

through the newly-established American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which would become the most important Israel lobbying organization (p. 213).

Senator James Fulbright, a long-time opponent of support for Israel, often protested publicly about undue Israeli political influence, especially on Capitol Hill, and American presidents and senior officials from Truman to Nixon and Kissinger complained in private about Israeli and American Jewish pressure. Though *Advocating for Israel* reveals intensive Jewish lobbying on Israel's behalf, Aridan rejects the accusations made since the 1940s that the Israel Lobby is a 'cabal' or 'leviathan' that has diverted US foreign policy away from US national interests. He concludes that the success of the Israel Lobby was its ability to convince the US administration that American and Israeli interests were matching. Others might disagree, depending on their definition of US interests. However, to support his conclusion, Aridan argues that only the post-1967 prowess of Israel, not public pressure from AIPAC, resulted in the US government agreement to supply arms to Israel (pp. 301–302).

This assertion raises an interesting final thought which is relevant also to Cumming's *Israel Public Diplomacy*. Is hard or soft power the determining factor in diplomacy and international image-making? Are the attitudes of foreign governments and publics towards Israel ultimately determined by its hard policies and performance on war and peace, or by its soft skills of public diplomacy and persuasive ability to recruit Jewish diaspora support? Both Jonathan Cummings and Natan Aridan, in separate ways, provide ample food for thought to reflect on these questions.

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Kristina Schulz (ed.), *The Women's Liberation Movement: Impacts and Outcomes*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2017; 372 pp.; US\$150.00 hbk; ISBN 9781785335860

The political urgency and personal passion that many women and some men invested in what has become known as the second-wave feminist movement has made it a topic that often resists overviews and comparisons beyond national settings. This timely addition to the historiography of the various Women's Liberation Movements (WLMs) in Europe is a much-needed intervention that addresses the artificial, yet sometimes rigid, political, generational, geographical, and disciplinary borders that continue to fragment the movement into smaller groups of organisations or clusters of activists.

The result of a conference on the WLM held at the University of Bern in 2012, this collection of essays – skilfully edited by Kristina Schulz – is concerned with impact and legacy. As a result, many of the essays attempt to define success: what were WLM members able to achieve, beyond public recognition and (in many cases) notoriety? The answer, reiterated throughout by the 22 authors, is that it depends on activists' motivations. Some were happy changing their own lives; others sought revolution; a third group wanted to influence policy. However, as

pointed out by Lucy Delap and Thierry Delessert, such fragmentation is not necessarily just a sign of weakness but of the pluralization that underpinned feminist ideas and gender theory within WLM activism (p. 155).

The 21 chapters and introductory essays are divided up into five broadly thematic parts: institutional change; language and literary practices; intersectional identities; transnationalism; and methodology. This works well, as all essays stress the importance of defining what feminism is – or was – in a particular place at a particular moment. It leads to further questioning of motives, with Silja Behre pointing out that just as feminist movements aspired to create a common language on which they could build a common identity, they were also competing for the role of legitimate spokesperson (p. 68). This often led to the silencing of allies deemed to be opponents. Ana Margarida Dias Martins' contribution is a fascinating essay comparing the successes (and lack thereof) of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*, a feminist book written collectively by Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa ('the Three Marias') in 1972, and *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* by the American Chicana author Gloria Anzaldúa from 1987. Asking whether national borders can be easily discarded, Martins finds that the lack of translation of *Novas Cartas* was key to its early success as feminists around Europe rallied against the Portuguese regime, which threatened jail sentences for its authors. However, once translated, *Novas Cartas* was criticised for being too distant from Anglo-American and French feminisms. Meanwhile, Anzaldúa's book – which was criticised for appropriating indigenous heritage – has rarely been out of print and is a mainstay on gender studies reading lists (pp. 115–116). Further chapters on feminisms on the peripheries of Europe also strengthen the underlying theme of legitimacy and interpretation rights. Kirsten Harting's contribution on Soviet feminists moving between the East and the West, finding that they – restricted by gender roles within the male-dominated dissident community in the USSR, but too invested in 'feminine values' for the western European WLM – never quite fitted anywhere, is very interesting. That the WLM in its various national guises struggled to forge strong relationships with other organisations that also sought liberation – whether through class struggle or minority-ethnic mobilisation – is also made clear. Marica Tolomelli and Anna Frisone spell out the tensions between class and feminism within the Italian student movement and trade unions, while Natalie Thomlinson shows just how fraught the very white British WLM's relationship was with Black organisations. Although bridges were built between them in the late 1970s and 1980s, coalitions were fraught and prone to disappoint. It was, Thomlinson states, 'perhaps too utopian to expect multiracial feminist collectives and coalitions to be able to fully transcend the racism of the society of which they were a part' (p. 209).

Despite this being a well-edited collection, the attempt to break open the national borders that have come to constrict research on women's activism could have been more successful had the section on 'Beyond National Boundaries' consisted of more than just two chapters. A broad-ranging multi-national collection

like this, which gives access to central European, French, Scandinavian, Italian, Portuguese, and Chicana feminist experiences, could also do with a greater explanation of terms and perhaps a glossary of organisations. Nevertheless, it has great value as a way into the history of feminisms and will be of much use to students, activists, and researchers.

The final section of the collection deals with methodology and looks to the future. That the personal remains highly political is clear from the life story interviews that Margaretta Jolly has conducted with British WLM activists at the British Library (p. 311). Elisabeth Elgán, meanwhile, asks us to challenge selective memories and myths that are now reinforced by media narratives. Finally, in an essay that connects the original conference with the world as it was at the time of publishing in 2017, Karen Offen points out that we need to be hopeful, realistic and vigilant. The backlash is always present, she argues (p. 323); arguably more so now than in 2012.

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Kristina Spohr and David Reynolds (eds), *Transcending the Cold War: Summits, Statecraft, and the Dissolution of Bipolarity in Europe, 1970–1990*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016; xiii + 274 pp.; US\$55.00 hbk; ISBN 9780198727507

Recent research in political science and history has sought to carve out a niche for the influence of interpersonal diplomacy and high-level summitry on international relations.³ Although this work is not universally accepted, the prospect of bringing leaders back into world politics has catalyzed a veritable cottage industry of scholarship.⁴ Enter Kristina Spohr and David Reynolds with their jointly edited volume of essays underscoring the role of summits, statecraft, and personal relationships among senior leaders in ‘transcending’ the Cold War. In their rendering, the cumulative impact of summits and senior meetings from the 1970s through early 1980s helped overturn the Cold War’s bipolar order.

As Spohr and Reynolds elaborate in their opening chapter, summitry ‘helped to establish trust and enhance cooperation’ across East–West lines, while facilitating ‘creative networks’ of policymakers across ‘and not just within’ otherwise rival governments (p. 4). Of course, this process did not emerge in a vacuum. Indeed, Spohr and Reynolds are careful in their framing and concluding chapters to argue that summitry operated in a systemic environment that defined the range of choice available to policymakers. Nevertheless, summitry and meetings helped surmount Cold War tensions by, first, helping breed familiarity and contacts across Cold War divides; second, enabling ideas and values to spread and converge among senior leaders and the societies they represented; and third, managing potential crises

3 Marcus Holmes and Keren Yarhi-Milo, ‘The Psychological Logic of Peace Summits: How Empathy Shapes Outcomes of Diplomatic Negotiations’, *International Studies Quarterly* 61, 1 (2017), 107–122.

4 For a critique, see Robert Powell, ‘Research Bets and Behavioral IR’, *International Organization* 71, Special Issue (2017), 265–277.