

WEST GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENTS :
A Study of the Green Party

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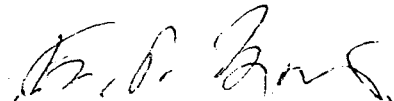
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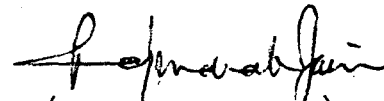
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Certified that the dissertation entitled "West German Peace Movements: A Study of the Green Party", submitted by M.R. Suresh Babu in fulfilment of nine credits out of total requirements of Twenty-four credits for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) of this University, is his original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or of any other University to the best of our knowledge.


(PROF. R.P. KAUSHIK)
Chairperson


(Dr. R.K. JAIN)
Supervisor



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PREFACE

PREFACE

The December 12, 1979 NATO's double track decision - the modernisation of intermediate nuclear forces through Pershing II and ground launched Cruise missiles-galvanized peace movements on an unprecedented scale in West Germany. This peace movement was not a sudden development that emerged in West Germany. It was the result of a number of developments that took place in post World War-II period inside as well as outside Germany.

The seeds of the contemporary peace movement in West Germany were sown at that time in the form of anti-armament movement. The Church groups particularly the Evangelical Church(Lutheran church) opposed this rearmament fearing that this would result in the permanent division of Germany. Along with Church groups, pacifists, communists groups and the Social Democratic Party opposed this rearmament.

This anti-armament campaign was intensified with the advent of the 'tactical' nuclear weapons in West Germany. Other developments such as student unrests and opposition to the Vietnam War helped the

anti-armament movement to gain momentum. There was a continuity in the anti-armament campaign throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

In the early 1970s, a new development took place in West Germany. Ecological and environmental concerns began to sweep across the country. They were protesting against the inadequate policies of the government to protect the environment. They saw a logical connection between the dangers inherent in both the civilian and military uses of nuclear technology. Thus ecological group was one of the most important groups in the peace movement, which acted as its vanguard. Citizen Initiatives acted as a fertile ground for the new anti-nuclear weapons movement. Other groups which joined the peace movements were Church groups, traditional left-groups and new left groups and various anti-missile initiatives.

The ecological group which was functioning as an extra-parliamentary opposition joined in the political process and contested in the elections. They cleared the 5% hurdle and entered the Bundestag.

Against this background, this study attempts to analyse the emergence of the peace and environment movements in West Germany and examines how the Greens emerged as a major political force in the country.

The first chapter deals with the causes of the emergence of the peace movement in West Germany.

The second chapter discusses the emergence of the Green party in West Germany and analyses its transformation from an extra-parliamentary movement into a political party. It analyses the emergence of ecological concerns and the growth of the Citizen Initiatives to oppose these ecological hazards, joining of leftists orthodox Marxists-Leninists and feminists with Citizen Initiatives. It discusses the organisational structure on the policies and programmes of the Green Party.

Chapter Three deals with the Greens approach to peace, how it played the role of a 'Vanguard' to the peace movement and how Citizen Initiatives provided succour to the anti-nuclear struggle? Moreover, it analyses the Greens' performance in 1980s, its

electoral success and its performance in Bundestag.

Finally, in the conclusion an attempt is made to appraise the emergence of peace movement, the role of the Greens and assess their impact on West German domestic politics and foreign policy.

CHAPTER - ONE

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN WEST GERMANY : ORIGIN,

IDEOLOGY AND AIMS

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) 'double-track decision' in 1979 galvanized peace movements in Western Europe, including West Germany. The rise of peace movements in the Federal Republic of Germany was the manifestation of various developments that took place inside and outside the country immediately after the Second World War.

EARLY PEACE MOVEMENTS : THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

The defeat of National Socialism by the allies in 1945 was accompanied by the collapse of the war-time alliance between the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union which had been united only by the war against Germany. This had a decisive impact not only on Germany but on the whole of Europe as well.

Occupation of the eastern zones by the Soviet Union and the western zones of Germany by the U.S., Britain and France made the German question a contentious issue between two blocs. The Western countries' efforts to establish a constitutional democratic regime in Germany was foiled by the Soviet Union.

Two questions arose out of this situation to which Western powers had to make up their minds: First,

the question of how to react to Soviet behaviour, and Soviet policies in general, a question that for many was still bound up with the general question of understanding what was going on behind the Soviet lines in Europe at all. And, second there was the issue of what to do about Germany; to continue occupation indefinitely, seeking contact and compromise with the Soviets in the hope of achieving a final settlement of the German and European problems acceptable to all parties, or to allow some degree of political autonomy in the Western zones at the risk of an irrevocable break with the East.¹

After hectic debate which was held among the policy makers in western countries, they were in favour of giving some degree of political autonomy to the western part of occupied Germany. To institute a constitutional democratic regime in Germany was not possible without the co-operation of the Soviet Union.

1. David Gress, Peace and Survival: West Germany, the Peace Movement and European Security, (Stanford, 1985), p.7.

Similarly post-war European reconstruction programme, namely 'Marshall Plan', was also not acceptable to Soviet Union.

Thus, finally, in 1949 U.S., Britain and France granted sovereignty to the occupied western zones of Germany, and thus Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was born. The geostrategic location of FRG made it to play a vital role in the broader security interests of the West and led them to support the constitutional democratic regime in West Germany. Moreover, as a frontline state, it became more vulnerable from the security point of view. This was proved by the fact that the Americans and the British and even at times, the French, admitted that without a contribution from the Germans in the Western zones, the defence and security of Western Europe could scarcely be assured.²

At the same time, Western Powers realised that arming Germany entailed risks since West Germany should not again become pre world war II Germany. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington, establishing a supranational military organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with

2. Ibid., p.12.

military contributions from all member states, whose governments shared jointly in the control of the organization and its forces.³

With the establishment of NATO, the question of West German rearmament resurfaced. It was evident that if NATO were to guarantee the security of FRG, some form of West German participation in the defense effort was necessary. Washington endeavoured to persuade its European allies to allow some West German rearmament.

Within the Federal Republic, many people feared that the rearmament might lead to the permanent division of the country. In Western Europe, France was the staunchest opponent to rearming Germany. Having been invaded thrice in its history by its neighbour, it was apprehensive of a resurgent Germany. Prime Minister Rene Pleven of France proposed in October 1950 a plan for the establishment of a European Defense Community(EDC) which would be subsidiary to NATO but would have its own political and command structure.⁴

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.13.

By proposing the EDC, Paris sought to scuttle the rearmament plan for Germany under NATO and ensure, a dominant partner for itself in the enterprise. This plan was well received by U.S. and other countries since it was felt that it would foster European integration. However, the French parliament rejected this plan in August 1954, chiefly on the grounds that it would infringe national sovereignty. Having themselves destroyed the EDC, however, the French were now in no position to refuse the other option: direct admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Atlantic Alliance.⁵

Thus West Germany joined NATO in 1955. This year is very important in two respects. After 1945, for the first time, West Germany would have its own army. Secondly, West Germany began to play a pivotal role in the Western security framework. This did not adversely affect the right of the Occupying Powers to maintain their troops on German soil even in the 1980s. West

5. Ibid., p.13.

German rearmament was first in the form of conventional weapons. Furthermore, even with the addition of West German forces, NATO was not regarded by its own military and political leaders as capable of repulsing a Soviet conventional attack. This basic inadequacy in conventional forces was voluntarily accepted at the Lisbon conference of 1952, when military experts argued that a reliable conventional defense posture in Europe would require 96 divisions and 9,000 aircraft, which has almost twice what was available at the time.⁶

NATO decided deliberately to rely for its security guarantee on U.S. nuclear forces and in 1954 decided to deploy tactical nuclear weapons in West Germany. These weapons are ultimately controlled not by NATO, but by the American "national command authorities", that is, the President or his deputy in accordance with the general principles governing the use of nuclear weapons.

6. Ibid., p.13.

7. Ibid.

Thus this marks the beginning of nuclear era in West Germany. Though this step was taken by NATO in the larger security interests of Western countries, West Germany also willingly collaborated since it was always apprehensive of Soviet expansionism. Moreover, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer hoped that it would help to achieve reunification. Thus the pursuit of unification didn't exclude but in fact required the independence of West Germany and only the Alliance could guarantee this.⁸

The deployment of nuclear weapons didn't automatically give the right of control over the nuclear weapons to West Germany. In fact, a condition of Alliance membership for West Germany was that West Germany would not itself develop or deploy nuclear, chemical or biological weapons while accepting that its security depended in large part on the deterrent effect of such weapons in the hands of its allies.⁹

8. Ibid., p.14.

9. Ibid.

Rearmament coupled with deployment of nuclear weapons and on the whole security policy was a major issue in West German politics from 1950 onwards. In 1955, by the ratification of the Paris accords of 1954, the Federal Republic was admitted to NATO and became, in the full sense, an actor on the international scene as such. In the same year, the Soviet Union established the Warsaw Pact and the GDR. The outlines and limits of the future role of West Germany in the political, economic and security system of Western Europe were thereby drawn. They have not essentially changed since, and 1955 can therefore be regarded "as the watershed year in postwar European history in general and in West German national and foreign policy in particular".¹⁰

The seeds of the Peace movement were sown at this juncture when the Lutheran Church (EKD) expressed its opposition to "any and all plans for rearming the Federal Republic, which religious leaders feared would ultimately result in the permanent division of

10. Ibid., p.17.

Germany".¹¹ In addition to this opposition, initial rearmament discussions draw sporadic expressions of protest in 1952 from pacifist factions within the Protestant churches, as well as, German Trade Union Federation (DGB). Early organisational efforts culminated in a demonstration of 1,000 persons at the St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt on 29 January 1955, in opposition to the Paris agreements granting the Federal Republic new status as a full partner in NATO.¹²

Nevertheless, subsequent years witnessed a lull in the protest against rearmament. A surprising development took place wherein the "Lutheran church, following secret negotiations, contracted with the Bonn government to service the spiritual needs of military recruits."¹³

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11. Joyce Marie, Mushaben, "Reflections on the Institutionalisation of Protest: The West German Peace Movements", Alternatives, Vol. 9, no.4, December 1983, p. 563.
12. Joyce Marie, Mushaben, "Cycles of Peace Protest in West Germany: Experiences from Three Decades," West European Politics, Vol. 8, no.1, January, 1985, p.27.
13. Ibid.

This change of attitude of the Lutheran Church was a total deviation from its earlier stand of supporting the anti-armament movement. However, the sudden retreat of the Lutheran Church from the anti-armament scene was compensated by the emergence of "intense, church-internal discussions on the moral dimensions of rearmament."¹⁴ When these discussions were going on, the sudden revelation by the then Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss that his intention to consider West German acceptance of American-supplied "tactical" nuclear weapons - some of which, it was revealed in March 1957, had already been deployed, acted as a catalyst for intensified discussion.¹⁵

This revelation signalled an alarm among the anti-armament activists. While they were protesting against the conventional armaments, this shocking revelation came as a big blow to them. Their worry can be fully justified, considering the nature of nuclear weapons. In this context, E.P. Thompson¹⁶

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. E.P. Thompson has written a book namely Beyond the Cold War in which major arguments for disarmament can be found .

remarked:

The crucial difference between conventional weapons and nuclear weapons is that unlike the conventional weapons, they aren't instruments of intention and on the contrary are makers of it. Conventional weapons are like other goods manipulated by humans and for understanding them humans are to be understood and not the goods (weapons). There is a co-relationship between military facts and political facts, the former being subordinated to the latter. But the world of nuclear weapons is very different. This is because Nuclear weapons aren't just things, they are systems. The production, deployment and support of nuclear weapons evolve into "a correspondent social system", leading ultimately to the national security state. Nuclear weapons have an independent basis and logic of their own which compels subordination of other social sectors under their sway. The shape and character of the society is determined by the atomic weapons, the exclusive character of which Thompson calls as 'exterminism'.¹⁷

Thompson goes on to explain the nature of
exterminism:

Exterminism is defined as an order whose institutional base is the weapons system, and the entire economic, scientific, political and ideological support system to that weapons system which researches chooses it, produces it, policies it, justifies it and maintains it in being.¹⁸ He further argues that after

17. Subrata Mukherjee, "Importance of Contemporary Peace Movements", Democratic World, May 12, 1985, p.10.

18. Ibid.

the advent of nuclear weapons, "the choice today is not between capitalism and Communism, between democracy and totalitarianism, but rather the basic choice is between extermination and survival."¹⁹

According to Jonathen Schell: "With the advent of nuclear weapons, history of man can be categorised broadly under two periods, the era before the appearance of nuclear weapons and the era after the appearance of nuclear weapons. The later period is characterised not by just the fear of death, but what Schell calls "the death of death".²⁰

In April 1957, the "Gottinggen Manifesto" was issued by a group of prominent scientists, including three Nobel Prize winners. This served as a rallying point for those fundamentally opposed to atomic weapons. Other scholars joined in the protest, as did a newly established West German Peace Society and the Union of Persons persecuted by the Nazi Regime. Opposition was quasi institutionalised by way of the 'Fight Atomic Death' Campaign that gained momentum in 1957-58, a parallel to the growth of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Great Britain".²¹

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.14, p.27.

This appeal created an awareness among the masses about the concern expressed by the scientists as well. This appeal helped the activists to search for other options in showing opposition to armament. Thus for the first time they resorted to a new method namely "extra-parliamentary mobilization, i.e. silent marches attracting several hundred thousands, work stoppages, church appeals and 1500 May Day demonstrations."²² This extra-parliamentary mobilization helped the movement activists in a number of ways. It helped them to reach the new segments of society and thereby enlarge its base among the masses.

The Church ^{was} playing an active role against rearmament. Consequently "a number of religious-pacifist groups continued their push for a formal Church "No to Nuclear weapons", Enjoying nominal EKD (Lutheran Church) support, a new group called "Act on Reconciliation/Peace Services" emerged in 1958 with an emphasis on voluntarism and interest in Third World problems but its focus quickly turned to peace".²³

But at the same time one important point to be taken into consideration here, is, there never was a unanimous view within the Evangelical Church

22. Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.13, p.564.

23. Ibid.

about the question of armament. This division within the Church can be gauged from the fact that while the German Evangelical Church (EKD) first had rejected the idea of West German rearmament, it later declared that because of "dissensions within the Church, this was a question which various members of the Christian community might answer differently".²⁴

The ambivalence of the Evangelical Church on the rearmament question had its deep impact on its followers. This was almost touched the nodal point in "the end of 1950's the debate on the issue of nuclear armaments, brought West German Protestantism to the brink of schism as is clearly indicated in the 1958 Berlin-Spandau declaration (We remain united in the Gospel)".²⁵

These ripples were brought to an end in the form of the "Heidelberg Theses", which offered a way out of this paralysis forming a basic consensus on peace ethics, as well as serving as useful points of reference in the current debate. The "Heidelberg Theses" accepted pacifism as being a legitimate Christian stand, while at the same time recognising participation in a strategy

24. Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Final Respite or Unconditional No? The Church and the Questions of Peace in the Federal Republic of Germany," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol. 15, no. 3, 1984, p.205.

25. Ibid.

of nuclear deterrence as being 'a possible Christian course of action today' provided that war is thereby truly prevented and the continent nature of this situation is clear to all concerned".²⁶

Thus, in the 1950s, we can see number of anti-armament movements emerged signifying a continuity in protest movements. In late 1950s, the protest against rearmament intensified because after 1958, West German foreign and defence policy was to serve as a major stimulant to an unending national debate, ideological polarisation and outright protest, in part because a measure of economic security left more time for the consideration of new and controversial issues".²⁷

Thus people began to discuss and sometimes even questioned the defense policy. At the same time the movement against armament was continuing on its own way. Though the early 1960s was relatively quiet but later the momentum was accelerated. This time it was

26. Ibid.

27. Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.14, p.29.

in the form of "Easter March appeals, modelled on the mobilisation strategy of the British CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). The number of participants rose from 1,000 in 1960 to 100,000 in 1964 to 150,000 in 1967. Operating at first as a forum for protests of conscience on behalf of a vaguely defined "peace issue", the Easter March Movement became a vehicle for collecting information and opposing specific security issues, thereby expanding its organisational base". Later, the protest agenda was expanded. This was reflected in the name change for the Easter Movement, known as the Campaign for Democracy and Disarmament after January 1968.²⁸

Meanwhile quasi-organised Extra-parliamentary Opposition (APO) was showing opposition in its own way through boycotts etc. At this time "Brandt's successful electoral bid in 1969, based on a promise to 'dare more democracy' enabled opposition groups to pursue a dual strategy. The APO continued to employ unconventional tactics, that is, in opposition to the Vietnam war but

28. Ibid.

these measures were complemented by plans for a 'Long March through the institutions'. Chancellor Brandt's vigorous search for a viable Ostpolitik and his interest in a peaceful resolution of the Oder-Neisse question reinforced hopes that reform, within was indeed possible, thus depriving many marchers of their key issue".²⁹ Thus extra-parliamentary opposition's strength was dwindling. But it got a reprieve in the form of the Vietnam War. But in totality, it lost its influence because of the change in governments 'reform-within policy'.

PEACE MOVEMENTS DURING THE SEVENTIES

At this juncture, people in Germany began to show keen interest on ecology since the country had a long cultural tradition of "romantic naturalism".³⁰ Apart from learning from the books, number of reports were presented about ecology which confirmed the emerging threat to nature and indirectly to human life

29. Ibid., p.30.

30. Werner Hulsberg, "The Greens at the Crossroads," New Left Review, Vol. 152, July-August, 1985, p.7.

itself. Thus the "newly enfranchised, politicised citizens suddenly shifted their protest focus and redirected their organizational energies against nuclear energy and environmental hazards".³¹

A change in priorities of the peace movements was evident. In 1950s and 1960s, the full focus was on anti-armament whereas in the 1970s, the focus shifted from anti-armament to environment.

The "economic shock-waves generated by the OPEC oil embargo of 1973 left the social-liberal coalition with few immediate alternatives to the development of indigenous nuclear energy capability".³² This issue gave a big leverage to the newly born environment group within the peace movement. OPEC's oil embargo prompted West Germany to search for alternative sources of energy. To that end, nuclear energy was viewed with favour. This move was vehemently opposed by environment groups who viewed as a threat to human survival. Their contention was that there is a "logical connection between the dangers inherent in both civilian and military uses of nuclear technology".³³

31. Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.14, p.30.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., p.31.

Their assertions, arguments against nuclear energy began to reach the masses.

The period 1972-77 was a unique period in West Germany because, "the period 1972-77 witnessed a transfer of protest momentum from one social movement to another as feminists, farmers, experienced pacifists and blooming ecologists found common cause in the threat of environmental destruction".³⁴ Thus, at the end of the 1970s, a broad spectrum of society found common cause with the environment.

While environment was emerging as a major issue, the opposition against nuclear energy was soon turned as a movement called "Anti-Nuclear Energy Movement (AKK)"³⁵ which was successful in mobilising majority of the people. Unlike other groups, this group was functioning as locally based decentralised groups which in turn were acting as the centres of alternative sources of information. Moreover, they could mobilise demonstrators more quickly. This was revealed when these groups occupied the nuclear sites of Wyl and Brokdorf.³⁶

34. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

35. Ibid., p.31.

36. Ibid.

These successes paved the way for the establishment of more and more locally based groups known as "Citizen Initiatives".³⁷ These Citizens Initiatives later functioned as an extra parliamentary opposition to the established parties. These Citizen Initiatives not only campaigned against nuclear energy, but developed a "more systematic political critique directed against unrestricted economic growth and technological destruction of the environment".³⁸

Meanwhile, concern with security issues, was becoming increasingly widespread. But this issue was not taken up by masses but it was discussed in political and military circles very seriously. The debate on the security issue arose because of several factors.

Firstly, concern with the conventional superiority of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact vis-a-vis NATO. This was due to the fact that West European countries, including West Germany, "never believed that their countries could really afford the conventional forces and weaponry required to provide a purely conventional deterrent". Moreover, "European politicians and particularly West German politicians since the early 1960's, simply didn't see the Soviet threat in the same

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

way as most U.S. strategist and defense officials, "they have therefore firmly and consistently refused, despite long and continued prodding by our government (United States) to build up to anything like the levels demanded by the conventional war thesis".³⁹

Secondly, the massive Soviet arms build up in Eastern Europe was a major factor. "The steady build-up of conventional forces; improvements in technology, communications and organisation; and beginning in 1977, the deployment of the SS-20 intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM), a nuclear system of unprecedented range, survivability and accuracy capable of striking targets in Western Europe from movable launchers in the USSR. By early 1984, according to NATO sources, the Soviet Union had deployed 378 SS-20 launchers, each capable of firing three independently targetable 150-Kiloton warheads with a range of at least 5,000 KM (by comparison, the single warhead Pershing II U.S.



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39. David Gress, n.1, p.68; "Conventional War Thesis," a term coined by Bernard Brodie, argues that the major threat in Europe was a threat of conventional attack and that NATO should not have to bear the risk of first use of nuclear weapons.

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IRBM, of which 108 were to be deployed in 83-88, has a maximum yield of 50 Kilotons and a range of 1,800 KMs). Of this number atleast 252 were in European Russia. In late 1984, the U.S. Department of Defence claimed that the number had risen still further, though exact figures were not released. It was reported that the launchers could be reloaded, doubling the number of available warheads to at least 1,512(252x3x2) in the European theatre alone. Deployment of the SS-20 marked an increase in tension in the arms race".⁴⁰

When NATO officials realized about the growing lethal power of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact both in terms of conventional and nuclear weapons, they wanted to catch up. In conventional forces, this was not possible. So in 1976-77, the political and military heads of the Alliance established a number of principles and requirements for strengthening NATO's deterrent, given the Soviet arms build up and its foreseeable consequences. These principles found their first formal expression in the decision of all member-governments in the spring of 1978 to increase defense spending by 3% a year(in real terms) - an agreement that only the U.S., Britain, Norway and paradoxically

40. Ibid., p.70.

France have kept".⁴¹

Having found themselves in a disadvantageous position, West European countries began to monitor the situation very closely. West Germany was more cautious in this respect since it was the frontline country and was also more vulnerable to this development. So Chancellor Schmidt warned about a dangerous "missile gap" between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. This prompted him to push for a United States response. Thus came the historic NATO-double track decision.⁴² This decision was taken on the basis of the "outcome of discussions based on perceptions of soviet nuclear superiority in the European theatre was the NATO twin-track decision of 12 December 1979, which foresaw a modernisation of NATO nuclear capability through deployment of 572 new Pershing-II and ground-launched Cruise missiles. The agreement simultaneously obliged NATO members, in particular the United States to pursue serious arms reduction talks with the deployment unnecessary".⁴³

41. Ibid., p.84.

42. Warner Kaltefleiter and Robert L. Pfaltz-graff, (ed.) The Peace Movements in Europe and the United States, (London, 1985), p.104.

43. Joyce Marie Mushaben. n.14, p.31.

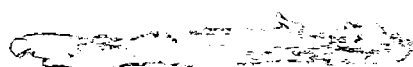
The NATO double-track decision was taken because of various reasons. The stark realisation that "the increased rate of deployment of the SS-20 IRBMs since 1980 and the first appearance of the SS-22 short-range ballistic Missile(SRBM), bearing a 500-Kiloton warhead with a range of 900 Kilometres, in 1979 however demonstrated that INF modernization in the West was an issue of great urgency, for political as well as for military reasons".⁴⁴

Moreover, by taking this step NATO countries wanted to convey a political and economic message to Warsaw Pact countries. The main political reason was that INF modernization would "demonstrate the cohesion of the Alliance and its will to restore some measure of balance in the gray area of Euro-strategic weapons". The military reason was that it would "deprive the Soviet Union of the opportunity to confine a conventional or tactical nuclear war to Europe by guaranteeing immediate United States nuclear involvement".⁴⁵

The double track decision was the point of departure for the contemporary peace movement, which mobilised in an unprecedented scale to oppose this decision. In almost all West European countries peace movements proliferated to oppose this decision in various forms. The membership consisted of various strata of society.

44. David Gress, n.1, p.84.

45. Ibid.



Here obviously one question arises: The state taking a decision to protect itself from an adversary. But suddenly people start opposing the state's decision. There is a logical contradiction between these two positions. This is due to the fact that change of orientation of West German foreign policy from the early 1960s in the form of the Ostpolitik.

Ostpolitik was put into practice because of a change of perception of United States policies, assessed by West Germany. A series of events which led the then Chancellor Adenauer to reappraise West Germany's foreign policy. The first event was "Berlin crises of 1958-62". At this juncture "the United States failure to respond strongly to the Berlin Wall and to the Soviet violations of the Potsdam and other Four-Power agreements that it represented, confirmed the old Chancellor's fundamental belief that the psychological and political will of the West, and especially of the Americans, to resist Soviet expansionism was at best doubtful. The Berlin crisis also reminded all the world, and the Germans in particular, that they were vulnerable in a way Britain and France could never be".⁴⁶

46. Ibid.

The second incident which confirmed Adenauer's doubts was regarding U.S. aims and policies was the revival, by President Kennedy, of the "grand design" for global security of transatlantic co-operation among the U.S., Britain, France ~~and West Germany~~ that excluded West Germany".⁴⁷

Moreover, after Berlin and Cuba crisis, the international climate rather suddenly improved. The "tendency towards improved East-West relations, detente, and peaceful co-existence seemed permanent and irreversible, at least until the late 1970s."⁴⁸

In addition to these developments, the Adenauer's successors were ready to shed down "the German question and the demand for reunification an integral part of Alliance policy. Given the rapid changes in U.S.-Soviet relations and this pragmatic approach to the German question, the eventual breakthrough of the new doctrine of Ostpolitik i.e. recognition of the Status quo in Eastern Europe, acceptance of East Germany as a separate state, abandonment of the demands for

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p.19.

reunification and of claims to the Eastern territories".⁴⁹

Thus on the basis of new doctrine of Ostpolitik a new era had begun. "The negotiations with East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union, the official repudiation by the Federal government of any desire to change existing frontiers, notably the Oder-Neisse line, by force, the treaties of friendship with the Soviet Union and Poland of 1970-71, and the Basic Treaty on Relations between the Federal Republic and East Germany, now called by its own official designation, the "German Democratic Republic", of 1972,⁵⁰ symbolized a new beginning of new era.

When these developments were taking place between Germany and East, a loss of confidence in the Atlantic alliance and in the importance of American strength for peace among the public was increasingly visible.⁵¹ This can be gauged by the fact that "whereas the Soviet Union is still perceived as a threat and the Soviet arms build up is still perceived as a cause of tension, and whereas support in general for membership

49. Ibid., p.20.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p.71.

in the Alliance hasn't decreased significantly, it is remarkable that there is virtually no support for increased defense spending in West Germany and not very much support (approximately 30%) for Pershing IIs and ground launched Cruise missiles (GLCMs) as proposed by NATO in 1979 as part of the modernization of the deterrent".⁵² Moreover, the need for a "profound revision of NATO strategies and methods and for a restoration of the credibility of deterrence had been clear for some time, but public realization of this need was hampered by the international and domestic atmosphere of detente, the expectation that tensions would lessen, which led to the belief that they were in fact lessening to an unwillingness on the part of those outside the government and military circles (and sometimes by those within such circles), to take cognizance of the Soviet arms build up and its implications".⁵³

Thus, having moulded West German public opinion in the direction of Ostpolitik for a long time, and

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

suddenly pushing for a U.S. initiative to modernize INF missiles proved counter-productive. Thus Chancellor Schmidt's move fired back in the form of massive peace movements. "The long-standing cold war question, what will we do when the Russians come? has been subject to reformulation since 1978: What will we do if the Americans stay?"⁵⁴ Thus NATO's move to modernize INF missiles was seen as an evil which is fuelling the arms race, East-West tension. To this propoganda, citizens gave support and mobilized in large numbers to protest against this decision. Thus this Peace Movement had a spill-over effect in almost all West European countries.

But peace movements had one common aspect, i.e. they originated because of NATO's double-track decision. But, primarily peace movements are "nationally oriented". Thus "the European peace movement is really a collection of many national and even sub-national peace movements".⁵⁵

54. Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.14, p.31.

55. Paul R. Viotti, "European Peace Movements and Missile Deployments," Armed Forces and Society, Vol. 11, no.4, Summer 1985, p.505

MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS

Among the European peace movements the Federal Republic has come to occupy "a pivotal position".⁵⁶ Since it was West Germany which requested for United States response to modernize INF missiles. It was in West Germany opposition to these deployments as well as modernization, started in a big scale. Thus, more or less it was a guiding factor to almost all of the peace movements in Western Europe.

The people's resentment against this decision can be gauged from the fact that they mobilized in such a scale that was baffling to the respective administrative set up in various countries.

Initially, the opposition came up in the form of "Krefeld Appeal".⁵⁷ It was an appeal which was sponsored by DFU (Sponsor of the Krefelder Appeal) which started a subscription campaign to pledge resistance against the stationing of INF missiles in Western Europe. The sponsors claim that they gathered around six million signatures to oppose this decision.⁵⁸

56. Ibid., p.507.

57. Warner Kaltefleiter and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, (ed.), n.46, p.112.

58. Ibid.

After this signature campaign they started direct activities to oppose this decision in the form of mass rallies, demonstrations, marches, etc. This can be described as a first phase. The first of this kind that took place, in "June 1981 the 19th National Assembly of the Protestant Church in Hamburg was the first site of a mass rally for peace with some 50,000 to 80,000 participants. In September, 1981 the visit of General Haig (then US Secretary of State) in West Berlin witnessed 50,000 protesters, some of whom clashed with police forces.

On 10th October 1981, the biggest peace demonstration to date in the Federal Republic's history assembled some 300,000 people in the centre of Bonn to call for a revision of NATO security policy and to advocate a Europe without nuclear arms. Roughly an equal number of demonstrators were mobilized several months later on 10 June 1982, on the occasion of the NATO summit conference in Bonn. Throng of young people marched in sunny weather through the city to meet in a large park on the outskirts of the city to listen to folk music and speeches by prominent peace activists".⁵⁹

59. Ibid., p.113.

The second phase was characterised by the decentralised activities of the peace movement. Initially, it was centralised and its activities were held in a big scale. But later, it was decentralised and was held on a small scale. This is the main feature of the second phase. Thus mass rallies of this scale did not recur, even during the peak of 'Action Week' in October 1983. Instead numerous decentralised activities were planned and co-ordinated at local and regional levels, such as railway tracks to stop munition convoys. Human chains were formed to link or encircle symbolic sites such as buildings. Information and propaganda stands were put up in nearly every town square to coax people into accepting the peace movement's arguments and to confirm their position by signing diverse political appeals and proclamations which were to be used by peace activists to put pressure on party and government leaders. The activities of the peace movement reached a peak during the so-called 'Action Week', between 15 and 22 October 1983. Organizers expected some three millions people to take part in about 100,000 separate demonstrations, ranging in size from very small local events to very large central rallies in Hamburg,

West Berlin, Stuttgart and Bonn. A spectacle of extraordinary dimension was undoubtedly the formation of a human chain linking Stuttgart and Neu-Ulm-more than 60 miles apart-involving more than 1,50,000 people".⁶⁰

ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The church was the backbone of the peace movement. It was the rallying point for the peace movement. On peace and security policy there is near consensus among the churches which consider peace as involving more than the absence of war, although the prevention of war is a vital task of peace policy. 'Peace' is generally defined as a process of peaceful change, aimed at decreasing the use of force and improving the conditions of social justice-both in international relations and on the more domestic scale. In this context, the North-South conflict is frequently mentioned, with reference to the gap between military tasks on the one hand, and the insufficient means available for solving global problems on the other.

In the nuclear age, war prevention must be the primary aim of any security policy. No longer can war be seen as the continuation of policy by other means

60. Ibid.

today, war means a failure in policy. Even those positions advocating the principle of nuclear deterrence under the given circumstances have taken a clear stand as far as the question of war prevention is concerned.

The church feels that the security policy of "a nation must always take into account considerations based on the security needs of the opponent. This principle of 'common security' can be seen, in part, as a political expression of the ethical principle of loving one's enemies".

The church declarations concede priority to political means of securing peace. The primacy of peace politics is clear from both the EKD Memorandum and the Peace Message of the German Bishops. The basic issue is "to regain political perspectives in the global conflict. Military armaments and defence policy can no longer be independent, but must be subordinated to goals of peace policy".

Military measures, when these serve to prevent war, the Church maintains, are unconditionally and radically condemned by only a few groups within the Churches (Examples may be 'Living without armament' and the

'International Fellowship of Reconciliation'). Likewise, thorough-going pacifists are rare. Most declarations maintain rather that "in the peripheral case of a fundamental defence of life and of the freedom of nations, the state cannot be denied the right to defence". However, the question of means has become increasingly important and the earlier doctrine of 'just war' seems to have scarcely any role to play in the Federal Republic today".⁶¹

Religious pacifists were inspired by a 1977 initiative organised through the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) under the motto, "Rid the earth of weapons, begin with the Netherlands". Action Reconciliation/Peace Services joined the IKV in sponsoring the first West German peace week in November 1980 introducing the theme 'Create Peace Without Weapons'. A variety of actions followed.

A meeting of NATO officials on Bonn drew 25,000 demonstrators in April 1981; a student rally in May brought together 40,000 for 'Bafog' (Student loans and grants), not bombs. Another 20,000 staged a peace march

61. Thomas Risse-Kappen, n.26, p.207.

in Frankfurt and 30 organisations sponsored a joint peace forum in Marburg in May. Hannover hosted a demonstration in support of the 'Krefeld Appeal', a petition signed by two million people calling for a European referendum on disarmament. By the time, the 19th Lutheran Congress (Kirchentag) convened on 17 June, its theme 'Fear Not had attracted 300 peace groups, 65 specifically religious initiatives and many unexpected guests who imposed their own theme, 'Have Fear-Atomic Death Threatens Us All".⁶²

Whether or not the EDK elders intended to do anything more than provide "a forum for discussion, the large turnout and extensive media coverage led many to interpret the Hamburg Congress as a de facto Church endorsement of the movement". One noticeable outcome was a rapid increase in the number of young German males registering for conscientious objector status, upwards of 50,000 to 60,000 annually. A second result was the extent to which the Hamburg Congress aided organisers in bringing the peace movement to the more

62, Joyce Marie Mushaben, n.14, p.32.

conservative provinces. The next twelve months witnessed several hundred 'peace weeks' and workshops on non-violent action being planned and executed at the local level, many in conjunction with individual parishes*.

The 1983 Evangelical Kirchentag drew a reported 200,000 participants to Hannover in June, transforming the synod from "a sedentary gathering of church elders into a youth-dominated mass event". Described by members of the political establishment as 'an anti-nuclear peace festival, the synod adopted a theme which appeared to locate the Lutheran Church among the ranks of the radical opposition'.⁶³

One very important aspect is, all these activities were done by the Protestant church. The peace issue was scarcely discussed among the Catholic Church circles. Moreover, the Catholic church was supporting the German re-armament. In addition to this "close affinity of the Catholic church to the Christian Democratic Party (CDU/CSU) was of major importance".⁶⁴

63. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

64. Thomas Risse -Kappen, n.26, p.206.

The major contribution of the Church to the peace movement is that it brought the peace issue to be discussed among the public. It also broke the monopoly of the state over the security policy. Christian peace groups have come to represent a basic pillar of the general peace movement within the Federal Republic.

"Increasingly, the churches in the Federal Republic are becoming a forum for peace policy debate. They offer the possibility for dialogue between adherents of highly differing views. This is a vital function indeed, especially insofar as the various political parties appear less and less capable of deciding and resolving differences of principle argumentatively. On the other hand, there is also the possible danger of the debate within the churches ending up as ineffectual and inconclusive".

"Precisely in the current situation in West German domestic policy, following the start of INF deployment, the 'forum' character of the churches is of great importance. The domestic consensus in security policy which had characterised the previous 20 years has now been broken, the danger now exists that society will let itself be split into two polarised camps with respect to security policy, camps without mutual communication. Only a few, major groups would be

capable of counteracting such a development among these, the churches. They could help contribute to the establishment of a new, broader consensus on peace issues in the Federal Republic, a consensus necessary if the 'reversal of peace policy' demanded by the churches is to have any chances of realisation".

"Besides having a role to play as a pluralistic forum for dialogue, the churches also have a critical function within the security policy debate. It was in fact the churches who managed to prevent the controversy from dealing solely with narrowly conceived military-technical issues, introducing instead an ethical perspective into the discussion. To the extent that it is at all possible to speak of a 'legitimacy crisis in security policy' in the Federal Republic, then this must be seen as first of all concerning the moral aspects of deterrence policy and here the importance of the churches can scarcely be ted".⁶⁵

IDEOLOGY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Basically Ideology of the peace movements is woven in ethics. Peace movements' approach to the 'issue'

65. Thomas Risse - Kappen, n.26, p.211.

of peace is from the ethical angle. It emphasises the highest importance of the human beings above everything in the universe. Peace movement forbids any act or deed which will harm the existence of human beings. Peace Movement, advocates for the abolition of the narrow national and political interests. It emphasises the existence of arms itself whether it is conventional or nuclear is a source of tension. Moreover they perceive the existing arms race between super powers is of great concern to Europe and its own peoples. The resources which is consumed in the process of arms race should be stopped and it should be diverted to the other real problems of the world like hunger, poverty, economic inequality and environmental pollution.

- Physical survival is the highest good. Any attitude or policy that is believed to threaten or can be presented as threatening this good is morally objectionable.

- Peace is the highest political good; any attitude or policy that is believed to threaten it is morally objectionable, and those proposing such a policy are wicked.

- The Soviet Union, whatever the qualities of its regime, is not an aggressive power and does not seek to dominate Western Europe.
- The very existence of nuclear arms and, to a lesser extent, conventional arms is inevitably a source of tension, ultimately leading to war.
- The desire of political and military leaders of NATO to place more arms in Central Europe is both irrational and immoral.
- Even if the Soviet Union did attack the West, it would be immoral to use force to oppose such an attack, for the reasons stated in propositions initially.
- In its attempt to compel West Europeans to accept more arms, the United States is behaving just like the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, imposing its colonial hegemony without regard for the interests of the inhabitants.

- Since the Soviet Union is a European power, it has a legitimate security interest in Eastern Europe and shares a commitment to peace with Western Europe that U.S. policies now threaten. To this extent, American behaviour is actually more dangerous than Soviet behaviour.
- The Western political and social systems does not embody the values of life and peace.
- Ultimately, Europe, both East and West, must free itself of both superpowers. This will release energy and resources for the solution of the world's real problems: hunger, poverty, economic inequality and environmental pollution⁶⁶.

Moreover, besides these ethical approach to peace, politically peace movements aren't sharing the Western view that, because of Soviet Union they deploy more nuclear weapons. They are perceiving at this is a ploy by the western powers particularly U.S. to get an edge over the Soviet Union & Warsaw ^a p_{ct} countries.

66. David Gress, n.1, pp. 174-87.

Thus , in their view, NATO is fuelling the arms race.

Instead of following a policy of confrontation, they advocate for a policy of detente and collaboration between East and West. This approach, they feel, will not only ease tension but it will enter into the fruitful co-operation between two blocs people. Thus politically their ideology can be described as follows:

- They despise the general arms race which they believe is fuelled by the NATO-deployment resolution and the massive Reagan-style armament programme as a dangerous and costly exercise of muscle-flexing by the superpowers.
- They believe that the projected Soviet military threat is a ploy by the Western propaganda and defence establishment in order to push through their own parliaments new weapon systems to be installed in Europe.
- They fear that the NATO strategy of nuclear deterrence by 'flexible response' with recourse to advanced nuclear weapon systems is less likely to prevent wars than to

facilitate nuclear warfare at the expense of the European peoples, especially the German people in East and West. The nuclear 'threshold' is believed to have been lowered by the availability of nuclear weapons with limited range and selective use.

- The absurdity of risking to destroy what is considered worth defending at any cost has created an unresolved crisis of identity with American interests and loss of credibility on the part of the American allies.

- Many feel that German national interests are better served by a policy of detente, East-West collaboration (even in the security realm), a softening of the alliance systems, and unilateral renunciation of nuclear arms. They distrust the Reagan Administration's policy of renewed military strength which might lead to a new era of global confrontation between the superpowers and risk eventual nuclear holo-caust. Some even advocate the 'uncoupling' of Europe from America.

- They feel strengthened in their views and positions by an emerging American peace movement which under Edward Kennedy's leadership advocates the bilateral freezing of nuclear armaments, in order to brake the 'insane' arms race between the superpowers and their respective allies".⁶⁷

AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT

The emergence of the peace movement in an unprecedented scale in West Germany as well as in whole western Europe, was striving to achieve major goals. Though they mobilised in a large scale against a single issue i.e. NATO's double track decision, they were aiming for broader objectives and goals. These objectives range from the policy of detente to the Europe free of nuclear weapons. These can be described as follows:

1. They want to put an end to the constant arms race which they consider not only as a dangerous 'play with fire' but one which swallows huge sums of financial

67. Werner, Kaltefleiter and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, n.46, pp. 110-11.

human and material resources that could be utilized more productively to solve the problems of scarcity and development in Third World countries.

2. To this end they want to press on with armaments reduction of limitation talks between the superpowers and the two military alliance systems in order to reach negotiated and observable settlements.

3. They want to rid Europe of all nuclear weapons and outlaw their use if necessary, even by a unilateral declaration of intent.

4. They want to outlaw the transfer and export of military hardware to Third World countries.

5. They want to continue with a policy of detente in order to further East-West co-operation in all fields and better to serve German national interests.

6. They want to abolish the division of Europe by a purposive demantling of the Eastern and Western military alliance.

7. They want to create a lasting peace without the help of weapons by creating an inter-dependent system of security partnership.

8. They claim that their ultimate aim is to prevent the premature use of nuclear weapons by the Western allies in Central Europe simply by the force of military or technological constraints. They stress the desirability to upgrade conventional military forces, which is a costly but worthwhile exercise since it seeks to exclude the explicit use of nuclear weapons.

9. They want a more plausible alternative to the still valid security doctrine of deterrence by 'flexible response' which threatens the first use of nuclear weapons by the Western alliance (especially the US Armed Forces) against a communist aggressor even when operating with conventional warfare".⁶⁸

68. Werner Kaltefleiter and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, n.46, pp.111-12.

CHANGING NATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT:

From its inception, the nature of the peace movement has been changing continuously. When rearmament began in West Germany the Lutheran Church was the first institution to oppose the rearmament of Germany. Along with the church, pacifists & German Trade Union Federation, were also opposing the rearmament of West Germany.

After the advent of tactical nuclear weapons in West Germany, scientists also joined to oppose nuclear weapons. From then onwards a number of movements emerged to oppose the rearmament. This was in the form of extra-parliamentary movement also. They adopted new tactics which was different from the earlier forms of struggles. They were using unconventional methods like sit-in, Boycotts, teach-in, human chains etc. This was the position in 50's and 60's. Beginning from 70's the nature of the peace movement began to change. The ecological concerns which were sweeping across the country overlapped with the anti-armorment movement. Pacifists, feminists, and environmentalists found common cause with each other. Environmentalists saw the logical connection that is inherent both in the civilian as well as military uses of nuclear technology.

As the environmental activists operating in the decentralised, local groups, called citizen initiatives, they began to play the role of a 'vanguard'. They provided a fertile ground for the anti-armament movement. Thus the Greens i.e. Environmentalists were the backbone of the peace movement of 70's & 80's. But for them, peace movement wouldn't have got this much success.

Peace movement was a heterogenous movement composed of church and secular groups led by a handful individuals. These people come from all strata of society i.e. established political parties, trade unions, the Protestant and Catholic churches, the ecologists. More academicians, journalists were also active in peace movement. In a whole, they comprise politically motivated articulate and left-leaning citizens were very active in the peace movement.

Though peace movement failed in their sole objective, i.e. to stop the deployment of Pershing-II and Cruise missiles, nevertheless, operating in a constitutional democratic regime, they became the biggest pressure group of the time in West Germany

as well as in Western Europe. In concrete terms, they achieved many things. The awareness about armaments and its disastrous effect among the people is the biggest contribution of the peace movement.

Moreover, because of the peace movement the Danish parliament ordered the government to obtain NATO's recognition of nuclear free status. In Holland, the government was made to postpone the deployment of 48 Tomahawks in that country. Thus peace movements achievements were considerable.

But peace movement also has got its own weakness. A lot of ambiguity is there in the peace movement on most of the issues. Contradictory opinion are voiced with respect to the unilateral and multilateral disarmament. Peace movement activists are not clear whether to demand equal reduction in Eastern bloc and hasn't expressed its views about the proliferation of nuclear missiles in Third World.

After 1983, the peace movement virtually declined. But the importance of the peace movement, its relevance to the crisis ridden world was intact. The international

climate began to change considerably. It began to move in the direction of co-operation. When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in Russia, this attitude was strengthened. The policy of disarmament Initiative was no longer considered as the sign of weakness. Gorbachev declared the unilateral moratorium of nuclear weapons for one year. This was a good will gesture offered by Gorbachev to west. Thus the process toward peace was followed. This was culminated in the historic sign of INF treaty by both Super powers to eliminate the medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. This can be attributed to the peace movement which has attained biggest victory. A transformation has taken place where the people no longer taking up the issue of peace but state themselves realised about the need to have peace.

CHAPTER - TWO

THE GREEN PARTY : ORIGIN, STRUCTURE, AND PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

The widespread popularity of peace movements in Western Europe was in a large measure due to vital issues which confronted post-Industrial societies. Apart from ecological conservation, environment protection, a balanced relationship between man and Nature, angst or anxiety about human survival in a world in which, in case of a third world war, there would be neither victors nor vanquished.

Europe has the greatest concentration of weapons in the world today. Since the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is in the heart of Europe and on the dividing line between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Warsaw Pact alliances, the obsession for survival, peace and security is most acute. Moreover, given Germany's geographical and geo-political situation the West Germans are conscious of the fact that their territory does not provide defence in depth. Bonn is also aware that in the event of a Soviet or East European advance, it alone will have to bear the brunt of the attack in which West German territory with high population density would face considerable destruction. Disaffection

and alienation in an industrialised society have also led to an increase in the supporters of the Greens amongst a cross section of society.

This chapter seeks to analyse the origin and growth of the Green movement in the Federal Republic of Germany. It also discusses the policies and programmes of the Greens on major domestic and international issues.

ORIGIN OF THE GREEN PARTY

The birth of the Green Party in the Federal Republic of Germany is primarily due to the ecological concerns which were sweeping across the country in 1960s and 1970s. In a country with a long cultural tradition of 'romantic naturalism', social reaction on phenomena like these widely published in the national media - was bound to become a powerful force sooner or later.¹

Environmental problems were highlighted by Herbert Gruhl in his book Plundering of the Planet wherein he stated: "It is a war blind with rage against the earth and the natural environment and thereby against

1. Werner Hulsberg, "The Greens at the Crossroads", New Left Review, Vol. 152, July-August 1985, p.7.

the fundamentals of human life itself".² A section of the population started showing keen interest on ecological matters whereby an awareness was created among the masses about the importance of ecology. Apart from learning from books, a number of reports were presented about ecology which confirmed the emerging threat to Nature and indirectly to human life itself. These threats included the transformation of landscapes into cement highways, toxification of the soil, chemical pollution of the environment, problems of waste disposal, endangering of plants and animals, presence of dangerous pollutants in factories and so on. A dramatic climax took place in the early 1980s with the increased recognition that Europe's forests were dying from acid rain and other pollution sources.³

Recognising the enormous impending danger to ecology, people who were concerned about ecology began to protest against the existing environmental

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2. Gerd, Langguth, The Green Factor in German Politics: From Protest Movement to Political Party. Translated by Richard Strauss (London, 1986). p.4.
 3. Ibid., p.62.

policies in West Germany. The sensitivity of the people about ecology can be gauged from the fact that the "Global 2000 report" submitted by a group of experts to the U.S. President received wider distribution in the Federal Republic than in the U.S. Within fifteen months of its publication, 420,000 copies were distributed in the Federal Republic".⁴ At this juncture in West Germany, no political party or organisation took up the issue of ecology.

The protesters, having visualised the danger to ecology, began to form local groups called Citizen Initiatives.⁵ These Citizen Initiatives were spontaneous, as a rule, limited, organisationally loose groups of citizens, who spoke out "outside the traditional institutions and participation-forms of representative party democracy-mostly on concrete occasions as directly affected persons and who exert themselves - be it by means of self-help, be it by means of creating public opinion and political

4. Ibid., p.63.

5. Ibid., p.6.

pressure - to find redress for their grievances"⁶.

These Citizen Initiatives began to fight for issues which were not taken up or untouched so far by the political parties or other organisations. Even though the economic and the other interests in the sphere of production has always been amply taken care of by the trade unions and the associations of the various professions, there was no organisation till the end of the 1960s to represent the interests of the people in the sphere of reproduction viz. "poison-free food, fresh air and pure water, clean and efficient public transportation, human urbanity, reasonable rent for apartments, playgrounds and parks, better schools, protection from noise from the streets and the sky, preservation of the beauty of the land-scapes and availability of recreation near by, etc. These interests of the people were therefore totally left to the mercy of the bureaucrats and politicians which led to the paradox that the chance of success in putting through

6. Saral Sarkar, "Green Movement in West Germany", Alternatives, 11(2), April 1986, p.220.

an interest goes down with the rising degree of its generality. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Citizen Initiatives came up to represent these interests".⁷

By taking up and fighting for all these issues, the Citizen Initiatives created a situation in West Germany" in which nobody can be or wants to be against ecology".⁸ Citizen Initiatives mushroomed in Germany. Their membership was increasing day-by-day. Ecology became one of the most important topics to be discussed in political circles. Peoples' support was such that, the Citizen Initiatives Movement which started in 1973, spread throughout Germany in 1975 and at the end of 1977 nearly a thousand groups of Citizen Initiatives with a membership of over 300,000 were associated with the Federal Association of Citizen Initiatives for the Protection of the Environment(BBU)⁹ "

7. Ibid., p.222.

8. Werner Hulsberg, The German Greens: A Social and Political Profile, Translated by Gunsfagen (New York, 1988), p.68.

9. Langguth, Gerd, n.2, p.7.

In its first phase, the Citizen Initiatives were concerned with local issues, Resistance to the construction of atomic power stations by the Government dominated this first phase.¹⁰

The Citizen Initiatives also protested against and tried to prevent various kinds of projects of the state or industry, e.g. the construction of a particular road, location of a factory near a village or town, felling of trees, pulling down of old and still inhabital houses, noise from air traffic, construction and extension of air ports, building of a dam or canal, raising of fares of the public transport system. Moreover, they demanded funds and measures for the protection of ecology, homes for battered women, establishment of youth centres, children playgrounds, etc. They also demanded special lanes for cyclists, parks, traffic lights at particular road crossings, smaller classes in schools, etc. At last, but not least, they did

10. Ibid.

not wait for the authorities to act, but organized self-help themselves. They constructed youth centres, playgrounds for children, and set up centres for helping drug addicts and ex-convicts besides organizing homes for battered women.¹¹

The upsurge of Citizen Initiatives was due to several factors. Firstly, the anti-ecology policies of the Government coupled with the increased awareness of the masses on ecological issues enabled Citizen Initiatives to enlarge their bases among the masses. In July 1975 at a meeting in Gymnich Castle, the socialist-liberal coalition leaders decided on a drastic reduction in the measures designed to protect the environment. A policy on the environment was effectively shelved. The issue of the environment, as a problem in its own right, disappeared from SPD documents of this period and was discreetly hidden away in policy documents on urban planning and urban construction. A government committee of environmental experts simply reaffirmed the government's policy and regarded environmental demands as simply a hindrance to growth. A law in 1976, intended to regulate water emissions, was changed so that the relevant period over which measurements

11. Saral Sarkar, n.6, p.223.

could be made for industrial users was extended to five years. Another law in 1977, apparently designed to diminish water pollution, contained very few concrete guidelines or limits. Regulations in the field of air pollution in 1974 did nothing to reduce the emission of poisonous fumes other than insist on higher chimneys".¹²

It is interesting to note that the composition of Citizen Initiatives slowly began to change from the initial emphasis on ecology due to the prevailing political situation in the country. They began to accommodate other issues concerned with politics and society as well. The rise of Citizen Initiative groups was facilitated by a vacuum in the Left movement in West Germany. In fact, there was no rallying point for the Leftists to become a force to reckon within West German politics. The Left in FRG had been divided into different groups like the Maoist Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and Communist Association (KB). They were critical of materialistic capitalism, the existing societal structure. There

12. Werner Hulsberg, n.8, pp. 64-65.

was widespread disgust among the younger generation against the long period of SPD rule because some of the trade union demands of like, reducing working hours and forbidding lockouts were never taken up by SPD.

Thus, for many in the Left, Citizen Initiatives provided a rallying point to advocate their policies and programmes. They offered them an opportunity to oppose existing environmental policies and a medium to voice their views on social and political issues.

In its second phase, Citizen Initiatives were consolidated into Voter Initiatives¹³ or into parties at the State level. But why were Citizen Initiatives consolidated as Voter Initiatives at the state level? Why should Citizen Initiatives not remain as an extra-parliamentary pressure group like before? What were the factors that led Citizen Initiatives to join in the political process? We shall attempt to answer these questions.

Till 1977, the movement had deliberately kept aloof from parliamentary politics because it

13. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.8.

did not believe in "politics by proxy" but wanted to practise "politics in first person". "Its arena of action was the streets and the construction sites; and the movement was proud of its extra-parliamentary character".¹⁴

By 1977, it had become clear that, despite the sympathy the movement enjoyed among the people and despite its success in mass mobilization, its success in concrete terms was rather meagre. Although it could delay most of the projects it opposed, it could prevent few. The Movement failed to pressurise the Government to abandon its atomic energy programme. This prompted some activists as well many participants and sympathizers to think in terms of forming an ecology party on electoral lists. They were joined by people active in various other kinds of initiatives and protest movements, various minority groups with grievances and various kinds of leftists, including former social Democrats who had warmed to ecology. The idea was to take part in elections and win away votes from the established parties and thus exert the kind of pressure on the parties that they could hardly ignore. To that end, several lists were prepared.¹⁵

14. Saral Sarkar, n.6, p.240.

15. Ibid.

Thus, compulsions of domestic politics prompted the Citizen Initiative Movement to join the political process in order to influence the decision-making process and consolidate itself at the state level by forming voter lists.

As a first step towards joining in the political process, a party calling itself the Green List for the Protection of the Environment was founded on December 11, 1977 in Lower Saxony as a state level organization.¹⁶ After forming a political organization, i.e. forming a party at the state level, they decided to take part in the forthcoming elections. On that basis, pre-election conventions were held in Hamburg on January 29 and March 18, 1978. The Federal Association of Citizen Initiatives for the Protection of the Environment (BBU) participated in this pre-election convention. Apart from BBU, the spectrum of participants included those desiring to protect Nature, anti-atomic power groups and members of the Communist Association (KB) to women's groups and gay rights associations. The Rainbow List/Defend Yourself also included members of the Maoist Communist Party of Germany (KPD).¹⁷ This Hamburg coalition

16. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.8.

17. Ibid., p.9.

was said to have had 150 member organisations.

Even though ecology was the uniting factor between Right wing ecologists and Leftists, they could not agree to a joint strategy to contest the elections. The two factions prepared their own lists depending upon their own strength in various regions. Sometimes competing lists were also prepared. In Lower Saxony the right wing's Green List for the protection of the environment was formed, whereas in Berlin, leftists were so strong that rightists could not form their lists. But in some states like in Hamburg and Bremen, both wings came out with their own lists, viz Green List for the Protection of the Environment (GLU), Rainbow/Defend Yourself. During the second phase of the Citizen Initiatives, it is evident that middle class ecologists, i.e. bourgeois ecologists lost their influence and had to assume a defensive role within the Green movement. Thus the leftists got an edge over the bourgeois ecologists in their effort to get control over the movement. But in state elections in 1978, either wing didn't get the required 5% of vote to send representatives to the respective legislatures.

By contesting in elections of state legislatures in West Germany they showed to the World that there can be a political party which arose out of ecological concerns and survive in the political process. On this basis they were expecting the appropriate opportunities to enlarge their base among the masses. So they had to come out from the narrow circle of state and they had to establish themselves as a national party. The European elections which were scheduled in June 1979, gave a right opportunity for that end. This step(i.e.) forming the party at the national level marks the third phase¹⁸ in its evolution as a party. Thus to contest in European Parliament elections, the state level party had to be extended as a national level party. This was the election law requirement.¹⁹

To that end, "an organization called Other Political Associations(SPV-the Greens) was founded in Frankfurt on March 17-18, 1979".²⁰ The SPV- the Greens got 900,000 votes or 3.2% of the total votes cast²¹ in this election. It is interesting to

18. Gerd, Langguth, n.2, p.11

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p.12.

note that although no permanent party was created at the federal level, the group maintained its Bonn offices and received about DM 4.75 million in campaign costs from the Federal Treasury. These tactics clearly showed that it sought to form a political federal level party - an objective which was realized in 1980.

The Formation of the Green Party, 1980

In order to contest in the Bundestag elections in 1980, the party had to be formed at the federal level. A convention was called at Karlsruhe on January 12-13, 1980²² to formally create the Green Party at the federal level. This mark the fourth phase²³ in its evolution as a party.

The Green Party from its inception was heterogenous, not a homogenous political outfit. To be formed as a party at the federal level, it had to resolve several issues , e.g. the validity of dual membership.²⁴

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

The shrewd move by Leftists particularly Communists, who were having their own political organizations but still taking part in all Green movement deliberations posed a serious problem to the Rightists, particularly the faction around Herbert Gruhl. Their main question was, could a person belong to the Green Party and simultaneously be a member of another competing political organisation? Their fear was about various communist splinter groups that could exert considerable influence within the new party and in addition remain independent political organizations. But the Rainbow Alternatives and a large number of the Green "delegates" favoured dual membership arguing that they stood for an open party. So this was the primary issue which was posing as a major problem.

"After two days of tough debate, a compromise was reached authorizing various "Land" (State) associations to regulate the transition process".²⁵ SPV (the other Political Associations) exerted its influence over the convention since the by laws of SPV,

25. Ibid.

stipulated that a two thirds majority was required to convert the SPV into the new Green Party. The convention had to compromise on the issue of dual membership because after becoming a party, it had to get access to the campaign funds provided by the Federal Government. So ultimately Right wing compromised with Left wing thus paving the way for increasing Leftists' influence over the Party's policies.

The more important directions for the party's future programme were formulated at its convention in Saarbrücken on March 22-23, 1980.²⁶ This convention was very important in the sense that it became a test of strength between conservatives on the one hand and Rainbow and Alternative groups on the other.

The issues over which controversy took place were abortion, the economy and the world of the worker, marginal social groups and women.²⁷

26. Ibid., p.13.

27. Ibid., pp.13-14..

Almost all of the resolutions which were to be voted on, were proposed by the Left, but goals were related to the development of ecological principles.

At a subsequent party convention at Dortmund on June 21-22 to determine the participation of the Greens in the next Bundestag elections and to adopt an election platform. Only minor changes were made in the previous platform document.

In the Bundestag elections of October 4, 1980, the Greens received only 1.5% of the votes cast.²⁸ Though this was a dismal show, they had to content themselves by the fact that the party contested in the Bundestag election for the first time. Nevertheless, they were encouraged by the results in state elections. The following table shows the performance of the Greens in various state Legislatures.

28. Ibid., p.15.

STATE ELECTIONS

 Election and Name of Party % of Vote Seats
 date

Baden-Wurttemberg

March 16, 1980	The Greens	5.3	6
March 25, 1984	The Greens	8.0	9

Bavaria

October 15, 1978	AUD-The Greens	1.8	-
October 10, 1982	The Greens	4.6	-
	OeDP	0.4	-

Berlin

March 18, 1979	Alternative List	3.7	-
May 10, 1981	AL	7.2	9
March 10, 1985	AL	10.6	15

Election and date	Name of Party	% of Vote	Seats
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Bremen

October 7, 1979	Bremen Green List	5.1	4
	AL	1.4	-
September 25, 1983	The Greens	5.4	5
	Bremen Green List	2.4	-
	Bremen AL	1.4	-

Hamburg

June 4, 1978	Rainbow List	3.5	-
	GLU	1.0	-
June 6, 1982	GAL	7.7	9
December 19, 1982	GAL	6.8	8

Hessen

October 8, 1978	Hessen Green List	1.1	-
	Green Action for the future	0.9	-
September 26, 1982	The Greens	8.0	9
September 25, 1983	The Greens	5.9	7

Election and date	Name of Party	% of Vote	Seats
<u>Lower Saxony</u>			
June 4, 1978	GLU	3.9	-
March 21, 1982	The Greens	6.5	11
<u>Northrhine-Westphalia</u>			
May 11, 1980	The Greens	3.0	-
May 12, 1985	The Greens	4.6	-
<u>Rhineland-Palatinate</u>			
March 3, 1983	The Greens	4.5	-
<u>Saarland</u>			
April 27, 1980	The Greens	2.9	-
March 10, 1985	The Greens	2.5	-
<u>Schleswig - Holstein</u>			
April 29, 1979	Green List	2.4	-
March 13, 1983	The Greens	3.6	-
	Democratic Green List	0.1	-

Source: Gerd Langguth, *The Green Factor in German Politics: From Protest Movement to Political Party.*

List of Organisations

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| SPV-the Greens | - | Other Political Associations -
The Greens |
| AUD | - | Action Association of Independent
Germans. |
| OeDP | - | Democratic Ecological Party |
| AL | - | Alternative List |
| GLU | - | Green List for the Protection
of the Environment |
| GAL | - | Green-Alternative List in
Hamburg |

At the successive conventions of the Green Party,
the Alternative and Rainbow elements were able to
strengthen their role at the expense of the ecologists.

Thus after contesting successfully in State elections, the Greens started preparing themselves for the 1983 Bundestag elections. On January 15-16, 1983, the Greens convened a pre-campaign convention in Stuttgart-Sindelfingen during which decisions were taken on the party's attitude towards a number of national and international issues. Among these were the binding of representatives after two years and the payment of the representatives. "A platform was also adopted that was primarily concerned with economic and social questions and that documented the continued drift to the Left".²⁹

The Green Party for the first time crossed the 5% barrier in the Bundestag elections. "In the elections of March 6, 1983 the Greens gained 5.6% of the vote and twenty-seven representatives of the party entered the Bundestag."³⁰

This was followed by a spectacular entry into European Parliament. In the elections of June 17, 1984 to the European Parliament, the Greens received over 2 million ²vots, i.e. 8.2% votes and as a result sent seven members to that body.³¹

29. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.16.

30. Gerd, n.2, p.16.

31. Ibid., p.17.

The following two tables shows The Greens Performance in the Bundestag as well as European Parliament Elections -

Election and date	Name of Party	% of Vote	Seats
<u>Bundestag</u>			
October 4, 1980	The Greens	1.5	-
March 6, 1983	The Greens	5.6	27
	Eco-Democrats (OeDP)	-	-
January ,1987	The Greens	8.3	44
<u>European Parliament</u>			
June 10, 1979	SPV-The Greens	3.2	-
June 17, 1984	The Greens	8.2	7

Source: Gerd Langguth, The Green Factor in German Politics: From Protest Movement to Political Party. and David P. Conradt and Russell J. Dalton, the West German , electorate and the Party System: Continuity and Change in the 1980s.

In the European Parliament also, the Greens took a position that was clearly different from that of traditional parties. They stated that they should not only represent their domestic constituency but the "interests of all who are affected by the policies of the European community but not represented in it".³² Thus the Green Party completely joined in the Parliamentary process and exposed itself to the various forums.

The formation of the Green Party has several unique characteristics. Since it is an outgrowth of the Green movement, it is only part of that movement. What initially started as an extra-parliamentary movement, because of political compulsions it joined the political process. However, every one has not joined the political process. Thus local-based citizen movement still exists. This policy is in accordance with Green Party's policy to cultivate a broad-based movement in West Germany.

STRUCTURE OF THE GREEN PARTY

The structure of the Green Party is in keeping with its policy of keeping contact with the masses

32. Ibid.

directly with the political process. It starts right from the local level and raises up to the national level. This structure is devised according to the party's programme of direct democracy and gives considerable importance to local groups.

The fundamental unit of the Green Party is the local group. The local groups meet biweekly or monthly and control the membership. They also keep membership records. Dual membership with another political party is not allowed.³³ The biweekly or monthly meetings of the local groups is attended by both members and non-members. "Some local chapters permit non-members (e.g. representatives from Citizens' movements) to vote on Green decisions".³⁴ This is intended "to serve the needs and concerns of the entire grassroots level including those activists who do not wish to enter electoral politics".³⁵

33. Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra, Green Politics; The Global Promise, (London, 1984), p.229.

34. Ibid., p.229

35. Ibid., pp.229-30.

The party maintains direct contact with masses by receiving proposals or problems directly from them. These proposals are received by representatives of Party committees at all levels. "In most local chapters non-members are barred from voting though they are invited to participate in discussions."³⁶ Thus the local chapters play a pivotal role for the Green Party.

The next level of organisation after the local groups is the county organisation,³⁷ which acts as a buffer between local groups and the State-wide Assembly. It meets once in a month and is open to all members.

Above the county organisation is the State-wide Assembly. This body meets semi-annually. In some States, this meeting is open to all members; in others, to delegates who are elected at the county level with one person representing every twenty members. "The assemblies vote on major policy positions, priorities and strategies. They also select a candidate's list for elections to the State and Federal legislatures".³⁸

36. Ibid., p.230.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

Since the statewide assembly alone cannot perform all ³⁸ tasks. State-wide steering committee³⁹ were formed to look after most important tasks. This Committee is either elected by the Assembly or is comprised of one delegate from each county. These delegates are the main decision-makers for the state-wide party throughout the year. They meet monthly to coordinate actions with Citizens' movements, decide on budgetary matters, respond to proposals and problems presented by local groups or individuals, issue press releases, prepare for state-wide assemblies and so on. The Assemblies can be called either by the Steering Committee or by one third of the County Groups.⁴⁰ The State-wide assembly also performs administrative tasks. To that end, it elects one Executive Committee⁴¹, which looks after all administrative duties.

A unique and distinguishing character of the Green Party is the formation of working groups⁴² at all levels - local, county and state.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

At the state level, one fund committee is formed namely Oko-Fond.⁴³ This Oko-Fond comprises of two members from State-wide Assembly, two members from citizens' movements and one member from state wide steering committee. This committee gets funds from the "surplus" in the salaries of Green State legislators and the Bundestag parliamentarians. This money is not invested in the development of the party infrastructure, but instead for financing various projects which are undertaken by various groups within the Green Party. It is used to award loans and grants to various enterprises in the larger Green movement, such as model projects for alternatives energy , legal fees for environmental groups, ecological research investigations, peace camps and publicity needs of numerous citizens' movements.⁴⁴

The final and apex body in the structure of the Green Party is the national delegates assembly.⁴⁵ Since this is the apex body at the national level, the party's policies and programmes are formulated here. It meets annually in November. The delegates to the national assembly are selected directly from local or county groups, They are not selected from State parties. Every twenty

43. Charlene, Spretnak, and Frijof, Capra, n.33, p.231.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., p. 232.

members are represented by one delegate. The important function of this body is that it votes on political issues and policy decisions.⁴⁶ This is the most important body since it is in the driver's seat to direct the Green Party at the national level. The selection of delegates to this body conforms to the Greens' policy of practising grassroots democracy.

Like the State level Steering Committee, a National Steering Committee, consisting of forty members,⁴⁷ is formed by each State according to its membership. Its members are elected for two years but may step down after one year. It meets approximately once in every six weeks. Its two main functions are to serve as the link between the grassroots level and the national executive committee, and to channel information from the grassroots level to the Bundestag Fraktion and back.⁴⁸ The delegates have to follow the "imperative mandate"⁴⁹ of their State organisations but they may express personal disagreement with their State party's position. Sometimes National Steering Committees may be convened

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

for solving some problem which fosters much debate.

To perform administrative tasks, a 11-members body called the National Executive Committee⁵⁰ is formed by the National Delegates Assembly. This body plays a vital role in the sphere of Public relations. Since Green Party practises grassroots democracy, and collective leadership, it never appoints a Chairman or President. It never allows domination of the individuals over the Party. Thus, from this body, three spokesmen are selected, who speak for the Party.

MAJOR GROUPS OF THE GREEN PARTY

Ideologically, the Green Party is a heterogenous, not a homogenous outfit. It consists of four main ideological currents or factions whose approach to issues vastly differs. However, by and large, the Green Party in generally leans towards the Left, with ecology being the main cementing force.

50. Ibid.

The first and most important faction is the Eco-Socialists,⁵¹ or the Red-Greens.⁵² As the name suggests, this group encompass members of disbanded communist groups, i.e. former K-groups⁵³ and radicals from former Z groups.⁵⁴ For them the main emphasis is on socio-economic issues rather than ecology. They advocate in alternative culture and question the very basis of capitalist society. They argue that the issues of ecology ought to be related to the perspectives of a non-capitalist society.⁵⁵ Their approach to various issues is as follows:

Ecology is only one concern among many which concern them. They also include women's issues, peace themes, and the support of an alternative culture. The view is dominant that the decisive and the overarching question is the political-economic system (Socialism Vs Capitalism). It favours life in an alternative society. It holds that only changes in property ownership and thereby in the exercise of power, can effectively counter an ecological catastrophe. They emphasize participatory democracy as an element of Green Policy and defend the idea of local democratic councils (as these were preached

51. Werner, Hulsberg, n.1, p.25.

52. Gerd, Langguth, n.2, p.58.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Werner, Hulsberg, n.1, p.26.

before World War I under the heading of Ratemokratie) as the source of imperative mandates. They see Parliament primarily as an instrument of class struggle.⁵⁶

Another group within the Green Party is known the Eco-Libertarians who represent the Right-wing.⁵⁷ They seek a "third way" between Capitalism and Communism. They attach greater importance to ecological rather than politico-economic issues.⁵⁸ Their policies and programmes are opposed to the Socialists inside the Greens. Thus their approach may be described as follows:

They believe that control over the means of production is of secondary importance whereas industrialism and its consequences are primary problems. Social issues are considered to be secondary because they are issues resulting from industrialism. As a result, the group demands an ecological policy, historically new and unique; Reduced production, less state involvement, fewer promises, fewer applications of technical know-how etc... The ecolibertarians support individual responsibility and promote their intention to strengthen the forces that favour self-help. They seek to reverse the governments' role in welfare and social well being, it creates dependency; while assisting the needy it robs them of their independence. They reject the social democratic fetish of social security as a point of departure. The eco-libertarians uniformly favour parliamentary democracy and the politics of dialogue. They seek to bring about a reform of basic policies, including decentralization, devolution of state ownership, self-help and a rejection of industrialism.⁵⁹

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56. Gerd, Langguth, n.2, p.58
 57. Werner, Hulsberg, n.1, p.24.
 58. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.59
 59. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

The "Realists"⁶⁰ or proponents of real politik is the third group within the Green Party. They are basically pragmatists. They believe that after the advent of the Helmut Kohl government, the conditions for radical transformation have changed. They consider Parliament as a platform to mediate for the new social movements. They are ready to take political responsibility and try to do whatever possible, under existing conditions. Their unique feature is that they favour socialist ideas but emphasize ecological issues. They favour limited co-operation with the SPD.

The Fundamentalists⁶¹ are another group within the Green Party. This group basically believes not in transformation but the entire restructuring of society. For them, the primary issue is human survival, not class struggle. In the face of the immediate threat to the human race posed by unlimited exploitation, des^ecratⁱon, progressive chemical poisoning of the environment, and so on, they give

60. Ibid., p.58.

61. Werner, Hulsberg, n.1, p.24.

this issue greater priority.⁶² They advocate the radical reversal of the capitalist system, which is destructive both internally and globally. In the words of one of the group's spokesmen, Rudold Bahro: "The real task of ecological party consists of separating our system from the world market. We must move into a non-participating role relative to the industrial system until it is destroyed by the weight of five million unemployed".⁶³ The other policies of this group are as follows:

They want to use Parliament for the propagation of a new ideology, for the principle of living, for a new life style not only in the western world but also in people's personal life. For this reason they proclaim better non-exploiting styles of life, alternative life styles, non-violent relationships with others, and a policy of neighbourly love, of love, and a departure from the patriarchal society. At the same time they reject atomic energy, nuclear deterrence and a wasteful economy. According to Petra Kelly, one of the spokesman of this group, she advocated spiritual element in an ecologically unifying policy. These views result in a demand for a policy of non-violence and for an erotic society. They reject joint political responsibility. They warn about the danger of becoming junior partners of SPD. They don't reject the Parliamentary democracy per se, but they want to use it as a forum for propagating their ideas. They emphasize for the need of a strong social opposition movement.⁶⁴

62. Gerd , Langguth, n.2, p.60.
 63. Ibid., p.61.
 64. Ibid.

Thus various currents holding their own views and still function as a single homogenous unit within a broad framework. Even though they are in conflict with one another at the base level, but at the surface level they are functioning as a single unified Party. The unique characteristic of the Greens is their ability to immediately take up social issues that are confronting the nation. Therein lies the strength of the Greens.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF THE GREENS

This section analyses the policies and programmes of the Greens.

a. Environmental Protection

The first and foremost among the issues the Greens feel most strongly about is the environment. The colour itself signifies the ecological demands of the Party.⁶⁵

65. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.62.

Greens feel and emphasise for the need to protect the environment at any cost. They advocate that concrete efforts should be taken to preserve the environment since environment is connected to the human life cycle. This stance is not because of romanticist or naturalist tendencies but because environmental hazards give rise to various diseases, including nausea, cough and in extreme cases cancer also, air pollution, chemical substances in all products.

The idea of Nature is at the core of ecological ideology and at the centre of Green philosophy. According to the Greens federal platform which is based on the laws of nature and especially on the recognition that "in a limited world the growth cannot be unlimited", ecological policy is defined as an understanding of ourselves and over environment as part of Nature. Human life, too, is tied to the regulatory cycles of the eco-system making it mandatory that its stability not be destroyed. The Greens want to end exploitation and the continued robbing of the goods of Nature and its resources as well as the

destructive invasion of Nature's natural circulatory system. They advocate opposition to the exploitation of Nature and of humans by humans. Greens therefore want a policy of partnership with Nature and with the human race".⁶⁶

For many Greens, "preoccupation with ecology has become a doctrine of salvation, making possible a comprehensive interpretation of the world. Some demand, a search for an order which will link human society and economy harmoniously with the factors of Nature, for a social harmonization of human beings through the incorporation of their existence into Nature by a benevolent understanding of its forces, for an ecological humanism which provides at once an anchor of safety and a steering rudder, taking the spaceship Earth, from the dangers of sea and air, preventing a disaster, and returning it to its proper course guided by winds and waves."⁶⁷

66. Gerd Langguth, n.2, pp. 63-64.

67. Gerd, Langguth, n.2, pp. 64-65.

Thus, the Greens think that unless the environment is protected, catastrophe would follow. They seek for a policy that should be ecology-oriented. This implies much more than mere protection of the environment. In politics, industry and in private life this means showing respect for all living things. It follows from this that animals should not be kept in crowded, cruel conditions and that genetic engineering should be banned. The Greens therefore do not pursue an isolated environment policy but an overall policy based on ecological principles and permitting the interaction of ecological, technical, economic and social factors.⁶⁸

Greens see chemical products as the main cause of pollution. Their policy on chemical products is to make industrial production compatible with environmental principles; to manage without unnecessary meaningless chemical products; to stop the manufacture of problematical products; and to develop a benign chemical industry".⁶⁹

68. Internationals^e, Procedures, Programmes Profiles, the Federal Republic of Germany elects the German Bundestag on 25 January 1987, Bonn, n.d., pp. 70-71.

69. Ibid., p.71.

The Greens seek

to stop production and use of all chemicals containing dioxins or comparable substances.

to ban the manufacture, use, import and export of materials that are conducive to cancer, e.g. as-bestos, PCB, formaldehyde.

to impose a "basic chemical levy" to finance the disposal of old waste and set up a fund for the conversion to "benign" chemical production.⁷⁰

b. Women's Rights

Greens have given much attention to women's rights. The first among them was Repeal of Article 218.⁷¹ Initially there were differences within the Greens over this issue. Some Greens spoke in favour of the life of the unborn.⁷² Finally, a consensus was arrived at where it was decided that "the fullright to self-determination by women and the right to protect lives — lives already in existence and lives being created".⁷³

70. Ibid.

71. Charlene, Spretnak and Fritjof Capra, n.33, p.103.

72. Ibid., p.102.

73. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.88.

The Green Party is the first party in German history, to give a concrete shape to the feminist movement. It incorporated most of the feminist demands and started fighting for their rights. They gave representation to women in the Bundestag. The Green Party is the only Party where women are represented in sizeable numbers than other parties. They seek to give representation to women in all fields that too, equally with men. For instance, they formed a 'female council' of the Greens in the Bundestag, "a parliamentary party executive committee consisting of women only, brought a complete change to politics in that women determine the course to be taken in all fields".⁷⁴ Greens perceive that women are the most exploited section of the society. Hence, their rights should be upheld. They demand a series of measures for the protection of women and their rights.

"The Greens' women's program for the European Parliament elections covers nearly all feminist positions and notes a widespread use of force against women in German society. It criticizes the under-representation of women in all areas of public life,

74. ^eInternations, n.68, p.32.
^

sexual discrimination against women and their treatment as objects of male needs, and the reduction of women to the role of mothers. The Greens' federal program rejects any prosecution for abortion and calls for full health insurance payments to cover its costs. Among other issues the Greens demand prosecution for rape, even in marriages. Sexual discrimination against women in the workplace is subject to increasingly vehement criticism by the Greens".⁷⁵

They advocate for a "quota system in all areas generating at least 50% of all jobs for women".⁷⁶

"The Federal program of the Greens calls for legislation in numerous areas of women's lives such as education, employment, health, mothers' rights and violence against women".⁷⁷

75. Gerd Langguth, n.2, pp. 87-88.

76. Werner Hulsberg, n.8, p.195.

77. Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof, Capra, n.33., p.106.

c. Economics

Any political party cannot live on a single issue for a long time. It has to address itself to various issues confronting the country. The economic policy of the Greens was first formulated in the Stuttgart-Sindel-fingen convention⁷⁸ on January 15-16, 1983.

The Greens perceive that the present economic policies of the Government are leading to the exploitation of internal proletariat, the external sector, Nature and of self.⁷⁹ Moreover, the Greens take the "multi-layered character of the present crises for granted: different social, economic, political and cultural forces from different epochs of European history are at work. Both the exploitation of humans and the exploitation of Nature predate Capitalism."⁸⁰ They advocate that "growth in terms of highest possible output should no longer be the aim of economic policy".⁸¹

78. Gerd , Langguth, n.2, p.84.

79. Johan, Galtung, "The Green Movement: A Socio-Historical Exploration", Gandhi Marg, June ,1985, p.137.

80. Werner, Hulsberg, n.8, pp. 180-81.

81. Internations,^o n.68, p.54.
^

Thus the "generalized Green approach with its various priorities, continues a critique of the capitalist profit principle, a rejection of false needs and an attack upon the Promethean dominion of man over Nature".⁸² Greens' Programme calls for an economy that is structured ecologically and socially in which decisions are made through Participatory Democracy.⁸³

In the Sindelfingen Program, the Greens demand a social economy, which should serve the material, social and cultural needs of the individual and society. They developed the third way between Capitalism and what they called materialistic socialism, both of which they rejected.⁸⁴

So the Greens demand that co-operative enterprises should be abolished, movements should be organised. Buyer/seller/labour differences should be abolished. Customers should be made to involve

82. Werner, Hulsberg, n.8, p.181.

83. Gerd, Langguth, n.2, p.84.

84. Ibid.

directly. These measures would be helpful to avoid exploitation of the internal proletariat.⁸⁵

While the existing Capitalist system, exploits the external sector for its own benefit particularly in Third World, the Greens advocate co-existence with the Third World. The exchange relations should be equitable with other countries.⁸⁶ The capitalist system exploits Nature ruthlessly in order to get raw materials, survive and progress. But this in turn, upsets the ecological balance, which brings ecological hazards. In order to avoid this, they advocate the maintenance of an ecological balance. A balance should be built between person and Nature in such a way that Nature exists side-by-side with humans.⁸⁷

The Greens demand an entire re-structuring of existing economic policies. Thus, they argue that the soil, the natural resources, the means of production, and banks be transferred to a new form

85. Johan, Galtung, n.79, p.137.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

of societal property ownership. They reject, however, the well known demands for ownership by the State since such a system does not allow for participatory controls by the individual. They favour self-administered rights of disposition, emphasizing that models for such a system can only be developed by those directly affected. To ensure such self-administration, the means of production and distribution should be decentralized as far as possible into transparent and readily controllable entities. An economic structure of this nature with self-administered units of production and without hierarchical structures must at the same time guarantee that the production decisions are equitable to the social and ecological interests of society as a whole. For this reason, the Greens favour the creation of economic and social councils at all levels as groups for democratic self-government. They even promise that in such a social economy there will be no unemployment but rather a just distribution of work necessitated by society.⁸⁸

88. Gerd Langguth, n.2, p.85.

The Greens demand an ecologically oriented economic policy, which would be detached from the goal of overall economic growth, though without dogmatically insisting on zero growth, or indeed a general reduction of economic output or the dismantling of the industrial society".⁸⁹

d. Direct Democracy

While advocating the restructuring of the political process, the Greens place considerable emphasis on Direct Democracy. Though they do not reject representative democracy outright, they feel that this system does not reflect the peoples' real will. Their accusation is mainly directed against the functioning of representative democracy. Since it generally functions through committees, the Greens maintain that parliamentary representative democracy needs completion through direct democracy.⁹⁰ In direct democracy, the political system would be changed in such a way, that maximizes direct citizen participation.⁹¹

89. Internationals, n.68, p.54.

90. John H. Vaughan, "Greens Vision of Germany", Orbis, Vol. 32, no.1, Winter 1988, p.84.

91. Ibid.

According to the Greens, the purpose of democracy is to reduce central authority and to allow every individual as much self-determination and self-fulfilment as possible. Democracy implies decentralisation and diversity. Democracy will only work if the public is involved.⁹²

In direct democracy, the decision-making process would be re-oriented with individuals and citizens' groups replace vested interests as primary agents for political initiatives, the use of plebiscites to decide major public issues.⁹³ For example, major public issues like the deployment of nuclear missiles and construction of a nuclear reprocessing plants should be decided by referendums. The referendums should be initiated by the people themselves and they should be given enough media coverage to put forward their views before the public.⁹⁴

92. Internations^o, n.68, p.38.
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93. John, Vaughan, n.90, p.84.

94. Internations^v, n.68, p.38.
^

Thus, in this way, Greens try to give the people the real opportunity to participate in the democratic process thereby making them the makers of their own destiny.

FOREIGN POLICY

West Germany's strategic location in the heart of Europe makes its foreign policy of considerable importance for Europe in general and NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries in particular.

Since the Green Party is primarily interested in peace, it advocates the establishment of a bloc-free Europe. To achieve this goal, it perceives that means should be unilateral Disarmament.⁹⁵

Unilateral disarmament should be initiated by West Germany. This process can be started by gradually withdrawing from NATO, which the Greens perceive as the main force for fuelling the arms race in the European continent. Peace cannot be obtained without pulling out of NATO. Deterrent is not source for peace. It

95. John H. Vaughan, n.90, p.88.

is only by disbanding both the power blocs that peace can be secured. If Germany's exit leads to crises within NATO, the Greens feel that it is for the better.

Greens policy states:

The Federal Republic must pull out of NATO because it is incompatible with the maintenance of peace. The weakening, disintegration and ultimate abolition of this alliance⁹⁶ is essential for peace. NATO is not reformable.

Withdrawal from NATO has beneficial impact on East European countries and could motivate them to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. The Greens aim to bring down the entire institutional structure of bloc-oriented military defense, thus ending Europe's bipolarization. Instead they advocate the continent's evolution into neutral and non-communist states.⁹⁷

Greens give full support to any movement, organization whether it is in the East or in the West which advocates a policy of disarmament in Europe. The end of such a process can be the "Europeanization of

96. Internations, n.68, p.41.

97. John H. Vaughan, n.90, pp. 90-91.

Europe", the emancipation of West Europe from the U.S.A. and of Eastern Europe from the U.S.S.R., and the creation of a new European order of peace.⁹⁸

For Greens, relations with the Western World should be based on peace. They reject the U.S. attempt to take the arms race into the space. They are "opposed to all inter-governmental agreements on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) and the involvement of German companies in projects of this kind".⁹⁹ Further, they advocate abstention from Eureka and the European Defence Initiative".¹⁰⁰ They also urge the removal of all nuclear, chemical and so-called conventional offensive weapons and withdrawal of all foreign troops from West Germany territory.¹⁰¹ They seek a Europe of non-alignment.¹⁰²

UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

The concept of 'unilateral disarmament' propounded by Greens is very important in Greens' foreign policy.

98. Ibid.

99. Internations, n.68, p.41.

100. Joh H. Vaughan, n.90, p.89.

101. Ibid., p.90.

102. Internations, n.68, p.43.

It totally rejects the "armament" policy which is pursued by both military blocs and the support of West Germany to NATO. It advocates the unconditional renunciation of the new generation of weapons and unilateral reduction of existing arsenals by West Germany.

Unilateral disarmament does not mean the immediate scrapping of all weapons. Above all the concept of unilateral, independent disarmament involves breaking through balance (or indeed superiority) of power which forms the basis for the apparently relentless arms spiral. Unilateral disarmament, with no conditions attached and no demands for reciprocal steps from the other side, would be an unequivocal statement of peaceful intentions.¹⁰³

If such unilateral disarmament is pursued by NATO, the Greens believe that this would be reciprocated by Warsaw Pact countries and would lead to multilateral disarmament as well. In concrete terms, the Greens advocate three initial measures by West Germany:

103. John H. Vaughan, n.90 , p.89.

- * Reduction of the defense Budget by 35 percent including cessation of all further weapons production of research, no expansion of present facilities and reduction in size of West German military forces and exercises;
- * Renunciation of the 1982 War Host Nation Support Agreement with the USA; and Dismantling and removal of the American Pershing II and Cruise missiles.¹⁰⁴

By taking these steps only, unilateral disarmament would not be realised. Since West Germany is a member State of NATO, this concept should be extended to NATO as well. Unless and until this is done, unilateral disarmament won't be materialised.

So the Greens advocate withdrawal of the FRG from NATO and dissociation ^{from} the militarized foreign policy of US. By taking this step, NATO's offensive course would be off-setted. The Greens also demand that the following steps be taken by West Germany:

- * The NATO Status of Forces Agreement and its supplementary agreements should be terminated.

104. Ibid.

- * NATO countries should be required to withdraw their armed forces from the Federal Republic.
- * The treaty with France governing the stationing of French forces in the Federal Republic should also be denounced.¹⁰⁵

It is felt that all these efforts would foster peace in Germany and Europe.

RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD

A major facet of the Greens policy of the Greens towards Third World is ecological. It seeks close co-operation with all ecological groups in the Third World. It seeks, inter alia,

- * Prohibition of exports of pesticides and other dangerous chemical substances;
- * Of exports of nuclear power stations and other nuclear facilities and imports of uranium;
- * Of subsidies for large-scale projects in Third World countries;

105. Internationals^o, n.68, p.47.
^

* Of imports of timber from tropical forests,
and of all animal species and plant varieties
protected under the Washington Convention.¹⁰⁶

RELATIONS WITH G.D.R.

The Constitution of West Germany declares unequivocally the provisional nature of the Federal Republic, the goal of reunification and a single German nationality.¹⁰⁷ The political parties of West Germany except the Greens also endorse this position.

The Greens believe that Bonn's insistence on two States, one German Nation and the commitment to reunification is a prime source of inter-German tensions.¹⁰⁸ East Germany argues that it is a sovereign state in terms of international law. The Green Party is the only party which advocates formal acceptance of the existence

106. Ibid., pp. 48-49.

107. John H. Vaughan, n.90, p.85.

108. Ibid., pp.84-85.

of two German nation-states. Thus, they "abandoned the ghost of a German Reich and with it the goal of reunification".¹⁰⁹ The Greens argue that first and foremost, West Germany should recognise itself. This stand leads to self-limitation. Instead of pressing for an all-German identity, Bonn should be content to nurture an independent democratic identity for itself. On this basis they advocate for the following:

West Germany would be viewed as an end in itself rather than the first stage of a reorganized all German state. East Germany would be recognized as an independent state, and lingering hopes of regaining former German territories east of Oder-Neisse would also be given up.¹¹⁰ These steps the Greens believe would lead to East Germany to lower its guard. The border would become passable and a new era of dialogue could begin. Groups of East and West Germans would gather to discuss their societies, environmental issues, and disarmament as well as to organize citizens initiatives. Greens see affirmation of the division of Germany on the political level as a means to overcome the division on the the human level.¹¹¹

Thus, according to the Greens, only these steps would reduce the tension between the two German states and there by real peace in Europe can be fostered.

109. Ibid., p.84.

110. Ibid., p.85.

111. Ibid.

Thus the Greens consist of a conglomeration of orthodox Marxists-Leninists, left leaning citizens, radical ecologists, peace adherents and feminists. The members of the Greens share a general anti-structural, anti-cultural feelings. They are "first and foremost, a radical and complex alternative to the system".¹¹² It is, this attitude which distinguishes Greens from other parties.

After joining in the parliamentary process, they have become as a full fledged political party like other parties. They contest in the elections, express their views through the democratic forums etc. "The Chaotic charm of a colourful movement has gone, and the myth of breaking new ground is shattered."¹¹³

Their main voter base is the same as that of Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The "relation between Green and SPD voters is one of swings and roundabouts: gains

112. Hans-Joachim Veen, "from Student Movement to Ecopax: The Greens", Washington Quarterly, Winter, 1987, p.30.

113. Ibid., p.29.

for the one are largely at the expense of the other."¹¹⁴
Thus wherever Greens have won, there is a clear erosion
in SPD's strength.

Their policies and programmes radically differs
with other parties. On each and every issue , they
pursue an alternative path which not only differs from
other political parties but generally from West German
population also. This is evident in the security issue.

"In their attitude toward international security,
the Greens are deeply pessimistic. Approximately,
two-thirds sees peace in Europe as increasingly
at risk, while approximately two-thirds of the West
German population takes the opposite view. While
70 percent of the people in the FRG sees the Western
alliance as the best guarantor of peace and
freedom, more than half of the Green's supporters
is convinced that peace could be more easily
guaranteed if Western Europe were neutral and
disarmed, staying in the shade of the Soviet Union.
In fact, they place more trust in the Soviet Union's
desire for peace and understanding, than in the US'.
Although, most Green supporters maintain an
equidistant attitude toward both superpowers, their
anti-Americanism is evident.¹¹⁵

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

CHAPTER - THREE

THE GREEN PARTY AND PEACE MOVEMENTS IN THE 1980s

Though the Green party primarily arose out of ecological concerns, it accomodated other issues which were confronting the German society in a big scale. Among them, the issue of 'peace' is most important. Green party did not accomodate the issue of 'peace' just for the sake of broadening its mass base among the people. It was the result of the genuine concern of the Green party about the fate of Federal Republic of Germany and its peoples. This concern arose since Federal Republic of Germany is sitting on a virtual 'powder keg'. The Germans live in " a land that is roughly the size of Oregon, with sixty million inhabitants instead of 2.5 million and with 5,000 nuclear weapons. In addition, there are armed forces from the United States, England, France, The Netherlands, Begium, Denmark, and Canada. Soviet medium-range missiles are targeted on West Germany, as are those of the French. The American nuclear weapons in the NATO arsenal include recketts that travel only thirty miles and so will also come down in 'the front lines' of that densely populated country."¹

1 Charlene Spretnak & Fritjof Capra, Green Politics; The Global Promise, (London, 1984), p.54.

This vulnerable condition prompted the Greens to think in terms of 'peace' for the Green, peace is not just disarmament. It is woven with moral and ethical principles and the survival of humanity.

The entire peace programme of the Greens extends from their experience of living in the "prime thermo-nuclear battlefield." Hence it is not surprising that they reject both the "more is better" response to nuclear arms and the attitude of resignation (adopted, for example, by the Harvard Nuclear Study Group in *Living with Nuclear Weapons*), which regards the arms race as a necessary evil, rather like sin, and to concentrate on modest steps to stabilize deterrence. The Greens' proposals are more closely aligned with Jonathan Schell's call to move beyond the current political view that elevates national sovereignty above human survival and to "reinvent politics". Green peace policies can also be clustered with the positions presented by Richard Falk in Indefensible Weapons. It is important for the movement against "nuclearism", i.e. the practices and extension of the government in a nuclear state. The Greens maintain that nuclearism is undermining the very freedoms it is said to protect: they point to the new laws

proposed in 1983 designed to keep missiles, Richard Falk explains the dynamic in this way:

"Being constantly ready to commit the nation to a devastating war of annihilation in a matter of minutes on the basis of possibly incorrect computer-processed information or pathological traits and substance of democratic governance: secrecy, lack of accountability, permanent emergency, concentration of authority, peacetime militarism, extensive apparatus of state intelligence and police to grasp that realizing its goals is inseparable from the triumph over time of the holistic orientation."²

The Greens maintain that the either/ or situation created by the emergence of the two power blocs after World War II has resulted in a loss of self-determination for the allies of both the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as the remilitarization of West Germany. The tensions between the two superpowers have "engulfed not only the nations of Europe but also the entire world and even the 'territory' of outer space".³

This emphasis of the Green Party on human

2 Ibid, p.55

3 Ibid, p.55

survival is evident from the following table which deals with the appreciation of values among the various parties in West Germany.

TABLE 1.1 : APPRECIATION OF VALUES

I would like to live in a society in which	Total population (%)	Adherents			
		CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	GREENS
Human beings are more important than money	51	46	55	47	69
Individual rights and the law are respected	50	59	47	51	19
Achievement can lead to personal satisfaction	30	36	25	34	16
Items of proven worth are valued and respected	25	29	21	24	6
Citizens participate in decision making	25	18	32	18	45
There is an openness for new ideas and change	18	12	19	26	43

Source: Social Science Research Institute of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 8401.

Apart from opposition to armaments and nuclear weapons, the peace policy of the Greens also emphasize global coordination between peace and maintenance of the ecological balance of the planet and partnership with the Third World. To that end, the Greens' Federal Programme called for a restructured United Nations, one with minimal centralization that would respect the right of self-determination of all people. Its work would include the conclusion of global disarmament treaties, control of the weapons trade, protection of human rights, with special attention to the rights of minorities, women, and children, control over pollution of the world's oceans, and the introduction of renewable-resource technology, as well as birth control assistance to the developing nations. In addition, the Greens call for an international tribunal that would subpoena the politicians, technologists, and military strategists who plan

build, operate or support weapons systems or technologies leading to mass destruction and genocide.⁴

The Greens argue that peace should be preserved at any cost. This includes alleviation of poverty in the Third World and putting an end to the merciless fight for raw materials and markets. What the industrialized nations choose to call 'growth' is in reality merely a shoving contest of the strong against the weak, ending inevitably in the defeat of both. The rule of the world market by the conglomerates leads to an ever increasing impoverishment of the Third World and must finally end in the collapse of our present economic system... Using insidious methods of economic blackmail, sometimes in open cooperation with the most inhumane regimes of the Third World, the industrialized nations of the West perpetuate their age-old colonialism :

4 Ibid, p.59.

West Germany against the peoples of South Africa; the US, above all, in Latin America; and France by its direct military presence in its former African colonies.... The peace movement must show its solidarity with the liberation movements in countries of the Third World in their attempts to free themselves from their dependency on the superpowers and to find their own, independent ways."⁵

In order to expose the cause of peace, the Greens decided to take this message to the masses. Though they could have done on their own, they joined with anti-Nuclear Energy Movement (AKK)⁶ since they found that there is a "logical connection between the dangers inherent in both civilian and military uses of nuclear technology".⁷ After joining them, the Greens began to play role of a 'Vanguard' to the peace movement. Since the Greens were operating through decentralised, locally based groups called Citizen Initiatives,⁸ which was the fertile ground for the anti-Nuclear Energy movement to carry its message to the masses. Thus Citizen Initiatives were also acting as a new found home to the Extra-parliamentary opposition (APO) which was serving for anti-armament struggle.

5 Ibid, p.60.

6 Joyce Marie Mushaben, "Cycles of Peace Protest in West Germany: Experiences from Three Decades", West European Politics, Vol.8, no.1, January 1985, p.31.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

The main function of the Greens through Citizen Initiatives was to educate the people about the danger of arms race, nuclear weapons etc.,. Thus "Educating the public about such facts comprises a large portion of the Greens' peace work. Elected officials and party activists at all levels often address groups and rallies. One of the dynamics they try to get people to recognize is the connection between militarism and ecological damage. Most obvious is that military manoeuvres directly endanger the environment. In addition, the plutonium produced by nuclear power plants in a modern industrial state is deadly toxic waste and the essential material for nuclear bombs. Military planes consume an enormous amount of fuel in their routine exercises, and arms factories devour natural resources. In fact, the resource and energy-intensive modes of production employed in nearly all industries necessitate continuing armed coercion and competition to secure raw materials."⁹

Moreover, the Green co-ordinated closely with peace groups in other countries. The American

9 C.Spretnak, & F.Capra, n.1, p.63.

campaign for a bilateral freeze of development and production of nuclear arms was important for the Greens because it showed the West Germans that being against the nuclear arms race does not mean being anti-American. The Greens also referred to the US Catholic Bishops' statement against the arms race and publicized a translated edition of speeches and letter by Archbishop Hunthausen of Seattle.¹⁰

Among the programme of the educating public first event was the "Tribunal against First-strike & Mass - Destruction weapons in the East and West was a conference held in Nuremberg".¹¹ This tribunal distributed a ninety-five-page booklet of position papers and documentation, including alarming excerpts from Conventional Nuclear operations by the US Army Command and General Staff.¹²

These educational activities were followed by a week of demonstrations which were held jointly by the National Co-ordination Bureau, from 15-22 October 1983.¹³ These were in the form of rallies

10 Ibid, p.68.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid, p.72.

in various cities and in the human chain stretching almost sixty-five miles from the US Army's VII Corps headquarters in Stuttgart to an American artillery unit at New-Ulm. A major rally was held in Bonn, where the crowd heard speeches by various peace workers and politicians.¹⁴

One interesting point to note is that the Greens were the first group who entered into East Germany and held a big demonstration by using the slogan "Swords into Ploughshares" and urged both German states to work for peace instead of increasing armaments.¹⁵



The contribution of the Greens to the peace movement was substantial because they formed locally based decentralised groups who were able to mobilise massive demonstrators and ensure quicker flow of information, among the various groups. However, this does not imply that there are no difference, between aims of the peace movement in the FRG and the Greens. Whereas the peace movement was trying to stop deployment of missiles, the Greens also were demanding the disbandment of NATO. Thus, the approach of the Greens was much broader.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid, pp.68-69.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PEACE MOVEMENTS

Though the peace movements can be traced from 1950s and 1960s , it became more widespread after the NATO's double track decision of 1979. At that time the sole aim of the peace movement was to stop the deployment of the Pershing-II and Cruise missiles. Though the peace movement did not succeed in stopping the deployment of missiles, nevertheless operating in a democratic society they could exert immense pressure on the government. They are as follows:

"The peace movement in the 1970s and 1980s has many achievements to its credit. Firstly, it has exerted considerable influence on the attitude of parliamentarians and even the governments of a number of NATO member states. For instance, under pressure from antiwar forces, the Danish parliament made it incumbent on the government to obtain NATO recognition for the country's nuclear-free status and resolved to withdraw Denmark's contribution to the North Atlantic bloc's allocations for the deployment of American missiles in Europe. The persistent action of peace fighters in Holland forced the right-of-centre

cabinet to postpone a final decision on the deployment of 48 American Tomahawks in that country. Heeding the great concern of the populations of their countries over the danger of nuclear war, political leaders in a number of NATO member states (e.g. Greece and Canada), have advanced various ideas to ease international tension. The mass antiwar movement was a major factor behind the US Administration's consent to negotiate with the USSR on the entire gamut of issues dealing with nuclear and space weapons.

Secondly, it initiated debates in almost all Western countries on the defence and security issues in the nuclear age. The growing participation of ever broader public circles in the defence of peace has become a sign of the times."¹⁶

It is because of the peace movement, that security issues are debated in the public. Thus "it is obvious that this protest has not undermined

16 A.Smirnov, "The Nuclear Threat and the Extension of the Peace Front", International Affairs, September, 1985, pp 44-45.

the West's capacity for defense, but only the ability of Western governments, politicians, and military experts to monopolize the decision-making process concerning our security. As a result, security has become a public good: to be debated and decided on by civil society itself."

More importantly, in this debate a public hostile to nuclear arms is not lined up against a political elite vested with the responsibility for security; not are experts, counter-experts, military men, and politicians of various stripes pitted against one another. In contrast to the past, the protagonists of the present debate are, on one side, decision-makers and political representatives of all stripes, and on the other side, all those who through their activities oppose existing security policy and who, for the first time, are no longer content merely to express their opinion but instead put forward their own demands in the realm of security.

The issue of security is now articulated in ways which challenge directly the experts and

non-experts, civilians and military men, heads of state and citizens alike. In short, security has ceased to be the business only of experts, military strategists, and the political elite. Civil society has asserted its desire for control and its capacity for initiative in a domain that was previously monopolized by the state. In this context, the demand to reverse the arms race is not only autonomous and novel with respect to its content. It is even more so as a process which breaks with the military-statist problem-solving process in the security field and challenges the military-technocratic management of the arms race.

Thirdly, the peace movement has developed a capacity for initiative outside the framework of the state. This framework, within a system of blocs in a nuclear era, guarantees the security of populations less than it preserves the states' monopoly over the management and organization of relations between various regions, countries, and continents. In contrast, the transnational scope of the movement, which goes together with its essential local organization supported by numerous grassroots groups coordinated through regional, national, and continental networks, is creating a new transnational public sphere and simultaneously constituting a new social fabric both within and beyond national borders. In short civil society is developing

capacity to debate openly the stakes and the choices that are critical to its future, discovering the ability of people to "control their history", and acquiring " a new freedom and capacity for action that is no longer defined by a national framework."¹⁷

DECLINE OF PEACE MOVEMENTS

The importance of Peace movements in Europe has been declining in the recent past because of various reasons. A major reason that international relations began to move in the direction of co-operation, mutual understanding. Secondly, obsession for a single issue and inadequate emphasis on other issues was also responsible. Thirdly, people's support declined once deployment was underway.

GREEN PARTY IN THE 1980s

The Green party has become a force to be reckoned with in the Federal Republic of Germany. An extra-parliamentary movement which was started

17 Zsuzsa Hegedus, "The Challenge of the Peace Movement: Civilian Security and Civilian Emancipation", Alternatives, Vol.12, no.2 April, 1987, pp. 204-205.

primarily to protect ecology, gradually became a party in the fullest scale, and began to address various issues which were confronting Germany. Thus contesting in the Bundestag elections for the first time in 1980, it got only 1.5% of the votes cast, but the same party cleared the 5% hurdle in the 1983 Bundestag elections. Thus a dramatic growth took place in parties' performance in elections. This is true in city-state, state elections also. From that year onwards it never looked back.

TABLE 1.2 : FEDERAL ELECTIONS - 1987

	CONSTITUENCY	GREENS	
		1987	1983
1.	MUNISH-CENTRE	19.2	10.7
2.	FREIBURG	18.4	12.4
3.	BERMEN-OST	16.2	11.4
4.	FRANKFURT-III	15.5	9.7
5.	TUBINGEN	15.1	9.5
6.	HEIDELBERG	14.9	9.3
7.	FRANKFURT-II	14.9	9.7
8.	HAMBURG-EIMSBUTTEL	14.7	10.7
9.	STUTTGART-I	14.4	9.2
10.	BREMEN-OST	14.4	9.2
11.	COLOGNE-I	14.3	8.7
12.	MUNSTER	14.2	9.5
13.	HAMBURG-CENTRE	13.3	9.0
14.	DARMSTADT	12.9	8.3

TABLE 1.2 (CONTD)

CONSTITUENCY	GREENS	
	1987	1983
15. MUNISH-NORTH	12.9	7.2
16. HAMBURG-NORTH	12.7	9.5
17. BREMERH/BREMEN-NORTH	12.6	8.3
18. HAMBERG-ATTONA	12.6	9.1
19. MUNICH-EAST	12.5	7.2
20. MUNICH-WEST	12.3	6.7
21. KARLSRUHE-STADT	12.1	8.0
22. MUNICH-SOUTH	11.9	6.8
23. NURNBERG -NORTH	11.9	7.4
24. GOTTINGEN	11.8	8.1
25. COLOGNE 2	11.7	7.3
26. MAINEZ	11.7	6.2
27. AACHEN	11.5	7.3
28. KANSTANZ	11.4	7.2
29. HANNOVER 2	11.3	7.9
30. BONN	11.1	7.2

Source: Werner Hulsberg , The German Greens : A Social and Political Profile.

The Green Party's performance in the 1980's can be characterised by increasing participation in parliamentary politics. The Greens see themselves as a 'new' party, programmatically and organizationally. They argue that industrial societies are in the midst of an ecological and economic crisis which is threatening their survival. Therefore, there must be radical changes in the basic socio-economic framework. They have rejected quantitative economic growth. By maintaining that an ecologically conscious foreign policy must be based on non violence, the Greens have 'fused' ecology and peace. They have advocated unilateral nuclear disarmament and West German withdrawal from NATO. Also the Greens' programmes have incorporated the policy aims of feminists, civil libertarians, and diverse social minorities. The Greens' founders attempted to structure the 'new party as a democratic countermodel to established party organizations .

Its federal charter declares that local and Land parties are to have the "greatest possible autonomy". Party meetings at all levels are open and intraparty minorities have the right to be heard. In addition, the Greens have erected numerous barriers against the development of a professionalized party elite. For example, party leadership is collective, party officers are not salaried and there are short time limits on their tenure. To prevent the emergence of a class of parliamentarians, the Greens instituted the controversial procedure of mid-term rotation whereby deputies must resign their seats in favour of candidates lower on the Green Party list during the parliamentary term.

Upon closer inspection, the Green's party documents and public pronouncements reveal two different view points on the future of parliamentary democracy. One envisages its " total replacement

by a radical democracy (through nonviolent means); the other, the retention of parliamentary institutions which have been revitalized by direct democratic features. In other words, the Greens see themselves as the true defenders of "democratic parliamentarism". Yet the overall gist of the Greens' programme is the deemphasis of parliament in favour of new democratic forms.

The founders of the Greens embraced a double strategy of direct action outside parliament and of electoral and parliamentary involvement. They had numerous reasons for seeking parliamentary seats; to draw media coverage, to force issues on to the parliamentary agenda, to improve the resources of extra-parliamentary groups, and to provide the opportunity or protest voting."¹⁸

From this policy platform, the Greens are facing parliament and playing a role of a "engaged opposition"¹⁹ party. They are perhaps the only party which is more active in all respects in parliament. This is evident from the following table.

18 E. Gene Frankland, "The Role of the Greens in West German Parliamentary Politics," 1980-87, Review of Politics, Vol. 50, no. 1, Winter, 1988, pp 100-101.

19 Ibid, p. 109.

TABLE 1.3 PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY BY THE GREENS (AS OF JULY 15, 1984)

	Draft bills	Major Inquiries	Minor Inquiries	Total
Foreign Policy and Foreign relations	-	-	6	6
All German relations	-	-	3	3
Security and defense policy/NATO/armed forces/ weapons sales/peace research/martial law	3	12	41	56
Conscientious objection/alternative service	-	1	2	3
Third World/development aid	-	2	15	17
Ecology/environment/sewage/chemical toxification/pollutants/protection of landscape/ animals	8	3	47	58
Agriculture/ecofarming	-	2	2	4
Health/medicine/gene., technology/food supply/ drug addiction	1	2	25	28
Atomic energy/reactor security/recycling nuclear waste/production of uranium	-	-	19	19
Energy/anthracite	-	4	6	10
Traffic policies	1	2	44	47
Law/administration of justice	3	1	6	9
Internal security/police/right-wing extremism	1	-	6	9
Finance/economy/social policies	2	-	8	10
Handicapped/rehabilitation	-	-	2	2
Women	1	-	1	2
Foreigners	1	-	-	1
Education	-	-	1	1
Miscellaneous	1	-	7	8
-	22	31	241	294

Source: Gerd Langguth, *The Green Factor in German Politics, From Protest Movement to Political Party.*

In asking questions about important affairs,
the Greens are far better than other parties. Here one
significant point to be noted is that , they are having
lesser number of members in the Bundestag than
other parties.

TABLE - 1.4 - DRAFT LEGISLATION MAJOR AND MINOR INQUIRIES , AND QUESTIONS IN THE
GERMAN BUNDESTAG

	Total	CDU/ CSU	CDU/CSU and FDP	FDP	SPD	GREENS	CDU/CSU AND FDP AND SPD	ALL PARTIES	NO PARTY ADHERENCE REQUIRED
Draft bills									
from floor*	60	1	11		24	22	1	1	
Major inquiries	50		10		11	31			
Minor inquiries	296		13		42	241			
Questions	7611	22270		416	4171	730			24

Source: Subject and Speech Index of the German Bundestag, July 15, 1984.

* Number of initiatives "from the middle of the house"

CDU : Christian Democratic Union

CSU : Christian Social Union

FDP : Free Democratic Party

SPD : Social Democratic Party of Germany

This performance of the Greens was reflected in state parliaments also. After assessing their role, public opinion also turned in their favour. This is evident from the survey conducted at both the land and Bundestag level.

In a 1980 survey, Manheim asked Baden-Wurttemberg voters whether the Greens were needed in the Landtag. Thirty-four per cent responded favourably. Four years later when voters were asked whether having the Greens in the Landtag again would be good, 46 per cent responded positively. The 1984 data indicate that significantly more SPD and FDP supporters favourably evaluated the Greens' role than in 1980 while CDU supporters had not changed their unfavourable opinion.²⁰

Another very interesting and important point is other political parties also appreciated the parliamentary role of the Greens, Land (state) activities and favoured their presence in both houses.

When asked in the Manheim group's 1987 national

20 Ibid, pp116-117.

survey whether it would be good if the Greens again entered the Bundestag, 54 per cent of respondents answered positively. Compared to 1982, positive responses were " at least twenty percentage points higher among the supporters of each of the three established parties."²¹

This shows that those who do not vote for the Greens, also perceive their parliamentary presence favourably. Further, they are seen by people quite capable of solving environmental problems than other parties. Moreover, the German voters have acknowledged the Greens as the "legitimate political force".²²

During 1983-87 the Greens outmanoeuvred other parties in every respect in the Bundestag. Thus "the 28 Green deputies introduced 58 bills while the SPD with its 202 deputies introduced 85 bills.; the CDU/CSU with 255 deputies, 58 bills; and the FDP with 35 deputies, 57 bills, (The deputies of the majority parties typically are less active, in deference to the government's initiatives). The

21 Ibid, p.117.

22 David P. Conradt and Russel J. Dalton, 'The Erdy H West German Electorate and the Party System: Continuity and Change in the 1980's', Review of Politics, Vol.50, no. 1, Winter 1988, p.22.

Greens thus were disproportionately active in introducing bills. Their bills covered a wide range of issues, beyond that of the environment, but they invariably failed to pass. In addition, the Greens were very active in introducing motions to amend bills and to pass resolutions.

During 1983-87 the Greens introduced 396 motions, which placed them second behind the SPD's 403 motions. With rare exceptions, the Greens' motions failed unless they were cosponsored by other Fraktionen. In the case of the motion regarding emissions from the new Buschhaus power plant, the Greens showed great parliamentary skill by utilizing the working of a Free Democratic Party (FDP) resolution in their own motion and then compromising to get a cosponsored motion passed. This necessitated a special parliamentary session where CDU/CSU and FDP deputies changed sides to defeat the original motion to tighten pollution controls, an act which received much negative publicity.

The Greens have aggressively used the interpellation procedures of the Bundestag. The Grosse

Anfrage is a procedure for asking written questions of the government in a way so that the Fraktion later can force a plenary debate on the answers. From 1983 to 1987, the Greens initiated 87 Grosse Anfragen while the SPD initiated only 60; the CDU/CSU, 27; and the FDP 27. Many of the environmentalist Greens' Grosse Anfragen dealt with foreign and defence policies. The Kleine Anfrage (a written request for specific information about a governmental policy) does not permit a debate on the answers. The Greens initiated 820 Kleine Anfragen compared to 143 for the SPD, 40 for the CDU/CSU, and 40 for the FDP! Whenever the Greens found the government's answers to be inadequate, they called press conferences."²³

These kind of activities from the side of the Greens were duly rewarded by the Federal Republic of German electorate in 1987 Bundestag elections. They re-entered the Bundestag with improved performance. They got 8.3%²⁴ of the total vote cast, and 44 representatives entered the Bundestag. This is quite good performance and this is due to the fact Greens are being considered relevant to the social and political arena. The same trend was indicated in the

23 E, Gene Frankland, n.18, pp 111-112.

24 David P. Conradt and Russell J. Dalton, n.22, p.4.

recent state elections which was held in the Hesse. The Greens got 9.2%²⁵ of the votes cast. Moreover, a Social Democrat-Green coalition has come into existence in West Berlin.²⁶ This scenario prompted one Green party think tank to foresee the future with confidence and he thundered that "by 1992 his group i.e. Greens will be a powerful factor and would make a bid for power at the Federal government by 1994, in coalition probably with Social Democrats".²⁷

Moreover, because of the Greens the concern for environment has increased among the masses. The following table clearly depicts the Greens contribution in this regard.

TABLE: Growth of Concern About Environmental Issues between 1981 & 1985.

Issue	Respondents considered it 'Very Important'	
	1981	1985
Clean Water	59	73
Emission of fumes	45	64
Control over food & medicine	47	59
Recycling	45	61
Education in environmental issues.	33	47

Source: Nature, November, 1985.

25 Hindustan Times, March 20, 1989.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

Thus in other issues also, the Greens are not far away from influencing the masses.

The environmental issue is gaining prominence day by day. This is more and more visible. In recently conducted European polls, Greens not only improved their position in West Germany i.e. getting "8.4% of the votes" cast and "won eight seats",²⁸ but also appeared in the political map of Britain and France. In Britain they got 15% of the votes and in France they got 11% of the votes.²⁹

In European parliament they have decided to play an active role with the co-operation of Socialists. "The Greens and Socialists and other Leftists are expected to play a rather active role in working out a social charter for the 12-nation European Community"³⁰

Thus Greens are becoming a major force in West German politics and it is possible that they may capture power with the Social Democratic Party.

28 Ibid, June 21, 1989.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid, June 21, 1989.

CHAPTER-IV

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The biggest contribution of peace movements is that it made states realise about the need for "peace". Unilateral initiation of disarmament proposals is no longer considered as a sign of weakness. Though peace movements in Western Europe, including West Germany failed in their sole objective, viz. stopping the deployment of intermediate range nuclear missiles, but it has achieved a number of things. The immense pressure exerted by the peace movement on decision-makers was considerable. Operating in an open and democratic society, it emerged as the biggest pressure group in West Germany as well as in other West European countries. The ability of the peace movement to mobilise people on a large scale showed its relevance to the present-day world.

In West Germany for the first time in its history, greater awareness was created about the dangers of arms in general and nuclear weapons in particular. The impact of the peace movement on West Germany can be gauged from the fact that the younger generation radically differs with official policy on the security issue. To them, detente only provided peace. They

reject the logic of deterrence, moreover, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's policy of upholding the doctrine of "flexible response" was vehemently criticised by the adherents of the peace movement. Further his moves to stall the 'Double Zero option' were opposed by the West German people was evident from the fact that the CDU/CSU got a drubbing in the Rhineland Palatinate and Hamburg elections.

The assumption of power by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, his bold initiatives, his disarmament proposals and his policy of peace with the West changed the world from the path of confrontation to the path of peaceful co-existence. The first step in this direction, was taken up by Gorbachev in the form of declaring an 'unilateral moratorium' of nuclear weapons for one year. This was a clear signal to the West that she no longer adheres to a policy of confrontation. The perception of the West about the East slowly began to change. This culminated in the historic Reagan-Gorbachev Summit meeting in Reykjavik in October 1986, which proposed a number of disarmament measures. Among them, the most important was the elimination of the long-range nuclear missiles within

ten years and immediate efforts through negotiations to eliminate medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Thus, the negotiations continued and these efforts were culminated in the historic 'INF Treaty' between Reagan and Gorbachev in December 1987, which eliminated 3% of their nuclear arsenals.

Though the signing of INF Treaty cannot be attributed as the success of the peace movement but it was one of its most important motivating force. Another contributing factor was the Chernobyl disaster. The nuclear accident which occurred at Chernobyl was an eye-opener both to the East and West. The radioactive cloud that drifted over both East and West demonstrated the insanity of a nuclear war policy. A nuclear attack would remorselessly destroy the attacker along with the attacked as the radioactivity drifted back as well as forward. Similarly, other initiatives by Mikhail Gorbachev including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, reduced international tensions.

As the threat from East eroded considerably, Chancellor Kohl wanted to negotiate with the Soviet Union in order to eliminate the shorter range nuclear missiles(i.e. Lancer missiles) in Europe.

This change from strictly following a policy of deterrence and relying on nuclear security to a policy of nuclear disarmament was to a large extent effected by peace movement only. Thus Chancellor Kohl wanted to wrest the initiative from other parties, particularly from Greens and the Social Democratic Party of Germany in order to show the German people that his party also, is longing for peace. Moreover, Chancellor Kohl warned NATO countries that if other parties come to power in West Germany then NATO will be at a loss. So he wanted NATO to immediately start negotiations with Moscow in order to eliminate the Lancer missiles. But NATO was not in a position to accept this West German proposal. Ultimately a compromise was reached by which the decision about Lancer missiles was deferred till 1991.

Though apparently , the influence of peace movement has declined, but its organizational strength and experience can be utilised for other issues. The agenda of the peace movement can be expanded.

The Greens were acting as the backbone of the peace movement. They played the role of a Vanguard to the peace movement. Armed with a number of

relevant issues from ecology to peace, the Greens are emerging as a major force in West Germany. The composition of the Greens is a conglomeration of liberal ecologists to radical Marxists-Leninists . These leftists have a say in the affairs of the Green Party. Thus the Green Party is acting as 'new found home,' to the left leaning citizens, disbanded communists , peace adherents, radical ecologists, feminists, anti-structural and counter-cultural citizens. Moreover, Green Party enables the ventilation of the younger generation who seek to espouse new issues as well as their opposition to the existing system.

Though the Greens comprise only a minority in the West German Population , their successive election results indicate their growing popularity. Already they have come into power in West Berlin in alliance with Social Democrats thus replacing a CDU(Christian Democratic Union) led government there. Thus there is a probability that according to their own think tank Mr. Joachim Muller, Greens will be a powerful factor by 1992 and if everything goes according to their plan, then they will be in a position to capture power by 1994, in coalition probably with the Social Democrats.

The growth of the Greens is not without reason. It was they who highlighted the danger to ecology and in turn to human life itself. The deforestation due to acid rain, the depletion of the ozone layer, the green-house effect, etc., are impending dangers to human life. The awareness about the environment has increased multifold among the Germans. The credit for this goes to the Greens. Moreover, environment has assumed such a significance that the Dutch government had to resign because of environmental problems. In the recently concluded European parliament elections, The Greens for the first time successfully appeared in the political map of Britain and France. The Greens probably influenced the West German "Government's" decision to include environmental cost in its GNP. West Germany is the first country in the world to take this step.

The Greens have already replaced the Free Democratic Party as the fourth largest party in West Germany. Now it is vying with SPD to get a better position. One interesting point to be noted here is that the growth of the Greens is at the expense of the SPD. This is clearly discernible from the number of elections that were held in West Germany, wherever Greens won,

there was an erosion in the SPD's support. This is because of the left wing of the SPD always fluctuates between the Greens and the SPD. Thus after the successful coalition in West Berlin, a biggest question is, Can Red and Greens come together? Though internal dissensions exist within the Greens, about this, they will most probably will come together.

The Greens approach to NATO and the concept of Unilateral Disarmament and its attitude towards the East, is a cause of concern to the U.S. In a world which is divided in two power blocs, how far these approaches can be realised is a big question. Thus American resentment against the Greens was evident when the Greens' peace delegation went to the United States and President Ronald Reagan refused to meet them. The Greens regard that any crisis and chaos in NATO is well and good. This also causes anxiety to Washington.

The impact of the parliamentary democracy on the Greens is visible. The policy of rotation which was practised by the Greens have had negative side effects. The MP's having a short-term could not acquaint themselves with the parliamentary process.

So, at its May 1986 Federal Assembly, the party abolished mid-term rotation. All Green MP's elected in 1987 will be able to serve four full years in the Bundestag.

The Greens have adjusted themselves to the hard realities of day-to-day politics. As the Greens grow, they may have to adjust to the reality in their policies and programmes also.

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