

The Struggle over Human Rights: The Non-aligned Movement, Jimmy Carter, and Neoliberalism. By Courtney Hercus. (Lanham: Lexington, 2019. viii, 215 pp. \$95.00.)

Courtney Hercus's new book intervenes in a number of burgeoning literatures, including those evaluating Jimmy Carter's foreign policy and specifically his administration's attention to human rights, the influence of Third World human rights activism, and the significance of the New International Economic Order (NEIO). *The Struggle over Human Rights* is distinct from many previous studies of U.S. attention to human rights in its effort to analyze the intersection with neoliberalism and the argument that international and American definitions of human rights became fixed in the late 1970s with the demise of the NEIO.

Hercus sees the NEIO as a signal that the relationship between the global South and the global North represented a violation of human rights. The rise of this new conception of human rights, particularly with its emphasis on collective versus individual rights, posed a direct threat to U.S. interests. Yet, at the same time, American policy makers sought to utilize support for human rights to win allies in the Third World, which, Hercus argues, led to "strategic U.S. engagement with economic rights" (p. 145). To demonstrate how contested the meaning of human rights was in the 1950s and 1960s and the extent to which the United States did not have an entrenched position on this question, *The Struggle over Human Rights* includes detailed accounts of the drafting debates of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. In Hercus's view, Carter and his administration were "deliberate" in their reconceptualization of U.S. human rights policy to mitigate the decline in American power (p. 10).

Like Barbara J. Keys, who argues in *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (2014) that Americans' moral guilt over the Vietnam War spurred their turn to human rights, Hercus also sees the war as significant; in this account, however, the impact of the war on the global economy

and the international recession of the 1970s shaped the framing of human rights.

By expanding her focus to consider the activism of those involved in the nonaligned movement and newly independent Third World countries, Hercus identifies a broad debate over the meaning of human rights as decolonization was underway. Hercus contends that the final proclamation of the 1968 United National International Conference on Human Rights was a "watershed moment in the history of United Nations human rights rhetoric" because it "represented a significant change in policy" that precipitated the articulation of development as a human right (p. 94). This interpretation, Hercus asserts, counters "Western-centric narrative[s] of the history of human rights" (p. 99).

Hercus is critical of the role played by Amnesty International in crafting a narrow definition of human rights that rejected the contributions of non-Western activists and leaders; this is the conception of human rights that Hercus argues the Carter administration "adopted" (p. 87). Given the organization's limited influence in the United States until the early 1970s, this claim seems overstated, especially given the book's broader argument about continuity in U.S. approaches to the issue.

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After Reagan: Bush, Dukakis, and the 1988 Election. By John J. Pitney Jr. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. xvi, 253 pp. Cloth, \$37.50.)

The latest installment in the University Press of Kansas's American Presidential Elections series, *After Reagan*, by John J. Pitney Jr., explores a presidential contest long overshadowed in scholarly literature by the transformative elections of 1932 and 1980. Pitney makes a compelling case for the importance of the 1988 election and how it served as the close of one era of presidential politics and the beginning of a new one that the United States is still living with today. Pitney details the twists and