

## Western Europe

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

*Europe Without Borders: A History*

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER.

Princeton University Press, 2025, 416 pp.

**T**he Schengen Agreement, signed in 1985, all but eliminates border controls among 29 European countries. Despite the political sensitivity and technical difficulty of regulating migration, the agreement remains Europe's most popular foreign policy. Most right-wing populist nationalists do not dare challenge it. This meticulously researched and engagingly written history of its founding and rationale—the best available—reveals the secrets of Schengen's success. The agreement was motivated primarily by the desire for greater economic efficiency and personal convenience, not by idealistic efforts to realize absolute humanist or European federal ideals. Another reason for Schengen's popularity is that the freedom of movement the agreement grants is conditional. National border controls can and often are reinstated intermittently to cope with trafficking, terrorism, epidemics, tax avoidance, and, above all, mass movements of undocumented migrants. In such a nuanced history, one wonders only why the author occasionally dilutes these much-needed lessons about the virtues of sensible compromise and pragmatic policymaking by characterizing controls on migrants from outside the EU as hypocritical and by indulging unwarranted fears about Schengen's future dissolution.

*Harfleur to Hamburg:*

*Five Centuries of English and British Violence in Europe*

EDITED BY D. J. B. TRIM AND

BRENDAN SIMMS. Hurst, 2024

336 pp.

For millennia, brutal acts of mass violence against enemy soldiers and civilians were commonplace. Here the editors consider 11 troubling case studies of such extreme violence by English and British governments—from the 1415 Battle of Harfleur through World War II. Motivated only by strategic self-interest, political leaders and military commanders planned the use of harsh measures against soldiers and people, carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages. Such tactics included the extraordinary plunder and destruction of the Hundred Years' War and the fire bombings of cities in World War II. These cruel acts were directed not just against those of other races or religions in the colonized world but also against neighboring white Christian Europeans. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the public began to impose normative constraints on violence directed at foreign civilians, politicians and generals still conspired to obscure and circumvent these limits when necessary to pursue the national interest. This book is a troubling reminder that the stakes of war can make criminals of everyone.

imperialists to establish a post-slavery order in Haiti, she does not hesitate to chronicle the dizzying internecine conspiracies, betrayals, defections, and insurrections that contributed to the bloodletting. Both the French, who were intent on reimposing slavery, and the Haitian revolutionaries, motivated to exact vengeance and to defend their hard-fought gains, perpetrated atrocities. The surviving revolutionary leaders became fabulously wealthy from the confiscated French estates; King Henry built luxurious palaces and hosted weeklong debaucheries for his newly minted aristocracy. In the end, abandoned by his own troops yelling "Death to the tyrant!" King Henry shot himself in the chest in 1820.

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*Chile in Their Hearts: The Untold Story of Two Americans Who Went Missing After the Coup*

BY JOHN DINGES. University of California Press, 2025, 308 pp.

Dinges has written widely on Washington's complicity in the murderous activities of South American military juntas in the 1970s. In Chile, immediately following the ruthless 1973 coup, the military executed two young Americans, Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi. The 1982 film *Missing*, directed by Costa-Gavras, brought global attention to the case and implied U.S. involvement in Horman's demise. With his unique credibility on the topic, Dinges eschews ideological presumptions for a dogged, comprehensive investigation of the facts. His courageous findings debunk the conventional wisdom reflected and amplified by *Missing*:

there is no evidence that the U.S. government was involved. Just why the soldiers targeted Horman and Teruggi remains a mystery; Dinges suggests, in his sensitive portraits of the two committed partisans, that their deep involvement with left-wing politics in Chile may have put them at risk. He also notes that the U.S. embassy in Santiago failed to actively investigate the whereabouts of the two missing American citizens, perhaps bound by then National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger's directives not to criticize Washington's ally, Chilean leader General Augusto Pinochet.

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*The Challenge of the American Countries at the G-20*

EDITED BY JORGE ARGÜELLO.

Latin American Development Bank (CAF), Fundación Embajada Abierta, y UADE, 2024, 172 pp.

Experienced officials and foreign affairs experts from the five countries in the Western Hemisphere that are members of the G-20 (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, and the United States) assess, at varying degrees of analytical depth, the forum's contributions and shortcomings. The G-20 convenes the leading developed and developing countries in a more privileged—and hopefully more functional—setting than larger, universal institutions such as the United Nations. The contributors from Canada and the United States emphasize the G-20's successes at crisis management, particularly during the global financial crisis of 2008 and in responding to the shocks resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. The

authors from Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico value the G-20 as a platform to showcase their leadership credentials and to promote their demands for greater equality in multilateral forums and in global resource allocation. Some authors bemoan the excessive expansion of the G-20's agenda and its plethora of working groups that generate over 100 initiatives each year. Notwithstanding the resurgence of regionalism in international affairs, none of the contributors expect the five American countries to form a coherent Western Hemisphere lobby within the G-20.

## The United States

JESSICA T. MATHEWS

*Electoral Reform in the United States: Proposals for Combating Polarization and Extremism*

EDITED BY LARRY DIAMOND,  
EDWARD B. FOLEY, AND RICHARD H.  
PILDES. Lynne Rienner, 2025, 347 pp.

*The Primary Solution: Rescuing Our Democracy From the Fringes*

BY NICK TROIANO. Simon & Schuster, 2024, 352 pp.

Two new books explore the deeply troubled election system in the United States. The editors of *Electoral Reform* present the work of a scholarly task force created in the wake of the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol by supporters of President Donald Trump. The volume's premise is that institutional defects in the electoral system give

extreme candidates and factions an undue voice, producing a disproportionate number of extremist winners. These outcomes further polarize politics and lessen trust in governing institutions, so much so that Americans now express a similar level of confidence in their government as do people in autocratic, dysfunctional Venezuela. The study examines potential solutions in alternative voting methods and structures, including proportional representation for legislatures and state offices (as opposed to the single-member winner-take-all system), alternatives to partisan primaries, changes to the presidential nomination process, and campaign finance reforms. This scholarly volume presents deep, data-based analysis of various possible reforms, the tradeoffs that would be entailed, and the uncertain outcomes of adopting any new system. In the end, the authors can agree on little except to urge experimentation at the state level with nonpartisan primaries and ranked-choice voting, based on the model currently in use in Alaska.

Whereas the previous volume is geared toward specialists, Troiano addresses the general reader in a passionate, highly readable, and compelling argument, based in part on personal experience running for Congress, that, interestingly, reaches much the same conclusion. He argues that the single biggest problem among the many that afflict the American political system is partisan primaries—that is, primaries open only to voters registered with one of the two major parties. Because so many House districts are dominated by a single party, in 2022 roughly 30 million registered