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implementing 'socialist principles' in the business. Sonnenberg examines how the political and economic situation on the West German book market was intertwined with societal changes and projects that aimed to democratize education, employment and social development. The core idea of these new and heterogeneous bookseller projects was to realize a new way of doing business: every staff member was to be involved in decision-making processes and be paid the same wage, and any profits the publishers made were to be donated to political projects. These ideas often blurred the borders between activism and business and created more than a few conflicts within single bookshops or between different bookshops.

It should be emphasized that Sonnenberg worked through tons of material from official archives as well as private sources that was complemented by grey literature, catalogues, almanacs and brochures. Without employing restrictive categories, he is able to describe and narrate the tableau of different circles and trends ranging from Marxist-Leninists, Trotskyists, anarchists, *Spontis* or socialists outside the German Social Democratic Party. Sonnenberg's empirical evidence supports his assumption that the process of differentiation within the left-wing movement was influenced by the active involvement of booksellers and bookshops.

Towards the mid-1970s, left-wing mobilization slowed in general, and bookshops suffered from a glutted market. New topics entered the bookshelves, which were inspired by leftist ideas but represented new movements like the women's and environmental or international solidarity movements. The title of the book *From Marx to the Mole (Von Marx zum Maulwurf)* illustrates these changes. In 1976 the association designed new shopping bags: rather than bearing the image of Karl Marx, the bags now sported a mole reading a book and equipped with hat, glasses and an umbrella. Marx himself had described moles as persistent and rooting and thus as a symbol of revolution. In this sense, left-wing practices changed from theoretical debates to practical projects. In the process, they frequently shifted from the pursuit of social demands to the search for self-fulfillment. In addition, terrorism and escalating violence were centrifugal forces that tended to divide the leftist milieu.

Uwe Sonnenberg's book about the left-wing booksellers' and publishers' scene from the 1960s to the 1980s is much more than a social or economic history in a classical sense. In considering the 1960s as a decade of exploratory cultural and political movements and the 1970s as a time of alternative ways of life on the one hand and an increasing yearning for security on the other, Sonnenberg's study is nothing less than a vivid picture of both West Germany's cultural landscape and the political upheaval during its transitional period of the 1970s.

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'Bekennen gegen den Atomstaat'. Die Evangelische Kirchen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Konflikte um die Atomenergie, 1970–1990. By Michael Schüring. Göttingen: Wallstein. 2015. 317 pp. €29.90 (hardback).

Medizin gegen den Kalten Krieg: Ärzte in der anti-atomaren Friedensbewegung der 1980er Jahre. By Claudia Kemper. Göttingen: Wallstein. 2016. 476 pp. €42.00 (hardback).

The final third of the twentieth century has been described by the intellectual historian Daniel Rodgers as an 'age of fracture', when the means of talking about the 'aggregate aspects of human life' changed dramatically. Similarly, Tony Judt argues in his magnum

opus *Postwar*, old political constituencies based on 'elective affinities of large groups of voters' gave way to interest in specific policies by much smaller, more closely defined groups in the 1970s. So it is fitting that two new books on the debate over nuclear technology, which became a seminal subject within West German politics during the late 1970s and early 1980s, approach the issue from the perspectives of particular confessional and professional organizations, and thus contribute to our understanding of the way politics functioned in a disaggregated society.

Michael Schüring's *'Bekennen gegen den Atomstaat'* looks at how and why the Protestant Church engaged in the debate about nuclear energy from the 1970s until German reunification in 1990. Schüring chose to study the Protestant Church, he writes, on account of its status as a 'large, socially anchored, and partially state supporting religious community' (p. 7) within West Germany. Because his central research question asks why such an important institution engaged itself in the nuclear debate, Schüring's study offers insights into the way that political topics moved into particular institutions and communities. Claudia Kemper, similarly, frames *Medizin gegen den Kalten Krieg*, her study of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), and especially its national branches in the FRG and the USA, as an entry point into a set of interconnected questions about the West German nuclear debate and the role of 'peace organizations' in shaping the Cold War order, and thus contemporary history. The two books also share their positioning in between subfields of the similarly disaggregated historical discipline. Schüring, an historian of science by training, enters into conversation with the historians of religion who have typically studied the protestant church and its postwar transformations. Kemper, meanwhile, couches her study of IPPNW in debates within the medical profession that themselves comprise a sort of liminal area between the history of medicine and the history of professions, but are intended to offer insights into social history more broadly conceived.

Despite these significant similarities in terms of subject and disciplinary positioning, there is also an important difference between the two authors' approaches. Focused on the history of the church itself, Schüring is interested in understanding how nuclear politics seeped into such an august institution. His book looks first at the ways that actors within the Church began to deploy 'secular prophecies' about the potential for nuclear apocalypse. Essential to this bridging of the religious and technological worlds, he argues, was the religious coding of foundational environmentalist writings such as the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth*. The combination of worldly fears and creation theology, along with the 'critical-emancipatory or even revolutionary self understanding' (p. 88) of Protestant opponents of nuclear energy, he concludes, was essential for the intensity of the nuclear debate within the Church. His book's second section on 'The political Church', begins by explaining how the Church's Nazi past prompted efforts after 1945 to restore damaged moral authority that eventually led to engagement in nuclear debates. But he places particular emphasis on social changes outside of the Church, including the widespread debate about political violence in 1970s West Germany. These larger social transformations fed the intense debate over the Church's political role in general and its stance towards nuclear energy in particular. Schüring's third section on 'The new protest culture' builds further on these ideas, focusing on the way that Protestant opponents of nuclear energy pushed the Church to engage with the militant antinuclear protests taking place throughout the Federal Republic in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Though Schüring has a tendency to skip from one historical moment to another without always making his temporal movements clear, he nonetheless shows how the intra-Church dialogue changed over time. While Church officials were initially refrained from positioning the Church as a whole in the nuclear debate on account of its purported lack

of competence in this technical subject, the intensifying debate on nuclear energy beyond the Church and the nuclear accidents at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl forced it to take more explicit positions on nuclear energy in order to keep up with society and maintain its moral authority. A concluding section on 'comparative perspectives' includes sketches of the West German Catholic Church's engagement in the nuclear debate and Pennsylvania Lutheran churches' positioning of themselves vis-à-vis the Three Mile Island disaster. These comparisons further illuminate some specificities of the West German Protestants' experience, particularly the moral imperative to take a position on nuclear energy, but they are too brief to fully bring the Protestant case into a wider perspective. In sum, then, Schüring's narrative is tightly focused on the ways that the West German Protestant Church was influenced by external social changes.

Kemper, by contrast, shows how a professional organization for medical doctors set out to influence the international nuclear debate and charts its entanglements throughout the Cold War world. Her story emphasizes the ways in which intra-professional debates, on subjects like doctors' pay or the costs of health care, helped build the organizations that later became the basis for doctors' engagement in the nuclear debate. Similarly, she shows how the doctors' emphasis on preventing nuclear war was due to the popularization of psychological approaches to medicine during the 1970s, since they too emphasized prevention. Finally, Kemper shows that much like the Protestant Church, the West German medical profession sought to regain moral authority after 1945—at first by refraining from participation in political debates altogether, but then by engaging wholeheartedly in efforts to prevent nuclear war. In the next two substantive sections of her book, which comprise the heart of her study, Kemper moves beyond the specific matters of German doctors' intra-professional debates and their efforts to confront the Nazi past and puts their situation into the broader Cold War context. Her section on the organization of the IPPNW between 1980 and 1984 emphasizes the very different roots of the international organization and its constituent national branches. While the IPPNW itself was the creation of a handful of elite Boston doctors affiliated with Harvard Medical School, the West German branch comprised numerous grassroots initiatives that had developed amidst the 1970s debates about the spiralling costs of healthcare and the future of the medical profession. At the same time, the organization's East European branches typically comprised only high-profile researchers in fields like radiation science; the international organization's Soviet Co-President Yevgeniy Chazov, for example, was also the USSR's Vice Minister of Health. Kemper's well-guided tour through IPPNW's variegated local, national and international bodies is a particular highlight of her book because it problematizes our understanding of INGOs as monolithic organizations, controlled from a powerful central office. Her final section on 'The limits of the international peace idea in the Cold War' builds on her exposition of the IPPNW's own problematic construction in order to position the doctors' organization amidst the myriad tensions of the Cold War. She shows here, for example, how the 1983 stationing of NATO's Euromissiles strained the relationship of the IPPNW's US and Western European branches, while the 1986 Chernobyl accident led to a near breakdown in inter-bloc cooperation. Kemper's links between IPPNW and the dramatic international events of the so-called 'Second Cold War' shows how doctors engaged in politics and the world and thus underpins her effective use of the IPPNW as an entry point into contemporary social history. It is fitting, then, that the three theses she offers in her conclusion have less to do with the doctors themselves and focus instead on the relationship between the IPPNW, the peace movement and the Cold War—all of which she sees as interlinked, not in opposition to one another—and also on the conflicting ways that organizations operate on the local, national

and international level. In contrast to the West German Protestant Church, which brought society to itself, it seems, the doctors of IPPNW went out to the world.

By showing, respectively, how one confession and a single profession participated in West German nuclear debates, both Schüring and Kemper offer important contributions to our understanding of the nuclear issue and its prominence in West German politics. In taking this approach, they also offer important new insights into how citizens and organizations engaged in politics during a period of social disaggregation. Nonetheless, based in meticulous archival research, both books have a tendency to dive into the minutiae of the organizations they describe. Much of the research presented in both books, therefore, will be primarily of use to specialists in particular fields like nuclear history, church history, the history of professions or perhaps medical history. Nonetheless some of the authors' findings, particularly Kemper's description of the way that individual doctors engaged with the international Cold War order, and her related conclusions about the complicated workings of international organizations like IPPNW, as well as Schüring's explication of the religious coding of environmental concerns, address broader questions about political practice and will likely be of significance for scholars of contemporary history more generally.

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***Abschied vom Kalten Krieg? Die Sozialdemokraten und der Nachrüstungsstreit (1977–1987).* By Jan Hansen. Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg. 2016. 289 pp. €24.95 (softcover).**

The debate over the implementation of the December 1979 NATO Dual Track decision was one of the seminal events in West Germany's post-war history. The decision combined high-level talks about the reduction of intermediate nuclear missiles between the US and USSR with the threat to deploy Pershing-II missiles in Germany and other NATO countries in case they would fail. The prospect of new atomic missiles not only conjured up images of nuclear destruction and brought hundreds of thousands to the streets in demonstrations and human chains. The Dual Track Decision also led to a renegotiation of the political space more generally. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) was more intensively affected by these shifts than any other major political group in the Federal Republic. During its 1979 Berlin party conference, the SPD had supported the Dual Track Decision with a large majority, not least because it had been their own chancellor Helmut Schmidt who had suggested a recalibration of nuclear security in his 1977 speech at the International Institute of Strategic Studies. Yet, only four years later, after Schmidt's coalition with the liberal FDP had broken up in October 1982 and the SPD had lost seats in the March 1983 Federal Election, the November 1983 Cologne party conference rejected the deployment of intermediate missiles. Only 14 of the 400 delegates voted to uphold the Dual Track Decision and Helmut Schmidt was visibly isolated even among his front-bench colleagues, with Willy Brandt, the party chairman, ostensibly refusing even to look at Schmidt who sat right next to him.

In his highly readable book—based on his Humboldt University Berlin PhD—Jan Hansen does not only provide a detailed analysis of the grassroots revolt among Social Democrats that emerged in the wake of the Dual Track Decision and explains how large parts of the rank-and-file members effectively acted as part of the anti-nuclear peace movement even while their own party was still in power. Going beyond a traditional peace movement history,