

have constituted the most important foundations of the American safety net. They are also responsible for a large and growing proportion of federal spending. And given the seemingly relentless rise of health-care costs and the growing number of Americans who reach the age of 65 every year (and thus qualify for Medicare), the ability of the federal government to maintain defense and discretionary spending and the overall strength of the U.S. economy increasingly depend on the effective management of these programs. The editors of this outstanding collection have brought together many of the country's most knowledgeable and influential experts on health care to reflect on where Medicare and Medicaid stand at their half-century mark. Health-care policy is as difficult to master as it is vital to the country's future; there is no better place for politicians and students to begin their education on the subject than this judiciously assembled, thoughtfully edited, and lucidly written collection.

By the People: Rebuilding Liberty Without Permission

BY CHARLES MURRAY. Crown, 2015, 336 pp.

For readers seeking to understand the antiestablishment rage fueling the right-wing populism of today's Republican Party, Murray's book serves as an indispensable introduction. In articulating a conservative vision of limited government, Murray emphasizes how entrenched interest groups have exploited weaknesses in legislative, regulatory, and electoral processes to produce a state that has grown inexorably larger, less

efficient, and more corrupt. He strengthens the force of his polemic by pointing mostly to examples of Republican corruption and Republican surrenders to special interests. Murray argues that the rot has gone so far that it cannot be halted by conventional means, and he recommends a strategy of selective civil disobedience to limit the reach and power of the regulatory state. As the country finds itself gripped by a wave of transformational economic change, Murray seeks a path for domestic reform that can appeal to the political center as well as Tea Party populists. (His book briefly but approvingly cites some of my own writings on these themes.) Few American writers understand the forces that drive Republican discontent as well as Murray; this book is the best available guide to the next stage of U.S. politics.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

The EU's Human Rights Dialogue With China: Quiet Diplomacy and Its Limits

BY KATRIN KINZELBACH.

Routledge, 2015, 226 pp.

Western governments and many prominent Western academics buy the idea that the best way to influence China's human rights policies is through informal diplomatic discussions about individual cases and Chinese laws rather than through public means, such as sanctions and UN resolutions. Kinzelbach exposes this as a myth. Employing remarkable

interviews and archival and historical research, she builds a convincing case that this quiet approach is not only useless but also counterproductive. She shows how the Chinese cleverly employ closed-door sessions with the EU not only to deflect Western criticism but also to train rising officials in how to counter it in public. Kinzelbach faults the EU's decentralized structure and its analysts' naiveté for Europeans' misplaced faith in private dialogue. But this seems insufficiently cynical: she assumes that EU states actually want to prioritize an effective human rights policy toward China and are willing to pay a price for it. But perhaps they simply seek to deflect their own domestic political pressure to play tough with China. Still, this is not just the best study of Western human rights policy toward China and of informal human rights dialogue in print; it is also one of the best microanalyses of a sensitive contemporary policy issue that I have ever read.

New Old World: An Indian Journalist Discovers the Changing Face of Europe
BY PALLAVI AIYAR. St. Martin's Press, 2015, 320 pp.

Aiyar is an Indian journalist who moved to Brussels in 2009 with her family when her husband, who is Spanish, took a position with the European Commission. This exceptionally engaging book records her impressions of Europe from the distinctive perspective of someone who was brought up in India and also spent a significant portion of her career in China. Most interesting are her street-level insights into cultural difference.

To someone accustomed to the logistical chaos and conversational informality of Asian streets, the manicured boulevards and airy stores of Brussels appear cold and dead. Attuned to an informal economy, she investigates the traditional cheese industry in the Italian region of Emilia-Romagna and discovers that around 100,000 nearly invisible Asian workers support it. (The title of the book's British edition is *Punjabi Parmesan*.) Aiyar, who is accustomed to living in a riotously multicultural and multilingual country, questions Belgium's stated commitment to those forms of diversity. Not all of her points ring true—for example, she exaggerates Chinese influence in Europe—but this book will offer any reader fresh insights into not-so-old Europe.

World Without End: Spain, Philip II, and the First Global Empire

BY HUGH THOMAS. Random House, 2015, 496 pp.

Thomas has written a good old-fashioned British history. It is supremely erudite, eminently readable, and politically incorrect. The topic is the Spanish empire of the late sixteenth century, which Thomas argues was the first global (and thus the first modern) empire. He focuses on the gruesome nature of Spanish conquests in Mexico, South America, and the Philippines, during which individuals of dubious, often criminal backgrounds used brutal means (including enslavement) to realize not just the Spanish royal will but also their own goals. Those goals—seeking treasure, establishing independent kingdoms, and even, in one case, conquering China—sometimes

crossed over into the fantastical, if not the outright insane. At the heart of it all sat Philip II, reading every document, holding the empire together through personal rule, and authorizing massive expenditures that ultimately bankrupted his kingdom. But then comes Thomas' politically incorrect punch line: despite these lurid details, he defends the civilizing mission of the Spanish empire as ultimately progressive. This seems odd, but in an era when Western armies are engaged in their own civilizing missions throughout the world, Westerners would do well to study what their ancestors did when faced with similar challenges.

Das Reboot: How German Soccer Reinvented Itself and Conquered the World
BY RAPHAEL HONIGSTEIN. Nation Books, 2015, 288 pp.

From the mid-1970s until about 1990, when West Germany won the World Cup, its national team was a soccer powerhouse. Then German soccer collapsed. For a decade, the German team—which unified just after that World Cup victory, along with East and West Germany—did not proceed past the global quarterfinals, and in 2000, it was ejected from the European championships after having scored just one point. This book describes the comeback of German soccer, culminating in the team's victory at the 2014 World Cup. Honigstein, one of the world's top soccer columnists, describes how the German establishment came together to invest in soccer facilities, establish a national system of youth academies, reconstruct scouting and coaching systems, install state-of-the-

art training equipment, and develop a cohesive national team spirit. The details of this story will thrill soccer lovers, but there is also an underlying lesson—a very European one. Excellence in sports, as in the arts, education, business, and many other things, is a social accomplishment. It is achieved through sensible institutional design and not, as many believe (especially in the United States), simply by getting incentives right and letting talented individuals do their thing.

We Love Death as You Love Life: Britain's Suburban Terrorists
BY RAFFAELLO PANTUCCI. Hurst, 2015, 224 pp.

This is a sensible, well-documented study of how jihadist organizations recruit young Britons, perhaps because it relies on sound data to understand the perspective of the extremists. Pantucci convincingly rebuts common explanations for the rise of militant Islam among British youth, such as economic exclusion and the influence of hard-line clerics. He points instead to three linked factors: identity, grievance, and mobilization. Jihad offers a way for young immigrants (or the children of immigrants) to blend their various ethnic identities. These young people oppose British nationalism yet do not really feel that they belong to any other country. Fighting for an internationalist cause thus offers a way to answer the question, "Who am I?" This opens the door for grievances: the more Western countries become involved militarily in the Islamic world, particularly in ways that kill civilians, the more young British Muslims see defending their foreign

coreligionists as a legitimate goal. The third factor is the existence of a mobilizing network of recruiters, today usually functioning online. In the United Kingdom, these recruiters espouse violent versions of either Salafi or Deobandi ideologies.

Democratic Politics in a European Union Under Stress

EDITED BY OLAF CRAMME AND SARA B. HOBOLT. Oxford University Press, 2015, 288 pp.

The EU used to be a polity without politics, because none of the issues it handled were salient to most European voters. That changed forever when the union undertook an ill-advised intervention in monetary policy by creating the euro and then sticking with it through the financial crisis. Those decisions have had disastrous consequences for public trust in and support for the EU, which have plummeted in the years since. Most subsequent commentary has focused on the technocratic details of EU monetary policy and banking regulation. Cramme and Hobolt bring together some leading academic minds to puzzle through deeper questions. Is the EU politically sustainable? If so, in what form? What are the implications of the euro for democratic participation? In general, the contributors are skeptical that the EU will be able to put itself back together again in anything like its previous form, but they remain equally skeptical of radical reform. Anyone interested in the future of Europe should read this book.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

Strangers on Familiar Soil: Rediscovering the Chile-California Connection

BY EDWARD DALLAM MELILLO.
Yale University Press, 2015, 352 pp.

This wonderful book weaves together captivating anecdotes with analysis of environmental interactions and economic exchanges between California and Chile in order to reimagine the making of the Americas. The two places are linked by the American Cordillera, a chain of mountain ranges that includes the Sierra Nevada in California and the Andes in Chile; a common mild, dry, Mediterranean-type climate; and the Pacific Ocean. They have repeatedly remade each other's histories. The California Gold Rush depended on Chilean ships and wood, Chilean wheat flour, and Chilean mercury. In turn, the Monterey pine tree, native to California, has refashioned the forests and landscapes of southern Chile. More recently, technical assistance partnerships among agronomists and corporate joint ventures have connected California's and Chile's respective fruit and wine industries. But Melillo is no romantic: his emphasis on transnational linkages includes the antagonisms and tensions that these encounters have generated among the people and ecosystems in both places. He recounts ugly instances of bigotry in California against Chilean immigrants, and he frets over the inherent dangers of monoculture and environmental globalization. On a