CHAPTER III

PEACE MOVEMENT IN

WEST GERMANY
Unlike West European counterparts, German peace movement shared long socio-historical experiences which widely came from middle class intellectuals. The entry of Green Environmentalists dramatically strengthened peace movement. Thereafter, it was discussed in various parliamentary organizations. The widest network of peace movement offer brighter prospects in Germany during post Cold War.

**Evolution of Peace Movement**

The formation of German Peace Society (DGF: *Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*) in 1892 was believed to be the largest and oldest peace organization in Germany. It was formally prepared by the World Peace Congress (1850) at Frankfurt to promote pacifist tradition. It got impetus under Alfred Herman Fried who formed Austrian Society of the Friends which worked with International Peace Bureau and the War Resister's Internationals.¹

DGF members actively campaigned against German militarism to strengthen international peace, during World War I. Its prominent advocates, Ludwig Quidde and Carl Von Ossientzky, did pioneering job.² In 1919, a group of German intellectuals organized 'Never War Again', which served as a catalyst force for German Peace Cartel in 1921. In 1929, some DGF supporters formed the Anti-War Congress of Intellectuals. But the amazing victory of Hitler in 1930 the anti-democratic and pseudo-revolutionary propaganda gained popularity.³ Nazism became the symbol of

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² Ibid.

status and pride, and Hitler became the chancellor of Reich in 1932. But the collapse of Nazism in 1945 strongly reflected peoples' sentiments against the war sensitivities. Weimar constitution was the only remedy against the destruction of war. However, the existential threat and the large scale protest posed dilemma. And, with memories of Nazi aggression, which remained alive to the teeming millions of Germans, the new democratic constitution was formed. The formation of the Allied Control Council (5 June 1945) collectively by Britain, France, the US and the USSR, exerted supreme authority to defeat Germany. Later on, the document of Basic Law (Grundgesetz) was coined which was based on 'European Constitutional Model'. This was an ideal condition for peace movement.

It was Kurt Hiller, a German peace activist who formed Revolutionary Pacifism in 1946 with the support of Pax-Christi International, Peace Association of German Catholic, and the World Association of International Church Co-operation. The ideological conflicts amongst the Law Pacifists, the Political Pacifists, Revolutionary Pacifists and the Marxists, created some problems in conducting peaceful negotiations. Peace movement proved a mediator and remarkably enhanced the pacifist tendencies among these conflicting groups. After the end of world war II, Germany was divided into two: East Germany and West Germany according to Berlin Agreement. The East German territories came under Poland; while East Prussia was transferred to the Soviet Union. The US, Britain and France occupied Western part of Germany. The Basic Law, enacted in May 1949, was given over-weight. It was based on deliberate system of checks and balance to strengthen and control government actions. This was designed with Germany's past events in mind and was firmly rooted in parliamentary democracy.
Despite these, the issues of territorial divisions remained unsettled. In October 1949, the Soviet Union occupied East Germany and declared it as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) with Soviet Zone of Berlin as its capital. While the Western part was declared as Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) with Bonn as its capital. Subsequently, the GDR was thoroughly bourgeoisified with most advanced economy of the Western Europe. It was done by virtue of its institutional attachment with the European Defense Union (1954), the ratification of Paris Treaties (1315, 1857 and 1898), the NATO (1955), and the European Community (1957). The western constitutional model was cherished and warmly welcomed by the Germans as they never wanted to repeat the horrible experience of Nazism.

Konrad Adenauer, the FRG's first chancellor (1949-1963), accepted EU and NATO for Europeanism and anti-communism. His Christian Democratic Union (CDU: Christlich - Demokratische Union) adopted 'Liberal Corporatist' managerial approach to secure adequate welfare and economic provision. However, his continued reliance on NATO and public suspicion towards the US loyalty, opened the rift between the social and the political laws. This activated peace movement which was supported by Lutheran Church followers and the group of prominent scientists. The DGF - the Union of Persons Prosecuted by the Nazi regime, were institutionalized by virtue of the 'Fight Atomic Death' campaign in 1957, with the great support of CND (England). By that time, GDR's defence policy became a major source of ideological polarization. It brought

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5. CDU is a political alliance. For full form in German language and English trans, see ibid, p.1304.
social protests. Probably, Adenauer's support to the US forces in Vietnam was the most prominent cause of emerging peace movement in FRG.

Peace movement was popularised by 'Easter March Movement Appeal in 1960'. Which was co-sponsored and motivated by the CND ideology. The movement organized series of campaigns against Vietnam war in 1960s. It was strongly supported by the group of students and trade union leaders. Such extraparliamentary oppositions transcended in the forms of anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism to promote democratization. The movement forced the government to open disarmament cell in 1963. In 1965, the Federal Government Commission formed Disarmament Arms Control Unit. Chancellor Ludwig Erhard (1963-1966), supported disarmament policy. But it was described by the peace critiques as "glass bead game"-futile due to NATO influence. Chancellor Kurt George Kiesinger (1966-1969) adopted the policy of détente and peace. But, because of domestic-economic constraints and the pressure of opposition, Kiesinger lost public contacts in 1969 elections. During those days, the students' movement organized series of demonstrations against the NATO policies and the Easter March Movement was revived. In January 1968, it was re-named as Kampagne Für Abrüstung (Campaign for Democracy and Disarmament).

Under Chancellor Willy Brand (1964-1974) disarmament and peace became true imperatives. His victory in 1969 elections was based on a promise to "dare more democracy". Brandt's östpolitik, was designed against the Cold War rivalries who


supported 'Brezhnev Party Doctrine', and 'New Eastern Policy'. But, Brandt's politically motivated *ostpolitik* deprived peace marches of 1970s.8 *Bundestag* officials were in dilemma after signing the NPT in November 1969. Following the desperate and dangerous experiment of Vietnam War, Auschwitz Trail, Extraparliamentary Opposition (APO) and students' revolt, the government was forced to democratized the *ostpolitik*. Paradoxically, Brandt successfully managed both popular movements as well as government policies. His efforts on peace and détente got world wide recognition.9 Even the Green-environmentalists of early seventies welcomed Brandt's *ostpolitik*. But, the deepening economic crisis coupled with deteriorating environmental problems, forced number of new enfranchised democrats to revive their policies. *Bundestag* continued national energy policy with the support of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OCED). It resulted in increasing opposition by the ecologists and the pacifists. The local group, popularly known as Citizen's Initiative' blamed government's nuclear policy.10 But despite these oppositions, the Social Democratic Party (SPD: *Sozial demokratische Partei*) and Free Democratic Party (FDP: Freie Demokratische Partei) alliance was determined to go ahead with nuclear policy as the corner stone of 'economic modernization'.

In 1974 Chancellor Schmidt's *ostpolitik* was consolidated for socio-political reforms. But the massive economic crisis and continuing hostile public opinion resulted in narrow defect of the earlier formed CDU and Christian Socialist Union (CSU:

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Christlich Soziale Union) coalition in October 1979 elections. However, in October 1980 elections, the SPD-FPD coalition secured a 45-seat majority in Bundestag. Schmidt government had to face tough challenges as the unstable coalition partner had already divided on the issues of 'Double Track Decision'. The INF decision was reviewed with NATO victory but it threatened German unity and brought fundamental differences between SPD, CDU and Greens. This bargaining approach helped the Greens for better prospects in October 1980 elections. The last phase of Schmidt's government in 1982 witnessed series of 'peace protests' in the forms of 'peace weeks'. Hans Pestalozzi and Hans Apel - two peace advocates - accepted 2300 local, national and international groups serving in peace movement in western Europe. Their common slogans, "peace forum-81", "anti-nuclear peace festival", "fear not", "return to life", and "peace and justice" dramatically reduced the strength of NATO. The movement also gained massive support from the Netherlands (4,00,000), Switzerland (50,000) and New York (5,00,000) in June 1982.

Helmut Kohl, an active and optimistic supporter of CDU-CSU-FDP alliance, has been the longest surviving chancellor of Germany (1982 – 1998). Closely resembled to Thatcher and Reagan, the monolingual Kohl has been the true leader, unlike schmidt and Brandt. Unfortunately during his reign, peace movement activities remained weak. Only some efforts were made by Greenpeace to a void FRG's involvement in arms races. But, Greens' victory in March 1983 elections strengthened their position in Bundestag. During elections campaigns, their wider agenda included: "German- German Dialogue"

11. SPD, FDP and CSU are political organizations. For their full forms in German and English trans. see Yearbook, n.4, p. 1304-5.
and "German Patriotism" which attracted public attention. It brought public debate on the issues of peace and disarmament, despite gradual erosion of peace movement in 1984s.13

Kohl continued *ostpolitik* in two ways to maintain disarmament in the region: Firstly, the active assistance and co-ordination with capitalist world for the negotiation with Warsaw pact countries; and secondly, the interlocking of nuclear and conventional arms control agreements. In one of his earliest speeches in 1982, Kohl expressed his views: "creating peace with fewer and fewer weapons"! which became popular in peace movement. The CDU-chief Alfred Dregger, in early 1983, agreed that no arms conflict would be allowed on German soil with a view to defend the country from any counter-action. In effect, Germany, with high density of population and industrial growth, would have met catastrophic consequence if the efforts of Greens would have not been taken up. This notion has been shared and accepted by all successive chancellors of Germany.

Kohl's approach towards NATO was found uncomfortable in public image. It was justified by the INF decision in December 1987 when 108 Pershing II missiles and 96 cruise missiles were scrapped from Federal Armed Forces due to domestic pressure. Thereafter, Bonn officials took deep interest in disarmament, which shared the sentiments with public opinion. Peace movement's demand that the security cannot be addressed solely in military terms, but rests equally on economic, political and cultural foundation. Hence, an opposition to war system must be linked to building a just society and more equitable economy.

13. Mushabin, n.8, p.566.
The peace movement between 1988-89 showed a very different trend following the dramatic changes in the GDR and Europe. On 9 December 1989, Berlin, the famous capital of the one-mighty German empire, was not merely a symbol of separation. Germany became one nation again on 1 July 1990, despite political, historical and ideological hurdles. It was viewed as the revivalism and democratic victory of peace movement.

The new democratic movement—oftenly described as violent-peace movement—had to make sacrifices through organizing popular weekly protests and marches throughout 1989. This initiative was to end the problem of separate nationalism. This was more evident in early October 1989 at the time of fortieth anniversary of the foundation of GDR. The prominent commemoration was hacked by thousands of protesters. Their demand "militarism never again!" was cheered and welcomed by the people.

The anti-government demonstration erupted in East Berlin and subsequently spread in Dresden and Leipzig. The protest was supported by 1,20,000 activists which attracted the attention of Socialist Unity Party politbureau. It virtually disfavored the use of any violent armed force against the demonstration and thereafter, introduced comprehensive socio-political reforms. This can be described as the renascent peace movement when the cold war was on its last phase. The reconciliation between the GDR protest movement FRG Greens and anti-missile counterpart, remained important for peace movement. Bundestag’s assurance to the new coalition government to establish a common socio-economic and monetary union significantly added new era of peace in

April 1990. Moreover, 'Two Plus Four Talks' did help to ensure peace in the United Germany and promoted the cause of Pan-European security.15

The outbreak of 'peace nationalism' in 1991, a part of history, was advocated by all political parties in Germany in the peace camps only. For many, the post-Cold War peace movement proved to be the alter ego of government. Federal president Richard von Weizsacker considered peace as the only option and responsibility offered by the German experience. Rudolf Augstein, the editor of newsmagazine, Der Spiegel, openly rejected the hypocritical demand of military during gulf war. Genuinely, Germany was reluctant to send its troops during Gulf War, despite NATO's approval, due to mass demonstration against allied action in many parts of Germany.16

During 1992-93, the role of peace movement remained uncertain due to influx of East German refugees. Bonn's hostile stand over the controversial legislation of giving secondary status to East Germans, Vietnamese and Polish refugees remained major threat to peace. Besides, government's domestic policy to discriminate the extremist nationalist sentiments in some pockets posed serious challenge to the Basic Law. This resulted in the formation of extremism and neo-Nazism. The systematic elimination and arrest of neo-Nazi protesters led nation-wide campaign and demonstration against the government.17

On 26 May 1993, some ten thousand protesters demonstrated in front of Bundestag

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15. 'Two Plus Four Talk' was unanimously talked by the 23-NATO and Warswa Pact countries in September 1990. This means, the FRG and the GDR, plus four countries, that had occurred to Germany after the World war II. These were France, the USSR, the UK and the USA. This principle laid down the rules of re-unification of Germany and the abandonment of the rights reserved by the four victorious powers, subsequent to Germany's capitulation. See ibid.p.1289. Also see David P. Calleo, "German Reunification" in Joel Krieger, ed., Oxford Companion to Politics of the World (New York, 1993), pp.351-52.

16. See Yearbook 1995, n.4, p.1790

17. Ibid.
office. Many of these were believed to be the earlier supporters of peace movement, whose demands were put aside by declaring illegal and undemocratic during 1984s. The sporadic demonstration throughout the year against government attitude on racism and foreign nationalism badly effected the normal routine of asylum seekers. The movement was supported by liberal workers, youths, engineers, steel workers, industrialists, students, women, and the greenpeace. In another notable example, a successful military initiative was viewed on 26 October 1995 when Bundeswehr organized a torchlight procession to mark the 40th Anniversary of the establishment of FRG.

In anti-nuclear protest German government had to face serious consequences over nuclear power issue in May 1996 and again in February 1997. Thousand of demonstrators marched against the disposal of nuclear garbages of the Gorleben site in the North of Germany. The movement was probably the first of its kind in post-Cold War era which forced federal authorities to change their policies towards industrial establishments and environmental hazards. More recently, the environmental groups disclosed the secret nuclear waste cargoes on 20 May 1998. Greenpeace spokesman Michael Muller described the event as 'Scandalous Affairs' which had diminished capacity in the government. The movement was the key issue in the parliamentary elections of 20 September 1998.

In the last federal elections held on 28 September 1998, Kohl's 16 years of conservative CDU-alliance received setbacks. Gerhard Schroeder's SPD got massive

victory. The SPD Green alliance is likely to fight against environmental dangers.\footnote{See, "Schroeder to form Coalitions with Greens", The Statesman (New Delhi), 29 September 1998. Also sec. the Editorial, "Bonn Voyage, Helmut", Times of India (New Delhi), 29 September 1998.}

Predictions about Greens' victory was also made by Green leader Joschka Fischer, who is now the Foreign Minister of Germany. The Youth Alternative Union Leader, Uwe Hildebrand had earlier stated: "It is a chance to have ecologically oriented energy policy in the government". The manifestoes were based to reduce pollutant devices like industries, road constructions and reduction of atomic energy.\footnote{Michael Adler, "German Greens Dress up for Leftist Alliance", Asian Age (New Dehli), 8 March 1998.}

Today, Germany is engaged to fight against all environmental dangers and takes serious discussions about disarmament issues. Besides, it also wants to reform the NATO policy of eastward expansion. Fischer, the Foreign Minister of Germany, wants to open options for Nuclear Policy. But the contemporary debate should be within the Greenpeace strategy. Germany is keen to present new reforms about the environmental peace in the forthcoming NATO's Fiftieth Anniversary in April 1999.\footnote{Sidharth Varadarajan, "NATO and No First Use: The Nuclear Debate in Germany", Times of India (Mumbai), 10 December 1998, p.10.}

To this end it will not be unfair to describe contemporary peace movement as multifacated in character. It appeared time and again to prevent any political and environmental threat. It is, however, more remarkable as how far peace movement is brought into the mainstream of public debate. The question of environmental security and defence, all were discussed during eighties by the peace movement. But, their demands were partly accepted. In post-Cold War German society, the ideas developed...
within the peace movement circle will definitely impart critical knowledge in the twenty first century.

STRUCTURE OF WEST GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENT

The structure of peace movement generally rested on group of dissidents, Marxists, Christians and environmentalists in Germany. It helped to promote their demands and popular support to put pressure on decision-making. They tacitly developed contacts with international peace organizations too and designed to provide a forum to propagate their views for progressive peace movement. Most of these groups appeared against authoritarian and anti-democratic policies. They took institutionalized character to challenge the monopoly of major powers. For many critics, peace movement's methods of disarmament and peace favoured Moscow Approach, while radical leftist supported Washington's sponsored disarmament programme. Thus, the peace movement became a "third way" party leaving the room of confrontation between anti-Americanism and anti-Sovietism.

With new political climate in Western Europe, Germany had to face unforeseen socio-economic consequences. This resulted in environmental related problems, seemingly uncontrolled urbanization, glaring economic inequality, maldistribution of resources, fiscal imbalance and managerial inefficiency. At the same time, ill-designed defence policy, rapid population growth, problems of immigration and refugees and common psychological disturbances posed series of problems. Moreover, highly bureaucratized economy, power hungry leadership and oscillating character of disarmament proved major blots for peaceful German society. It added frustration to
employed youths, unskilled labourers, syndicalists and professional workers. It was also a deeply rooted mistrust against government policy which robbed democracy, warned ecologists and attacked traditional homogeneous culture.

Paradoxically, the 'German peace model' appeared as a challenge to government policies. The utter disrespect and deep rooted problems improved organizational ability of peace movement. This abstract moral commitment of peace movement proved to be a mediator between government policy and popular public opinion. The group successfully managed to control the decisively strengthened military imperialism of Atlantic Alliance. Viewed in this context, the objectives of peace movement and federal policies are not fully hostile since many movement supporters work with government organization. Because of these relative co-incidence and alliance between peace movement and federal policies, civil rights democratic movement, and popular appeals of masses became integral to each other. Unlike Britain and France where peace movements have been criminalized and marginalized in Germany, the efforts of Greens played a crucial role in policy as well as social matters. In contemporary Germany it has assumed a global character. The forthcoming part of the chapter has highlighted the details of Greenpeace movement.

ALLIANCE OF PEACE MOVEMENT
IN GERMANY

Christianity, Religion and Peace Movement

Religion and peace, as the two animistic and virtuous forces, made German society a unique power for centuries. Since the establishment of Weimar constitution,
the Freedom of Faith and religious conscience have been protected by the Basic Law.

Historically, the efforts and practice of Christian protestant churches significantly helped in eliminating the Nazist forces. It survived modern Germany from many problems through bringing fulness of life for democracy and social law.

Historically, the spread of socio-religious reforms in Germany originated in 1517 A.D. The spirit of church was established in 1555 A.D. after the peace of Augsburg. However, the growing dissatisfaction in League system in 1609 A.D. triggered for over thirty years. Soon after, the difference between religion and politics became noticeable among the European states. The peace Treaty of Westphalia did help in ending the territorial disputes prevailing amongst Holland, Switzerland, France and Sweden. The Reich states were conferred sovereignty in religion and other fugitive matters. Bismark's authoritarian regime (1871-1890) successfully waged war against France. It resulted into the growing dissatisfaction in many Catholic Churches. The movement proved fatal to dismiss Bismark in 1890 by the young emperor Wilhelm II. This gave an opportunity for German bishops to strengthen their position through cohesion of Church authorities. Soon, it became the symbol of peace and unity.

During world war I, the allied powers blamed each other for military action. Germany's ambition 'peace through victory' and insult through the Treaty of Versailles left the room to confrontation. The ruthless attempt of Nazi forces brought terror and violence against all religious and social practices. The murder of political opponents, suppression of freedom and insult of public opinion, including writers, scientists, priests, artists and social workers prepared a sound background of socio-religious peace.

22. Hoffmann, n.3. pp 72-3. 23 Ibid., p.82-7.
movement against Nazism. Soon many Catholic Churches established the "Natural Law" while Protestant Churches established Universal Christian Peace Ethics. The high notion of churches about spirit, and inward Faith in God worked against the dogmaticism.

In Germany, the pacifism remained the important elements of peace since seventeenth century. Thomas Munzer, one of the contemporary peace thinkers and forerunner of modern liberal theology of Germany, believed in the individual christianity which supported non-violence and peace. Munzer also fought against anti-dogmatic and anti-establishment tendencies and condemned the use of any force against church and religion. The reprobation of "turn the other cheek" and Christ's sermon on the Mount have been the political prescription for centuries. Some regarded it as the individual interest of love, while others regarded as a Gospel truth. Later on, it was translated into a programme of public policy for the state. For many it speculated anti-nuclear campaign's slogans, proposals, statements and decisions. This tradition got tremendous support in Germany by the group of Free Churches, Mennonites and Anabaptism. In due course of time, Anabaptism was replaced by Mennonites due to internal conflicts between the two. This successfully established a new tradition of christian non-resistance.

During the post - World War II, the Evangelical Churches in Germany (EKD: Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland) - an alliance of 24 independent Lutheran, Reformed and Limited Churches played even greater role. Number of EKD groups demanded

23. Ibid., p.82-7.
26 EKD - A Church Alliance. For full form in German and English Trans. see Yearbook 1995, n.4, p.1307.
justice for the Jewish settlers in Israel, condemned German - American Alliance of 1956 and resisted NATO's influence on German soil. Many religious leaders feared about the division of Germany. Within the protestant churches with Trade Union Federation (DGB), the protest took place in early 1952 against remilitarization. The contemporary peace and anti-nuclear sentiments of religious crusade of the EKD took concrete steps. Its' support significantly helped in forming human chain of disarmament and led heated discussion in Bundestag. They also activated peace rallies and demonstrations. For example, on 10 October 1981 some 300,000 participated in peace rallies against INF and ss-20 Missiles deployment. Again on 10 June 1982, massive demonstration look place at Bonn during Reagan's visit to Europe. An estimated 150,000 also demonstrated in Humberg. Most of these supporters came from various EKD group of churches.

EKD, presently the largest organization of churches was bifurcated in 1969 when the churches of GDR declared independent. However, again after the merger of both Germanies the EKD became a common organization in June 1991. This definitely widened the scope of church related peace movement. Occasionally, the EKD organizations have aroused public consciousness through various statements and proposals of peace. "Living without weapons", "Create peace without weapons", "action reconciliation service for peace", "union of young Catholics", and "new testament as instruction for political behaviour", etc have been significantly important.

Since the unification of Germany, the church related peace organizations have increased network of coalition- peace services mainly Action Committee Service for


28. Ibid. p.80.
Peace, Protestant Students Perishes, Living without Armament, Initiative Churches from Below, Pax Christi, and Catholic Laymen's Church. These broadly include the social, ecological and peace movements, and have special status with number of independent public organizations. Approximately, 48 million people belong to Christian churches, out of which 10 million belong to Lutheran churches; 13.5 million to united churches; 4.48 million to Reformed churches; and 400,000 to small protestant churches outside the EKD. These churches have also broad network of hospitals, schools, nurseries, nursing homes, training centres, consulting and caring services and other public enterprises. The highest legislative body is the Synod which meet regularly to discuss various issues of public importance.

EKD—the most important functioning body of churches has network of independent organization. These are:

Evangelical Churches in Germany, Synod of the EKD, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany, Protestant Church of Union, Territorial and United Churches, Association of Protestant Reformed Churches, Meravian church, United Methodist church, and independent Evangelical Lutheran church. The network of major Roman catholic churches include: Bishop's Conference; Seventh Days Adventist Church, Greek Orthodox Metropology of Germany, Society of Friends (Quakers), and Russian Orthodox Church.

Today, both Germanies stand together and extend all cooperation for public importance and lay movements through convention. Charitable works are also carried out by the German Caritas Association for Catholic and the Diacenal Service by the

30. Ibid.
protestants. World Council of Churches and voluntary associations also extend valuable support. Interestingly, the Protestant's adventurism have collected abundance of emergency funds to meet the long term socio-economic development measures. Their debates about official political decisions have greater significance in contemporary peace movement.

**Greenpeace**

Historically, Greenpeace was founded in 1972 to promote ecology and campaigned against nuclear testing.\(^{31}\) Oftenly associated with narrow coalition of independent groups; the greens supported citizens' initiative and New Social Movement (NSM). Founded in 1980, the Green parties (Die Grunen) adopted the programmes which included: ecological issues, democratization, social justice, and comprehensive disarmament.\(^{32}\) FRG, one of the largest concentration of modern industries, has been among the most pollutant nations. The industrial related problems like, ozone layer depletion, acid rain, scarcity of food, air, water, and soil are pollutant devices. Hazardous chemicals and radiations always attracted the green-environmentalists.

In FRG, the Greens became conscious only after the 1973 oil crisis. Thereafter, the left-wing greenpeace demanded fundamental structural changes in government's industrial policies which fastly accelerated the environmental quality. The fact that the environmental related problems always ignored the hierarchial relationship of

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32 See *Yearbook 1995*, n. 4, p. 1304.
exploitation or power. Apply to this logic, ecology and nuclear controversies should be based only on social norms. Hence, the demand of just social order for establishing a value based democracy got credible public support. Soon, environmental legislation got fresh impetus in all parliamentary elections. With the changing political climate, however, many greens shifted to NGO's or modified their programmes. This was clearly evident in 1994 elections when many greens were reluctant for socio-environmental reformation. Joschka Fischer, a prominent greenpeace thinker, agreed about the possible split of greenpeace over the issue of German peacekeeping in Bosnia. The dichotomy between leftist greens and pacifist greens has marked a significant shift in the complexion of Germany's post-Cold War politics. Politically, the Greens entered in coalition with SPD-CDU in 1985. Soon, they formed governments in Hesse (1985-87), Berlin (1989-90), Lower Saxony and Saxony Anhalt (1990-90), Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and North Rhine Westphalia. In various assembly elections the Greens got seats in Federal States.

With the changes of socio-political policies, the Greens were alternatively named as 'new politics' 'Left Libertarian parties', 'conservative leftist' and 'social democratic'. Soon they strengthened the status of environment quality and demanded to implement the old and traditional federal policy and industrial and commercial establishment. They also realized the need to reconcile the economic progress and the


34. See "The Greening NATO", Joschka's Interview with the New Perspective Quarterly (Los Angeles), vol.13, winter 1996, p.52.

35. For details of seats and election dates in various federal council elections, see Yearbook 1995, n.4, pp.1302-1304.
supply state-of-the-art-technology to end environmental pollution. It also included the principles of justice, equality, unilateral disarmament and women's right.

Since 1970s, the environment related economic programme has gained momentum, despite government's marginal negligence. Schmidt's first energy programme, based on nuclear power, was magical penacea for economic property. By 1979, the concept of 'Eco-peace' associated with ecology and environment movement, gained constitutional popularity. In January 1980 it started developing a unique 'post industrial' or 'new policy' measures, which also included the opposition to nuclear weapons and NATO's double track decision. By 1982, Greens became major political factor. They openly criticized and intervened in the affairs of working SPD alliance. With only six to seven percent share, the party became popular and challenged Bonn's policy in defence matters, more vigorously through radical democratic means.36

In March 1983 elections, Greens secured 27 seats in Bundestag, although remained a loose confederation of pro-ecology, with poor coherent ideology. But, outside the assembly, Greens played remarkable role at the head of a bourgeosing peace movement against nuclear and industrial policies. By organizing number of peace marches, Greens opened wider prospects for future. Greens' approach 'half party, half movement' received unprecedented response from the socialist world.

Federal Association of Citizens Initiatives, Federal Ministry for Environment protection, and Natural Conservation and Reactor Safety have also provided framework for environmental legislation. The ruling alliance has also extended major support, after the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986, when the Green activists met violent clashes at

several nuclear construction sites. In 1990 elections, the party drew support from the Alliance-90 to enter in Bundestag. Probably, it was the product of civil rights movement of earlier years. However, the room of suspicion was left between working alliance and Alliance-90 after German unification. Kohl’s efforts for virtually bulldozing and ending the four-decades long socialist isolation opened fresh debate about the status of Greens. In general election (16 October 1994) Kohl’s coalition got setback, while the Greens strengthened its position and captured 48 seats. The victory marked a new era of coalition and was predicted to become the kingmaker of Germany’s future. For many years they relished their role as joker in German politics which is often described as provocative, entertaining and pragmatic. Many believed something immoral in seeking power, and with the end of Cold War, Greens ideology also changed. They are now more hungry for power but continue to affirm support from environmentalists.

Today, the Green parties, on active coalition of SPD, seem to committed to provide entente with EU members. Besides, the alliance of red-Greens continue to earn respectable position through promotion of nationalism, employment and socio-environmental unity. Chancellor Gerhard Shroeder, a Euro-enthusiast, stands for new globalization process. It seems that the future of Germany will be painted by Green environmentalism.


Campaigns and Activities of Peace Movement

Historically, the peace movement started in 1950 as a reaction to civil disobedience by certain depressed groups. Their slogans, "count me out" and "count us out" proved to be the source of inspiration and enlightenment. After 1958, the defence policy became a major source of ideological polarization, and brought series of public protests. In 1960 at the time of Easter March, the "Appeal Phase" and "Demonstration Phase" Protests became more popular. The APO became the Hallmark and mobilized major segments of university students and trade unions. This groups formed and "opinion-poll committee" under the guidance of neutralists, pacifists and communists. After the US intervention in Vietnam, the peace movement was popularized through *Kampagne Fur Demokratie und Abrustung* (The Campaign for Democracy and Disarmament) in 1968. The major peace campaigners, Robert Jungk, Herr and Frau Muller effectively mobilized Anti-nuclear Energy Movement. It was actively supported by German Students Association and Citizens' Initiatives.

The Peace movements of 1980 have been greatly characterized by ideological purity. The Groups comprising writers, journalists and scholars organized series of protests against NATO in Hamburg, Bonn and Berlin. It urged for "German-German Dialogue" and condemned Reagan's SDI policy and, as a reaction to star war policy and NATO dealing when some 25,000 demonstrated in April 1981. A Student rally in May 1981 attracted for *Bafog* (Student loans and grants) and not bombs. Another, 20,000


42. Ibid. p.221-22.
staged 'March Against Atomic Weapons' in Frankfurt in May 1981. More than 30 organizations also consolidated 'Collective Forum' in Hamburg and Hanover. Krefeld Appeal collected two million signature in June 1981 and collectively urged for referendum on disarmament. Again in September 1981, some 50,000 protested against the visits of US secretary of State General Haug in Berlin. On 10 October 1981, in a major peace demonstration, some 300,000 people demonstrated in Bonn against the modernization of NATO. These protest movement received dramatic support even from neighboring states when 400,000 demonstrated in Amsterdam (November 1981); 500,000 in Bonn (December 1981); 200,000 in Paris and 500,000 in New York (June 1982); and 200,000 at Hannover (June 1982). The 'Action week' (15-21 October 1983) has special significance for peace movement. Probably, one of the biggest demonstration took place in October 1983 when some 300,000 people participated in 1,000 separate rallies at Hamburg, Bonn and Stuttgart. This helped in forming a 'Human Chain Linkage' of over 150,000 people. Media also reported violent action which aimed at destroying government buildings, offices, damaging government vehicles and consigning defence Krefeld appeal. Thus, the peace movement activists also adopted violent and civil disobedient methods. Some of them remained active even during recent years.

Many critics of CDU and SPD oftenly treated peace activists as rivals. Backbench protest and grassroots activism was generally designed against the party hierarchy or tradition. Constant fear and suspicion also compelled many Greenpeace supporters to

refuse parliamentary coalition to achieve their goals. Thus, mass demonstration to boycott government laws became the hallmark of peace movement.

By 1990, peace movement became weak. The democratic triumph over socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union revived German peace movement policies. Probably, the Gulf war in early 1991 proved highly provocative in activating public opinion. However, the ideological division of peace movement distorted the traditional structure of peace movement. Critiques like Hans Magnum Enzegenberger, Wolf Biermann, Jurgen Habermann and Peter Schneider publicly criticized the role of peace movement. The birth of 'Peace Nationalism' in 1991, as a reaction to Gulf war and New NATO policies, was definitely an intellectual proof which helped to unify both Germanies. At the time of German unification, some East German protesters like Gottfried Forck enthusiastically applied: "We are people against war" and "Germany United against war".

Mobilization and Escalation Strategy of Peace Movement in West Germany

The West German peace movement has received adequate attention during its modernization peak in 1980s. However, its traditional roots go back to 1950. But the movement became active only in 1970s. Number of peace supporters like Rupp, Bure, Mushabin, Rascke, Inglehart and Hebermann revived their demands through direct


46. Ibid. p.460.
action, non-violent and civil disobedience means. Their demands were supported by ecologists, environmentalists, youths, trade unionists and professionals. Their demands were consolidated through solidarity, imprisonment, direct confrontation, gherao resolutions, petitions, destruction of defence properties, occupation of government offices, political assaults, coercion, and conviction. Some of them used rational, sentimental, counter-reactionary and violent methods. They also used alternatives to resist, resort and physical force without harming personal life and legal proceedings. The various activities of mobilizing peace movement in Germany can be briefly attributed as follows:

Peace movement developed public consciousness against the dangerous consequences of arms race and environmental hazards to attract government's attention. Their methods broadly include; audio-visual presentation, video cassettes, tape recordings, exhibitions, films, theatre shows, publication of images, memories and use of pamphlets. Other means of protests include enlightenment of public awareness through means of judgement, scholarship, literate and general information for profound and scholastic appeals. They also use peaceful petitions, personal and collective declarations against party policies, referendums, opinion surveys, promulgation of resolutions, detections, disclosures and revelations. Number of surveys have also shown that the German reject the forcible means of protest. These methods have proved significantly vulnerable to government's policies towards general armament.

Peace movement protesters also cover the wider spectrum of self-demonstration and are materialized in the forms of writings, reportings, interpreting local peace groups,

distributing cards, bumper stickers, use of T-Shirts, Jewellery with peace motifs, and
sports events. It also include: concerts, peace show, making small groups of pilgrims,
peace acting and dramas on public places, sky writings through balloons and use of
graphites. They also support soft protestors like women's marches, candlelight, vigils,
conducting silence crowd, organizing meetings during recess, and fasting for life. 48

The protesters have also adopted to generate security facilitating new modernized
means. These comprise: distribution of peace literature, booklets, features, articles and
books, map and design of nuclear sites and facilities, conduct of public debates and
discussions. 49 More modernized means, such as use of computer floppies, CD's, modem,
multimedia, e-mail, fax, internet, film show and slides, broadcasting radio and TV plays
are also used.

Peace movements have also been mobilized through personal contacts,
engagements, ceremonies and interaction with various communities. Some have
suggested for peace counseling exchange of awards through distribution of medals and
degrees, scholarships, fellowships, studentship and interstate exchange programmes,
while others support for creating jobs for those who are declined to join military
services, government jobs and bureaucratic policy. They create 'human chains' and
'human stars' 'die-ins', 'sit ins' and 'signing personal peace treaties'. 50

Some exponents have stressed for 'institutionalizations routine' as an integral
part of peace movement through professional works while others like teachers, educators
and religious groups accept peace a necessity. Some favour in organizing peace weeks,

48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p.147.
50. Ibid., p.148.
Many peace protestors suggest use of radical, violent and legal forms of non-cooperation. Some activists have also boycott of military parades, political festivals, honorary celebrations and obliteration of newspapers, journals, magazines and press clippings. Some exponents have supported the activities like consumer boycott, purchase war toys, cloths, shoes, printed literature and circulation of defence propaganda. Some radical leftist, especially the greens, want to highlight government intentions through delaying policy and defence matters of misinterpreted decisions.52

Many contemporary peace researchers have considered Gandhian model of 'Civil Disobedience' as the only viable solution against German participation in the NATO, Bosnia- Herzegovina and Gulf war. Since 1980s, the model has proved effective. The issues related to theft or destruction of defence papers, wearing masks in violation of demonstration or assembly laws, proper information on military education, prepare women against joining military services, illegal strikes in the defence and public sectors, denial to pay religious taxes and rejection of accepting orders of military personnel. Sometimes, they apply physical force to destroy or sabotage military stations or controlling stations for civilian defence.

Unfortunately, however, most of these appeals have been limited, covering only small section of society. Therefore, it is suggested to provide for a perpetual exchange of information and shared experiences. These can be derived from functionally heterogeneous peace groups. In recent years, the independent peace groups of both

51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., p.149.
Germanies have strengthened Greenpeace movement. The wider mechanism and their well planned strategies for the proper monitoring facilities can provide bases for intellectual and deeply rooted peace movement.

**PEACE RESEARCH IN GERMANY**

Since 1950s, there have been extensive academic works on the study of peace research and a drive towards professionalization of peace movement in West Germany. This significantly helped in establishing communication of peace research institutes with a view to promote interdisciplinary study. Most peace institutes are working independently, which covers the private, public national and international problems of various character.

As compared to Britain, Norway, the Netherlands, and the US, peace research in the FRG started late. Its intellectual foundation was promoted by Bertha von Suttner and Alfred Fried who successfully established German peace Society-United War Resister (DGF-VK : Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft - Vereinigte Kriegsdien tgegner). DGF supported the principles of justice, equality and human rights. Its major supporters Ludwing Quidder and Carl Von Ossientzky worked with full spirit for the progress of peaceful society and actively participated in the Easter Peace Marches. During 1970-1985 it was the largest peace research institute in Germany and covered the networks. Its principle activities since 1970s included:

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i. International Disarmament Relay Helsinki to Belgrade (1977);

ii. rally "project the basic right of conscientious objection" (1978);

iii. promotion of peace and ecological movements (1979-80);

iv. Youth against military services (1980 and 1983);

v. peace Rally Against Nuclear Missiles (1981); and

vi. campaign for nuclear weapons free cities and communities (1982-84).

The pioneering peace research was carried out by Institute of International Law (1918) at University of kiel. As an intergovernmental organizations, it worked in coordination with UNO, EC and UN Depository Literary. Its active peace researchers J.Del Bruck, F. Fiedler and W.A. Kewening have promoted the international law, peaceful diplomacy and new security system. Their publication of research journals, monographs and book have been the authentic sources of peace research. The German Society for Foreign Affairs (Bonn), was established in 1955. It is believed to be a significant step in peace research.


A leading step in peace research was taken by the University of Bonn which established a permanent cell on the Seminar for Political Science in 1959, under the


guardianship of K.D. Bracher and H.A. Jacobson. The institute also coordinated with the German Political Science Association (1951) at Darmstadt, and Goethe Institute, Munich (1951). These broadly covered peace and research activities, training, documentation and publication. Federal Institute for Russian, East European and International Studies at Lindenbarnstr (1961), the Society for Social and Economic History, Heidelberg (1961) the Foundation for Science and Politics, Research Institute for International Politics and Security, Isartal (1962), also did pioneering job in the field of peace research.57

These organizations induced new possibilities in peace research. The government too engendered interest in social and scientific research. The establishment of Society for the Advancement of Research on Peace and the Future (1964) did excellent job in documentation and research promotion on the futurology.58 It also got financial and humanitarian assistance from the government. The federal decision to the "Foundation of Science and Politics" was specifically created to carry independent research.59

The continuing peace research opened bright prospects. Three more institutes viz., the African Political Research Unit (1967), Department of Political Science, University of Konstanz (1968), and the Anti-Military Information (1968) and by German Society for peace and Conflict Research (1978) did concrete job in publishing monographs and progress report on various national and international problems.60

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57. For details, see Ibid., pp.94-100.
59. Ibid, p.84.
60. Ibid, pp. 94-95.
In 1970s, the study Groups for Peace and Conflict Research (AKF: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Konflikt und Friedensforschung), Bonn, and Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt developed new philosophy of peace. Soon, it got impetus under Friedrich Neumann Foundation to discuss "strategically planned peace movement". The AKF’s active alliance, the Evangelical Study Association aroused greater awareness in Universities, colleges and independent institutes. Later on, the alliance of AKF proved as the coordinating body for various peace movements. It also worked with German Society for the Study of History and Religion, Bonn; and International Peace Research Association (IRPA), USA. Because of these, the Bonn government adopted the policy of détente to endorse arms control. The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy based on civilian peace research was significantly strengthened by Ostpolitik. It urged for the "practice of small steps" as the only achievement of peace.

With these dramatic changes, peace research became a multidisciplinary for both-government as well as private institutes. Soon, new schools of thought were established. Scholars like Karl Kaider, Carl Friedrich, Rainer Rilling, Joachim, Wolfgang von Daele, Peter Weingart, Hermann Strasser, Karin B. Knorr and Gerhard Stoltenberg developed new ethics of peace research. Most of these peace researchers proposed different philosophy of peace by coordinating the multi-disciplinary ideas from END, CND, Pugwash, IKV, SIPRI, IPRA and PRIO.

The creation of German Society for Peace and Conflict (DGFK: Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Friedens-und Konfliktfors Chung) was instituted by federal chancellor and the SPD supporter, Gustav Heinemann in 1970. It was a major source of peace

61. Mushabin, n.47, p.149.

62. Arend, n.58, p.86.
research which coordinated with the Association of German Scientists and the German Peace Community (DGFK) which significantly helped in promoting peace research.63 Besides, Max Planck Institute on the Preconditions of Human Life of Modern World (1970) and Hussain Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research (1970) also helped in mobilizing new ostpolitik. It was incorporated with socio-economic tradition during the phase of détente. Because of pressing demands and growing international problems, the DGFK became the most popular and highly institutionalized symbol of federal peace research. It renowned peace researcher, Carl Von Ossietzky, actively supported the peace weeks, youth weeks, peace services and peace fellowships during 1980s. However, unlike SIPRI, PRIO and IPRA; it was lacking international standard. Despite these, it significantly influenced the Council of the German Peace Researchers. Most of its researchers were the nominated members of scientists, social scientists, green environmentalists and legislative authorities who sincerely took interest in the "Commission for Peace and Conflict Research". Thus, the political and administrative peace groups were also incorporated in private peace research institutions. The Federal Ministry of Research and Technology (1973), also supported the "preventive peace research". It was based on non violent cooperation in international relations.64 The formation of the Conference of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities (1973) extended invaluable support for various peace research. It frequently organized memorial lectures, symposia and communication network.

The formation of Defence Politics Study Group (1974) by U. Ulbrecht actively worked in alliance with DGFK and provided extensive ground for new peace research. It

63. Ibid, p.87.
64. Ibid, p.88.
developed contacts with UNO, UNESCO and German Working Groups of Planning and Disarmament.\textsuperscript{65}

The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy and Policy and Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), also remained active between 1983 to 1987. Kohl Government's acceptance of Mutual and Balanced Education in Central Europe 1984, Four Continental Peace Initiative (1984), Geneva talks on SDI, (1985), Reagan-Gorbachav summit, (1985), Reykjavin peace summit (1986), and the INF peace talks (1987) have been helpful for ongoing European security. The establishment of Information Unit Peace Research in 1984 also incorporated various ideas of peace and helped Bonn government in substantiating and concretizing disarmament policies. It also coordinated with German Peace Community which was supported by the church leaders, trade unions and professional organizations, and provided base for peace research in the academic institutes. Future efforts are on. How far these institutes activate and materialize policies, are yet to be seen through further research on peace movements in Germany.

Presently, there are more than two hundred peace research institutes in German. Most of them are working independently and are funded by NGOs. Prominent among them are:\textsuperscript{66}

2. Centre on Transatlantic Foreign and Security Policy at Free University Berlin.
4. German Armed Forces Institute for Social Research, Munich.

\textsuperscript{65} Arcand, n.58. p.91.

\textsuperscript{66} For details see, \textit{UNIDIR Reportory of Disarmament Research 1990} (New York:UNO,1990). 120
International Society for Human Rights, Frankfurt.

Information Unit Peace Research, Bonn.

Institute of Political Science, Christian, Albrechts, University, Kiel.

Institute of Security Studies, Kiel.

Institute of Theoretical Physics, Heidelberg.

Peace Research and European Security Studies, Mosabach.

Peace Research Unit, Frankfurt.

Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research, Heidelberg.

Research Institute for Peace Policy, Starnberg.

MAJOR AREAS OF PEACE RESEARCH

Questions of European Integration

Since the very beginning, German national policy viewed European unity as the fundamental principle. The maintenance of collective security through NATO and enhancement of cooperation have been the architects of Germany's future.67

The issues of European integration seems to be justified by Germany on three grounds: i. Germany as an economic giant to expand market through multilateral agreements; ii. Germany's policy of arms reduction and sole dependence on NATO security; and iii. the historical experiences during Nazi regimes. These issue were addressed by the peace movement in eighties while the greenpeace are still struggling for the environmental and social securities. Bundestag is taking deep interest in the integration process of Europe and Germany has been a leading member of OECD (1961), EC(1967), G-7(1970), and Masstricht Treaty (1991). The membership has proved one of

the key factors to achieve unity, peace and freedom. Germany supports decision-making
to strengthen European identity and broaden the basis of Transatlantic Alliance. During
post - Cold War, the Maastricht Treaty has been most successful intergovernmental
attempt for common security, defence, domestic, judicial and social union.

**Defence and NATO Security**

The defence policy of Germany has marked the dramatic shift during the post cold
period. Under the Treaty of conventional forces in Europe 1990, the Armed Forces
(Bundeswehr) has dramatically reduced its arms strength from 490,000 (1990) to
347,100 (August 1997).\(^{68}\) Military expenditure has been reduce from $42,320 million
(1990) to 31,258 million (1994).\(^ {69}\) The Defence expenditure for 1998 was projected at
DM 46,700 m.\(^ {70}\) Bundeswehr, a purely defensive, take security precautions and exercise
sovereign power through the conduct of multilateral agreements, especially the NATO
members. Besides, German security stresses over the construction of European House.
This enables European Family of Nations to live together. The common security has
proved the longest road to peace.\(^ {71}\) Germany's support to NATO needs to be mention in a
democratic manner. The upcoming NATO summit in Washington DC, on 24-25 April
1999 is likely to provide new opportunity to German security. Its commitment in the


\(^{69}\) *SIPRI Yearbook* 1995 (New York, 1995), Table 12A.2, p.440.

\(^{70}\) *Yearbook* 1998, n.68, p.145.

\(^{71}\) Helmut Kohl, "German Security on the Threshold of the 21st century, *Aussen Politik*, vol. 49,
revised scheme of NATO. This will explore new areas of peace in future.

**Public Opinion**

Probably, the most interesting primary area of peace research has been sound public opinion in Germany. Most peace rallies in seventies and eighties have been gathered through genuine empirical analysis on public opinion. Article 5 of the Basic Law guarantees the freedom of public opinion and press which plays a greater role against the industrial, capitalist and bureaucratic impulses. Opinion poll gathered massive information after the double track decision which truly reflected the sentiments of German culture.

The public opinion surveys are carried out by number of news agencies, free press and private institutions. The important news papers, *Bild* (Hamburg), *Die Welt* (Bonn), *Bie Tageszeitung* (Berlin), and *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg) regularly publish surveys on government policies nuclear energy, and common economic and political problems. Important newsagencies, Protestant Press Service and Catholic News Agency, are actively engaged in conducting various information.

The most interesting opinion survey was conducted during Gulf war. The US support with allies resulted in massive and spontaneous nationwide peace rallies. This

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72. Ibid.

73. For list of German newspaper, see Hoffmann. n.3, pp.327.

74. For details, see Anson Robinbach, "German Intellectuals and the Gulf War". *Dissent* (New York), vol.38, Fall 1991, pp.459-61.
gave the birth of nationalist peace movement, a modified version of earlier peace movement.

The massive resurgence of peace nationals from green ecologists left wing during post Cold War remains a heated issue. Some criticized the peace movement for adopting a nationalist or neo-nazist stand. The rift, therefore, assumes a paramount important in contemporary peace research. Some blamed the US monopoly over German-NATO relations, while others rejected politically motivated Basic Law. Some condemned the US victory for "new world order" and domination over Third World since the US has emerged as an unchallenging leader of unipolar world.

FUTURE PROSPECTS OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

Prospects of unofficial and independent peace movement in present day Germany cannot be answered in easy language. Rather, it it needs a great sociological studies to determine the official attitudes and actions on these issues. Despite being a great political reality, peace movement is also a great social force which cannot be described simply a outdated phenomenon. It is deeply rooted since generations which have made remarkable power for the transmission of their success. It is not simply a traditional concepts, rather a paradigm which covers a broader areas of political liberalism, anti-dogmatism and environmentalism. And, despite small group of supporters, it remains a courageous action of specific citizens. Some of them, especially the Greens, have become the pillars of United Germany. But the shades of pessimism and radical rejection of reality has generated dissent movement which are traditionally believed to be the works of peace
movement. Their rejection of defence modernism has endangered a mood who sees defence policy and government's pro-NATO temptation the reflection of all these are morally wrong, socially unjustified and culturally unacceptable. This visible conflict between popular policy and state policy results in unwelcome publicis's that might accuse from continued tolerance of a modicum of independent peace activism. For many, unofficial peace policies are unwanted and do not pose any threat or serious challenge to the ruling party and government. Interestingly, many of the former peace supporters stand divided on the issues of policy, strategy and ideology today. This sad reflection is evident from Greens who have already divided between pro-NATO and pro-American. Some anti-peace Greens are responsible for limiting the domestic appeal of peace movement by isolating it more radical while others are attempting to absorb or integrate as many other elements into the official peace movement as possible. But their crackdown, harsh punishment and limited public opinion are likely to make peace movement more progressive against the US monopoly in NATO and continue to pose threat to NATO alliances. Moreover, anti-nuclear peace movement has been a tangible expression of an identity crisis among the German youths and intellectuals who do not want to turn the pages of history. They want to establish peaceful German society, free from violence and terror. Hence, they favour non-deterrent, neutral and community based society. Their alienation from false security, environmental degradation and social unrest will definitely constitute an unmanageable challenge to pro-German attitude towards NATO and the US security dilemma. The anti-nuclear attitude, despite preliminary skirmish, will continue to earn interest from social groups. Thus, the scope of peace movement in coming decades seem to be bright in the light of following arguments.
i. German's reliance and dependence of NATO or its own defence personnel is likely to reduce or change dramatically, and the military strength of NATO through NACC might lead to a new era of confrontation.

ii. The US leadership-monopoly and absurdity has started irritating to German policy makers.

iii. Many East German peace forces and organizations are likely to strengthen the peace movement of United Germany.

iv. Public opinion is fastly changing after the formation of new European security and integration which will dramatically reduce the prospects of German's arms race policy.

v. Virtual disappearance of peace movements do not means its end. If it re-appears, it will be stronger and more logical.

vi. Many peace movement supporters have changed their stand from peace to anti-nuclear stand. This is because of mimic, false tendency, outgrowth and reluctance. It does not mean that they are separate entities. Their destruction or death means the death or setbacks to German culture which will not be tolerated anymore.

vii. The promises of Green environmentalists to introduce a clean and pollution-free Germany in every respect is getting fresh impetus. People have become over conscious about these dangers. Moreover, the remarkable coincidence of energy crisis, economic recession and ecological imbalance made nuclear plants crucial in the struggle over the future of society. Industrial modernization also cuts across conventional group boundaries which are very much justified.

viii. Germany's ever increasing role of multilateralism is likely to provide a mechanism of avoiding the development of distinct national security interest. Ironically, however, the multilateral policy is increasing becoming associated with military commitment. Germany's harsh political reluctance and public aversion on such issues is praiseworthy.

ix. The Post-Cold war Germany is urging to end the constant arms race in Third World which they consider as a 'dangerous play with fire'. At the same time, the export of military hardwares to developing world needs to be outlawed.
x. All German leaders have stressed and revived the *ostpolitik* to end economic and politics divisions in Europe. This has greatly helped to limit the effects of nuclear deterrence. The approach has been helpful in making nuclear policies more transparent.

xi. In the absence of resurgence strategic threat Germany is likely to act as a 'civilian power'.

xii. German security is no more political weather it is confining to prevent social, economic, ecological, demographic and technological dangers. It will definitely enhance role of peace-makers for neighboring states. Germany is also reluctant to adopt the policy of military aggrandizement in near future.

xiii. Perhaps, Gorbachev's policy of 'reasonable sufficiency' towards Soviet-German security, which he had urged in 1991, opened the new peace dialogue between them. Moreover, the replacement of Soviet's defensive doctrine found a suitable place in disarmament and peace.

**Appraisal:**

West German peace movements as the most dynamic process have overwhelmingly transformed the political landscape of Europe. The issue has been a pivotal cause in many national and international forums. Peace movement featured in fifties has undergone many ebbs and flows which is greatly characterized by the protest movement. In seventies, the movement produced anti-nuclear elements and developed close interaction with the green-environmentalists.

In contrast to more doctrinaire socialist orientation as addressed by many West European German Counterparts, Germany developed a distinct peace movement which was directly derived from German Society. The double track decision of NATO fuelled German public opinion to mobilize new consciousness to take direct action against any kind of missile deployment. The comprehensive list of protest action through grass-roots
support maximized the opportunity to identify the utility of peace movement. Ironically, the movement remained partly successful in blocking the tradition of theatre nuclear umbrella. Nevertheless, the peace movement significantly contributed new democratization process throughout the cold war era. Had there not been such protests, German soil would have been converted into a nuclear theatre.

The peace movement renewed influence due to public process and the role of extraparliamentary groups. Even in post-Cold War such groups have direct voice in contemporary West European security matters while the cultural norms and dynamic electoral matter of peace movement helped to constrain government's policy options. The discussion of public-good mood quality in peace movement, however, remains suggestive. Subsequent research on such issues, especially in France, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands, will be more logical to explore new possibilities in understanding the complicated pattern of contemporary peace movement.