

Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s

This book brings together cutting-edge scholarship from the United States and Europe to address political as well as cultural responses to both the arms race of the 1980s and the ascent of nuclear energy as a second, controversial dimension of the nuclear age. Diverse in its topics and disciplinary approaches, Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s makes a fundamental contribution to the emerging historiography of the 1980s as a whole. As of now, the era's nuclear tensions have been addressed by scholars mostly from the standpoint of security studies, focused on the geostrategic deliberations of political elites and at the level of state policy. Yet nuclear anxieties, as the essays in this volume document, were so pervasive that they profoundly shaped the era's culture, its habits of mind, and its politics, far beyond the domain of policy.

Eckart Conze is Professor of History at the University of Marburg. He is the author of, most recently, *Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* and *Das Auswärtige Amt. Vom Kaiserreich bis zur Gegenwart.*

Martin Klimke is Associate Dean of Humanities and Associate Professor of History at New York University Abu Dhabi. He is the author of *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties*, co-author of *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany*, as well as editor of the publication series Protest, Culture & Society.

Jeremy Varon is Associate Professor of History at The New School in New York City. He is the author of *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* and *The New Life: Jewish Students of Postwar Germany*, as well as co-founder and editor of *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture*.



More Information



PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Edited by HARTMUT BERGHOFF with the assistance of David Lazar

The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

Recent Books in the Series

Adam T. Rosenbaum, Bavarian Tourism and the Modern World, 1800–1950 Jonas Scherner, Paying for Hitler's War: The Consequences of Nazi Economic Hegemony for Europe

Gerald D. Feldman, Austrian Banks in the Period of National Socialism

Eric C. Steinhart, The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine

Hartmut Berghoff and Uta Andrea Balbier, The East German Economy, 1945–2010: Falling Behind or Catching Up?

Thomas W. Maulucci, Jr., and Detlef Junker, editors, GIs in Germany: The Social, Economic, Cultural, and Political History of the American Military Presence

Alison Efford, German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era

Lars Maischak, German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic

Ingo Köhler, The Aryanization of Private Banks in the Third Reich

Hartmut Berghoff, Jürgen Kocka, and Dieter Ziegler, editors, *Business in the Age of Extremes*

Yair Mintzker, The Defortification of the German City, 1689-1866

Astrid M. Eckert, The Struggle for the Files: The Western Allies and the Return of German Archives after the Second World War

Winson Chu, The German Minority in Interwar Poland

Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, *The United States and Germany during the Twentieth Century*

Monica Black, Death in Berlin: From Weimar to Divided Germany

John R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, editors, Environmental Histories of the Cold War



Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, editors, War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815

Cathryn Carson, Heisenberg in the Atomic Age: Science and the Public Sphere Michaela Hoenicke Moore, Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933–1945



Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear, and the Cold War of the 1980s

ECKART CONZE

Philipps-Universität Marburg

MARTIN KLIMKE

New York University Abu Dhabi

JEREMY VARON

The New School





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107136281

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Conze, Eckart, editor. | Klimke, Martin, editor. | Varon, Jeremy, 1969– editor.

Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s / Eckart Conze, Philipps-University Marburg; Martin Klimke, New York University, Abu Dhabi; Jeremy Varon, Eugene Lang College, The New School.

New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, [2017] | Series: Publications of the German Historical Institute | "This book originated in a global conference in 2010, "Accidental Armageddons: The Nuclear Crisis and the Culture of the Second Cold War, 1975–1989." Hosted by the German Historical Institute (GHI), the gathering was co-sponsored by New York University, the National Security Archive, and the New School for Social Research/Eugene Lang College" – Acknowledgements.

LCCN 2016026287 | ISBN 9781107136281

LCSH: Antinuclear movement – History – Congresses. | World politics – 1975–1985 – Congresses. | World politics – 1985–1995 – Congresses. | Cold War – Congresses.

LCC JZ5574 .N83 2017 | DDC 327.1/74709048-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016026287

ISBN 978-1-107-13628-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Contributors		age xi	
Ac	knowledgments	XV	
W	troduction: Between Accidental Armageddons and Winnable Yars: Nuclear Threats and Nuclear Fears in the 1980s Chart Conze, Martin Klimke, and Jeremy Varon	I	
Pa	rt I: Defining Threat: Nuclear Dangers and the Moral		
	Imagination	25	
Ι	Nuclear Winter: Prophecies of Doom and Images of Desolation during the Second Cold War Wilfried Mausbach	27	
2	Atomic Nightmares and Biological Citizens at Three Mile Island Natasha Zaretsky	5 5	
3	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 <i>Eckart Conze</i>	79	
Pa	rt II: Popular Culture	99	
4	"Will you sing about the missiles?": British Antinuclear Protest Music of the 1980s William M. Knoblauch	101	

vii



viii Contents

 From Artists for Peace to the Green Caterpillar: Cultural Activism and Electoral Politics in 1980s West Germany Martin Klimke and Laura Stapane A Tenuous Peace: International Antinuclear Activism in the East German Writers Union during the 1980s 	116
Thomas Goldstein	
Part III: Local and Transnational Activism	165
7 The "Example of Wyhl": How Grassroots Protest in the Rhine Valley Shaped West Germany's Antinuclear	
Movement Stephen Milder	167
8 No Nukes and Front Porch Politics: Environmental Protest Culture and Practice on the Second Cold War	
Home Front Michael Stewart Foley	186
9 Global Micropolitics: Toward a Transnational History of Grassroots Nuclear-Free Zones Susanne Schregel	206
10 European Nuclear Disarmament: Transnational Peace Campaigning in the 1980s Patrick Burke	227
11 A Case of "Hollanditis": The Interchurch Peace Council in the Netherlands and the Christian Peace Movement in	
Western Europe Sebastian Kalden	251
Part IV: The Challenge for High Politics	269
12 Peace through Strength?: The Impact of the Antinuclear Uprising on the Carter and Reagan	
Administrations Lawrence S. Wittner	271
13 Did Protest Matter? The Influence of the Peace Movement on the West German Government and the Social Democratic	
Party, 1977–1983 Tim Geiger and Ian Hansen	290



	Contents	ix
14	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 Katrin Rücker	316
15	Building Trust: The G ₇ Summits and International Leadership in Nuclear Politics Enrico Böhm	335
Inc	Index	



More Information



Contributors

ENRICO BOEHM is Advisor to the Executive Board of the Bertelsmann Foundation. He is the author of *Die Sicherheit des Westens. Entstehung und Funktion der G7-Gipfel*, 1975–1981 (2013).

PATRICK BURKE is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster.

ECKART CONZE is Professor of History at the University of Marburg. His publications include Aristokratismus und Moderne. Adel als politisches und kulturelles Konzept 1890–1945 (2013), Das Auswärtige Amt. Vom Kaiserreich bis zur Gegenwart (2013), Das Amt und die Vergangenheit. Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und der Bundesrepublik (2010), The Genocide Convention 60 Years after Its Adoption (2010) (with C. Safferling), and Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (2009).

MICHAEL STEWART FOLEY is Professor of American Political Culture and Political Theory at the University of Groningen. He is the author of Dead Kennedys Fresh Fruit for Rotting Vegetables (2015), Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s (2013), and Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War (2003). He is a co-editor of Home Fronts: A Wartime America Reader (2008), Witness against Torture: The Campaign to Shut Down Guantanamo (2008), and editor of Dear Dr. Spock: Letters about the Vietnam War to America's Favorite Baby Doctor (2005).

TIM GEIGER works at the Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin; Department within the Foreign Ministry of the FRG (Edition



xii

More Information

List of Contributors

"Foreign Relations of the Federal Republic of Germany"). He is the author of Atlantiker gegen Gaullisten. Außenpolitischer Konflikt und innerparteilicher Machtkampf in der CDU/CSU 1958–1969 (2008), and editor of Die Einheit. Das Auswärtige Amt, das DDR-Außenministerium und der Zwei-plus-Vier-Prozess (2015), Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Vol. 1976, 1977, 1980, 1983 (2014), and Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung. Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive (2011).

THOMAS WILLIAM GOLDSTEIN is Visiting Assistant Professor at the Department of History, University of Arkansas.

JAN HANSEN is Research Associate and Lecturer at the Humboldt University Berlin, Department of History. He is the author of Abschied vom Kalten Krieg? Die Sozialdemokraten und der Nachrüstungsstreit (1977–1987), 2016.

SEBASTIAN KALDEN works as Project Manager for the Mecklenburger AnStiftung Foundation.

MARTIN KLIMKE is Associate Dean of Humanities and Associate Professor of History at New York University Abu Dhabi. He is the author of *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany & the United States in the Global Sixties* (2010), co-author of *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (2010), and coeditor of several volumes on transnational and transatlantic history, as well as the Cold War.

WILLIAM KNOBLAUCH is Assistant Professor of History at Finlandia University. He is the author of *Selling the Second Cold War: Antinuclear Cultural Activism in the Reagan Era* (forthcoming 2016).

WILFRIED MAUSBACH is Executive Director of the Heidelberg Center for American Studies at the University of Heidelberg. He is the co-editor of The Nuclear Crisis; Arms Race, Atomic Anxiety, and the German Peace Movement of the 1980s (forthcoming 2016), The American Presidency (2012), and Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s (2010), associate editor of The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990. A Handbook (2004) and America, the Vietnam War, and the World: Comparative and International Perspectives (2003), and the author of Zwischen



More Information

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-13628-1 — Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War of the 1980s Edited by Eckart Conze , Martin Klimke , Jeremy Varon Frontmatter

List of Contributors

xiii

Morgenthau und Marshall. Das wirtschaftspolitische Deutschlandkonzept der USA, 1944–1947 (1996).

STEPHEN MILDER is Assistant Professor at the University of Groningen. His publication *Greening Democracy: The Antinuclear Movement and Political Environmentalism in Western Europe*, 1968–1983 is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press.

KATRIN RÜCKER is Research Fellow at the Faculty of Law at the University of Geneva.

SUSANNE SCHREGEL is Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Graduate School for the Humanities Cologne, University of Cologne. Her publications include *Der Atomkrieg vor der Wohnungstür. Eine Politikgeschichte der neuen Friedensbewegung in der Bundesrepublik*, 1970–1985 (2011).

LAURA STAPANE is Project Manager of the research, digitization, and exhibition project *The Civil Rights Struggle*, *African-American GIs*, *and Germany* as well as for *The Nuclear Crisis – Transatlantic Peace Politics*, *Rearmament*, *and the Second Cold War* project. She also works as a Senior Creative Consultant.

JEREMY VARON is Associate Professor of History at The New School in New York City. He is the author, most recently, of *The New Life: Jewish Students of Postwar Germany* (2014), and co-founder and editor of *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture*.

LAWRENCE S. WITTNER is Professor of History emeritus at the University of Albany. His publications include What's Going On at UAardvark? (2013), Working for Peace and Justice (2012), Confronting the Bomb (2009), Toward Nuclear Abolition (2003), Resisting the Bomb (1997), One World or None (1995), Rebels against War (1984), American Intervention in Greece, 1943–1949 (1982), and Cold War America (1978).

NATASHA ZARETSKY is Associate Professor at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Her publications include No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968–1980 (2007) and The Womb and the Reactor: Three Mile Island and the Birth of the Ecological Age (forthcoming).



More Information



Acknowledgments

Under any circumstances, a book is a collaborative endeavor, made by villages and not individuals. A book such as this – edited by three people from diverse professional cultures, corralling the insight of dozens of accomplished, far-flung scholars – is exponentially more a communal effort.

This book originated in a global conference in 2010, "Accidental Armageddons: The Nuclear Crisis and the Culture of the Second Cold War, 1975–1989." Hosted by the German Historical Institute (GHI), the gathering was co-sponsored by the National Security Archive, and the New School for Social Research/Eugene Lang College. We are extremely grateful to each of these institutions for having had the willingness, resources, and heart to sponsor our conference, in particular Hartmut Berghoff (GHI Director), William Burr (Senior Analyst/Director of Nuclear History Documentation Project, National Security Archive), and Neil Gordon and Robert Kostrzewa (The New School). Our special thanks go to Bärbel Thomas, Nicole Kruz, Sabine Fix, Betsy Hauck, and Matthias Ball at the GHI, who ran the conference with typical efficiency and aplomb. Yet again, the GHI demonstrated what commitment to ideas can look like and mean, in a world starved for historically informed understandings of the challenges of the present and future.

The co-editors of this volume, Professors Conze, Klimke, and Varon, were each supported in this project by their host institutions. Special thanks go therefore to Marburg University, the New School, and the GHI, as well as subsequently New York University Abu Dhabi, each of which encouraged the synergy of good minds, acting in concert. Each of the volume's many contributors hails as well from some place, whether a university or a research institute. We are equally grateful of the support



xvi

Acknowledgments

the individual authors received from their colleagues and institutions. This book, in sum, is the sum of the many parts that made it.

Cambridge University Press was a great steward of the project, understanding its unique value, and carrying forth its vast editorial work with great professionalism and passion. We are especially thankful for the support of David Lazar, who coordinates the GHI's publications, and Deborah Gershenowitz and David Morris of Cambridge University Press, who took charge of the project. Our copyeditors, Linda Truilo and Brian Black, were heroic in the process, providing invaluable guidance of each piece in the volume, while contending with the many complexities of subject matter and of language.

This book deals seriously and at length with a period we know well and whose importance we seek to promote. Nothing has been so terrifying as the prospect of species annihilation through nuclear war. Little has been as reassuring as the efforts – across the Atlantic and throughout the political spectrum – to ensure that this cataclysm has not yet come to pass. The world remains choked with nuclear dangers, embodied by new nuclear actors (including, potentially, terrorists) and exacerbated by a potentially resurgent nuclear power industry. The latter brands itself as the "clean" alternative to fossil fuels, obfuscating very real, persisting dangers and decades of advocacy work to highlight that hazard.

We have limited ability to influence the course of the world, with respect to nuclear weapons or energy. We hope, nonetheless, to contribute to a historically informed understanding of current debates and the consequences of various positions. If the effect of our volume is to give some elevated sense to the contested and often contradictory nature of historical and, by extension, contemporary discourses about the concepts of security and safety, it will have succeeded in its grand aim. We hope that readers enjoy and learn from what the talented group of authors behind this volume have to say.

We would like, finally, to acknowledge the crucial role in the conference from which this volume sprung – and the decades of his wisdom on nuclear issues – of the late Jonathan Schell. Mr. Schell was kind enough to give the keynote address of the conference and to help to set the terms of our dialogue. For decades prior, he had been among the world's most thoughtful voices in considering the implications of nuclear weapons for the fate of human kind and the planet. We will sorely miss his insight and humanity.