

Given the crucial role that Gray ascribes to Franco-West German relations in the process of the FRG becoming a trading power, it seems a little odd though that the author did not carry out more sustained research in French archives to explore the French side in more depth.

Three particular strengths of *Trading Power's* methodology deserve mention here. The fact that the author applies a constructivist approach to international relations is highly commendable, because it allows him to give adequate attention to soft power as a major force shaping the international system. A second strength relates to the fact that *Trading Power* does not exclusively deal with various chancellors and foreign ministers but “also highlights the goals and priorities of prominent figures across a range of West German institutions” (5). For example, the reader learns about Katharina Focke, a lobbyist for European integration who was appointed to Brandt's Chancellor's Office in an otherwise male-dominated government apparatus. Similarly, Gray skilfully uses Erhard Eppler, who served as Minister for Development Aid from 1968 to 1974, to open the chapter on the Brandt government's engagement with the Global South.

Finally, Gray refrains from delivering a teleological reading backwards of the history of the Bonn Republic as a simplistic success story. Instead, he problematizes controversial aspects and episodes in that crucial period of West German history from 1963 to 1975. He exposes some of the weaknesses of Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr's *Ostpolitik*, or the continuities between the Third Reich and the Federal Republic through senior political decisionmakers like Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, for example. Another area of great ambivalence within the history of the FRG concerned Bonn's hesitancy to ratify the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty due to its own ambitions to become a nuclear weapons power. Likewise, the government under Chancellor Willy Brandt – commonly associated with *Ostpolitik* and Cold War détente – displayed a high level of ambivalence when it came to arms exports. “Brandt's government had little use for boycotts and embargoes; it viewed trade as an inherently positive activity that bound the world more closely together,” as Gray observes (311).

Twenty years after the publication of his seminal study, *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (2003), William Glenn Gray has written another major study of the foreign relations of the Bonn Republic. In years to come, *Trading Power* is set to become a key text for researchers and students of West German history. In light of Chancellor Olaf Scholz recently proclaimed *Zeitenwende*, a historic turning point away from a passive toward a more active defence policy, *Trading Power* provides important historical lessons that are relevant to current political debates in the Berlin Republic.

doi:10.1017/S0008938924000608

Arbeit und Umwelt? Die Umwelt- und Energiepolitik der SPD zwischen Ökologie und Ökonomie 1969-1998

By Felix Lieb. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2022. Pp. 451. Hardcover \$135.00. ISBN: 978-3110774238.

Stephen Milder

Rachel Carson Center

In March 2023, after tense negotiations over climate policy, German Green Party politicians voiced frustration with their Social Democratic coalition partners, whom they believed had abandoned shared positions in order to water down environmental protections and

jumpstart highway construction projects. The conflicted “history of the relationship between social democracy and ecology” (7), which is the subject of Felix Lieb’s monograph, suggests that the Greens should probably not have been surprised by the Social Democrats’ waffling commitment to environmental protection. In fact, according to Lieb’s analysis of the period from the formation of the social-liberal government under Willy Brandt in 1969 to the election of the red-green government under Gerhard Schröder in 1998, environmental policy was – with rare exceptions – of interest to Social Democrats only insofar as it could be used to stimulate the economy and provide new jobs.

At its core, *Arbeit und Umwelt?* is a closely focused and highly detailed history of debates that occurred within the SPD. Though the book covers three decades, a surprisingly consistent group of key powerbrokers and a handful of social democratic environmentalists stand at the center of Lieb’s analysis. And yet, Lieb provocatively frames these intra-party discussions in the context of big historiographical debates about the political and social transformations that have shaped the period “after the boom” and informed social scientists’ recent warnings of democratic deconsolidation.

Lieb’s rich history of the SPD emphasizes the extent to which social democratic principles conflicted with the prerogative to protect the environment, even as ecological devastation became increasingly evident. In noting the extent to which Social Democrats had traditionally been “proponents of emancipation through technology and economic growth” (8) and by arguing that “the SPD and its voters were not opponents, but rather children of consumer society” (285), Lieb elicits the uneasiness with which Social Democrats approached ecological topics and brings the misalignment between social democracy and what he refers to as a “post-material” (35) brand of environmentalism into focus. Indeed, even in the 1970s, when the SPD was in power and popular environmental concerns motivated protest and political engagement throughout the FRG, Lieb contends that “ecology was not an integral part of the social democratic reform program” (42).

By precisely the same token, Lieb shows how the popularization of ecological modernization theory, which posits that environmental protection can generate new (green) jobs and spur economic growth, enabled Social Democrats to more easily embrace environmental goals during the 1980s. In adopting an ecological modernist position, moreover, the SPD believed it could “take the wind from the sails” (152) of radical ecological alternatives. This approach even led to a “short ecological blossoming” (202) within the SPD in the late 1980s, when Social Democrats advocated “economic restructuring” that would “mobilize the power of the market for environmental protection” (246).

Interestingly, in spite of his detailed analysis of the complicated relationship between the FRG’s principal center-left party and environmental affairs, Lieb hardly questions the assumption that environmentalism itself has been a project of the political Left. On the contrary, he highlights links between the SPD and the environmental movement, meticulously counting the (former) Social Democrats who became leaders in grassroots environmental groups or helped organize the Green Party. And though he ultimately concludes that “ecologically sensitive voter groups were not . . . simply the ‘lost children’ of the SPD,” he nonetheless perceives the Greens as a leftist party that appealed to at least some of the SPD’s supporters in the “center left” (317). In the context of Lieb’s broader findings about the incompatibility of social democracy and environmentalism, these assumptions represent a missed opportunity to reflect on whether what he refers to as “post-material” environmentalism can be understood as a leftist project in the first place.

Indeed, as Lieb shows, it was not only within the context of political goals that the SPD differentiated itself from the environmental movement and positioned itself vis-à-vis the Green Party. With the notable exception of Willy Brandt, most leading Social Democrats understood the citizens’ initiatives that formed in the 1970s in order to address local environmental problems as “lacking in democratic legitimacy,” since they could not claim the “representativeness of a party like the SPD, as an organization of elected office holders” (84). Even after the formation of the Green Party in 1980, prominent Social Democrats

continued to argue that the Greens' efforts to broaden the FRG's representative democracy and to organize themselves in accordance with the principle of direct democracy threatened West German parliamentary democracy. By emphasizing the SPD's low assessment of the Greens' democratic bona fides, Lieb supports his argument that the first state-level red-green coalition governments, which were formed in the 1980s and 1990s, were options of last resort, not proof that the two parties understood themselves collectively as partners on the Left, let alone evidence that they conceived of democracy in the same way.

By articulating leading Social Democrats' instrumental view of environmental protection, and their disdain for grassroots environmental initiatives that they conceived as challenges to the primacy of Germany's hard-won representative democracy, Felix Lieb makes a compelling argument that SPD powerbrokers were never really interested in saving the environment as an end in and of itself. Precisely this recalcitrance underpins Lieb's interpretation of this particular case study's broader importance for our understanding of politics "after the boom," since Social Democratic environmental debates offer ample evidence that the political parties have "not only been 'victims' of alleged value change," but continued to "shape ideational and social-political constellations" (382). These same findings about the durability of political parties and the extent to which the SPD, at least, insistently applied old paradigms to new questions, also – if only implicitly – indicate a seminal challenge facing proponents of transformative environmental politics in the climate change era.

doi:10.1017/S0008938924000645

Brewing Socialism: Coffee, East Germans, and Twentieth-Century Globalization

By Andrew Kloiber. New York: Berghahn, 2023. Pp. xiii + 206. Hardcover \$135.00. ISBN: 978-1800736696.

Robert W. Thurston

Miami University, emeritus

Investigating a small part of the economy of a small country leads us, in Andrew Kloiber's work, to big questions about consumer products and their role in socialist societies, how authoritarian governments rule, and a little-known side of the Cold War. In the years 1975-1977, a coffee crisis developed in the GDR. It began with a "Black Frost" in Brazil that killed millions of coffee trees overnight. Within two years, the global price of coffee rose fourfold. East Germany, already struggling to fulfill its long-standing promise to raise its citizens' standard of living to match or exceed West Germany's, found that it could not afford to use its limited convertible currency to buy coffee on the world market.

Many works on coffee have shown that it is much more than a warm drink. It can bring people together in a form of sociability that governments from the 1500s onward could not control. Coffee signifies status and hospitality, soothes and stimulates at the same time, and provides a break from the everyday world. In the GDR, availability of coffee in the home, especially the more expensive brands, became socially disruptive: it put class differences on display in a state that swore it was eliminating them.

The government did not want to portray socialist society as entirely new in its cultural and culinary habits. Bach's *Coffee Cantata*, composed in Leipzig in 1732-1735 and awkwardly claimed as East German, served regularly to remind citizens that they were Europeans who