

them more lax” (p. 107). However, Hinderaker counsels Republicans to abjure Trump’s fiscal irresponsibility and deficit spending.

Several chapters are noteworthy for novel perspectives on Trump’s legacy. Charles R. Kesler’s insightful essay, “Trump, the Republican Party, and American Conservatism: Retrospect and Prospect,” situates the forty-fifth president historically, noting that he was *not* a “movement Republican.” Rather, Trump espoused a type of conservatism linked to figures such as William McKinley, William Howard Taft, and Calvin Coolidge on issues such as immigration and the role of business. Glen Harlan Reynolds’s chapter “Donald Trump and America’s New Class War” places Trump’s populist appeal in comparative context, linking the phenomenon to dissatisfaction with elites in democracies elsewhere. Reynolds asserts that “Trump is the symptom of a ruling class that many of the ruled no longer see as serving their interest” (p. 76).

The chapter by David Brady, Morris Fiorina, and Douglas Rivers, “The Future of the Republican Party: 2022, 2024, and Beyond,” presents a bevy of ideological, public opinion, and electoral data. The authors demonstrate convincingly how control of the White House and Congress is determined by a “sliver of a sliver of the electorate” (p. 51). Of note is Trump’s disproportionate impact on congressional candidate selection.

Andrew E. Busch’s final chapter, “The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly,” summarizes one of the most essential drawbacks of Trump’s political style. “While Trump’s *policies* opposed authoritarianism...his *character* pointed in a different direction” (p. 144). Busch suggests that future Republican hopefuls avoid the toxic elements of Trump’s divisive leadership approach and exploit incumbent Joe Biden’s failures by emphasizing fiscal responsibility and a stable foreign policy, national unity, fundamental rights, and limited government.

This book is a serious and thought-provoking attempt to reconcile both the legacy and the future of the GOP as Trump continues to cast a long shadow over the party. Whether the GOP’s prospects will be eclipsed by Trump’s liabilities remains a critical question.

White Nationalism and the Republican Party: Toward Minority Rule in America.

By John Ehrenberg. New York: Routledge Press, 2022. 140p. \$170.00 cloth, \$48.95 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592723000932

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In this fascinating book, John Ehrenberg convincingly argues that Donald Trump does not represent a different brand of Republican Party politics but rather the continuation of a brand that has been honed over the course of the last half-century. Using examples including Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George Bush,

George W. Bush, and Newt Gingrich, Ehrenberg draws a clear historical throughline from decades-old forays into white identity politics to the Republican politics of today.

That does not mean, of course, that Trump’s presidency and Trump himself did not mark an inflection point in the evolution of the party’s message. In Ehrenberg’s words, Trump’s “dalliance with racial antagonism was qualitatively different from that of his Republican predecessors” (p. 108). In his telling, therefore, Trump did not start the fire but rather acted as an accelerant to a Republican Party already adept at using racial resentment to gain electoral supremacy.

The heart of the book moves chronologically, tracing in detail the people and events that helped move the Republican Party toward a party that is willing to manipulate institutions to gain and maintain power. Ronald Reagan, the Tea Party, George Bush, Pat Buchanan, and David Duke all play key roles in Ehrenberg’s story of the devolution of democratic ideals. The chapters are organized loosely around each president’s time in office, a structure that allows for a fairly easy-to-follow narrative flow.

The final chapter of *White Nationalism and the Republican Party* discusses the effects of this increasing Republican focus on white nationalism in the face of an increasingly diverse nation and concludes that the only logical result is minority rule: “Faced with profound demographic changes that will only intensify, the Republican Party has become increasingly authoritarian and antidemocratic. Having closed off all alternatives save one, it has mastered the art of using the most antimajoritarian institutions of the federal government” (p. 114). This chapter provides the crux of the argument summarized in the subtitle of the book, *Toward Minority Rule in America*.

The past half-century of Republican rule, as told in this book, is also notable for its regional flavor. Ehrenberg cites V. O. Key (p. 23), the eminent southern political scientist regarding the role of race and electoral politics in the South, discussing at great length the southern strategy to curry the favor of white voters by, in the words of Barry Goldwater, going “hunting where the ducks are” (p. 8). The Republican Party, in Ehrenberg’s telling, is one that is based largely in the South and has used and will continue to use explicitly southern appeals to white nationalism. This part of the book and its argument is reminiscent of Angie Maxwell and Todd Shields’s masterful *The Long Southern Strategy* (2019). Like Maxwell and Shields, however, Ehrenberg recognizes that appeals that initially saw success in the South are now national in scope: “What used to be a southern problem is now a national problem” (p. 115). This argument should appeal to scholars of southern politics who have long argued that American politics is increasingly southernized, and it ties to

scholarship highlighting Trump's embrace of the South (Angie Maxwell, "Why Trump Became a Confederate President," *The Forum*, 2021).

Some portions of *White Nationalism and the Republican Party* have parallels to existing treatments of the modern Republican Party, but that does not mean that it is not an original and important contribution. The book's clear narrative structure and ability to weave in insights from multiple disciplines and (perhaps just as importantly) multiple methodological traditions mean that the synthesis and analysis in this book cannot be found elsewhere. It is also clearly positioned in the tradition of New Political Science. Ehrenberg does not feel constrained by the empiricist's dispassionate description and causal analysis; his views on Trump and the current Republican Party are clear throughout.

Although the book has much to offer, the period being discussed at various points in the narrative can be difficult to ascertain. For example, on p. 4, Ehrenberg argues that the "Republicans have been the nation's dominant political party for the past 40 years," but the next page refers to the "Republicans' fifty year hegemony." The half-century seems to be the timeframe used most often, but there are examples and roots of today's modern Republican politics that harken back more than 70 years. It is possible that the author wishes to keep this starting point vague, because identifying "the beginning" of any political movement or idea is a fool's errand. Nonetheless, consistently identifying the scope of temporal analysis, or at least acknowledging the difficulty of such a task, would serve as a helpful guidepost for readers and scholars who will rely on this work.

More substantively, the focus of Republican politics examined in this book is at the federal level, which might leave some readers to wonder whether these same patterns are evident in the states. Even the claim that the Republicans have been the dominant political party for the past 40 years might be a questionable assumption were states and localities a more explicit part of the focus. Particularly in today's America, where perhaps the most prominent examples of attempts to manipulate the levers of power to gain and maintain minority rule are at the state level, a focus on (or at least a tip of the hat to) state politics and federalism might be helpful. For example, Jake Grumbach's *Laboratories against Democracy* (2022) would provide a helpful companion volume for those who wish to explore many of these questions at the state level.

The book may also have benefited from a more formal consideration of what constitutes a political party. Revealing all the contours of this debate would be a distraction from the tight structure of this book, but a brief discussion of what the author means when he describes "the Republican Party" might be helpful. Some of this is revealed in

the fascinating details of the people and events of the last half-century, but the reader still might be wondering to what degree these trends are being felt at the grassroots of the party or whether they are simply elite-dominated trends. To borrow again from V. O. Key, does white nationalism and the path toward minority rule exist in "the party in the electorate," the party organization," the "party in office," or in all three at once? (*Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, 1942).

In the end, *White Nationalism and The Republican Party* makes a welcome addition to the rapidly growing shelf of books on what Trump's presidency means for the future of the Republican Party and democracy in America. It should also be read by scholars of political parties and the presidency, particularly those in the New Political Science tradition.

For Labor to Build Upon: Wars, Depression, and

Pandemic. By William B. Gould IV. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022. 280p. \$89.99 cloth, \$29.99 paper.

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In *For Labor to Build Upon: Wars, Depression, and Pandemic*, William B. Gould IV offers a concise but thoughtful examination on the state of labor in the United States. Through a careful review of labor history and the development of labor law, Gould gives the reader much to consider about how labor can best deal with some of its current and most-pressing issues. Gould sees labor struggles—past, present, and future—as part of a larger effort to bring democracy to the workforce, which he argues is "an essential part of democracy itself" (p. 1) and is "central to the survival of a democratic society" (p. 2).

Early in the book, Gould makes clear that he sees any revival of labor's current fortunes as tied to unions themselves, which he argues need to invest more of their resources into organizing workers. (Later in the book, he argues that as much as 30% to 50% of their budgets go to organizing, which is comparable to investments made in the 1930s; see p. 143.) Gould is less supportive of the more widespread belief that U.S. organizing laws largely explain declines in union membership, and that labor law reform is the primary answer for the labor movement to thrive as it once did. In his words, "the law is just one of the reasons for decline. Ultimately the law is a subordinate consideration" (p. 20).

To support his position, Gould provides historical background, going as far back as the Civil War period and the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. As the second chapter progresses, he covers other Republican presidents from Theodore Roosevelt through Herbert Hoover, concluding that "during this period, Republican presidents