

United Kingdom's exhaustion or the severity of the Soviet challenge. American public opinion strongly favored rapid demobilization and military withdrawal from Europe. Leebaert's history of the U.S.-British relationship from V-E Day to the aftermath of the 1956 Suez crisis highlights this complexity and attacks the widespread view that the immediate postwar period saw a smooth handoff of world power from London to Washington. In his telling, far from ceding the world to the Americans, the British fought tenaciously to preserve their strategic independence. American strategists were ambivalent, confused, and lacked the coherent grand designs for a liberal international order that historians would later attribute to them. Leebaert's revisionism is not always convincing, but he is right to challenge the narrative of a seamless transition—and right, too, that a sentimentalized vision of this history will make it harder for policymakers to deal with the enormous challenges facing the United States in the twenty-first century.

The Ideas That Made America: A Brief History

BY JENNIFER RATNER-ROSENHAGEN. Oxford University Press, 2019, 240 pp.

Ratner-Rosenhagen teaches intellectual history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and if this concise book is any indication of what her courses are like, her students can count themselves fortunate. She offers a brisk walk through the American intellectual tradition, from New England Puritanism to modern pragmatism. Ratner-Rosenhagen's determination to incorporate the full

spectrum of American thought—for example, from the abolitionist Frederick Douglass to the pro-slavery theorist George Fitzhugh—clashes with her desire to impose order on her procession of thinkers, and some of her assessments, such as the high place she gives the critic and journalist Margaret Fuller in American intellectual history, would be more convincing if she provided readers with a more expansive account of the work in question. Nevertheless, her curiosity about ideas, her determination to understand a diverse set of authors and points of view on their own terms, and her conviction that the messiness of the American intellectual tradition is an essential feature of American life make this book a stimulating read.

Western Europe

Andrew Moravcsik

Plugging In the British: Completing the Circuit

BY SOPHIA BESCH, IAN BOND, AND CAMINO MORTERA-MARTINEZ. Centre for European Reform, 2018, 98 pp.

Brexit has proved surprisingly difficult to implement, not just in economic affairs, where analysts always expected problems, but in many other areas, too. The EU quietly coordinates European policy on development, human rights, sanctions, policing, human trafficking, external border control, military missions, diplomacy, the UN, defense industries, cybersecurity,

intelligence sharing, space exploration, scientific research, judicial cooperation, and much more. Many of these policies were created with strong British support. So Brexiteers confront the same basic dilemma that they face on economic issues: defending vital British interests requires that most cooperation with Europe remain unchanged, yet domestic politics dictates that the final result be spun as something totally new. Even limiting the exercise to mere political rebranding requires changes in the legal form or underlying substance of thousands of rules, regulations, and procedures. Since it would be unacceptable to the other 27 EU members for London to pick and choose when and how it cooperates with its neighbors, the result has been a series of deadlocked talks. This tidy little report summarizes the major issues. The authors show that sober negotiations could preserve most current cooperation under another name—but that the changes that must occur will generally disadvantage the United Kingdom.

Berlin

BY JASON LUTES. Drawn & Quarterly, 2018, 580 pp.

Berlin under the Weimar Republic was a crucible that helped forge modern society and politics. Its violent partisan conflicts, extreme disparities between social classes, floods of rural and foreign migrants, and fluid cultural and gender identities set the tone for urban life ever after. Lutes, a legendary artist, devoted two decades to this magisterial graphic novel. Its multilayered story line follows a set of loosely connected characters in Berlin between 1928 and 1933. A young

girl from the provinces arrives in Berlin and is swept up in a world of convinced Communists, militant Nazis, disillusioned Social Democrats, conservative businessmen, impoverished workers, dissipated elites, spirited youth exploring new lifestyles, and Jews seeking to preserve ancient identities—as well as cruel police, tortured drug addicts, wounded veterans, black jazz musicians, and closeted gay people. Some of the events Lutes portrays are grim, others inspiring, and still others confusing and troubling. Throughout, one is constantly aware of an eerie resemblance to today's world.

Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order

BY J. C. SHARMAN. Princeton University Press, 2019, 216 pp.

The imperialism through which France, Spain, the United Kingdom, and other European countries came to dominate the globe was not simply a function of superior military technology, naval power, or administrative organization. Europeans were rarely in a position to dominate the world solely by means of their military might. Instead, they subtly co-opted foreign elites by trading with them, hiring them as mercenaries, supporting them in their struggles against local enemies, and, if all else failed, bribing them or blockading their ports. Sometimes the spread of infectious diseases did the work. This adds up to a more nuanced story than one might think, although Sharman does admit that this informal imperialism ran out of steam in the late nineteenth century, when Europe simply rolled over Africa. Anyone even slightly familiar with the historical literature will

be baffled by the book's repeated claims of originality for a thesis that echoes (daringly, without citation) the ideas of Karl Marx, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, and generations of eminent historians of empire. Yet in an era when great-power competition seems to be on the rise, this book reminds readers that few, if any, modern nations have ever been strong enough to dominate all those around them through brute force alone.

The Empire's New Clothes: The Myth of the Commonwealth

BY PHILIP MURPHY. Oxford University Press, 2018, 256 pp.

Murphy, the director of the University of London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies, argues that the Commonwealth of Nations does not exist. Formally, to be sure, the organization encompasses one-third of the world's population in its 53 postimperial member states. Queen Elizabeth II is its titular head, Prince Charles is her presumed successor, and Prince Harry and his wife, Meghan, are freshly minted Commonwealth youth ambassadors. Euroskeptics profess a deep faith that Brexit offers a golden opportunity for the United Kingdom to reembrace the Commonwealth, thereby unleashing a bonanza of trade and investment. Yet all of this, Murphy argues, is little more than pomp and circumstance. Commonwealth members disagree about almost everything, even basic human rights. The organization coddles "a grim collection of charlatans, chancers and outright villains." Decades ago, citizens of member countries could immigrate to the United Kingdom, but no more. The United Kingdom still grants Commonwealth members preferential tariffs,

but only through common EU rules: the threat of exclusion from the European market means Commonwealth leaders have unanimously denounced Brexit. Murphy ends by encouraging the United Kingdom to shed its post-imperial delusions—even though that may put him out of a job.

Islamist Terrorism in Europe

BY PETTER NESSER. Oxford University Press, 2018, 320 pp.

This sober and detailed analysis of Islamist terrorism in Europe generalizes not just from the attacks that have succeeded but also from the over two-thirds of planned attacks that have been foiled. Nesser shows that although their basic goals are constant, Islamist terrorists adapt their tactics with the times. In recent years, heightened security has made complex bombings and aircraft hijackings all but impossible—so terrorists have gone minimalist. Attacks today tend to be one-man operations, carried out with vans and knives. Most perpetrators are refugees or European-born jihadists. They are almost always motivated by religion, and they communicate with outside groups through encrypted messaging tools, such as WhatsApp. This form of terrorism is, as Nesser says, "less lethal, but almost impossible to stop." So although the annual European death toll from terrorism is far below what it was during the 1970s and 1980s, the number of attacks is higher than ever. Nesser concludes that military operations abroad do less to quash terrorism than sound policing at home. Police, he says, should focus on stopping "entrepreneurs"—skilled jihadist activists who assist perpetrators—through aggressive surveillance. He ends

on a pessimistic note, but perhaps the striking decline in successful European terrorist attacks over the past year would lead him to reconsider his conclusion.

Western Hemisphere

Richard Feinberg

Detain and Punish: Haitian Refugees and the Rise of the World's Largest Immigration Detention System

BY CARL LINDSKOOG. University of Florida Press, 2018, 220 pp.

Immigration Policy in the Age of Punishment: Detention, Deportation, and Border Control

EDITED BY DAVID C. BROTHERTON AND PHILIP KRETSEDEMAS. Columbia University Press, 2018, 344 pp.

Each year, the United States incarcerates more than 400,000 people in a network of over 200 detention facilities for immigration-related offenses, even more than it imprisons for drug crimes. In Lindskoog's view, prolonged detention—rather than release into the community on parole—violates international norms of human rights and U.S. constitutional guarantees of due process. Lindskoog examines the precedents for the system of mass incarceration of immigrants in U.S. policies toward Haitian immigrants since the 1970s and in the use of Guantánamo Bay for extraterritorial detention. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have resorted to detention to

enforce immigration laws and deter additional waves of undocumented immigrants. Lindskoog provides a valuable road map of the tangled law and politics of U.S. immigration policies. He fails, however, to detail more humane alternatives to cope with the burgeoning flows of immigrants.

The 15 essays in *Immigration Policy in the Age of Punishment* argue that contemporary immigration policies in some late-capitalist countries exemplify broader trends toward bureaucratic authoritarianism. The volume's sociologists (following the French social theorist Michel Foucault) view detention and deportation as disciplinary measures designed to foster law-abiding behavior and productivity in the broader immigrant community. Anticipating U.S. President Donald Trump, they also detect a strong emotional and theatrical theme in punitive anti-immigrant policies and racially tinged vindictiveness among administrative judges and other law enforcement officials. Yet they do not just fault Republicans in the United States. In her contribution, Tanya Golash-Boza names former U.S. President Barack Obama "the Deporter in Chief," since his administration expelled some three million immigrants. Essays on Australia, Canada, France, and the United Kingdom find a global trend of more restrictive attitudes toward immigrants, including asylum seekers, although not all the case studies are fully convincing. Overall, the volume is more denunciatory than prescriptive, but one essay, by Brotherton and Sarah Tosh, does laud those western European countries whose detention facilities pay more attention than most