

ways problematic, a critically engaged employment of psychology in the history of the Holocaust as a manifestation of mass violence can break a well-established stereotype that the Nazis were mad, exceptionally sadistic, and unique sorts of perpetrators. In this way, it can serve not in the trivialization of evil but in the de-demonization of those performing evil deeds that can, in turn, transform demonology into history writing. The authors presented in Hughes's book 'have extended', in her own words, 'to the perpetrators precisely the kind of recognition that the perpetrators denied the Jews: they have acknowledged that the perpetrators, too, were human beings' (182). And it is precisely for this kind of exceptional perceptiveness, that this book is highly recommended.

Nancy Jachec, *Europe's Intellectuals and the Cold War: The European Society of Culture, Post-War Politics and International Relations*, I.B. Tauris: London, 2015; 344 pp., 29 illus.; 9781780763705, £69.00 (hbk)

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The European Society of Culture in the subtitle of this book is an organization – probably one with less name recognition than such contemporaries as the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) or the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs. They at least can boast Wikipedia entries. By contrast, an internet search reveals little about the European Society of Culture, even in the language by which it conducted most of its activities as the Société Européenne de Culture, and only somewhat more in the language of the country in which its headquarters have been located since the beginning as the Società Europea di Cultura (SEC). The Society was founded in Venice in 1950, the same year as the CCF, and seven years before an international group of scientists met at the estate of Canadian industrialist Cyrus Easton and named their organization after his home village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia. If scholars before Nancy Jachec have not been drawn to the SEC as much as to the CCF or Pugwash, one wonders what they have missed about the organization's importance. That is what *Europe's Intellectuals and the Cold War* seeks to convey. It is based on the author's command of the secondary literature, extensive primary research in several European languages in numerous archives in Paris, London, Chicago (CCF papers), and elsewhere, as well as the papers of the SEC itself (recently transferred to the European University Institute in Fiesole).

The SEC never achieved the renown of the Congress for Cultural Freedom or Pugwash, recipient of the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize. One possible reason is the unique character of its somewhat ambiguous mandate. The SEC's founder was Umberto Campagnolo, an Italian anti-fascist philosopher who came under the influence of the Austrian-born international legal scholar Hans Kelsen and his proposals for world federalism while in exile in Switzerland in the 1930s. Jachec begins her study with the origins of the SEC in the European federalist movement (Chapter 1). She also links Campagnolo's approach to the legacy of Italian resistance to German occupation during the war. Although political rivals, communists and Catholic opponents of fascism cooperated to defeat a common enemy, and

many hoped that such cooperation could continue afterwards. As the post-war collaboration between the USSR and the United States and Britain broke down and ushered in the Cold War, Campagnolo and his colleagues created an organization they hoped would keep open the prospects for dialogue and cooperation across what Winston Churchill soon dubbed the Iron Curtain. As Jachec characterizes their view, 'it fell to intellectuals, working in the spirit of freedom and solidarity unique to culture, to prepare the terrain for the dialogue that could bring about the end of Europe's partitioning' (57). To that end they issued in 1951 an *Appeal to the Intellectuals of Europe and the World* and invoked Campagnolo's notion of the 'civilization of the universal', to which Jachec devotes the next two chapters.

In its effort to maintain a dialogue with intellectuals in the emerging Soviet bloc, the SEC differed dramatically from the CCF, which 'sought to promote intellectual resistance to Soviet expansion and to strengthen the idea of Western European unity' (58). Nor, despite its eagerness to forge relations with communists such as the Soviet journalist and writer Ilya Ehrenburg and the Hungarian philosopher Georg Lukács, did the SEC resemble another major international organization founded at the time, the Moscow-directed World Peace Council. Campagnolo's colleagues – mainly French and Italian writers, historians and philosophers – were sympathetic to Marxism, but to a humanist variant that was scarcely conceivable in Stalinist Eastern Europe. In fact, a major contribution Jachec cites for the work of the SEC was bringing one prominent member, Jean-Paul Sartre, into contact with humanist Marxists during the post-Stalin 'thaw', starting with the 'East-West Dialogue' that took place in Venice in March 1956 (Chapter 4). From his interaction with independent-minded Marxist thinkers, argues Jachec, Sartre developed some of the key themes of his 1957 essay, 'Questions de méthode', which in turn provided inspiration for reformist socialist efforts such as the Prague Spring and the human rights movement that contributed to the peaceful overthrow of Soviet-style communism in the late 1980s (Chapters 7 and 8).

Another major theme is the relationship between the SEC and the anticolonial movement, particularly in Francophone Africa. Campagnolo's engagement with such figures as Jean Amrouche, Alouine Diop, Frantz Fanon and Léopold Senghor (Chapters 3 and 6) is fascinating, although in some respects more fraught than the East–West divide. Many of his interlocutors found Campagnolo's emphasis on Europe as the source of a 'civilization of the universal' somewhat idealistic, not least in its apparent neglect of the European legacy of war, colonialism, and genocide. Nevertheless, as Jachec describes, his critics attempted a re-appropriation of Campagnolo's ideas and applied them to the work of such organizations as UNESCO. 'What these figures shared, and had in common with Campagnolo, was an interest in the current work of Sartre, which increasingly looked at the respective challenges facing the individual agent in Europe's socialist countries and the former colonies as part of a single problem' (175). With the end of the Cold War and decolonization, these challenges seem part of a distant past. Yet the tension between universal civilizational values and cultural difference, explored so effectively here, remains relevant.