trees. Today, as the author concedes in the conclusion, advocates of immigration find themselves beleaguered everywhere. Public opposition to immigration has grown so virulent that even highly insulated political institutions cannot protect politicians from the backlash against it. As a result, nearly every developed country has adopted more restrictive policies toward immigrants (including those seeking to unify their families), asylum seekers, and refugees.

Conquering Peace: From the Enlightenment to the European Union

BY STELLA GHERVAS. Harvard University Press, 2021, 528 pp.

Ghervas traces European efforts to create peace settlements, starting with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and moving through the Congress of Vienna in the nineteenth century, the League of Nations and the negotiations to temper the Cold War in the twentieth century, and discussions within today's enlarged European Union. Any historical narrative of this scale can seek to answer only big questions—in this case: What brought about peace and allowed settlements to endure? Hundreds of books, many of them classics, have addressed that puzzle. Some stress the rise and fall of totalitarian alternatives to liberal democracy; others, the changing nature of economic interdependence, the diffusion of political and social welfare rights, the spread of national self-determination, the rising destructiveness of military technology, the role of hegemonic powers, or the design of international legal institutions. In such august and crowded

company, this book's interpretation remains frustratingly opaque. At times, the author seems to be a Hegelian, explaining each settlement as the result of a corresponding (if often ill-defined) "spirit" of the age. Yet sometimes, she takes a view more grounded in pragmatism, arguing that narrow functional interests and responses to immediate events dictated policy. And elsewhere, she rejects the search for historical lessons entirely.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

The Trump Paradox: Migration, Trade, and Racial Politics in US-Mexico Integration

EDITED BY RAÚL HINOJOSA-OJEDA AND EDWARD TELLES. University of California Press, 2021, 374 pp.

This timely collaboration among Mexican and U.S. scholars is consistently critical of what they term "the Trump paradox": the fact that anti-Mexican vitriol persuaded many Americans to vote for Donald Trump in 2016 even though those voters had relatively little exposure to immigration or the consequences of trade with Mexico. By 2016, flows of migrants from Mexico had already markedly diminished, a result of sharply declining fertility rates in Mexico, the 2008–9 recession in the United States, and tougher border enforcement and deportation policies. The authors assail