

Diderot's encyclopedia reflected the French Enlightenment. Whether early-twenty-first-century American political science will hold up as well as eighteenth-century French Enlightenment thought is a separate question altogether.

Western Europe

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

Mamma Mia! Berlusconi's Italy Explained for Posterity and Friends Abroad. BY

BEPPE SEVERGNINI. Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2011, 200 pp. \$22.50.

The Liberty of Servants: Berlusconi's Italy.

BY MAURIZIO VIROLI. Princeton

University Press, 2011, 200 pp. \$27.95.

After ruling Italy for most of the past 17 years, Silvio Berlusconi seems to have left office for good. But the questions raised by his rule remain. Severgnini, a prominent Italian columnist, has made a career of cross-cultural interpretation, explaining Italy to Anglophones and Anglo-Saxon life to Italians. He is a savvy and engaging writer, and this conversational book is a solid, if somewhat predictable, introduction to the Berlusconi saga. For all of Berlusconi's faults—indeed, in large part because of them—he came across to many Italians as simpatico. The more he partied, acquired material possessions, and fooled around (while praising his family), the more people seemed to like him, at least up to a point. As prime minister, he exploited a remarkable knack for salesmanship and seduction. His professed religiosity and anticommunism tapped into a deep postwar conservative vein in Italy. The literate Italian public—meaning those who regularly read newspapers and books, watch

serious TV news, and browse the Web—is surprisingly small, a trend exacerbated by Berlusconi's control over the media. Normal checks and balances did not work, because the Italian legal process could neither convict him of corruption nor force him to divest himself of his media empire, and left-wing parties were too divided and bereft of new ideas to compete.

Viroli, a political philosopher, is less interested in explaining Berlusconi's political longevity. Instead, he holds up Berlusconi's success as a mirror, asking what it tells us about modern democratic societies everywhere. Viroli believes it calls into question the fashionable libertarian conviction that freedom alone is enough to optimize politics, the belief that the state should defend only "negative liberties," leaving us alone to enjoy our property, opinions, and rights. That narrow conception of freedom is compatible with the enormous concentration of power, both public and private, that leads to a progressive debasement of public virtues and degenerate social behavior. A pervasive culture of lying and cynicism saps the active engagement of citizens in their communities. Individuals become sycophants, and politicians become manipulators. These are problems that infect not just Italy but all Western democracies, to varying degrees. That is the troubling lesson of Berlusconi.

An Honourable Englishman: The Life of Hugh Trevor-Roper. BY ADAM SISMAN.

Random House, 2011, 672 pp. \$40.00. One might expect the biography of an Oxford historian to recount tempests in teapots. Yet Sisman, a serial biographer of famous Englishmen, has produced a book that captivates the reader. Hugh

Recent Books

Trevor-Roper, a country doctor's son, rose through England's brutal public schools and private universities to become a prominent public intellectual and an establishment snob, riding to hounds by day, drinking claret by night, and marrying an earl's daughter. Precocious and brilliant, yet rash and arrogant, Trevor-Roper embodied the contradictions of the worldly academic. He achieved celebrity by exploiting his wartime experiences as an intelligence officer to publish *The Last Days of Hitler*. Thereafter, he penned popular pieces for the London *Times* and brilliant critical essays but failed to produce a magnum opus, perhaps fearing vengeful criticism from those he had earlier provoked. His career ultimately ended in ignominy after he vouched for the authenticity of phony Hitler diaries. They just do not make historians, or public lives, like this anymore.

Nationalism in Europe and America: Politics, Cultures, and Identities Since 1775. BY LLOYD KRAMER. University of North Carolina Press, 2011, 272 pp. \$65.00 (paper, \$24.95).

Many believe that Europe and the United States exhibit fundamentally different forms of nationalism. Americans, it is said, reside in a nation of immigrants and are thus civic nationalists, committed to a constitution and political values. Europeans reside in nations of blood and memory and are thus cultural or ethnic nationalists, committed to distinctive languages, territories, and cultures. Americans, living on an isolated continent, remain intensely proud, whereas Europeans, having lived through the long-term project of European integration, are now comfortably post-national. American nationalism is bound

up with militarism; European nationalism is based more on social welfare ideals. Kramer takes aim at such simple dichotomies. He rejects the notion of a purely civic U.S. nationalism, noting that Americans are just as attached as Europeans to specific geographic attributes, historical memories, cultural traits, and political habits. A reexamination of American and European nationalisms calls for a great book; unfortunately, this is not it. Kramer deserves credit for challenging reductive shibboleths, but he too often glides over the surface of important questions, glossing over history in a questionable manner.

Immigrant Nations. BY PAUL SCHEFFER. Polity Press, 2011, 300 pp. \$79.95 (paper, \$29.95).

The Netherlands offers a striking example of the dilemmas that immigration creates for Western societies. Despite its small size, it is not, and never was, a unitary polity. Rather, it is a divided nation that traditionally has managed complex religious, regional, and ideological differences through political institutions intricately designed for conflict resolution and power sharing. Scheffer argues that over the past two decades, these institutions have been undermined in part, but not solely, by immigration, and he believes the Netherlands and other Western countries must recognize that multiculturalism has failed. They must reconsider and broaden their conceptions of national identity, based on liberal democratic pluralism, and draw up stricter selection criteria for immigrants consistent with those values. Lest Americans crow about the superiority of their system, Scheffer points out that the American and European experiences are more

similar than different and stresses that work needs to be done on both sides of the Atlantic. The book is in some ways self-indulgent, ranging too broadly across history, philosophy, and personal experience. Still, the result should be required reading for those engaged with this important issue.

Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scenes of America's Influence on EU-Turkey Relations.

BY NATHALIE TOCCI. New York

University Press, 2011, 240 pp. \$55.00.

Many observers believe that the United States lacks sufficient leverage to influence Turkey significantly and that the major external determinants of Turkish foreign policy are Turkey's relationships with Europe (its largest trading partner and continued interlocutor in discussions over EU membership) and with its regional neighbors. Tocci disagrees and argues that the United States exercises a significant hidden influence over EU-Turkish relations, largely through diplomatic pressure and back-channel discussions with Europe. She concludes that U.S. pressure was "critical" in moving Turkey's EU candidacy along between 1998 and 2006, despite disagreements over the Iraq war. But her evidence does not support this claim: outspoken diplomacy failed outright, and quiet diplomacy was not nearly as important as domestic electoral change within Europe. As right-wing parties opposed to Turkey's bid for EU membership gained power in Europe during the past decade, U.S. influence declined. Despite its suspect conclusions, this book is an interesting study of the enduring closeness between Europe and the United States. Their political discourses dovetail, facilitating steady cooperation that overcomes occasional disagreements.

Western Hemisphere

RICHARD FEINBERG

Fixing Haiti: MINUSTAH and Beyond.

EDITED BY JORGE HEINE AND
ANDREW S. THOMPSON. United
Nations University Press, 2011,
276 pp. \$35.00.

Demonstrably unable to govern itself, Haiti is now a permanent de facto international trusteeship, depending on the United Nations for its security and international donors for its economy. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) is more vigorous than previous international efforts to assist the Haitians. It includes substantial numbers of Argentines, Brazilians, and Chileans, marking a new phase of regional self-assertiveness and collective responsibility. The authors in this volume oscillate between recognizing the urgency of a large international role in a fragile or failed state and arguing that local ownership and national institution building are required for lasting change. Two Chilean military commanders attached to MINUSTAH provide an unusually candid account of the challenges facing international peacekeepers in a lawless, distrustful society. In contrast, a Brazilian diplomat takes snide swipes at the United States and nongovernmental organizations, inadvertently raising doubts about whether Brazil is genuinely prepared to play a constructive leadership role. The editors' concluding chapter neatly sums up the many dilemmas facing nation building in Haiti, conceding an absence of civic-mindedness and social capital among