

state and federal political systems) and “us” (the general public). He dissects gerrymandering; the winner-take-all Electoral College, which throws away the votes of most Americans; a U.S. Senate that over time has come to represent less and less of the population; voter suppression; and a corrupt campaign finance system. For all his railing against those who wield political power, he offers an even harsher take on “we, the people”: drenched in media but terribly ignorant and unable to see how bad personal choices add to collective costs. Still, the book ends with an unmistakable message of hope in extended stories of major political change, each starring an ordinary individual who was able to galvanize many thousands of others.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Metternich: Strategist and Visionary

BY WOLFRAM SIEMANN.

TRANSLATED BY DANIEL STEUER.

Belknap Press, 2019, 928 pp.

Klemens von Metternich, the Austrian Empire’s foreign minister from 1809 to 1848, has a bad reputation. Even Henry Kissinger, who famously defended the archconservative Austrian as the brilliant architect of 50 years of relative peace in continental Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century, was uneasy about Metternich’s brutal repression of liberal and radical movements for democracy and national

self-determination. Thanks in part to Metternich, conservatives rather than liberals would co-opt nationalist ideology, contributing to an aggressive Germany, the conflagration of World War I, and perhaps even the eventual rise of Hitler. With painstaking and pathbreaking primary-source research, this book seeks to redeem Metternich from the criticisms of his detractors. It ultimately fails. Siemann tries to explain Metternich’s uncompromising reactionary views as a sincere response to early trauma suffered when the French Revolution dispossessed his aristocratic family. But portraying Metternich as a victim of trauma, a thoughtful strategist, a harbinger of modern European federalism, and a kindly and moderate man in private doesn’t excuse the cruelty and intolerance of his politics. The book does succeed in forcing readers to wonder whether Metternich’s efforts to defend an essentially conservative order against populists and terrorists are so different from the struggles that liberal democracies face today.

The Outsiders: Refugees in Europe Since 1492

BY PHILIPP THER. TRANSLATED BY JEREMIAH RIEMER. Princeton University Press, 2019, 304 pp.

Refugees have played a role in European politics for centuries. Five hundred years ago, most refugees, such as the Puritans who left England for the Netherlands, were fleeing religious persecution. Over the past century and a half, bouts of ethnic cleansing drove Armenians, Bosnians, and many others to seek refuge elsewhere. Since the middle of the twentieth century, many

refugees in Europe have been trying to escape the tyranny of fascism, communism, or religious fundamentalism. Then, a historian, studies how these refugees have been received over the years. The governments and citizens of destination countries tend to oppose the entry of large numbers of refugees during difficult economic times. These countries generally find ways to reject refugees unless a major geopolitical cause is at stake or diaspora communities intercede on their behalf. Even the most proudly humanitarian governments evade international law and manipulate domestic law to avoid their obligations to refugees. Her remains ambivalent about the policy implications of his work for states today. He recognizes the domestic political challenge of increasing the intake of refugees but insists that the populist right has exaggerated the threat they pose.

Twelve Days That Made Modern Britain
BY ANDREW HINDMOOR. Oxford University Press, 2019, 352 pp.

This book romps through 12 transformative moments in the last 40 years of British life, elaborating on the events of a single day for each and its consequences. One can, of course, quibble with some of the choices of important moments. For example, all but one of these seismic days have to do with political or legal developments. Did Hindmoor, a political scientist who generally writes on regulation and public administration, not think to include, for example, the introduction of the commercial Internet in 1992—a more momentous occasion, surely, than the publication of the expenses of members of Parliament in 2008? There are some sloppy lapses in Hindmoor's

research; he gets one of the 12 dates wrong by a year. Nevertheless, the book is strangely entertaining, not least because each chapter summarizes complex events with remarkable clarity, whether describing the terms of the labor union contracts that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opposed during the 1984 miners' strike or the considerations affecting Prime Minister David Cameron's decision to hold the 2016 Brexit referendum. On a deeper level, Hindmoor forces the reader to ponder the conditional nature of history. Although some changes seem to have been inevitable—the eventual election of a female prime minister or the legalization of gay marriage, for example—others clearly involved knife-edge decisions that could easily have sent events in a different direction.

A Short History of Brexit

BY KEVIN O'ROURKE. Pelican Books, 2019, 320 pp.

For three years now, many observers have tracked the tortured process of Brexit blow by blow, breathlessly waiting for the next headline. As an economic historian and an Irishman, O'Rourke views these events from a dispassionate distance. How, he asks, will Brexit be taught to future generations of university students? He recounts the history of British involvement with Europe over the last 60 years with unique concision and clarity. He searches for the motivations behind the Brexit vote, parsing arguments that it was the inevitable result of structural economic factors, that it stemmed from a misplaced backlash against rising inequality, or that it was just a fluke brought about by political

miscalculation and opportunism. Ever the professor, O'Rourke hints that all these views contain some truth. Yet as the facts pile up, it becomes clear that even hard-line Brexiteers recognize that it makes little economic or political sense to eliminate policy coordination with Europe. The heart of the Brexit movement lies not in an economic critique but in a sense of British cultural and historical exceptionalism.

Agent Running in the Field: A Novel
BY JOHN LE CARRÉ. Viking, 2019,
288 pp.

For decades, the former MI6 intelligence officer David Cornwell—known to the world by his pseudonym, John le Carré—has written espionage novels starring protagonists who regret, but can never escape, the moral compromises of their often duplicitous profession. His spies have combated the Soviets, criminal networks, and terrorists. Even if they used dubious means, le Carré always seemed to assume that their ends were admirable. He no longer does. At 88, he takes up the timely topic of Brexit through a complex plot involving Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs. The gripping novel's most sympathetic character considers Brexit a disaster, which he blames on members of the British upper class, whose characterization includes a barely fictionalized portrait of the current prime minister, Boris Johnson, as a naive, self-indulgent, and opportunistic foreign secretary (a post he held from 2016 to 2018). In le Carré's eyes, his country has not aged well: the years have not added to its wisdom; rather, they have ushered in disgrace.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

The Crossroads of Globalization: A Latin American View

BY ALFREDO TORO HARDY. World Scientific, 2019, 232 pp.

Globalization, Competitiveness, and Governability: The Three Disruptive Forces of Business in the 21st Century
BY RICARDO ERNST AND JERRY HAAR. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 184 pp.

Toro Hardy, a retired senior Venezuelan diplomat and a prolific author, surveys the critical literature on globalization from a center-left Latin American perspective. He accepts globalization as a given and recites a familiar litany of “neoliberal” sins: market fundamentalism, austerity, inequality. Nor, however, is Toro Hardy enamored of populists who “are obsessed with the wrong issues and bygone eras.” Rather, he reserves his more optimistic, and provocative, commentary for the upcoming technological disruptions of the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution, where he sees dangers but also opportunities for Latin America. Technologies such as 3-D printing will “decouple” South America from the industrialized nations, reducing commercial exchanges between the North and the South. Meanwhile, Mexico and the Caribbean basin could benefit from an expansion of supply chains within the region. Massive urbanization in China and