

organisational and material resources, while suffering from continuing police surveillance under prewar laws against “asocials.” Consequently, much of the book is a study of the unequal treatment of Jews and Roma – by states and refugee organisations after the war (chapter 2), collectors of survivor testimony (chapter 3), in perpetrator trials (chapter 4), and in the establishment of large-scale, mostly Jewish-run research institutes such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (chapters 5 and 6).

At the same time, the book highlights many instances of Jewish and Romani cooperation. Roma sometimes turned to Jewish organisations for help, and Jewish researchers, social workers, and administrators worked to achieve the parallel recognition of Romani suffering. The Eichmann trial in Israel was the first occasion in which a separate charge for the mass murder of Roma was brought against a perpetrator. Even so, prewar anti-Roma stereotypes shaped many of these interactions, especially in the first two decades after the war. Anti-Roma sentiment often coloured Jewish survivor testimony about the Romani Holocaust, Jewish collectors more often collected testimony *about* than *from* Romani survivors, and institutions such as the USHMM only gradually came to make space for representation of the Romani Holocaust. Consequently, the material available on the Romani Holocaust remains far more limited than that about the Jewish Holocaust, even as Jewish-focused archives remain the main repositories of such material.

The final chapter (chapter 6) notes the growing cooperation of Jewish and Romani commemorative organisations in marking the Jewish and Romani Holocausts through to the present day. It particularly charts the slow shift in the USHMM to making space for the Romani Holocaust, following determined lobbying by Romani organisations, the collecting efforts of individual curators, and the influence of visiting scholars. The chapter also notes the growing cooperation between Jewish and Romani organisations, a cooperation largely undisturbed by concerns over Palestine that have frequently disrupted interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish civil rights movements.

The challenge faced by *Rain of Ash* is how to write an equal history of this unequal relationship between Jews and Roma, given that there are overwhelmingly more Jewish than Romani sources and institutions. In places, the book is primarily a discussion of how Jewish scholars, activists, and institutions have represented Roma, rather than about Romani self-representations. At the same time, Ari Joskowitz always tries to draw out Romani perspectives and, where he cannot do so, to highlight the silences. Overall, this is an exceedingly thoughtful and insightful contribution to Holocaust studies scholarship.

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Das Schloss der Schriftsteller. Nürnberg '46. Treffen am Abgrund

By Uwe Neumahr. Munich: C. H. Beck. Pp. 304. Cloth €26.00. ISBN: 978-3406791451.

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The first Nuremberg Trial has been exhaustively documented for both experts and the general reader ever since the final verdict was announced for the twenty-four defendants in October 1946. However, the experience of the press corps has been largely overlooked.

Uwe Neumahr addresses this absence in the literature. The result is a skillfully crafted collective biography of the reporters who covered the trials. He begins the work with an overview of the press camp, housed in the confiscated castle of the Faber-Castell family located in Stein, a few kilometers from the courthouse. After a consideration of the family and its Nazi connections, Neumahr devotes chapters to thirteen exemplary authors including William Shirer, Erich Kästner, Janet Flanner, and Rebecca West. These chapters, organized chronologically, explore the press coverage from Robert Jackson's opening statement through the final verdict at the Einsatzgruppen trial. Neumahr ends with an analysis of Golo Mann's advocacy for the release of Rudolf Hess, charting a facet of the trial's legacy into the 1980s.

Throughout the book, Neumahr captures the personal and professional connections of the reporters who covered the trial. He sets up these interactions with the first chapter, which is devoted to the press camp. Over three hundred journalists were housed on the grounds of the Faber-Castell estate in crowded conditions, often sleeping ten to a room. There one could find John Steinbeck brushing his teeth while John Dos Passos splashed in a bathtub and Ernest Hemmingway, wrapped only in a towel, complained about the quality of the local wine. Neumahr captures the chaotic conditions of the camp through the letters of Ernest Cecil Deane, liaison between the press and the courthouse. As the reporters drank, danced, and competed to bear witness to the trial of the century, Deane negotiated the politics that shaped the press camp. The Soviet authorities limited Russian reporters' contact with the Western press corps, moving them into a separate villa. German journalists had to find their own accommodations and bitterly protested that they had access to just seven seats in the courthouse. Neumahr represents the press camp as the site from which its revolving population of journalists pushed the boundaries of traditional reportage to describe the Nazis' crimes.

In each of the chapters devoted to the journalists, Neumahr traces their prewar careers and relationships before treating their coverage of the trial. He illustrates that the revelations at Nuremberg challenged the authors to find a language capable of capturing the defendants and their crimes. While many resorted to crass sensationalism or the banal recounting of mind-numbing statistics, the reporters that form the core of the book transformed their literary style in reaction to the trials. For example, Janet Flanner found herself incapable of maintaining a cool distance in her *New Yorker* article that covered Robert Jackson's cross examination of Hermann Göring. Instead, she represented their encounter as a duel between good and evil, in which Jackson proved an incompetent match for the diabolically brilliant Göring. Her displeased editor, Harold Ross, replaced Flanner with Rebecca West, who restored the balance of power in Jackson's favor. Martha Gellhorn, whose passionate prose recounted the horrors of Dachau, found herself empty when the final verdicts were announced. Gellhorn retreated to conventional, colorless reportage, with no illusions that the trial paved the way for a more just, humane world.

The reporters also reflected on the German people's responsibility for the Third Reich throughout their coverage of the trial. Neumahr argues that the press corps largely shared the British diplomat Robert Vansittart's view that the Nazis expressed the German national character, an innate flaw to be cured only by a thorough process of demilitarization, reeducation, and prolonged occupation by the Western powers. Gellhorn and Erika Mann, in particular, spared the Germans no mercy in their writings, and both vowed to never return to Germany after their time in Nuremberg. Only Willy Brandt and Wolfgang Hildesheimer came to believe that their fellow nationals, while bearing responsibility for the Third Reich, were not collectively guilty. Neumahr's concluding chapter wrestles with the question of German guilt and the degree to which the verdicts at Nuremberg represented a kind of justice. He does so through an analysis of Golo Mann's support for the release of Rudolf Hess. Neumahr here might be too forgiving with regard to Mann's political shift to the right and the politics of Franz Josef Strauss. It was a three-way conflict between Mann, his father and sister, and the larger questions of justice at Nuremberg serve as a fitting, if rather abrupt, conclusion to the book.

Uwe Neumahr draws on a rich array of sources to capture the trial's effects on the reporters and their writing styles, demonstrating that no-one left Nuremberg unchanged by what

they had witnessed. A real strength of the work is Neumahr's treatment of the typically overlooked female journalists. Housed separately from the men, Gellhorn, West, Flanner, and Erika Mann frequently added a feminist critique to both Nazism and the trials. Written in a lively and accessible style, the book is a bestseller in Germany. Overall, *Das Schloss der Schriftsteller* offers a multi-perspective view of the trials, the question of German guilt, and the impact of both on the journalists who gathered in Nuremberg.

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Israel's Moment: International Support for and Opposition to Establishing the Jewish State, 1945-1949

**By Jeffrey Herf. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
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The birth of the State of Israel in May 1948 took place during a brief interlude between the end of the Second World War and the full onset of the Cold War. This short period, when the recent memory of the Holocaust was still acutely felt by major political players, and which lasted from the fall of 1947 until the spring of 1949, became "Israel's Moment," as Jeffrey Herf argues in his thoroughly researched study. It was during these years that the question of Palestine, which had until that moment been mostly a triangular affair between the British, the Zionists, and Palestinian Arabs, internationalized and became part of the transition from the anti-Nazi alliance to hardening Cold War antagonisms.

Perhaps surprisingly, Herf reminds us that Jewish statehood came about not because of, but rather *in spite of*, American political meddling. Public historical amnesia has nourished the image of a long-established U.S.-Israeli friendship, which in reality was nowhere to be found until much later, after the 1967 Six-Day War. Rather, during the years 1947-1949 the strongest support for the Zionist state-building project came from the Soviet Bloc. This support was voiced most explicitly by Soviet, Ukrainian, and Polish representatives at United Nations gatherings, and was demonstrated in practice by the Czechoslovak breach of the U.S.-initiated arms embargo during the Arab-Israeli war. However, soon thereafter this episode was pushed to the background of public recollection: already in 1949, Stalin rapidly changed course vis-à-vis Israel. Part of this volte-face was an active campaign on the part of Stalin and his subsidiaries to erase the memory of earlier Soviet support.

As for the United States, Herf demonstrates how the State Department and the Pentagon consistently labelled the creation of a Jewish State as a threat to American strategic and security interests. U.S. foreign policy continued to side with Britain's anti-Zionist policies, despite wider popular and both Democrat and Republican political opinion rapidly shifting in favour of the Zionists. The main reasons for this attitude were the convictions of several key U.S. figures, most notably Secretary of State George Marshall and first director of the Policy Planning Staff, George Kennan. The latter explicitly connected opposition to the Jewish State to the U.S.'s prime political aim: containment of communism. Viewed through this Cold War lens, the strong Soviet-led support that the Zionists were receiving was more than suspicious, and the fear arose that antagonizing the Arab world would push the Arabs into the Soviet sphere of influence. Finally, antisemitic anxieties about Soviet infiltrators