

and cotton growing by Uzbek institutes (pp. 334–339). Other examples of global entanglements are the attempts to grow Egyptian cotton sorts in Turkmenistan (p. 193), the chemicalization of agriculture (p. 345), and cross-border cotton trade statistics, including the Soviet role as the main cotton deliverer to the COMECON, only very briefly hinted to in the book (p. 453). That these points are not in Obertreis's main focus does not do any harm to the assets and strengths of the book: It is an important contribution to filling the gap of cotton history in the socialist world and Eastern Europe/Eurasia, as well as to the history of international entanglements of the peripheries of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, and to the social, cultural and economic history of Central Asia. In the context of the efforts undertaken by recent approaches to economic history² and by the material histories mentioned in the beginning, Obertreis's book certainly is a further step towards a conciliation of cultural history with political economy.

Notes:

- 1 S. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton. A Global History of Capitalism*, New York 2014; B. Bryson, *At Home. A Short History of Private Life*, London/New York 2010.
- 2 See for example the conference „Scales of Economy“, Sydney, July 2016, URL: <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-6915?title=scales-of-economy&recno=3&q=Slobodian&sort=newestPublished&fq=&total=10>.

Eckart Conze / Martin Klimke / Jeremy Varon (eds.): *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017, p. 370.

Reviewed by
Karena Kalmbach, Eindhoven

Since the seminal book *Angst im Kalten Krieg*,¹ recently it has become commonplace to mention nuclear, fear, and Cold War issues in one breath. The 2017 compilation *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s*, therefore, follows a well-established line of research. Yet this work equally attempts to consolidate two central perspectives within common ground: consistently linking military and civil aspects of nuclear technology, and popular public discourse with the high politics of international security.

This book is an offshoot of the 2009 conference *Accidental Armageddons: The Nuclear Crisis and the Culture of the Second Cold War 1975–1989*, held at the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. After the editors' own introduction, a wide variety of scholars present 15 articles clustered under the main headings: 1. Defining Threat: Nuclear Dangers and the Moral Imagination, 2. Popular Culture, 3. Local and Transnational Activism, and 4. The Challenge for High Politics.

The introduction, which explains the book's structure, in itself exemplifies how difficult it is to actually stay true to the

claim of consistently linking the military and civil aspects of nuclear technology. These two “worlds” are divided in the introduction, with much more consideration given to the military side. What is more, the notion “fear” remains very much one-dimensional here: it is the fear of the bomb, the classic, well-trodden path of highlighting the fear of technology. Fortunately, the following articles – sometimes individually but in any case collectively – succeed in achieving the publication’s main aim and actually integrate the military and civil perspectives of nuclear technology. Interestingly, some articles do not even mention the word fear, which raises the question: to what extent does the book’s title serve to draw attention rather than promote the analytical framework of its content? Speaking of fear, this phenomenon remains a little unpacked. In some of the articles, it is taken for granted that people were of course afraid (yet nothing is said about the concrete object of this fear, let alone its performativity). On the other hand, other articles do make the extra effort to engage strongly with “fear” as an analytical category. In this regard, Tim Geiger and Jan Hansen present an interesting set of sources, namely correspondence sent to the German Social Democratic Party’s Head Office in the early 1980s, in which people revealed openly their extensive nuclear-related fears, for their own lives as well as the total destruction of the planet. The final article in this compilation, “Building Trust” by Enrico Böhm, reminds us that not only the fear of technology is at stake, but that the development of nuclear technology itself was inherently driven by fears. He highlights, by referring to Rüdiger Graf’s work

on the oil crises,² that “the fear (angst) of economic destabilization became a driver for the development of nuclear energy as a presumably reliable and secure energy source” (p. 336).

If the notion of “fear” had been unpacked and consistently become an analytical category, the insights in this book would have been much more fruitful and added a truly innovative aspect to this established research field. Nevertheless, the book is a very interesting read and offers thought-provoking perspectives, mainly through the interplay of the articles. As they are all short, concise (approximately 15 pages, plus notes), and very well written, you can easily read them all. Particularly newcomers to the field will appreciate the book as a wonderful source for exploring the diverse strands of research in the vast field of nuclear history. Whoever accomplished the tremendous task of indexing all the articles and compiling a 16-page index list deserves the appreciation of the nuclear history research community.

Part I opens with Wilfried Mausbach’s “Nuclear Winter: Prophecies of Doom and Images of Desolation during the Second Cold War”. This article might attract the broadest readership. By focusing on the work of Paul Crutzen, Mausbach lets us conceptualize the discussions around the nuclear winter to pave the way for climate change and Anthropocene debates – a perspective highly relevant beyond nuclear history. Although the next articles might appeal to a less broad audience, they are nonetheless interesting. In “Atomic Nightmares and Biological Citizens at the Three Mile Island”, Natasha Zaretsky wonderfully retells this account as a social history of Pennsylvania and a cultural history of

the human foetus, while highlighting that categorizations such as “left and right” or “conservative and progressive” blur when it comes to nuclear issues. Eckart Conze ends Part I with “Missile Bases as Concentration Camps: The Role of National Socialism, the Second World War, and the Holocaust in the West German Discourse on Nuclear Armament”, an article which fulfils the title’s promise by embedding this nuclear armament discourse in its social and cultural context.

Part II turns to popular culture to explore some fascinating sources. In “‘Will you sing about the missiles?’ British Antinuclear Protest Music of the 1980s”, William M. Knoblauch examines British song lyrics as a form of music activism; then in “From Artists for Peace to the Green Caterpillar: Cultural Activism and Electoral Politics in 1980s West Germany”, Martin Klimke and Laura Stapano undertake a similar endeavour with German songs, linking them to the German Green Party’s new campaigning methods. Closing this part is Thomas Goldstein’s “A Tenuous Peace: International Antinuclear Activism in the East German Writers Union during the 1980s”, which illustrates that writers as well as musicians shaped the discourse – and notably not just in West but also in East Germany.

Part III contrasts studies on local and transnational activism. First, Stephen Milder describes “The ‘Example of Wyhl’: How Grassroots Protest in the Rhine Valley Shaped West Germany’s Antinuclear Movement”. This text complements Michael Stewart Foley’s “No Nukes and Front Porch Politics: Environmental Protest Culture and Practice on the Second Cold War Home Front”, as considered together the

articles underline the similarities and differences in local protest phenomena. Susanne Schregel, in “Global Micropolitics: Towards a Transnational History of Grassroots Nuclear-Free Zones”, exemplifies best how vital it is to jointly consider the military and civil aspects of nuclear technology, showing us that “Nuclear free” can mean many different things. All the other contributions in this part concentrate on either nuclear power plants or nuclear bombs, but at least these dimensions are brought together in one and the same chapter. Patrick Burke’s “European Nuclear Disarmament: Transnational Peace Campaigning in the 1980s” and Sebastian Kalden’s “A Case of ‘Hollanditis’: The Interchurch Peace Council in the Netherlands and the Christian Peace Movement in Western Europe” emphasise once more the transnational connection of anti-nuclear protest.

The fourth and final part of the book stays closest to the introduction’s focus on military aspects and no longer features anti-reactor protests. Yet despite not always connecting the military and civil side of nuclear technology, the book succeeds in its aim to consistently link popular public discourse and concrete high politics. Lawrence S. Wittner in “Peace through Strength? The impact of the Antinuclear Uprising on the Carter and Reagan Administrations” and Tim Geiger and Jan Hansen in “Did Protest Matter? The Influence of the Peace Movement on the West German Government and the Social Democratic Party, 1977–1983”, focuses precisely on this interconnection. And what book on nuclear history does not remind us that whatever patterns we try to establish through comparative studies,

France is usually the exception that proves the rule. Katrin Rücker's "Why was there no 'Accidental Armageddon' Discourse in France? How Defense Intellectuals, Peace Movements, and Public Opinion Rethought the Cold War during the Euromissile Crisis", confronts us with this phenomenon. The closing article by Enrico Böhm entitled "Building Trust: The G7 Summits and International Leadership in Nuclear Politics" reminds us of the nuclear origins of institutions to which we have grown accustomed and that have lost their "nuclearity"³ in today's public discourse.

Alongside the ever-changing narratives of nuclear vices and virtues,⁴ shifting nuclearity is probably one of the most interesting topics to study in nuclear history. What better way to start exploring such avenues than by reading the widely-appealing articles in this book.

Notes

- 1 B. Greiner/Ch. Th. Müller, D. Walter, *Angst im Kalten Krieg*, Hamburg 2009.
- 2 R. Graf, *Gefährdungen der Energiesicherheit und die Angst vor der Angst. Westliche Industrieländer und das arabische Ölembargo 1973/74*, in: P. Bormann/T. Freiberger/J. Michel (eds.), *Angst in den internationalen Beziehungen*, Göttingen/Bonn 2010, p. 73–92.
- 3 For the concept of nuclearity, see G. Hecht: *Nuclear Ontologies*, in: *Constellations* 13 (2006), pp. 320–331.
- 4 K. Kalmbach: *Revisiting the Nuclear Age. State of the Art Research in Nuclear History*, in: *Neue Politische Literatur* 1 (2017), pp. 51–52.

Matthew Frank: Making Minorities History. Population Transfer in Twentieth-Century Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017, 464 p.

Reviewed by
Umut Özsü, Ottawa

In this new and exciting work of political and diplomatic history (and also intellectual history), Matthew Frank, an associate professor of international history at the University of Leeds, sets out to provide a history of population transfer in Europe during the course of the twentieth century. Rather than focusing exclusively on a specific socio-historical context marked by a particular experience of population transfer – movements envisioned or coordinated by Nazi-affiliated Romanian officials, say, or the forced migrations that accompanied the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s – Frank elects to chart the rise and fall of what many jurists, historians, and sociologists, not to mention diplomats and journalists, have long understood as a specific mode of nation-state-building. Much of this ground is well-trodden, with key stops on Frank's journey – the Greek-Turkish population exchange, the first large-scale legally sanctioned compulsory exchange of its kind, population transfers and related deportations and expulsions in the Soviet Union before and after the Second World War, Allied-organized expulsions of ethnic Germans from central and eastern Europe after 1945, and various transfers, some implemented and others