

tially on his own initiative, fostered a new publication, *Diese Woche*, which later became the extraordinarily influential magazine *Der Spiegel*.

I have some criticisms of Knowles's approach. His assertion that these men formed their opinions of German reconstruction at the time and that those opinions "remained unchanged since" (9) is not entirely tenable. Much of his evidence, particularly later oral histories, must surely have been influenced by the fact that the Federal Republic developed as a peaceful and prosperous European state, justifying the postwar experiment of occupation and the methods of the occupiers.

While Knowles has a good discussion of the problem of displaced persons (DPs) and the sometimes contradictory attitudes of British occupiers toward them, his focus on the DP issue misses the mark on the problem of refugees in the British zone. The British had, by a considerable margin, the most substantial population of ethnic German expellees of any of the western zones. If we are going to understand the problem of displacement and the British occupation, we need to begin there.

Those relatively small points aside, there is much to like about this book. Knowles has done a terrific job of merging several different literatures to offer a reading of the British occupation that connects the brief period of postwar rule to longer-term trends in German history. Read alongside Peter Speiser's recent book *The British Army of the Rhine: Turning Nazi Enemies into Cold War Partners*, we are perhaps beginning to see the emergence of a new literature that treats the occupation period synthetically. This would be a great service to our understanding of the Federal Republic and its complex transnational beginnings.

ADAM R. SEIPP

Texas A&M University

The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention. By Marco Duranti.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. xiv+508. \$74.00.

Marco Duranti has written an intellectual, cultural, and political history of the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights. In his efforts to uncover the convention's history, Duranti seeks to dispel what he sees as myths about the convention's origins in order to demonstrate that the convention was not wholly anticommunist in origin. Instead, he highlights what he sees as conservatives' role in determining which rights would be protected by the European Convention. Duranti's emphasis on the conservative motivations for the European convention raise important questions about the extent to which the advent of human rights, whenever we date it, was in fact revolutionary.

The principal actors in Duranti's account struggled to define postwar Europe, eventually reaching the conclusion that it was a condition, not a space. Membership in Europe was defined by relations between state and society, not geography. Duranti successfully highlights the contested politics of the period in which both Europe and the world were being remade. Duranti, who focuses largely on elite politicians, is one of the few scholars besides Angela Romano who is combining an understanding of European integration with the other big story of the twentieth century—the rise of human rights.

One of Duranti's most surprising arguments reveals British leader Winston Churchill as a European integrationist and human rights architect. This argument, that Churchill was a key player in bringing about the European Convention, is particularly timely as the convention and the European Court of Human Rights are so controversial with many British conservatives today. Interestingly, given Churchill's propagation of European in-

tegration from the opposition, once reelected in October 1951 he did not commit to the European project. In Duranti's view, such a shift was due to the roots of Churchill's Europeanism—it had always been motivated by the need to ensure domestic protections of rights; his return to Downing Street offered sufficient assurances to the Tories that conservative rights were now safe within Britain.

In terms of the existing literature, Duranti's account fits more closely with Samuel Moyn's work and opposes Elizabeth Borgwardt's interpretation of postwar human rights as rooted in a liberal impulse, put forth by Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter. Duranti's work draws meaningful distinctions between the European Convention and the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Duranti's view, early British dissatisfaction with the United Nations was one key reason that the Europeans undertook a different approach to their human rights machinery. Many Europeans believed that a regional guarantee for human rights would be more effective than that offered by the United Nations. Just as significant was a desire to prevent the extension of human rights to European colonies, necessitating a different approach.

Duranti's account is based on research in six countries—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States. With these sources, Duranti explores different strands of postwar European thought, demonstrating the diversity of ideas at the time. In addition, Duranti takes seriously the contributions of communists to the human rights project. The focus of the book, however, is on British Protestant Conservatives and French Catholic Conservatives.

Given the wide geographic range of Duranti's research and his facility in multiple European languages, he might have incorporated more national perspectives. Duranti makes the point that Britain and France were the most powerful members of the Council of Europe, but were the other members as inconsequential as his account suggests? Or put another way, was the cross-channel relationship developed between the British and French figures so unique and significant that it warranted the exclusion of other contributors to these projects?

In terms of diplomatic obstacles, Duranti largely focuses on how the early Cold War complicated efforts at developing human rights agreements and enforcement mechanisms. But, decolonization also made this project difficult. The book would have benefited from more discussion about the nationalists' challenge, both from inside and outside of Europe, to the conservative vision for human rights.

The Conservative Human Rights Revolution is a very rich book, but structurally it could have been more focused. Duranti is interested in architecture—both the framing of legal agreements such as the European Convention but also of the Peace Palace, constructed in The Hague, Netherlands, in the first years of the twentieth century. Like his discussions on the “romance of international law” and world's fairs, his chapter on the national contributions to the construction of the Peace Palace (there are six pages devoted to the palace's stained glass windows!) might have been better suited to publication as a stand-alone journal article. These chapters explore the “cultural origins of international law and organization in Europe” or put another way, the cultural sources of Churchill's Europeanism. The space devoted to these issues, however, seems disproportionate to their significance to Duranti's argument. Furthermore, such an approach means that the reader does not encounter the meat of the book until page ninety-six, when Duranti begins making his case for the significance of Churchill's contribution.

Readers will find a clear discussion of the existing narrative of the origins of the European Convention of Human Rights and how Duranti's work successfully upends such interpretations if they begin on page 321. In the subsequent pages, Duranti argues that we should not consider the convention a “human rights” text due to the more limited def-

inition of human rights (as opposed to the United Nations Universal Declaration's) and the parameters of the groups of individuals to whom they are extended. This chapter—"Rethinking the ECHR's Original Intent"—is the best in the book. But it comes too late to convince nonspecialists to persevere through its pages and for the committed reader who has made it thus far, the chapter serves to restate, in succinct form, the arguments of the preceding eight chapters.

Duranti's book arrives at a potential turning point in Europe. It helps explain why many Britons were so invested in European integration and a distinctly European human rights project as well as highlights long-term ambivalence about both achievements. His work raises important questions about the strength of the foundations of these dual pillars of postwar Europe, suggesting that neither is as durable as they seemed.

SARAH B. SNYDER

American University

Boom in der Krise: Konsum, Tourismus, Autofahren in Westdeutschland und Großbritannien, 1970–1990. By *Sina Fabian*. *Geschichte der Gegenwart*, volume 14. Edited by *Frank Bösch* and *Martin Sabrow*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016. Pp. 494. €44.00.

Irrespective of the differing political and economic trajectories Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany have followed since World War II, many historians agree that the crises of the seventies marked a fundamental turning point in both countries. To make their case, scholars on Britain point to rising unemployment, surging inflation, the need for an International Monetary Fund loan, power outages, highly conflictual industrial relations as well as "the Troubles" in Northern Ireland, among other things. Historians of the Federal Republic, meanwhile, draw attention to a return of unemployment, inflationary pressures, falling growth rates, and left-wing terrorism as indicators that the boom years of the postwar "economic miracle (the much-vaunted *Wirtschaftswunder*)" had come to an end. In short, British as well as German historiography considers the seventies as a decade of rupture. Sina Fabian's well-conceived and thoroughly researched book on British and West German consumerism in the 1970s and 1980s is an important intervention because it encourages historians of Britain and West Germany to lend cultural, social, as well as economic continuities more prominence in their accounts. To be sure, consumers reacted to the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 by reducing personal expenditure, but these cut-backs were temporary phenomena. Marshaling an impressive array of quantitative and qualitative sources, Fabian combines business, social, cultural, and political history to draw the seventies and eighties as decades of a continued consumer boom whose origins lay in the fifties and that extended into the new millennium.

After an informative general chapter on income trends, financial frameworks, and broader social developments, the book delves into detailed studies of tourism and car use to analyze consumerism during the seventies and eighties. Costly items of discretionary spending, travel and automobiles are apt choices to highlight consumerism's ongoing expansion and diversification. In the context of holiday travel, similarities and convergent practices dominate the account. While Britons primarily took domestic holidays at the beginning of the seventies, they increasingly flocked abroad as the seventies and eighties wore on—already a well-established practice among West Germans during the sixties. There were numerous reasons why more and more West Germans and Britons went on longer holidays in foreign countries. The liberalization of air travel and the introduction of larger jet planes supported