

between Zionist leaders and Nazi killers, the point being to develop a Jewish state with strong racial stock. The latter charge ironically came partly from their reading of Arendt's careless comments concerning Jewish councils. And Arab writers agreed that Israel exploited the Holocaust in order to hide its own crimes. These charges have their true believers and scholarly apologists to this day. Indeed, Michael Berkowitz's essay in the volume debunks, yet again, the notion of a Zionist-Nazi alliance, an idea fueled in part by Eichmann's insistence at trial that he admired Zionist aims and tried to further them.

Thomas Pegelow Kaplan's essay on 1960s student movements in West Germany and the U.S. might be the volume's most open-ended. For the New Left, which misread Arendt's thesis of Eichmann's unthinking banality, "Eichmann" became the archetype for the postcolonial perpetrator of racist and imperialist crimes ranging from the American South to Vietnam – the ubiquitous petit bourgeois servant of atrocity reborn in the bureaucracy. Problems with this assessment were many. One was that this universalization of "Eichmann" was never applied to communist societies where the apparatchiks were more in keeping with Arendt's conceptions of totalitarianism. Another was that, for protest movements, Eichmann's crimes were divorced from their essential core, namely the destruction of Europe's Jews. Stripped of their specificity, they could be applied willy-nilly, including against Israel, an expanding *bête noire* of the global left.

Together, the essays in Wittmann's fine volume reflect the long reach of the Eichmann trial. Yet ironically, they also reflect the persistent reach of Arendt's reading of the trial, for Arendt's assessment, flawed though it was, influenced and still influences how the Jerusalem proceedings were understood in everything from international law to postmodern assessments of power. In that sense, the essays reflect that Eichmann's ashes, though scattered at sea after his execution in 1962, were scattered further than the Israelis ever intended. His trial is truly one without end.

doi:10.1017/S000893892300016X

Vom Gast zum Gastwirt? Türkische Arbeitswelten in West-Berlin

By Stefan Zeppenfeld. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021. Pp. 430. Hardback €39.00. ISBN: 978-3835350229.

Lauren Stokes

Northwestern University

In 1980, Turkish entrepreneur Atalay Özçakır decided to bring part of Istanbul to West Berlin when he opened a "Grand Bazaar" in the shuttered Bülowstraße U-Bahn station in Schöneberg. Over the next decade, this bazaar served as a hub of the Turkish community in West Berlin. The Bazaar was not only a place where they could purchase familiar foods and clothing but also a stage for performance where Turkish stars like Zeki Müren and Bülent Ersoy were welcome even though they had both been banned from the Turkish state after the 1980 putsch. In 1991, as the once-divided city knitted itself back together in the process of unification, the U-Bahn station came back into service, and the bazaar itself was forced to close.

The history of the subway bazaar, one of many retold in Stefan Zeppenfeld's excellent study, recapitulates much of his argument about the role of Turkish migrants and their

descendants in the recent history of Berlin, today the single most “Turkish” city outside of Turkey itself. The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 spurred the mass recruitment of Turkish workers into the city, but people who initially arrived as labor migrants took up a variety of jobs in the decades to follow. Starting before the 1973 recruitment stop and accelerating in the late 1970s and 1980s, Turkish citizens and their descendants expanded into new occupational sectors that the architects of the labor recruitment had not anticipated. Many of them experienced the fall of the Berlin Wall and subsequent reunification of Berlin as a far more significant change for their labor biography than the 1973 recruitment stop. Industrial employers responded to the loss of the “Berlin subvention” by relocating, jobs formerly performed by Turks now went to East Germans, and Turkish unemployment sharply increased. Despite these difficulties, Turkish citizens continued to adapt to changing conditions in the city that had become their home. In the 1990s, a much greater number of them became self-employed, including through the expansion of Turkish-owned retail chains in Germany, while others were able to further their careers in the public service. While the Turkish community was decisively shaped by the city’s division, Turks were also in a position to shape the city’s unification.

Zeppenfeld’s major innovation is his decision to expand his purview from the traditional sites of “guest work,” above all the factory, into a much broader understanding of “working worlds,” including such categories as public sector careers, professional careers, self-employment, and even various forms of illegal labor, including both unauthorized work and the drug trade. Across seven chapters, he shows that Turkish migrants developed their own work biographies and career paths that reached far beyond what the West German state had envisioned. He uses statistical information to trace changing patterns of education, employment, and social mobility, consistently integrating class and gender into his analysis alongside ethnic background. While relatively few Turkish citizens were able to experience significant upward social mobility during this time, the book shows that over time the work biographies of Turkish workers came to resemble those of German workers. It remains an open question precisely to what degree this “normalization” was a process of Turkish citizens approaching existing German norms and to what degree it was due to structural changes in the economy that eroded what was once a “normal labor biography” for everyone within the Federal Republic.

The nature of Zeppenfeld’s innovation in defining the “working world” expansively means that he draws on a wide range of sources and that the level of detail he is able to achieve necessarily varies. Sections on Siemens and on self-employment read as quite comprehensive, while others, such as the section on drug dealing, are necessarily more speculative. In the latter section, readers learn that the fall of the Berlin Wall decisively changed both the geography of the European drug trade and the identity of those involved in moving product, but we are largely unable to trace what happened to former Turkish drug dealers in unified Berlin. Zeppenfeld also does not make use of existing Turkish-language sources, leaving opportunities for historians who might wish to take a more transnational approach. Did the Turkish media frame first West and later unified Berlin as places opportunity or as locations of immiseration? Historians of everyday life might also ask questions about the meaning that people made of their own work biographies. How did they narrate their decisions to seek work in specific sectors, to open a business, or to choose to study at a German university? How did they understand the discrimination that made significant social mobility so difficult to achieve?

While I’ve offered many suggestions for further research, that is only to underscore the fact that this book is a major contribution not only to migration history but also to labor and urban history. Historians of Berlin will find important insights about how patterns of self-employment changed neighborhood dynamics, while historians of other cities could ask questions about whether Berlin was exceptional or typical in its dynamics. For example, Zeppenfeld notes in passing that in West Berlin in the 1970s fewer than 10 percent of city cleaners were foreign, while in Munich already by 1970 over 90 percent of city cleaners

were foreign. What was it about the two cities that accounted for such a disparity? Labor historians and historians of contemporary Germany no longer have any excuse for not considering the experiences of Turkish migrants in the period “after the boom.” Turkish migrants and their descendants are intrinsically part of German history, and Stefan Zeppenfeld has written a marvelous book about how a city shaped their opportunities and how their own choices actively reshaped that city.

doi:10.1017/S0008938923000353

Saving Nature under Socialism: Transnational Environmentalism in East Germany, 1968-1990

By Julia E. Ault. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021. Pp. 300. Hardback \$99.99. ISBN: 978-1316519141.

Scott Moranda

SUNY Cortland

Julia E. Ault has made an important contribution to our understanding of environmental policy and politics in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The primary theme of Ault’s monograph is entanglement. In addition to considering how the GDR, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and Poland confronted pollution that crossed borders, she especially emphasizes human entanglements. First, Ault demonstrates how environmental activists from all three states learned from and interacted with each other. Second, she reveals how the lives and work of East German activists and dissidents intersected with official GDR organizations and policies. In other words, many environmentalists were “dual participants,” (10) active in both official and church-based organizations. The benefits of focusing on such entanglements are many. In particular, Ault avoids a narrative that contrasts the environmental sins of the state with Western-influenced environmentalists well distanced from official institutions. In reality, Ault argues, many state actors sincerely hoped to reconcile socialist modernism with environmental protections and, in doing so, actually raised popular expectations for environmental policy. Furthermore, activists continued to work within official organizations. Finally, they did not just look westward; activists also sought inspiration in Poland. Rather than a foil to the “greener” Federal Republic, the GDR emerges from Ault’s narrative as a hinge or focal point of Cold War environmental politics across Central Europe.

In addition to its fascinating focus on entanglement, the book stands out as the most comprehensive English-language history of East German environmentalism yet. Previous monographs in English considered environmental policy and activism specifically through the lens of tourism, outdoor recreation, agriculture, or the cultural politics of *Heimat* (see works by Scott Moranda, Thomas Fleischman, and Jan Palmowski). German-language works by Tobias Huff and Christian Moeller also aspire to a comprehensive analysis of environmental policy and activism, but when compared to Ault, Huff more narrowly focuses on responses to air pollution while Moeller spends less time analyzing the church-based activism of the 1980s.

The book’s structure reflects its emphasis on entanglement. Within most chapters, Ault follows a west-to-east pattern, looking first at interactions with the Federal Republic before considering linkages to Poland. She also organizes her chapters more or less by chronology,