

curiously content-free, defined only by what it opposed, rather than as an ideology like Communism that could inspire a dizzying array of different policies and social visions. Vatican officials imagined one kind of anti-Communist Europe, as Giuliana Chamedes has shown in her excellent recent study; the planners of Nazi Germany's crusade against the Asiatic-Judeo-Bolshevik enemy in the Soviet Union another kind; and the Tory backbenchers who supported Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement in 1938 still another. How their adherents found enough common ground to forge alliances with each other—and when and where this proved impossible despite a shared hatred of Communism—is a story that extends outside the corridors of the Foreign Ministries that are the stage for the action in this book and that includes actors other than the diplomats and politicians who are its protagonists.

This criticism notwithstanding, *The Spectre of War* is a rich, sweeping, and wonderfully written reconsideration of interwar European diplomacy, each page filled with sharply drawn portraits of key actors and pointed assessments of their words and actions. Throughout Haslam shows how Communism and anticommunism, its ideological twin, were entangled and dialectically opposed. Each responded to the other, often through a dynamic of distorted perceptions and misread intentions. In this, Haslam suggests, the international politics of the decades before World War II anticipated the Cold War that followed it.

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**Jewish Internationalism and Human Rights after the Holocaust.** By *Nathan A. Kurz*.

Human Rights in History. Edited by *Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann* and *Samuel Moyn*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021. Pp. xiv+298. \$39.99 (cloth); \$32.00 (Adobe eBook Reader).

Although Nathan Kurz presumably submitted his book manuscript before Eric Weitz's *A World Divided* was published, the two books are nonetheless in significant conversation as both investigate how the history of the nation-state, in Kurz's case the state of Israel, connects to the history of human rights.<sup>1</sup> Like Weitz, Kurz raises serious questions about the role nation-states play in defending human rights, writing, "The state was both the chief violator of human rights and its intrinsic protector" (14).

With *Jewish Internationalism and Human Rights after the Holocaust*, Kurz brings a critical approach to existing narratives of Jewish internationalism, arguing that the break between Jewish rights actors and the broader human rights movements was seeded in the founding of Israel and that harmony between these two groups was "impossible" (4). Key to Kurz's interpretation is the shift in Jewish internationalism to the Zionist project. Kurz asserts that the disillusionment for some Jews with human rights was "all but inevitable" after Israel's establishment as "Israel was a much stronger guarantor of Jewish rights than international human rights law" (190).

At the heart of these irreconcilable differences was the juxtaposition of the "right to leave," avidly sought for Jews in the Soviet Union and North Africa and the "right of return" for Palestinians, vociferously resisted by Israeli policymakers. But more broadly, Jewish thinkers and activists had long been committed to a more communitarian approach to rights protection than the individualist approach that developed with the advent

<sup>1</sup> Eric Weitz, *A World Divided: The Global Struggle for Human Rights in the Age of Nation States* (Princeton, NJ, 2019).

of the United Nations (UN)'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Finally, some Jewish internationalists began to see Israel's foreign and domestic policies as impediments to raising claims of Jewish rights elsewhere. Kurz argues, "There was no Jewish issue that could be separated from Israel's global conflicts" (79). Kurz has drafted a dual indictment—that the UN is "toothless" in protecting the rights of Jews and that Israel's own human rights record undermines efforts to defend the rights of Jews in the diaspora (85).

Despite his broader arguments about the significance of the state of Israel to the international human rights movement and international organizations concerned with human rights such as the UN, the focus of Kurz's book is on non-state actors and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). His account is an intellectual history of these groups; he offers careful analysis of their proposals and memoranda. In some ways it could also be read as an institutional or organizational history of Jewish internationalism, including the movement's spirited internal debates about Zionism.

Kurz makes contributions to a number of historiographical debates, including to what degree was the post-1945 international human rights regime rooted in revulsion at the Holocaust. Here Kurz argues emphatically against any connection between the two, offering evidence that the UN UDHR's drafters did not intend to address the violations of the Nazi regime in the protections they outlined. Yet, as Kurz recounts, for Jewish internationalists, the experience of the Holocaust rendered international human rights (as opposed to efforts to secure Jewish rights) empty. Jewish internationalists perceived this lack of interest in the Holocaust, further weakening their confidence in this new articulation of rights. Similarly, the rejection of Jewish internationalists' proposal for an Attorney General for Human Rights who might act on claims of rights violations raised serious questions about how rights would be protected in the UN system.

Kurz also engages with questions about the universality of Jewish internationalists' vision. Kurz argues that Jewish organizations were advancing instead a particularistic agenda, revealing that Jewish internationalists were overwhelmingly focused on the rights of Jews in three places—Romania, Morocco, and Russia.

He also offers new ways of thinking about the intersection of decolonization, migration, and human rights, asserting that Jewish activists saw Jewish minorities "at risk" in North Africa with the end of French empire while a receding European empire in the Middle East offered the achievement of the nation-state of Israel. In the case of Morocco and other North African states, Jewish internationalists asserted that emigration to Israel was the only answer as human rights did not offer sufficient protection—a different way of thinking about how human rights are "not enough."<sup>2</sup> Tackling these themes from a different vantage point, Kurz shows how Israel was not perceived as a positive product of decolonization by newly independent states but rather a new, white minority or colonial regime along the lines of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

In addition to decolonization, Kurz situates his story within the Cold War, showing how Cold War hawks surged to prominence within Jewish internationalism, sidelining those committed to more universal conceptions of human rights. Connected with the rise of those hawks was a shift in attention from North Africa (from which many Jews had successfully emigrated) to the Soviet Union (where authorities were increasingly cracking down on expressions of Jewish religious life); in this case Kurz argues American actors were championing human rights as a Cold War tactic rather than due to a genuine commitment to human rights.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Cambridge, MA, 2018).

Based on extensive multilingual, international research, *Jewish Internationalism and Human Rights after the Holocaust* is essential reading for specialists in the history of human rights, Jewish history, and the international history of the twentieth century.

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**Jet Age Aesthetic: The Glamour of Media in Motion.** By *Vanessa R. Schwartz*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020. Pp. xiv+214. \$40.00.

Vanessa Schwartz's crisp analysis of future visions afforded through technology focuses on the intersection of jet transport and culture, and shows us how a more broadly defined Western modernity not only began to universalize the air travel experience, but changed notions of mobility. This fleeting moment went beyond inaugurating advanced flight technology or forcing an economic reevaluation of air transportation: As Schwartz sees it, jet age aesthetics reflected a new sense of velocity that, while subjective in itself, found expression beyond aircraft to include architecture, art, and media.

To situate her investigation, Schwartz sets aside previous works on jet age aesthetics as too descriptive; yet she faces the same conundrum students of aerial mobility's reception engage with: the limited information on the public understanding of the images she studies. She circumvents the difficulty by arguing that elites adopted the jet and thus shared their experience of motion in a trickle-down effect: their testimony illustrates the liminal phase of the jet age and its effects. Whereas the railroad inaugurated in Wolfgang Schivelbusch's words a pathology of travel, the jet age introduced a new paradox that celebrated mobility for its own sake, and the feelings travelers derived from it. Simply put, the lack of movement sensation after the brutal acceleration to become airborne and the relative quiet of the jet engines in flight led many to wonder whether they were moving. This innate contradiction between speed and suspension encouraged a reflection on the new culture of speed.

To illustrate this point, Schwartz invites the reader to consider several facets of jet set culture, beginning with an airport architecture that became a form of "aerotropolis." The perception of novelty, but also of monumentalism built outside of the city left visitors to interpret its peculiar meaning. Here Schwartz errs briefly in noting sound walls installed at Orly to shield visitors and passengers. They protected the building and personnel from the blasts of hot exhausts, not from noise (52). In fact, the jet shriek itself signaled a new motion experience, albeit an unpleasant one. It contributed to making visits to such airports as Orly and Los Angeles novel.

This element of novelty and the need for a reinvented architecture is what Schwartz uses to invite the reader beyond the airport realm, notably to Disneyland. There, as she notes, movement within the park became as much of an attraction as the rides themselves, turning any visit into "an experience more than a show" (62). This new osmosis between packaging and habit blurred the lines of circulation and entertainment. Assisting in this process came a transformation of media and color.

Film and print were of course present at the birth of the jet age and sought to make sense of it in various ways. Schwartz offers the example of the 1963 movie *The V.I.P.s* with passengers stranded getting to know each other. Despite a star-studded cast and positive reviews, the picture comes across as a technicized and vacuous Decameron, in which the emptiness of the travel experience leaves participants narcissistically seeking a "glamorization of motion itself" (103). Such boredom is what Daniel Boorstin attacked: