

culties facing the service – from the end of the Cold War to the rise of fake news – are thoughtfully outlined. The authors also make clear how the daily operations of the BBC and the BBC World Service have converged, and the influence of the Foreign Office has declined.

However, the chapter lacks detailed information about the types of programs produced for multimedia distribution, the degree of local uptake for those programmes, and the feedback BBC is receiving for its work today. The views of the BBC's upper administration are well-represented, but there is little here about the day-to-day operations of the BBC services or their cultural impact. The section titled "Looking Forward from 2018" reads like a press release. As an introduction to the contemporary service, the chapter suffices, but it leaves many questions for researchers to pursue.

Overall, Johnston and Robertson's work verifies earlier histories of the BBC World Service by arriving at largely the same conclusions, using largely the same sources. The discussion of local reception adds some nuance to the story, but, of course, the BBC's listener data is not representative of the actual audience experience. Additional source materials, drawn from the vernacular services and from interviews with or diaries of listeners, might have provided a clearer picture of the impact of British overseas broadcasting. Likewise, oral histories with BBC producers, not just administrators, might have added depth to the final chapter. How well are the BBC and the BBC World Service getting along under this new arrangement? What are the gains and losses of these joint operations? Has the new funding formula (part license

fee revenue, part grant from the Office of Developmental Assistance) provided increased stability or additional chaos? Johnston and Robertson's text offers a basic overview but leaves the nitty gritty questions for future researchers.

Notes

- 1 A. Briggs, *Sound and Vision* (= *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, Vol. 4), Oxford 1979; A. Webb, *London Calling. Britain, the BBC World Service and the Cold War*, London 2014; S. J. Potter, *Broadcasting Empire. The BBC and the British World, 1922–1970*, Oxford 2012; M. Gillespie/A. Webb/G. Baumann (eds.), *BBC World Service, 1932–2007. Cultural Exchange and Public Diplomacy* (= Special Issue of the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*), Abingdon 2008.
- 2 A. Sreberny/M. Torfeh, *Persian Service. The BBC and British Interests in Iran* (= *International Library of Iranian Studies*), London 2014; Potter, *Broadcasting Empire*; D. Newton, *Calling the West Indies. The BBC World Service and Caribbean Voices in: Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 28 (2008) 4, pp. 489–497; M. Gillespie/A. Webb (eds.), *Diasporas and Diplomacy. Cosmopolitan Contact Zones at the BBC World Service, 1932–2012*, London 2015.

Vladimir Tismaneanu / Bogdan C. Iacob (eds.): Ideological Storms. Intellectuals, Dictators, and the Totalitarian Temptation, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019, 548 pp.

Reviewed by
Victoria Harms, Baltimore

That Romanian studies have survived in the US is largely thanks to Vladimir Tis-

maneanu, Professor of Politics and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at the University of Maryland, College Park.¹ Since 1990, he has often returned to his former home country and offered public commentary on the reassessment and rewriting of the past. He has also sought to bridge the divide between US and East European academia. For *Ideological Storms*, he partners with Bogdan C. Iacob, one of those scholars who bring together the best of both academic worlds.² The volume analyzes intellectuals' service and support as well as challenge to totalitarian regimes in Europe, with a focus on Romania. The editors propose to explore the motivations and visions of intellectuals who turned away from Enlightenment rational thinking, personal and professional integrity, and traded modern conceptions of the state and all that was associated with nineteenth-century liberalism for "fantasies of salvation".³

Ideological Storms showcases prominent, established, and regionally well-known scholars based in the US and Europe. The volume contributes to the study of totalitarian regimes, intellectual history and the history of ideas in Eastern Europe. It is divided into four parts: (I) "Intellectuals and Communism in Europe", (II) "Revolution and Utopia", (III) "Visions of the Nation in Eastern Europe", (IV) "Lessons at the turn of a Century". The twenty chapters vary in length, from 16 to 45 pages. Several contributions summarize already published monographs (Paul Hollander, Stanislao Pugliese, Niko Marantzidis, Marius Stan, Jeffrey Herf), others condense works-in-progress (Iacob, David Brandenburger, Jan-Werner Müller). Some take a fresh

look at well-known cases of "tempted" Western intellectuals fascinated by the Soviet Union (Pugliese, Michael David-Fox, Michael Scammel – Angelo Mitchievici demonstrates that Romanian intellectuals could similarly be swayed), while others invite the reader onto less trodden grounds.⁴ What follows highlights a few chapters and provides a general impression.

Several authors explore Romanian intellectuals' role in political right and left extremism. Uninitiated readers should consult the chapters by Iacob, Dennis Deletant, and Tismaneanu. Iacob evaluates "the enduring illusion" of popular democracy and ideas for national renewal that, in the name of "socialist patriotism", Romanian intellectuals put forth between 1944 and 1947. Deletant explores Romania's most controversial historical figure, Marshall Ion Antonescu, who threw his lot in with Cornelius Codreanu and the fascist Iron Guard. Although the anti-Semitic, anti-Communist, and anti-modernist Marshall admired their slogan "God, Nation, and King" (p. 294), by September 1940, he found himself unable to control the Legionnaires' penchant for violence. Bereft of strategic options, he partnered with Nazi Germany to counter the perceived Soviet threat, a disastrous and genocidal alliance for which nevertheless some still admire him today. Tismaneanu grapples with one of the country's most prominent intellectuals, Emil Cioran, and his "Metapolitics of Despair".⁵ He uses Cioran's post-World War II repentant recollections, Mihail Sebastian's and Constantin Noica's biographies to highlight the complexities and paradoxes of the "1927 generation." The émigré Cioran, who had once applauded the rise of the Nazis in Berlin as cure for

bourgeois mediocrity and timidity, “understood that he had been wrong” and embraced “the values of democratic liberalism” (p. 233).

By contrast, Vladimir Petrović discusses two cases who never “understood”: the demographers Vasa Čubrilović and Sabin Manuilă and the ways in which the social sciences in Serbia and Romania promoted ethnic cleansing. The author argues that the two are representative for a generation that, already in the 1940s, considered removal, expulsion, and extermination of “internal foreigners” (p. 324) (marginalized groups, mostly Jews) legitimate, even necessary tools in the building of a modern state; curiously, for neither, this proved a career breaker after 1945. In likewise comparative fashion but across generations, Michal Kopeček contrasts the ideas and biographies of two intellectuals, Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878–1962) and Karel Kosík (1926–2003) and contextualizes their different “national road[s] to socialism” (p. 345) within their respective times, the 1940s–1950s and the 1960s, as well as within the history of Czech political thought.

Several studies explore cases of intellectuals who overcame or resisted the totalitarian temptation: Pugliese discusses Ignazio Silone’s struggles with the promises of socialism and Christianity as well as post-war attempts at coming to terms with this tormented intellectual, who according to the author only found peace on a 1962 pilgrimage to historic Palestine. Remembered mostly for “Darkness at Noon” and his personal torment, Michael Scammell explores oft-neglected aspects of Arthur Koestler’s biography and oeuvre, especially his lifelong “yearning for happiness” (p.

236), and declares him “a mystic at heart” (p. 248). Jan-Werner Müller studies a select group of anti-totalitarian Cold War liberals (Isaiah Berlin, Raymond Aron, Norberto Bobbio) and their post-war anti-Communist embrace of the welfare state. Like others recently, the author rediscovers Judith Shklar and the idea that pluralism, contradictions, and uncertainty – disconcerting as this might be – are inherent to a liberal order.⁶ Mark Lilla uses the epilogue for another scathing dismissal of “tempted” Western intellectuals and reiterates his belief that, for a body politic to function, it requires collective identification with its founding values as well as emotional bonding.

Readers will note that there is only one woman among the twenty authors, which speaks volumes about the state of the field, its composition, and conceptual approaches. Only Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi includes gender as an analytical category as she explores the fabrication of Mussolini as a virile yet romantic hero, combative and brooding, a doer and a thinker. Portrayed as a man destined to lead the slumbering, effeminate masses, an artist-politician eager to craft a new, dynamic, virile (and gendered) nation, by 1922, he represented a welcome contrast “to the old [sluggish and corrupt] political elites” (p. 196).

The editors indicate that political contestations in Romania over the “right” interpretation of the past (on political loyalties) torpedoed and almost ended this publishing venture (p. 20). This rocky backstory may explain the volume’s slight conceptual incoherence. Totalitarianism wafts through many chapters and certainly undergirded the editors’ mission, but the concept remains underdefined. Part Four

is intended to offset the volume's Eurocentricism; although each chapter offers valuable insights, they (as well as other contributions) fall outside of the volume's conceptual framework (except Müller). The hope to salvage liberal democracy in the age of Trump, Putin, Orbán, and Brexit seems to have propelled the year-long, multi-conference project. However, the volume hardly delivers on the editor's intention to explore the "nexus of ideological zeal and dictatorial hubris" (p. 6) in the twentieth as well as possible implications for the twenty-first century (p. 19). Nevertheless, enthusiasts of intellectual history will truly enjoy this collection, the new take on better known and hitherto underexplored case studies; and those curious to explore the "Ideological Storms" of Europe's mid-twentieth century will find much inspiration.

Notes

- 1 V. Tismaneanu (ed.), *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusions and Utopias*, Budapest 2011; V. Tismaneanu (ed.), *Stalinism Revisited. The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe*, Budapest 2009; V. Tismaneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*, Berkeley 2003; V. Tismaneanu/S. Antohi (eds.), *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and Their Aftermath*, Budapest 1999.
- 2 B. C. Iacob/J. Mark/T. Rupprecht/L. Spaskovska (eds.), 1989: *A Global History of Eastern Europe*, Cambridge 2019.
- 3 V. Tismaneanu, *Fantasies of Salvation. Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe*, Princeton 1998.
- 4 J. Revel, *The Totalitarian Temptation*, New York 1977.
- 5 E. Cioran, *On the Heights of Despair*, Chicago 1992 (orig. 1934).
- 6 J. N. Shklar, *The Liberalism of Fear*, in: *Liberalism and the Moral Life*, ed. by N. L. Rosenbaum, Cambridge 1989, pp. 21–38.

Norbert Fabian: *Wirtschaft – Reformation – Revolution*, vol. 1: *Vergleichende, soziohistorische Strukturgitteranalysen*, vol. 2: *Wyclifs Sozialethik, der Aufstand von 1381 und Übergänge zur Moderne* (= *Studien zur historischen Gesellschaftswissenschaft*, vols. 1 and 2), Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2020, 1293 pp.

Reviewed by
Matthias Middell, Leipzig

The aim of these two massive volumes of around 1300 pages is nothing less than to substantiate and exemplify the claim of a historical social science beyond the purely reconstructive retelling of historical pasts. Accordingly, passages on the theory of history alternate with those on concrete objects and source analyses. At the same time, the aim of a socio-historical didactics of history is not lost sight of. This undeniable complexity has presented the author with considerable challenges as to how to document the basis in sources and secondary literature alone. Volume 1 concludes with almost 200 pages of footnotes, to which is added a bibliography 36 pages long, while volume 2 contains another 150 pages of footnotes plus 22 pages of bibliography. The two volumes are recognisably the fruit of years of searching in many areas of modern historiography and bring together bodies of knowledge that otherwise tend to be discussed separately in specialised terms.