

making the same arguments against the same counterinsurgency military strategies that he had argued against in the Vietnam era. Yet that very comparison undercuts the idea that the subordination of diplomatic to military thinking is something new. At times, the book reads like a memoir of Farrow's education in statecraft; at times, it becomes a lament for a bygone era of diplomats who maintained strong personal relations with some rather horrible figures in the interest of diplomacy; at times, it is an attack on the U.S. government for collaborating too closely with Afghan warlords and Egyptian generals. Material for several first-rate books is scattered throughout the pages of *War on Peace*; Farrow will be heard from again.

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*A Higher Loyalty: Truth, Lies, and Leadership*

BY JAMES COMEY. Flatiron Books, 2018, 312 pp.

It is hard to know who hates Comey, the former FBI director, more: partisans of the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton, who blame her defeat in the 2016 presidential election on Comey's decision to announce the reopening of an FBI investigation into her conduct days before the vote, or supporters of U.S. President Donald Trump, who see the former FBI director as part of a sinister "deep state" conspiracy against the Trump administration. In Comey's own telling, he was an honest but unlucky man of old-fashioned principles who was forced to make fast decisions in a hyperpartisan atmosphere. Yet those principles were of little help in the wild world of Washington, where, based on Comey's evidence, both Democrats and

Republicans engaged in grave misconduct. Obama administration officials pressured him to downplay the seriousness of the FBI's investigation into Clinton's use of a private e-mail server. Later, Comey had a one-on-one dinner with Trump that he describes as akin to an evening with a creepily insistent Mafia don. Throughout, Comey seems to have been out of his depth. But in times like these, many people struggle to keep their feet.

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## Western Europe

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*Andrew Moravcsik*

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*EuroTragedy: A Drama in Nine Acts*

BY ASHOKA MODY. Oxford University Press, 2018, 672 pp.

**I**n this book, the best history of the recent eurozone crisis yet to appear, Mody argues that the euro is dysfunctional "because it defies the principles of economics." Monetary unions can work well only if inflation and employment rates converge, or if, as in the United States, mass migration, government transfers, and budgetary restrictions offset economic differences. None of this exists in the eurozone, so the monetary union has depressed growth, undermined the legitimacy of the EU, and exacerbated inequality. That is conventional wisdom, but Mody also makes a more original and disturbing contribution by demonstrating that European leaders knew all of this decades ago. They ignored the warnings of most economists, central bankers, EU officials, and even some

politicians that the euro could do little good and colluded to whitewash official reports and suppress bad economic data. Mody recounts this history in admirable detail, yet his economic expertise is of little help in explaining why European leaders chose such an ill-fated course. That is perhaps because he passes over the exporters, bankers, wealthy citizens, senior citizens, debt-prone governments, and other politically powerful groups that benefit, at least in the short term, from the single currency.

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*Postwar Europe and the Eurovision Song Contest*

BY DEAN VULETIC. Bloomsbury, 2018, 288 pp.

The Eurovision Song Contest, founded in 1956, is an annual televised pop extravaganza in which bands from dozens of countries compete before a live audience. Commentators often dismiss the cavalcade of three-minute songs as pure kitsch: recent winners include a Romanian Dracula singing in falsetto, a bearded Austrian drag queen, and a Finnish heavy-metal band clad in monster suits. Yet nearly 200 million Europeans tune in. Vuletic goes beneath the bubblegum to reveal surprising machinations. National broadcasters established Eurovision not to promote cosmopolitan ideals but to provide cheap content, and the competition tends to stoke national pride more than collective identity. Central European authoritarians spend vast sums to host it, thereby whitewashing their countries' meager domestic freedoms, and many governments occasionally rig the selection of national entries to push political agendas. The countries with

the five biggest media markets automatically make it to the last round every year—a practice that has led Turkey to withdraw in protest. And the final tally is skewed by the tendency of spectators to favor bands from neighboring countries. Yet after more than 50 years, Eurovision not only lives on but has become ever more tolerant and diverse. Europe would not be the same without it.

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*Hitler and Film: The Führer's Hidden Passion*  
BY BILL NIVEN. Yale University Press, 2018, 312 pp.

Hitler's passion for art, architecture, and Wagnerian opera is common knowledge. Yet the Führer was, above all, a film addict. In the years before World War II, he watched two or three movies a night, including all of those released in Germany. Although he personally financed, selected, and often censored films shown in public theaters and attended public screenings that were selected to cultivate popular support, his private tastes ranged far more broadly. He adored Mickey Mouse, often watched sophisticated works by Jewish émigré directors and with Jewish actors, and even viewed American, British, and French films in their original languages. Even more than his propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, he took responsibility for Nazi publicity. He approved every German newsreel before its release and sponsored not just Leni Riefenstahl's famous works but also films advocating the forced sterilization of the disabled and anti-Semitic ethnic cleansing. The latter were shown to people who were tasked with the extermination of the Jews. These events

took place 75 years ago, but they contain lessons for today: tyrants are often surprisingly ordinary people, and state control over the media plays an essential role in creating and sustaining dictators.

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*The History of the European Migration Regime: Germany's Strategic Hegemony*  
BY EMMANUEL COMTE. Routledge, 2017, 244 pp.

*Migration and Refugee Policies in Germany: New European Limits of Control?*  
BY ANDREAS ETTE. Barbara Budrich, 2018, 340 pp.

In 2015, civil wars in countries near the Mediterranean led refugees to flood Europe. Almost alone, Germany welcomed them, until over one million had arrived and all European countries tightened their borders. Germany has dominated Europe's collective arrangements for governing migration for almost 70 years. Comte shows that it does so because it has always absorbed the most migrants, both from European countries, such as Italy, and from outside neighbors, such as Turkey. France and Italy, by contrast, have been more reticent, and the United Kingdom, protected by the English Channel, has vacillated. Since the 1970s, as Comte recounts, in response to slower growth and rising numbers of migrants, European governments have clamped down on illegal immigration by low-skilled laborers while allowing better-educated immigrants to enter lawfully and move about freely, mainly to promote economic exchange and foreign investment in Europe.

Ette aims to bring the story up to date. He argues that the EU has moved

its member states toward liberal, open, and enlightened policies. Yet his data show something subtler and more cynical. European governments prefer to disguise the fact that their restrictions on immigration fudge international humanitarian norms. To that end, they pass ostensibly liberal laws on asylum and other, related topics, often with the help of the EU, and then quietly subvert their intent by implementing them incompletely and signing agreements with their neighbors to block migrants or return them when they are apprehended.

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*The Good Mothers: The True Story of the Women Who Took on the World's Most Powerful Mafia*  
BY ALEX PERRY. William Morrow, 2018, 352 pp.

Perry tells the tale of three women who turned on the 'Ndrangheta, the Calabrian Mafia. Despite persistent efforts by the police to incriminate Mafia leaders using high-tech surveillance, organized crime remains powerful in southern Italy, accounting for almost four percent of the Italian economy. Few will testify against the 'Ndrangheta because the costs of informing are so high. Two of the three female informants ended up dead, despite powerful witness protection programs. One was lured to a rendezvous by her former husband, ostensibly to discuss their daughter's college plans, then kidnapped and tortured to death by his two brothers. The second collaborator was eventually coaxed back to see her children and died after drinking hydrochloric acid. (The family claimed she had committed suicide.) The third recanted under family pressure, then agreed to testify after all, resulting in long jail sentences for 34

members of her family and their associates, including her father. Alessandra Cerreti, the enterprising prosecutor who developed the strategy of turning women against their criminal clans, now lives under around-the-clock police guard and travels only by armored car. By necessity, she and her husband have no children.

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## Western Hemisphere

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*Richard Feinberg*

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*AMLO: Con los pies en la tierra* (AMLO: With His Feet on the Ground)  
BY JOSÉ AGUSTÍN ORTIZ  
PINCHETTI. HarperCollins, 2018,  
240 pp.

*Andrés Manuel: La invención de un político* (Andrés Manuel: The Invention of a Politician)  
BY SARAY CURIEL GONZÁLEZ AND  
ALFONSO ARGOTE D' SANTIAGO.  
Los Libros del Sargento, 2018, 186 pp.

**W**ho is Andrés Manuel López Obrador? The 64-year-old president-elect of Mexico, who will begin his six-year term on December 1, is a polarizing personality. He is adored by his admirers, who are especially numerous among the indigent and working poor, and feared by many in the upper reaches of Mexican society. After a successful stint as the mayor of Mexico City from 2000 to 2005, López Obrador ran two losing campaigns for the presidency, in 2006 and 2012, before his victory this July. Ortiz Pinchetti, a longtime close collabo-

rator of López Obrador's, offers a compelling personal portrait of the president-elect and a point-by-point retort to his detractors. In Ortiz Pinchetti's telling, López Obrador is admirably hard working and austere. He is pragmatic yet consistent in his strong ethical principles and his moderate social democratic philosophy. His heroes include U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Chilean President Salvador Allende; he is not an admirer of the Cuban dictator Fidel Castro or the Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez. Nor does he harbor the visceral anti-Americanism common among Latin American leftists. Ortiz Pinchetti provides an empathetic but indispensable source for understanding López Obrador's political trajectory, his style of politics, and his aspirations.

A contrasting view of López Obrador emerges from Curiel González and Argote D' Santiago's book, which portrays the new president as an ambitious, clever media manipulator who holds only a superficial grasp of policy issues and has no clear agenda. According to this view, López Obrador is a populist caudillo who revels in contrasting the interests of "the people" with those of "the mafia of corrupt power," casts himself as the innocent victim of dark conspiracies, and claims that he can restore morality to public life by the mere force of his personality. In his attacks on neoliberalism and corporate monopolies, he seems to be a throwback to an earlier era of protectionist, statist economics, even though he has come to embrace the North American Free Trade Agreement.

It's not yet clear which of these portraits is more accurate. But once López Obrador assumes power, Mexico and the world will find out.