

parties have failed to exercise the powers they still retain—for example, the power to shape the choice of presidential candidates. Democrats should take no comfort, Popkin warns, that the Republican Party has fractured first: they are equally vulnerable.

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## Western Europe

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*Andrew Moravcsik*

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*Brexitland: Identity, Diversity, and the Reshaping of British Politics*

BY MARIA SOBOLEWSKA AND ROBERT FORD. Cambridge University Press, 2020, 408 pp.

**I**n the past half decade, the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union has produced an enormous outpouring of scholarship not just on the Brexit vote itself but also on British far-right politics and Euroskepticism. This book fills in a critical part of the story. Brexit has deep roots in two 50-year-long demographic transformations in the United Kingdom: one that changed a society in which foreign-born (and nonwhite) people were rare to one in which they are common, and another that changed a society in which university-educated people composed a single-digit minority to one in which they total roughly half of all young people. These shifts changed British attitudes toward race and ethnicity, creating a political system divided over identity politics. Yet demographics alone do not explain Brexit: the odd incentives created by the United King-

dom's unique electoral system, the inability of the Labour Party to adjust to the new circumstances, the crosscutting imperatives of regional politics, and the traditional British imperial mindset all played important roles as well, and they help explain why no other countries have followed the United Kingdom out of the EU.

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*Pax Transatlantica: America and Europe in the Post-Cold War Era*

BY JUSSI M. HANHIMAKI. Oxford University Press, 2021, 208 pp.

Throughout the seven decades since the founding of NATO, commentators have proclaimed that the alliance is in deep crisis. Most also combine this warning with a call for deeper “cooperation,” often a euphemism for the orthodox position that the Europeans should bear more of the burden. A critical minority, mostly on the extremes of the European political spectrum, has long complained that the United States bullies, exploits, and sometimes even subverts its European allies. This slim volume by a diplomatic historian advances a more balanced claim, based on the premise that it is natural for even the closest of allies to have serious disputes. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, the overarching trajectory of transatlantic relations has been positive: during the Cold War, NATO countries were far more bitterly divided politically than they have been since it ended. The same is true of transatlantic economic relations. This book becomes less nuanced and less empirically grounded as it approaches the present: in discussing the current challenges that populism and the pandemic pose, some of the old

rhetoric of NATO's eternal crisis returns. Yet in the end, the long historical record leads the author to view with optimism the future of the Western alliance.

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*Mussolini and the Eclipse of Italian Fascism: From Dictatorship to Populism*  
BY R. J. B. BOSWORTH. Yale University Press, 2021, 352 pp.

Bosworth is among the leading English-language biographers of the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, and those seeking a magisterial treatment of his life and regime should consult the author's previous work. Here, instead, is a provocative reexamination of Italian fascism. Bosworth is not an apologist for Mussolini's excesses, but he maintains that labeling both Mussolini and Adolf Hitler as fascists obscures the relative mildness of the Italian variant. Italian fascism resembled Hitler's Nazism or Joseph Stalin's communism less than it did other authoritarian regimes that spread throughout Europe in the 1930s—and even some democratic systems. In Italy, domestic repression, although deplorable, was far less thorough than in Germany or the Soviet Union. Italian imperialist impulses were less brutal and far less successful than British and French efforts. Mussolini neither desired nor provoked World War II, but Italy could not avoid it as an ally of Germany shunned by the West. Even so, Italian casualties remained a third lower than the number incurred in World War I, when Italy was led by liberal governments. One might not accept all these judgments, but this book does pose the question of whether Mussolini should be understood less as a totalitarian and more as a harbinger of modern populism.

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*How Iceland Changed the World: The Big History of a Small Island*

BY EGILL BJARNASON. Penguin Books, 2021, 288 pp.

*Norse America: The Story of a Founding Myth*

BY GORDON CAMPBELL. Oxford University Press, 2021, 272 pp.

Two recent books chart the global reach of Scandinavian societies. Every nation harbors its own myths of world-historical greatness—even Iceland. No one is a more enthusiastic advocate for this tiny island than Bjarnason, a journalist who left to make a successful career in the Anglophone world. Reading his account, one would think Iceland is the Forrest Gump of countries: the inadvertent pivot of every major event in modern history. Its volcanic eruptions triggered the French Revolution. Its harbors secured the Allied victory in World War II. Its discreet diplomats helped found Israel, powered the American Bobby Fischer to the world chess title, and aided Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in ending the Cold War. The tales of an Icelandic nanny inspired J. R. R. Tolkien's sagas. Icelandic scientists prepared U.S. astronauts to walk on the moon, pioneered renewable energy, and provided the data behind gene splicing. And not least, Icelanders living in Greenland came to North America in the eleventh century.

Campbell's book seems, at first glance, to be designed to debunk this last claim. He details the remarkable range of fraud and fakery that has characterized efforts to explain the United States' racial and ethnic origins. Since the Pilgrims landed, religious

leaders have been forging archaeological and textual evidence to show that Native Americans were descended from Canaanite and Jewish tribes. Secular scholars have advanced similarly questionable claims about the feats of African, Chinese, Scottish, Turkish, and Welsh explorers. In this vein, racist white Anglo-Saxons in the nineteenth century propounded manufactured claims about a Nordic discovery of the Americas to marginalize Italian Americans, who claimed that honor for Christopher Columbus, as well as Native Americans, who got there first. Yet Campbell ultimately acknowledges the existence of overwhelming archaeological evidence that Greenlanders did, in fact, create the first European settlements in North America, although they appear to have stayed only long enough to harvest lumber and resupply their fishermen.

*The Hero's Way: Walking With Garibaldi From Rome to Ravenna*

BY TIM PARKS. Norton, 2021, 352 pp.

Parks has published dozens of books, among them award-winning novels, translations of Italian fiction, and, what is most distinctive, nonfiction about Italy—a place where he has lived since the 1980s. In this unique travelogue, he recounts retracing the exact 500-kilometer route from Rome to Ravenna taken by the patriotic Italian guerrilla fighter Giuseppe Garibaldi in 1849, after the French crushed the fledgling Roman Republic he was defending. Parks and a friend did it in one month on foot; with a smartphone in hand and small cafés, hotels, and pharmacies in every village, such a trip seems less like a pilgrimage than a pleasant daily

workout. Far more interesting is his description of the unimaginable courage, suffering, and idealism of Garibaldi's band of 5,000 ragged soldiers. As they crossed a countryside with little infrastructure, hounded constantly by crack Austrian and French forces, 95 percent of them deserted or died. Parks is also attentive to the melancholy ironies of contemporary life in the Italian countryside, with its ever-smaller and ever-older population. To rural Italians today, Garibaldi seems an irrelevant figure. There are some resonances, however: he fought to rid Italy of foreigners, and many in these regions disparage the un-Italian character of African immigrants and northern European tourists—even as they seek to exploit both.

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## Western Hemisphere

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*Richard Feinberg*

*The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*

EDITED BY DIANA KAPISZEWSKI, STEVEN LEVITSKY, AND DEBORAH J. YASHAR. Cambridge University Press, 2021, 420 pp.

**I**n this first-rate collection of scholarly essays, leading political scientists celebrate the progress that many Latin American countries have achieved since the 1990s in crafting more inclusive societies. Traditionally underrepresented people—including the nonunionized poor, indigenous peoples, and women—have made measurable gains in multiple areas.