CHAPTER IV

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE, SWEDEN,
NORWAY AND THE NETHERLANDS
PEACE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

HISTORY OF PACIFISM

The history of peace movement is very much embodied in the ideology of Pacifism which stands for the refusal of war. However, its contemporary tenets have acquired considerable reformed thrust. Its intellectual foundation is deeply rooted in the historical and academic writings of Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu who left remarkable impression on French society. The gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity have shrined the value of popular sovereignty. Later on these became the base of 'Idealistic Pacifism'. Soon the pacifist school of thought was broadly interpreted in the French Revolution of (1789). The emergence of Napoleon in 1799 brought many changes. He implemented 'code Napoleon' (Code of Napoleon) which became the basis of French law. Soon the pan European culture was carved out gave the birth of strong nationalism.¹

The emergence of Pan-European culture in 1812 was the first sign of pacifism in France.² The establishment of Society of the Moral Christian in 1823 was a great success to peace. But France experienced political upheaval throughout the nineteenth century. Due to monarchial and revolutionary crisis, the constitutional choice remained the toughest job until the formation of Third Republic which ended in 1871 helped to


establish a liberal Republic coalition in France. These significant victories were achieved only after the World Peace Congress (1849), French Society of Peace (1872), French Society for the Arbitration Within the Nations (1888), and International Congress of the French peace (1878). Since then, the efforts continued to develop peace institutions. The Society for Peace, Family and War (1886), International League for Women for the General Disarmament (1887), and the Association of War and the Peace (1888), were established during the succession of Third Republic. The support also came from the liberal republicans and Royalists which were duly recognized by the Paris Commune. The emergence of socialist peace movement of the middle class republicans, extremists and anarchists were the new inspirations. But the growing ideological polarization between National Assembly and the commune led significant consequences for generations. This weakened the root of radicalism when Marxist principles gained momentum. The formation of Labour Party (1876) by Jules Guesae promoted socialism. In 1893 general elections, the labour socialist secured fifty percent seats in the Chambers of Deputies. The Social Catholic of the Alliance of the Learned Persons in the Philanthropist (1892), and the Union of the International Woman for the Peace (1896) supported the Judo-Christian thoughts. These were based on the philosophy of enlightenment and love.

In the beginning of twentieth century, French socialist-pacifism underwent dramatic changes during the peak of Fascism. The public opinion got divided between pro and anti-leftist while considering disarmament as a key to future peace. Hence, they

3. Hayes J.H. Carlton, Contemporary Europe since 1870 (Delhi, 1981), pp. 81-5
4. Ibid., p.102.
Pax-Christ with the efforts of International Catholic Peace Movement, the tremendous support was given to peace process. In 1923, the Justice and Peace Commission, the International Movement of Reconciliation and the Council of English Youth and Christians Workers collectively worked to promote peace. Besides, the anti-militarist forces in Germany, Italy, Spain and France became active for maintaining common security in Europe. However, the role of rearmament group supported by Leon Blum and anti-militarist Paul Faure brought some confrontation. The emergence of pacifism under United Front provisional rule strengthened the philosophy of liberalism and peace in 1944. The formation of UNO and growing cold war politics divided the socialists from capitalists. The threat from Germany also became the main concern for French security. However, Socialism continued to be the main source of inspiration in France due to strong pacifist tendencies. Soviet Union's early call for "general and complete disarmament" and combating "American imperialism", supported the call of socialist pacifism. Sustainable efforts came from movement de la Paix (the movement for the peace) which was formed in 1949. The inspiration also came from the World Peace Council (1949), and the French Institute of Polemology (1945). Later on, the movement for peace was coordinated with the Stockholm Appeal (1950) became the symbol of pacifism. The movements' four prominent members: Jacques Denis, Michel Laugignon, Bernard Lacobe and Bernard Bourouresque co-opted with social workers, trade union leaders, progressive Christians and revolutionaries. Those 'soldiers for peace urged for

termination of arms race, fortification of détente, and promotion of national liberation and economic order. 6

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE, PACIFISM AND PEACE IN FRANCE


The great political genius Gaulle never believed in political defeat. Disagreed with Churchill's policy of parliamentary democracy, he earnestly urged for presidential democracy. It was based on the philosophy of natural law and executive power. 7 The Fourth Republic (1946), provided weak law and suffered from factional bargaining and renewed political instability. Soon after the formation of executive authority he passed new law into the hands of civil service. It implemented well planned economic policy. France became a member of WEU in 1954 which helped to promote collective self reliance with EC. 8

The Fourth Republic ended in 1958 after the revolt in Algeria where the French army had to face serious consequences. But the situation soon got normalized. May 1958, the constitution of Fifth Republic was formed when Gaulle returned to power.


Soon the public opinion was mobilized against the US interest in the internal matters. Gaulle gradually evolved new political strategy to enhance French defence power to free his country from any external power. The initiative of *force de frappe* (the deterrence force) was initiated in 1964 with support of independent nuclear policy. It rejected all the regional and international alliances.  

In 1966, Gaulle's dramatic decision to reduce French dependence on NATO brought surprising victory of socialist-pacifism. By no means, it was supported by majority of French people. But many thought it a grave error of French policy to adopt nuclear supremacy. During that crucial time when disarmament was the real imperative, France suffered from severe criticism from many West European counterparts. Therefore, many atlanticists found Gaullism as an uncomfortable exercise. Its' efforts to play a leading role with its Western Alliance to 'join the big boys' proved a threat to bipolar Europe. Gaulle's *force de frappe* admitted so-called 'depoliticized' defence policy. It progressively modified the capitalist democracy in Western Europe. The decision brought widespread dissatisfaction among the US-motivated power allies especially the NATO. These changes, however, favoured to the growing peace and a anti-nuclear movement in France. Characteristically, Gaulle era was marked by rapid centralization of power, censured media, closely-knit party and state controlled socialist economy. The radical group of peace movement, however, disliked the policy. This resulted in series and demonstration by the students and the workers, popularly known as 'May Events-1968'. The movement was designed to promote freedom, cry for the moral code of conduct and

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action against atrocities.\textsuperscript{10} But Gaulle's tactful dealings with unrest masses through improved law and order changed public mood. In 1968 general elections, Gaulle received landslide victory through support of Union of Democrats for the Republic (UDR).\textsuperscript{11} His successor George J. Pompidous in general continued his predecessor's policies who personally helped in the negotiations of Britain's entry in EC which Gaulle had strongly objected. Even today Gaulle’s opinions about rational heritage and confederation of sovereign states, pursuit for common policies and non-alignment have proved greater inspiration to world politics.


Gaullism left remarkable impression on French public opinion in four ways: Firstly, the domination of US in Western Europe, particularly NATO, was always viewed as uncomfortable. France pursued Gaullist approach to dismantle the Yalta conference of 1945 when the secret understanding reached between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt.\textsuperscript{12} Secondly, France always believed in unilateral security. Thirdly, France should remain outside the integrated military command of NATO. Finally, France viewed multipolar Europe rather than bio-polar or unipolar.

These strategies helped President Giscard to continue Gaulle's policy of peace and disarmament. Gaulle's UDR proved an effective mechanism when President Nixon

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Caroline Wells, "The Snowballing May Revolution", *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), 17 May 1998.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Derbyshire, n.1, p.172-73.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} For details of Yalta Conference, see M.G.Gupta *Encyclopedia of Contemporary International Relations* (Agra,1987), vol.2, p.440.
\end{itemize}
initiated détente to end ideological confrontations. It was promoted through peaceful negotiations at the wake of Cold War and to reject the errors of Vietnam syndrome. The long term detonate strategy was based on "structural peace".13 Unlike Gaulle, Giscard stood for a pacifist France through unilateral peace. Therefore, Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty (PNET), CSCE, SALT-II and INF agreements remained suspicious to many popular forces in France. But Giscard's double approach to impress both-domestic needs and international pressure brought credible support. The public sentiments, by and large, supported anti-nuclear peace movements. This was viewed as the emergence of a broad consensus of defence and security issues. Thus, the legacies of Gaullism through peaceful opinions found a suitable place in French society.

Ironically, Giscard era was full of awesome, uncertain detente and disarmament. Therefore, the growing importance of peace movement strongly stood in favour of public opinion. New political dialogues were opened with East European counterparts. This brought ideological confrontation with Carter's efforts to rally western public opinion against the Soviet threat. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed greater challenge. French government was compelled to open dialogue with the Soviet Union. Soon, Giscard's efforts to maintain peace diplomacy became relatively immune over the double door diplomacy. His anti-nuclear and pacifist policy brought suspicion in many ways: firstly, no American missiles were scheduled or launched to be deployed over French soil; secondly, French independency over NATO was based on bargaining practice; and finally, the lack of much publicized debate over first strike weapons and prospects of

limited nuclear wars became more suspicious.\textsuperscript{14} Many critics have also misunderstood Giscard's defence policy because he had little experience about the modernization of nuclear programmes. The question of tactful reintegration into NATO or national deterrence remained suspicious to peace movement. Apart from these complications, Giscard hesitantly accepted Franco-German defence cooperation, partial integration with NATO, and the qualitative strength of Soviet defence. Thus, the false deterrence policy between the US and the Soviet Union was mainly responsible for aggravation of French crisis. Some opinions go further and even accused anti-war and peace movement as possible becoming new catalyst to World War III.

Interestingly, the most systematic and strategic doctrine for anti-nuclear movement was started under Giscard administration despite persistent ambiguities. Gaulle believed peace movement as fundamentally dangerous and misguided elements, while Giscard considered it utterly wrong. However, both commonly agreed to adopt an independent sovereign nuclear policy.

### Nuclear Deterrence, Pacifism and Peace Movement during Mitterand Era (1981-1995)

Mitterand became of President of France in May 1981. His victory was brought by 'Left coalition' mainly the Socialist Party (PS), French Communist Party (PCF: \textit{Parti Communiste Francais}) and the Left Radical Movement (MRG: \textit{Movement des Radicaux Francais}) and the Left Radical Movement (MRG: \textit{Movement des Radicaux Francais}).

The alliance of PS-PCF-MRG took serious measure to promote the fundamental character of French society, political freedom and new spirit to democracy. But the alliance gave less priority to antinuclear policies despite deep rooted pacifist tradition. Besides, Mitterand's support to double track decision during election campaign evidently stood in favour of unprecedented public support, non pacifism and the US position of the Eurostrategic negotiations in Geneva. The diplomatic moves of PS and the radical departure of deep rooted pacifist tradition violated the sentiments of new peace movement. Mitterand's efforts to modernize force de frappe, a desire to reinforce the strength and coherence of NATO, and growing interest in west European security were the desired goals to maintain the balance of power. But the egoistic and self seeking interest of Mitterand, motivated by the fear of neutralists and peace movement, were supported by sections of Franco-German cooperation under the auspices of socialist democracy. People started questioning about the role of PS which previously supported for unilateral disarmament. Mitterand was well aware about the possible threat from Soviet SS-20s, shifting balance of power, and its advocacy for a peculiar form of disarmament. Thus, peace and disarmament became secondary to the reestablishment of nuclear equilibrium. The dilemma between force de frappe and pacifist peace movement remained suspicious to public opinion.

These dramatic changes, however, brought Mitterand in close contact to negotiate with armament and to recover the point of equilibrium to maintain the balance

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of peace in Europe.\textsuperscript{17} Thereafter, the efforts to counter the West European Peace Movements (WEPM) continued. Besides, the formation of Socialist International and the French Committee for Nuclear Disarmament increasingly have shown the profound interest between the PS and her European sister parties about détente and peace. Lionel Jospin, a leading military spokesman and supporter of PS, made an unequivocal condemnation of pacifism which hardly signified peace and disarmament. Critiques like, Jacques Huntzinger, Pierre Mauroy, Claude Cheysson and Charles Hernu also condemned peace movement, which formally accepting pro-NATO commitment.\textsuperscript{18}

During 1983, Mitterand set the conditions to promote nuclear disarmament. It was a step to end the fundamental differences between those having nuclear arsenals. This symbolic act did not solve the problems at home. During 1985, with the tightening of fiscal screw, unemployment rose sharply. Racial tensions increased in major cities and political demonstrations were intensified. Jean Marie Lepen, the leader of extreme right wings National Front strongly condemned the racist campaigners and mobilized public opinion in his favour in March 1986 elections. Since then, the proportional representation became the backbone of presidential democracy. In July 1986, French-US Summit between Mitterand and Reagan for meaningful reduction in arms race, and the acceptance of SALT-11 to dismantle the arms control, created problems for public opinion. This brought wider public protest. Reagan's SDI policy also remained a major hurdle in peace process. The growing unrest following new programme of de-nationalization and de-socialization were not considered by Mitterand since all these proved anti-climatic. But Mitterand improved his position by winning public opinion in May 1988

\textsuperscript{17} Foley, n.14, p.154.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p.165.
elections. The new national assembly of PS with support of right coalition emerged as the largest party. However, the role of socialist welfare state continued. It allowed left wing to stay in power.19 But the faction continued between centre right Union for French Democracy and the Conventional Left vis-a-vis the Rally for the Republic led by Conventional Right.20 It formed an electoral alliance with the Union for Peace in France in 1990 to elect common candidate for 1992 regional and 1993 legislative elections with Union of Democratic Republic (UDR). These helped to create an effective social democracy and conservative based two party system in France. While the extreme PCF and French Nationalist isolated and marginalized on the political fringes.

Chirac Era and neo-Gaullism (1995 —)

Mitterand era was described as an important asset in the changing European security paradigm. With the entry of Jacques Chirac in May 1995, the disarmament became the real imperative. In September 1996 France became among the first signatories of much popularized CTBT but it did little impact on public opinion which strongly criticized French reliance on US-NATO coalition. Despite sizeable opposition, Chirac's commitment to promote independent nuclear program continued. The doctrine of neo-Gaullism was viewed as a threat to peace policies and Chirac came under criticism even by EU officials for conducting nuclear tests in South Pacific on June 1996. Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Finnish Prime Minister Paavo Lippman also expressed grave concern over the policy for attacking

20. Derbyshire, n.1, p.173
global moratorium. The efforts of Greenpeace also condemned the decision. Such attitude of France towards security often created dilemma between governmental and popular forces.

Gaulle's doctrine: 'Europe for Europeans' continues and grandiose vision to maximize French security and peace remains to be fulfilled. All French presidencies set the agenda for unilateral disarmament by checking nuclear blackmail. Perhaps, the lessons from Germany remains a well known fact in the era of changed military balance of power. Any pretension or dilemma, right from Vietnam crisis to Bosnia civil war, rested on political motivation, giving peace movement poor prospects and virtual disappearance from public view.

Role of French Peace movement:
Its Weaknesses and strength

The peace movements in France have been characterized by the socialist movement supported by major political parties. The United Socialist party (PSU: Parti Socialiste Unifie)- the group of small splinter left parties, favoured non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Hence, they invariably condemned the perseverance of national interest. Thus, France created a dilemma of proliferation and non proliferation of weapons. Gaulle's greatest mistake was the withdrawal of France from NATO and to deploy new intermediate range missiles. The peace activities found incompatible to negotiate interest


22. PSU is a Political Organization, for full form in French and trans in English, see Foley in u.14, p.169.
with public opinion. Thereafter, the peace movement of eighties was badly hampered due to conflicting national interest. Mitterand's predominant attitude about independent nuclear power was not properly implemented by public mood while stand on NATO remained controversial. The missivings characterized public opinion and the peace movement became highly politicize despite PCF's efforts to promote pacifism. The following arguments, however, seem to be more logical to discuss the failure of peace movement in France.

**Peace Movement and the Role of Communist party**

The PCF, an organization of youths, leftists and idealists, favoured unilateral disarmament. Due to lack of public support, the party narrowly accepted *force de frappe*, and thereafter failed to mobilize public support. Besides, the sacrifices of PCF are significant. *Movement de la Pax*, (the movement for the peace), the largest peace organization, and an ally of PCF, stood in favour of Stockholm Appeal, so-called, "Ban-the-Bomb" in 1950. It also served an instrument against American policy. The PCF appeal, despite blatant pro-Sovietism, remained the key concern and condemned soviet intervention in Afghanistan. However, a large segment of communist sympathizers remained cut off from the appeals of peace and disarmament. The collapse of Soviet Union dramatically reduced the prospects of PCF.

**Ecology movement**

Unlike Green environmentalists in Germany, the ecology movement hardly touched grass-roots due to centralized, militaristic, elitist and technocratic policies. The French Green Party which received respectable position in local and national elections in seventies, proved virtually ineffective. Administration took intensive efforts for the growth of nuclear technology. The role of sister socialist parties was viewed as romantic hopes and dreams between pro-nuclear power and pro-nuclear deterrence, and thereby remained puppet of all successive presidencies.  

The most notable example about the political construction of nuclear energy and anti-nuclear movement appeared only after Chernobyl disaster. This significantly strengthened the potency of nuclear protesters in France and the Western Europe. But the movement was partly successful due to continuing nuclear policy of Mitterand.  

Between 1970-1990, French environment policy consisted mainly the enacting a set of rules and setting of specialized bodies for recovering and eliminating wastes (1976), monitoring air quality (1981) and developing energy resources (1982). Since 1990 these bodies are working under the Agency for the Environment and the Ministry of Development (ADEME: Agence de l'environnement et de la maitrise de l'énergie). Since 1995 the ADEME is fully functional, and is collaborating with other European Nations. Today, the environment protection has become the social necessity.

24. Ibid, pp. 172-74


Role of Church in Peace Movement

Religious leader's role in France has been negligible due to long-standing anti clerical tradition and poor attendance of church devotees. Moreover, the church orientation in France and the bishops openly distinguished between the possession of nuclear weapons for deterrent purposes and for aggressive use. While French Catholic Church simply believed in the principle of *raison d'être* and refused to debate over ethics of nuclear weapons. They occasionally criticized the ethics of war, power alignment and false notion of neutrality. Despite these limitations, there have been sincere working church groups, especially, the Catholic Peace Organization and Pax Christi de France.²⁷ Unlike Britain and American, most of the French church organizations do not discuss about the ethics of disarmament and other global problems.²⁸ Some Catholic organizations, though reject nuclear deterrence, consider it essential to protect security form any external threat. The Working Catholic Youth and other Catholic Associations have denied to participate in any such rally and demand for nuclear freeze.²⁹

Unique Features of French Peace movement

i. Peace movement in France hardly attracted the sympathizers. A report from the study of Defence and International Security (CEDSI) showed the poorest response. CEDSI's branches: Friends of Earth, Secretariat for Conscientious Objections, Christian Peace Movement, Women's International Resistance to War, Peace and Unity in France, United

²⁹. Fontanel, n.5, p.179.
Socialist Party, and Greens claimed to have more than ten thousand members. These sympathizers believed in peaceful petitions, human rights and self determination, non-violent action and work for economic reconstruction with efforts of trade unions and political parties.

ii. Left parties often abandoned the ideas of unilateral disarmament during election campaigns. Their pacifist tendencies are often repetitive and duplicative. 30

iii. The contempt of pacifism was often confused with cowardice, individualistic and false utilitarian notion with notable exception of non-violent action.

iv. The dominant socialism considered war and arms race as the product of legitimate capitalist interest but their dreams failed in the face of enemities born in the capitalist world.

Development of Anti Nuclear Movement in France

Unlike China, US, Soviet Union and Britain, in France, the anti-nuclear movement started in 1960s. The unsuccessful attempt of Ten Nations Disarmament Conference and Gaulle's attitude towards NATO, France took dramatic decision for underground nuclear explosion in 1963 after signing the Limited Test Ban Treaty. The matter of fact that the treaty had no clear-cut provision for control through posts, spot inspections and verifications. Since then series of explosions were made. With the failure of NPT, SALT,START and INF, France felt more freedom to undergo for tests. According to SIPRI report till the end of 1996, France had exploded 50 atmospheric and

160 underground tests, next to that of the USA. Probably, such tendencies have been deeply rooted in the anti-nuclear movement, a well known fact to French public opinion. On the contrary, bureaucracy always legitimized pro-nuclear policy. Therefore, anti-nuclear lobby became democratized to defer political gains and elite interest.

Historically, the French Society for Peace has been a crucial factor in promoting peace movement. The first sign of anti-nuclear protest appeared in 1964. The Union of Scientists and the Committee for Nuclear Responsibility became the symbol offenders of electro-nuclear programmes. The first successful anti-nuclear protest, Children of May 68' was organized by Party of Socialist Union. The movement was supported by students, industrial workers, ecologists, and environmentalists. This gave the birth of counter-culture and opposed the totalitarian tendencies. In 1971, Group of Friends declared as the main opponent of government's policy. The movement gained momentum only in 1972. The review of 'Survive and Live' initiated by French Scientists promoted 10,000 protesters to move against Fessenheim Power Project to condemn Gaulle's nuclear policy. In 1973, the electro-nuclear programme was dramatically changed after the oil crisis. In November 1974, the Regional Committee for Nuclear Information worked effectively against government's nuclear policy. In February 1975, four hundred French Scientists distributed pamphlets and printed literatures. Their slogans: 'Risk and Dangers of the Electro Nuclear programmes', 'No to Nuclear Power', and 'Reactor Spells Death' were seriously discussed. These slogans were served everywhere and were followed by series


of demonstrations. \(^{33}\) Again in May 1975, the local Committee for Nuclear Information effectively worked in favour of public opinion for judicial and political apparatus, especially in Brittany and all Braud et-saint Louis, the two sensitive regions of nuclear facilities. Since then, the anti-nuclear movement became the rallying point for all local and national protesters. In November 1975, series of brochures were published by the electro-nuclear and the Union of Atomic Energy. Since then, France became the only western nation with one of the largest union of confederations, for electro nuclear programme. In 1976, Group of Scientists for Information of Nuclear Energy (GSIEN) and the Network of Friends (RAT: Réseau de Amis de la Terre) provided plenty of information for necessary competence to challenge electro nuclear programmes.\(^ {34}\) Both GSIEN and RAT significantly helped to adopt a civilian based nuclear policies through the control of authoritarian Gaullist policy. With the establishment of 'Grenoble Malville', the movement got support from trade unionists, ecologists and scientists.

During 1965-1970, number of anti-nuclear and peace commissions were established. Some are: Grenoble Centre for Nuclear Studies, Engineers with Nations Forestry Commission, and University and Scientific Committee to Stop Nuclear Programmes.\(^ {35}\) Besides, the Centre for the Research Studies on Societies, Centre for Studies of International Relations (1967) and Institute for the Economic Research and Planning (1969) were also established.\(^ {36}\) These institutes published reliable

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33. Ibid, p.22.
34. Ibid, p.11.
35. For details Grenoble Malville Peace and Anti-Nuclear Groups, see Ibid, p.13-14.
information on war and peace and other security. The nuclear groups seriously adopted the issue of ecology and environment in 1976.

During 1970-1980, anti-nuclear movement remained weaker. The new protest movement found incompatible. *Le Monde* (the World) had already published appeal: 'No to Super-Phoenix' condemning the fast breeder reactors, which was supported by GSIEN, and RAT. These helped to promote of peace and anti-nuclear movement, especially after NATO's double track decision. During eighties, the public opinion got divided. Government's arguments to solve economic problems through employment in various sectors like military complexes, uranium ore processing, research centers, manufacture of radioactive fuels and power houses remained unfulfilled. 37 The private research groups especially NGOs, instructed government to develop only civilian based technology.

France is also a centre for human right promotion and environmental protection. There are number of NGOs working to cooperate with such policies. Prominent among them are: International Federation of Human Rights (1992), International Federation of the Action of Christians for the Abolition of Torture (1987), World Movement of Mothers (1947), World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations (1910), and World Veterans Freedom (1950). 38

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38. For their explanation, see *Encyclopedia of Human Rights* (New York, 1996), pp. 848, 849, 871, 1626 and 1627.
French Status over NATO in 1990s

In 1990s, new concern over nuclear proliferation and global changes in international security dramatically changed the transatlantic structure. This has resulted some changes in France's dependence over NATO. Gaulle's security policy of Machiavellian character are becoming obsolete to the new European system. The Cold War in the Western Europe was heavily supported by Soviets. It necessitated France to accept a deterrent force with collective efforts of NATO by ignoring the aloofness of Gaullism. French status as the 'prodigal of Western alliance' continues to have special relevance.39

In post-Cold War, French ability to dominate European security through nuclear power and the collapse of Warsaw Pact made France virtually free from any socialist threat including West European counterparts. All these shattered the dreams of Gaullism and France ceased to be a member of unipolar world in the era of hegemonic decline. Its' security was challenged when Mitterand declined to send French troops in the Gulf War. It led to a new debate on the role of nuclear weapons. Moreover, the new security structure in Germany naturally changed the French perception on defence to justify its continued existence in European integration and transatlantic security through North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC). But France continued to make a new offer on concentrated deterrence to its European partners. Interestingly, French consensus on nuclear issues remains stronger both in the eyes of popular masses as well as the

officials. The formation of inter-governmental policy since Masstricht treaty, the radical transformation in the traditional defence policy became obvious. Withdrawal of the US troops from NATO and increasing economic strength of United Germany provided a new avenue to the French leadership for 'Europeanization' of its despite hesitations for new concessions. Despite these, the room of ideological confrontation continued as Mitterand was not ready to sacrifice Gaulle's force de frappe and continuing distrust of American motivation in NATO. The dilemma of distrust between the US and France was clearly visible when the Defence Planning Committee (DPC) agreed on the formation of NATO Rapid Reaction Force (RRF). Mitterand's argument on the 'double-hatted' policy weakened independent defence posture. Hence, French stand on changing character of NATO still remains conflicting on the issue of Euro-corps and geostrategic location. This opened new strategic debates. France still seems to be liberal with NATO decision making body. The shift from nuclear weapons to civilian based technology has marked the symbolic relaxation. Since January 1993, French support to UNPKF and the US role in Former Yugoslavia showed the victory of NATO over France. This conciliatory and co-habitation approach never meant the defeat of left wing socialist and the victory of right wings liberals. It was evident during May 1995 elections when Jacques Chirac became the president of France. Despite all these limitations, France is not ready to abandon force de frappe due to continuing domestic pressure. This

40. Camille Grand, "French Nuclear Policy after the nuclear deterrence. Mitterand's readiness to develop 'Joint European Corp' were signed as multilateral efforts in WEU Cold War: How to Combine Deterrence and Arms Control", Strategic Analysis (New Delhi), vol.22, no.4, July 1998, pp.531-32.

41. For details, see A. Menon, "Continuing Politics by Other Means: Defence Policy Under the Fifth Republic" West European Politics (Newbury Park, Essex), vol.17, no.4, October 1994, pp.74-96.
weakened the prospects of Chirac. The entry of Lionel Jospin in June 1997 as the leader of socialist-communist Green coalition opened the prospects of socialist-peace in France.

Jospin's stand to retain nuclear weapons capability as the pillar of defence strategy and declaration to cut defence budget during 1998 presents paradoxical picture. More importantly, the European monetary polices, directly linked with domestic pressure, is likely to reduce the prospects of nuclear weapons. Paradoxically, the leftist tradition continues to be a source of inspiration for anti-nuclear movement event today.

**FUTURE PROSPECTS**

Despite all, France continues to defy global moratorium without giving any reverence to NPT, NATO, PFP and OSCE membership. Definitely, French security and peace prospect remained in turmoil, both at national as well as continental levels. As a status quo nuclear power in post Cold War era, France is actively undertaking part in non-proliferation agreements and accepting some steps toward disarmament. Despite this it maintained secrecy in its nuclear programmes with little amount of transparency was visible under the auspices of UN-Third Special Session on Disarmament in 1988. Since then France partly agreed for global inspection of nuclear programme under the obligation of CTBT. But, the nuclear testing continues despite civilian opposition. The noted example of anti-nuclear protest appeared in September 1995 when thousands of demonstrators staged a sit-ins against Mururoa plant in the Pacific Ocean. Similarly the

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42. See, Grand, n.40, p.537.

43. Ibid, p.534.

protest of May 1996 against the nuclear test at Mururoa and Fangataufa brought wide reaction from many corners of the world. In fact, such legislation are the direct reaction of political changes in Europe since the end of Cold War when disarmament remains the key issue. The latest reaction of France against the UK-US actions in Iraq expressed veiled criticism. French authorities urged to modify the role of UN Security Council for new alternatives on European Union. In one of his statements Prime Minister Jospin said: "France always defended the just and impartial of the (Security Council Resolutions) texts".  

Despite all the US influence in NATO will force French public opinion to continue the policy of Gaullism. The stationing of French troops in Germany and the establishment of Joint Defence Force of 50,000 troops under WEU agreement. By doing so, France has heightened the risk of nuclear proliferation and insulted the people of pacific by showing its imperialist attitude. The increasing obsolescence or isolation of French nuclear independent and weakening role in the new world order has dramatically reduced the prospects of nuclear war. After German Unification, the future role of France seems uncertain. Surprisingly, there is considerable degree of disagreement about the future of force de frappe. Should France evolve a new mechanism for crisis management to maintain its military status and maximize nuclear programmes while protecting international peace? Should it continue the brain of Gaullist paradigm which stared both-deep historical anxieties and challenge the US monopoly? should the symbolic unilateral gesture of nuclear disarmament be acceptable? These problems are yet to be


answered. The best option is to integrate Gaullism with Contemporary European Security to understand the complicated structure of peace movement in France.

**Appraisal:**

Unlike her European counterparts, the peace movement remained weaker in France. It was often confused with counter-model of negative pacifist effeminacy and prolonged desire to maintain an independent defence policy. Moreover, Gaullist ambition for a global role with poor anti-nuclear attitude and incapability of popular movement favouring disarmament remained the prominent feature of peace movement. Besides, the poor role of trade unionists and Greens, a relative weakness of Catholic culture and absence of real alternative despite skepticism, constituted low impact on the peace movement. In the light of contemporary post Cold War European defence system, the pacifist movement may be viewed as a virtual defeat in French security.

**PEACE MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN**

Sweden, a part of common Scandinavian culture, has been traditionally associated with neutrality. By rejecting the western liberal and conservative model of peace Sweden has agreed with historically shared social identities. Swedish 'Peace Model' has generated better awareness and fuller understanding of the fundamental right while struggling for NATO, EC and UN membership. Such tendency has often confused many Western nations.
PEACE MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN: NEUTRALISM AND WESTERN LIBERALISM

Unlike other European states, the tradition of neutrality in Sweden remained the focus of peace movement. It has been a counterpart of western liberalism, deeply embodied in the philosophy of Locke and Rousseau. It is extensively found in the writings of Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and Emirich de Vattel (1714-69). It became prominent only in 1867 after the formation of International League for the Peace (LIP: Ligue Internationale de la Paix). LIP found a strong base in Sweden with National Liberal which actively supported non-aligned policy.

History of peace movement begun in 1869. It was the Farmers Party whose leader J.Jonasson got support from the advocate of general disarmament and christian pacifists. From 1870 to 1880, pacifism remained ineffective. Three peace thinkers: H. Richard (England) P. Mancini (Italy) and J. Janasson (Sweden) commonly agreed to establish the Treaty of Arbitration in 1883. Later on it formed the Society for Peace and Arbitration. Soon, it got support from International Peace Bureau and War Resister International and International Peace Commission and Coordination Center (IPCCC). The establishment of Swedish Women’s Peace Association (1898) and Noble Peace Price (1898) provided new mechanism to federate the Scandinavian States. The conferences and arbitration were frequently organized by the Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP: Socialdemokratiska

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Arbetareparti) and the Popular Labour Movement.\textsuperscript{50} SAP fought for territorial integrity, promotion of bilateral agreement, space tourism, cultural exchanges, pen friend clubs and trade promotions with all neighbouring states. Formation of Swedish Women's Left Association (SWLA) in 1914 with the help of Women's Democratic World Federation (WDWF) and Swedish Peace Committee actively fought against apartheid and stood for the solidarity of women in Vietnam and Latin America. The group also organized meetings on disarmament, peaceful society and freedom from exploitation. The formation of National Conference for Continuous Mediation and WILPF also supported Swedish neutrality in war. Since then, WILPF has been a consultative agency of UNESCO, ECOSOC, FAO, ILO, and UNCTAD. Its programmes broadly include: disarmament campaigns, economic aid, promotion of goodwill and peaceful cooperation.\textsuperscript{51}

The establishment of Physical and Cultural Association in 1935 genuinely opposed drug abuses and tobaccos, and considered these as environmental problems. Thereafter, the emphasis shifted from peace and disarmament to environmental related problems. The formation of Swedish Community of Friends (the Quakers) in 1937 strongly favoured social power. The Swedish Selection on Civil Service International (1943) was coordinated with committee for International Voluntary Service. It urged for environmental protections, community feelings and international understanding.\textsuperscript{52} The question of Swedish membership in UNO remained provisional due to underlying problems of neutrality. In 1947, Sweden was provisionally admitted to UNO.

\textsuperscript{50} SAP: for full form in Swedish language to English trans., sec, Yearbook 1995, n.15,p.2895.

\textsuperscript{51} Pfalzgraf, n.18, p.15.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, p.14-18.
In 1949, the Swedish Peace Council (SPC) took sole responsibility to organize peace movement. Increasing efforts came from conservatives, friends, labour forces, medical practitioners, civil servants, ecologists, environmentalists, liberals, socialists, syndicalists, women leftists and other segments of Swedish society. It assumed international character with the supports of World Peace Council (WPC), International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFR), Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service (CCIVS), Women's Democratic World and Federation (WDWF), Swedish UN Association and World Association of Federalists also helped to promote peace in Sweden. Besides SPC also got powerful alliance with domestic peace association mainly Swedish Peace Committee and SWLA. These promoted peace movement through local groups mainly, 'Peace Forum', 'Peace Co-opt' and 'Non-Violence and occasionally organized study groups, roll-calls, symposia and rallies.\(^{53}\)

After 1950, the structure of peace movement dramatically changed due to ideological wars between the World Federalists and the World Peace Movement. Many Swedish peace groups started de-aligning with communist dominated peace movement in Sweden. The deployment of nuclear arms for civil defence remained the priority of peace movement. In 1959, the Swedish National Defence Research Institute carried out research on arms races. In 1960, the Anti-Nuclear Weapons Committee took responsibility to organize peace movement. Its slogan: "No Nuclear Club" was supported by foreign minister, Osten Unden. Again in 1963, the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) served as diminishing force. But the publication of quarterly Vietnam Bullet in (1965) by the United National Liberation Front Groups of Sweden, the establishment of SIPRI (1966), and Swedish Committee for Peace in Vietnam (1967) widened the scope of peace

\(^{53}\) For multilateral International Memberships of SPC, see Table 1 in Ibid. p.22.
research. In 1968, government promoted NPT negotiations and stood against power bloc and favoured anti-nuclear forces in Nordic region. The efforts were also promoted by Action Group Against Swedish Nuclear Arms and the Christian Peace Movement (CPM). The movement was also supported by the earliest established peace groups like the Swedish World Peace Mission, Association for Christian Society, Swedish World Peace Mission, and Federation of Christian Humanism and Social Life. Most of these Christian associations stood for gospel truth, non-violence and total disarmament.  

International Studies in the Nordic Countries was started by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm in 1978. It was the milestone achievement in peace research. The Vietnam syndrome had served as a powerful force against the US interest in Nordic region. The Women for Peace (1978), an alliance of peace movement, provided interesting data on sexual equality and peace. Besides, number of other peace research institutes, namely, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, in the University of Uppsala, Lund, and Gothenburg; Research Institute of National Defence, Stockholm, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Upppsala; and Research Policy Programmes, Lund; also promoted Peace Research.

Women and Peace Movement

Women in Sweden have been active members of peace Organizations. They advocated equality, freedom, justice and solidarity. Historically, women's movement in Sweden started in 1960s against the anxiety of war. Despite the private political goal, women

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55. For their details see, Directory, n.36, pp. 157-62.
shared a common feminist profile and Swedish democracy provided equal right of liberation in all fields despite routine domestic works. Therefore, Women's inherent pro-life and anti-war stands remained a sensitive in Swedish lives.\textsuperscript{56}

Swedish society identified 58 women organizations, ranging from national to international levels since 1898. The first scientific environmental related to women peace movement was started by Birgil Word, peace activist in 1974. Her idea on 'Food Front' at Stockholm was fundamentally a green movement. The concept of 'buy and sell' of fruits, vegetables preserves and other bio-dynamic products, promoted solidarity and peace. More concrete efforts were taken by Ulla Torpe the Chief of SW ALA, who staged demonstration against military and technological violence in 1970. The movement served the preservation of nature and environment, a step against the use of neutron bomb. Similar activities were organized throughout 1979 in Malung province of Central Sweden. Its main objective was to highlight the effect of pesticides on the quality of food.\textsuperscript{57} The idea of making environment more living and greener through flowers and vegetable gardens became more popular.

The Women's Cultural Association was reorganized in 1979 to promote 'Women Against Nuclear Power', 'Women for peace', 'Disarmament to Secure lasting Peace', 'Food instead of arms', and 'No to War'. These slogans gave the inspirations to disarmament and peace in 1980s.\textsuperscript{58}


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, p.633-34.
In 1980, the national referendum, conducted by the National Institute of Environmental Medicine, showed women's commitment to anti-nuclear movement. In 1981, the prominent local groups named as 'Women for Peace' stressed the need for working condition, nature and environment which helped to promote the use of Swedish Green Party in 1981. Studies showed that the majority of women belonged to the age group of 30 to 39, and most of them were from non-manual employees (43 percent), higher civil servants and executives (20 percent) secondary school girls (7 percent), and remaining from unskilled workers and housewives. 59

Swedish Peace Movement in 1980s

Double track decision added new dimensions to the goals and ideologies of Swedish peace movement. The issues of weapons, radical pacifism, feminism and anti-militarism became visible to achieve the objectives of peace movement. For the first time in March 1980, a referendum was held to decide the future prospects of nuclear weapons. The coalition comprised the Volunteers of Centre Left (CP: Centerpartiet), Liberals (FP: Folkpartiet), and Moderates (MS: Moderata Samlings Partiet). These approved the complete elimination of nuclear reactor and replaced by alternative energy source by A.D. 2010. But Government's economic policy remained under fire due to growing inflation, industrial sickness, budget deficit and unemployment. 60


60. Yearbook, n.15, 1995, p 2886
The narrow victory of Olof Palme in September 1982 election, the Social Democratic Labour Party gave top most priority to nuclear free zone in Nordic area. These decision came in early 1982 following the deployment of Soviet Submarines on Swedish territorial waters. Palme, the noblest and wisest peace lover, proposed drastic changes in Swedish defence policy. As a chairperson of the International Independent Commission on Security and Disarmament he made sacrifices to maintain Sweden as one of the safest nations. "Palme Report-1982" also urged for an independent security and non-alignment. Palme government also contributed wider understanding on disarmament and peace. In September 1985 general elections, Palme was elected as Swedish P.M. for the second term with support of the Communist Left Party (VPK: Vapsterpartiet - Kommunisterna). But, Palm's assassination on 28 February 1986, Sweden's peace programmes remained unimplemented. Ingvar Carlsson, then the Deputy P.M., was replaced and followed Palme's disarmament policy.  

Sweden's peace process weakened in March 1987. The Parliamentary Commission was set up to look after the alleged complicity. Issues related to illegal sale of weapons to Middle East and Bofors Gun deal with India remained the major hurdles. During 1988, the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies took the agenda of racial policy where peace movement played a leading role in supporting war against apartheid. The proposal by Swedish Red Cross Society also took interest in the matter of African National Congress (ANC) which evoked deep interest.  

61. Ibid  
The new mass campaign in early 1988 with objectives: "From Nuclear Free Community to a Nuclear Free World" was primarily aimed at preventing any escalation of arms race in the North Atlantic and the Baltic Sea. In the same year the environmentalist Green Party gained electoral representation. Its alliance with National Environmental Protection Agency and Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources mainly focused on combating the environmental threat. In 1991, Riksdag (Parliament) came out with fundamental principles to promote human health, preservation of biological diversity and protection of natural and cultural landscapes:

i. Promotion of sound economic development for maximum human and environmental tolerance of pollutants and other hazards.

ii. Utilization of best environmental civilian based technology.

iii. Respect for territorial sovereignty so as to prevent any environmental damage to border stresses.

iv. Adoption of precautionary principle to avert any danger in public sector.

v. Replacement of hazardous substance by less hazardous substance.

vi. Establishment of monitoring agencies to assess environmental impacts, environmental laws and control mechanism.

63. Ibid, p.20.

64. For details, See Fact Sheets on Sweden on Environment Protection, (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1990).
Number of environmental related acts were also established to maintain the greenhouse, protection of ecology and social life. Prominent among them are: Natural Conservation Act (1904), Environmental Protection Act (1969), Marine Dumping Prohibition Act (1971), Act and Ordinance on Sulphur Contents in Fuel Oil (1976), Cleansing Act and Cleansing Ordinance (1979), Chemical Products Act (1985), Environmental Damage Act (1986), Automobile Exhaust Act (1986), and Natural Resources Act (1987). Sweden also took initiative to align with international environmental agency for better cooperation and enjoyed high priority. Like other West European states, NGOs have been very active even in Sweden to improve the environmental quality. During 1991-94, there were many violent clashes against government's policy. For example, in March 1991, agreement between Swedish and Danish governments to construct P6-Km bridge between Malmo (Sweden) and Copenhagen (Denmark) brought major opposition. Environmentalists blamed for high level of pollution by emission from vehicles to be used on the proposed bridge. Again in May 1994, the Swedish Marine Commission expressed suspicion over the linkage of bridge. It put a question mark before the Ministry of Environment.

The question of Swedish neutrality to EU remained debated issue. Considering the much-needed "Swedish Model" of social development, the opposition parties did not favour referendum of 13 November 1994 to join EU. The fear spread in many social sectors about the predictable death of socialist economy by signing EU. Therefore,

65. Ibid


Carisson's Model supported a balance between state sponsored socialism and liberalized capitalist economy. It however, maintained Swedish membership in EU as non-aligned and neutral, despite constant criticism from NATO. The measure was to promote multilateral trade agreements with European counterparts, including the Commonwealth of Independent States. Unfortunately, however, Swedish membership with WEU (as an observer), London Club, Minsk Group, PFP, OECD, OSCE, MTCR and NACC have also been questioned by domestic security makers, especially the green-environmentalists and ecologists. Besides, the pro-EU campaign by some political leaders, big businessmen and journalists have also shown the irrelevancy of neutrality. This widened the scope of confrontation between socialist and capitalist supporters.

The issue of nuclear disarmament has always been a debated issue in Sweden due to administrative negligence control effective environmental. Even greens, who led series of campaigns, now seem to be reluctant because their future prospects lie with the SAP, and not the popular support. In such an example, Sweden's two decades old Agesta Reactor raised controversy in December 1994. Later on, Swedish officials disclosed for inspection. The facility was apparently kept operational after Sweden decided to forego its nuclear weapons programmes despite the end of Cold War. Again in May 1996,

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68. For details, see Darry D'Monte, "The Swedish Model is in Transition", The Pioneer (New Delhi), 1 November 1994.


Riksdag focussed on the future of nuclear power station Parliamentary talks were promoted on the results of 1980 referendum which had advised the decommissioning of 12 nuclear reactor by A.D.2010. More important negotiation on anti-nuclear issue came in February 1997 when Riksdag agreed to close two reactors by A.D. 2001. It is well known fact the decommissioning of nuclear reactor own by Sydkraft, situated at Barseback, South West Coast of Denmark, was strongly opposed both centre and Leftist Parties. Public opinion too favoured the support. The first phase of decommissioning was proposed to begin in July 1998.

After all, no popular force in Sweden favours EU membership with NATO. Logically, conflict between peace movement and government policies never took place directly. Due to this single reason, Sweden is successfully maintaining neutral and nonaligned status even today. More efforts are being promoted by NGOs to maintain peace and security in Swedish society.

Appraisal:

Peace movement in Sweden remains the core of neutrality and non-alignment and has been historically justified. The 'Swedish Model' remains a unique phenomenon to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation. With other powers, Swedish Peace Council- a true advocate of collective peace movement- focused on Nordic Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ), European Theatre Force and other global problems. It


essentially contributed détente and confidence building measure. It also got support from social democrats, the bourgeoisie left, opinion groups, and the modest military personnels. Above all, Women's peace movement in Sweden remained a subjective-collective action, which is part of dynamic historical process of special knowledge. Such measures of peace and disarmament through socialist and environmental democracy is likely to play a greater role in European security despite changes in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

PEACE MOVEMENT IN NORWAY

Among the Nordic countries, Norway has a unique culture, and shares a common border with Sweden, Finland and Soviet Union. Like other Scandinavian States, it believes in neutrality and peace. Its humanistic, mindful and holistic visions are shared by Scandinavians for many decades.

Historical Background

Historically, Norway has been a Danish colony from 1523 to 1814 AD. It was granted home rule in a union with Sweden after prolonged wars and finally accepted the monarchy when Prince Charles of Denmark became the ruler. Parliamentary democracy began in 1884 with the efforts of Labour liberals. Universal suffrage started in 1898 when the popular movement supported labour democracy.74

Key inspirations to peace movement in Norway came from the International Arbitration and Peace Association (1880) and the Universal Peace Congress (1889). Besides, the Norwegian Legislative Assembly (Storting) promoted inter-parliamentary Union since 1890s. The efforts of Alfred Nobel a peace activist widened the possibility of peace as the Scandinavian Peninsula. Historically the, Norway and Sweden worked peacefully to promote peace, despite some ideological disagreements.75

During interwar period Norway remained weak due to political wars between allied powers. Thereafter, Norway proceeded towards disarmament in 1930s to end all political wars to maintain neutral status in Nordic region. But Nazi invasion in Norway frustrated all efforts, and pacifism became obsolete. The establishment of UN relieved political crisis. Thereafter, Norway joined NATO in 1949 for regional security and peace and to renounce the lessons of war. These developments changed the views of Norway about traditional neutralist policy.76 Norway joined the Council of Europe (CU) and accepted the universal human rights and fundamental freedom as the important mechanism of peace. CU's allied agencies, European Convention of Human Rights (1950), Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom (1953), and European Court of Human Rights (1953) became prominent. The Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities produced interesting data on these developments.

In 1954, Norway entered in agreements with WEU. It was established under the protocol of 1948 Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Defence among the West European states. Norway joined EFTA in 1960 and accepted the principles of security, disarmament and peace within the WEU framework.

76. Ibid, p.35.
Thus, Norway was more prompted by the official peace movement which affected its traditional neutral peace policy. The establishment of PRIO at Oslo by Galtung in 1950 made extensive research on various global problems. Abundance of study materials in the forms of journals, bulletins, monographs and progress reports were made available. PRIO's earlier peace researchers, A. Aide, H. Haveem, N.P. Gleditsch, T. Hellevik, T. Holivik, M. Thee and S. Lodgaard extensively studies on various aspects of peace movement. In 1959, the Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs also produced exciting Peace research. 77

Scientific peace research started only in 1966 when some anti-nuclear groups coordinated efforts with CND which organized series of protests against the neutron bomb. Later, the movement came to be known as 'Protest Against Weapon'. It was started by the group of university professors, trade union leaders, bishops, architects, engineers and housewives. These people came out with widely shared notions of peace. Some 225,000 signatures were collected against government's decision to accept the deployment of nuclear weapons with NATO modernization programme. 78 The figure was impressive one when compared with total five million Norwegian Population. But the movement started diminishing in May 1961 as many conservative supporters joined militant nationalism to oppose NATO modernization programme.


77. See, Directory, n.36, pp.147-48

78. Sten Sparre Nilson, "The Peace Movement in Norway", in Pfaltzgraff, n.8, pp.36-37.
of these peace agreements between the super powers remained unfulfilled. At home, communist party prompted 'Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons' which protested against Norwegian membership in EC. But the left Socialist Party remained active during referendum campaign in promoting peace.79

First successful peace movement in Norway was started in October 1979. The movement's slogan: _Nei til Atomvapen_ (No to Nuclear Weapons) was designed to attack over NATO preparation for Cruise and Pershing-II missiles, and the deployment of Soviet SS-20s. NATO's double track decision also developed resistance in the minds of four million people with support of 301 Local groups 78. Thereafter, many peace movement activists became radical.80

**Peace Movement in 1980s**

Peace movements in 1980s dramatically strengthened the scope of disarmament. Efforts to intensify peace movement against NATO development was taken by END to protect NWFZ. It was extended with the efforts of Norwegian Peace Council which primarily aimed for 'Campaign Against the Neutron Bomb'. In February 1980, Norwegian women groups urged for 'Disarmament for Lasting Peace', 'Use the Military Spending for Providing Food' and 'No to war' to condemn double track and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Largest peace demonstration in major Nordic cities took place in October 1981 during the UN Disarmament Week. In 1982, Bishop's Conference on Peace and Disarmament in Norway broadly discussed the political

79. Todd, p.36-38.

development in Nordic Area. In March 1984, the Norwegian peace groups with its 100,000 members, with some 300 local groups and 54 anti-nuclear clubs organized various peace movement activities. Sustainable efforts came from local workers, members of Storting, school teachers, local press, newspapers, video tapes, written slogans, public rallies, assemblies and elections, telephonic inquiries and workshops. The Anti-Nuclear Action Week 17-23 October 1983 also contributed to movement. Earlier in 1982, the Norwegian Labour Party Leader Jens Evensen, in one public meeting, had announced: "Norway will work for an atomic weapon free zone in the Nordic area as a part of the work to reduce nuclear weapons in a wider European context".  

The status of peace movement drastically changed by end of 1983. The formation of Conservatives (Hoyre) in June 1983 with Centre Left and the KRF Government's attitude towards EC and the NATO remained suspicious. In September 1985 General Elections, the coalition of Christian Democratic Party (KrF: Parti Kristelig Folke) with Centre Party (SP: Senterpartiet) and the Norwegian Labour Party significantly contributed the spirit to peace movement. The efforts of Four Continental Peace Initiative to escalate arms race increased the risk of nuclear war. Olof Palme's peace initiative came as surprising victory of what Storting described it as a 'necessary step of peace'. By that time, the peace movement, though weaker, served as defensive mechanism to strengthen

81. For details, see Ibid., p.33-40.
82. Ibid., p.40.
stability and peace in the region. Geneva Summit (1986) also helped to promote peace. But the continuing industrial strike in Norway badly effected the normal routine of peace movement. By the end of 1986, peace movement declined considerably at the height of cold war and the success of INF treaty.

After the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, anti nuclear movement became more complicated. Norway's Green Party, merged with new social movement. In 1988, the damage caused by 'acid rain' brought major atmospheric pollution in Kola peninsula of Norway. This resulted in major anti-nuclear demonstration at Stockholm and other cities of Norway. In November 1990, the labour party gave top priority to environment protection. Government also decided a new policy for non-permitting any foreign base on their soil in peacetime. In fact, there was a shifting friends from peace movement to environment protection movements in 1990s.

Post Cold War Scenario

The end of Cold War brought many promises to West European security in which Sweden also remained a mediator on the issues of disarmament and peace. Throughout 1990's, anti-nuclear movement remained major concern for the government. The earlier experience from 1989 incidents involving fires on Soviet nuclear-powered submarines had brought major public reactions against the radioactive pollution in Northern Norway. Thereafter, the peace treaty was signed between USSR and Norway in December 1989 to provide reliable information and to promote peaceful public opinion. In 1991, the

85. Ibid, p.2325.
agreement between EC and EFTA brought controversies over fishing industry. In April 1993, the Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg was appointed as UN negotiator for a political settlement in former Yugoslavia. The government also played a greater role in conducting series of secret negotiations between PLO and Israeli officials. This greatly helped to establish Palestinian self rule in Israeli occupied territory. Soon, it won international acclaim for its role in enhancing world peace and security. Early in January 1993, the Joint Council Agreement of Nordic with Soviet Union helped to end dumping nuclear waste to the North Sea of Norway. 86

In September 1993 elections labour party, the traditional supporter of social movement, returned in power. At the same time, the formation of National Party and the Christian Conservatives Party also joined the government and thereby increased the popularity of government. But the tussle between government and the people on EC membership continued. This brought series of campaigns by farmers, trade union leaders, unemployed youths, opposition leaders, fishermen and stockists against government's pro-EC policy to transfer part of Norwegian sovereignty to EU authorities. Group of industrial organizations and business associations, especially the Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry, and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Union openly warned government's economic and environmental policies. The unilateral establishment of the Fishery Zone Protection around Jan Mayen Island had already led series of disagreements with Denmark, Sweden and Norway. This resulted a moratorium on commercial Whaling Commission (IWC). But Norway continued to haunt whales for scientific research as a part of its major economic activity. The Greenpeace activists also boarded vessels for environmental protection to end any confrontation with rival parties.

86. Ibid.
Again in March 1995, some Norwegian Greenpeace activists proposed resolutions to government for killing Whales only for scientific purposes and not for commercial purposes.  

The issue of Brent Spar Oil Platform used for dumping ground has also been a major concern for the risk of Norwegian coastal water. In June 1995 the Ministry of Industry and Energy also condemned Britain's move in dumping the waste materials in North Atlantic. The Greenpeace lobby in Norway is gaining public support which is increasingly important for contemporary peace movement. One thing, however is clear: all those NGOs, including Greenpeace environmentalists and youth-women organizations are the survivors of peace movement of eighties only. May be in near future, when socialist forces unite and if European Integration fails, the peace movement will reemerge as powerful mechanism. Norway and the Western Europe is yet to see such dramatic developments.

**Appraisal:**

Peace movement in Norway essentially remained official, besides popular movement. It coordinated with global peace organizations and conventions. Sustainable efforts came from ruling political parties, professional organizations and independent cross-national associations. More interestingly, support came from every section of grass root population. Successively, the issues of social democracy, environment policy, 

87. Ibid.

question of EC membership and territorial integrity remained priority agenda in post-
Cold War era. Norwegian peace movement, a wider social organization, continues to
play a dominant role especially to promote environmental peace in post-Cold War era.

**PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS**

**Historical Background**

The peace movement in the Netherlands began in 1966 after the establishment of
Inter-church Peace Council. (IKV: *Inter-Kerkelijk Vredesberaad*), It is an organization of
seven churches - the Catholic, the Calvinists, the Dutch Reformed, and several small
Churches. These collectively worked to promote peace through various activities,
including peace works. 89

IKV, fundamentally guided by Christian gospel, provided information with the
churches to stimulate awareness and suggestions for appropriate action. It also conducted
dialogues with legislative institutions by assisting the church leadership in determining
their policy position. It provided interesting information on various aspect of peace
research. Its prominent slogan: "Free the World from nuclear weapons, start with the
Netherlands", got worldwide recognition. 90

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89. For details, see Hanspeter Kriesi and Philip Van Praag, "Old and New Policies: The Dutch
Peace Movement and the Traditional Political Organizations" *European Journal of Political

90. See Hylke Tromp, "Alternatives to Current Security Policy and the Peace Movements" in
Organizationally, IKV has been a compact of 32 members, 450 discussion groups and 9 founding churches and number of independent peace groups. Some of them are: Par-Christi Netherlands, Church and Peace, Stop Neutron Bomb, Stop the Arms Race, Women for Peace, Women Against Nuclear Weapons, and Committee on Cruise Missile No. Most of these are associated with Dutch Reformed Roman and Catholic Churches.⁹¹

IKV organization is based on historical experience since 1945 when the Netherlands had just renounced neutralist tradition. Its territories were violated by the German forces between 1940 to 1943 which necessitated Dutch government to accept the policy of mutual cooperation with border states. Precipitately, the Netherlands became the members of NATO, EC, EURATOM, CD, CE and IAEC.⁹²

In 1960, the Netherlands underwent numerous socio-economic crises because the trade union leaders and employees were directly involved in decision-making body. Soon, the prevailing social disorders among youths and intellectuals brought anti-establishment movement. The liberalization of hippie culture brought new religious cults, student radicalism in Universities, feminism, homosexual activism, ecologism, display of pornography and spread of drug addiction.⁹³ All these activities were socially restricted when the people started embracing new values. Soon, the ethical code of conduct became the guiding principle and the centres of evils became the centres of worship. These enlightened socio-political developments changed the attitude of the Dutch society. Soon, the distorted culture started coping with traditional subcultures.


⁹². For details, see Alfred van Staden "To deployp or Not to Deploy: The case of the cruise Missiles", in Philip P. Everts, ed., Controversy at Home: Domestic Factors in the Foreign of the Netherlands (Nijhoff 1985) pp.135-55

People's participation through direct democracy became viable and the intellectual culture was revived. The efforts of Labour Party (Pvda: *Parti Vande Arbeid*) - created the Union of Socialist Democratic Workers in 1946 and Peoples for Freedom and Democracy (VVD: *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie*), 1948 which continue to be the largest party organization even today.\(^{94}\) The efforts of Political Reformed Party (1918), Reformed Political Assen (1948) and Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP) prepared peace programmes to protect against the fear of nuclear weapons. While Political Party of Radical-Reform (PPR) promoted anti-nuclear and ecological principles.\(^{95}\) The Dutch National Communist Party (CPN) virtually remained silent on the issues of politically motivated peace movement. It is well known fact that the peace movement was heavily supported by the Soviet Union as part of its cold war strategy since it was weaker of the two super powers, technologically, but not in manpower. This is not to say that the whole peace movement was only a Soviet Front, but it was deeply infiltrated by the PSP and the CPN.

During 1967, IKV received denomination from the Quakers, Mennonites, Moravian Churches, Lutherans, Old Catholics and Remonstrant Brotherhood. The Dutch secular thinkers, Erasmus, Arminius, Grotius, and Spinoza were the key inspirations for the Dutch Reformed Churches. They taught the lessons of social pluralism based on religious tolerance, brotherhood and peace. Their ideas were also send through IKV peace journal, sometimes 100,000 to 200,000 copies with documentation sets. Its policies and programmes were declared by the Church Managing Committee.

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94. PVDA and VVD - for full form and translation from Dutch to English, see, *Yearbook 1995*, p.221-224.

The Dutch Peace movement was significantly popularized in 1966 when John F. Kennedy Institute at the Centre for International Studies, Tilburg in the Netherlands was established. Its main objective was to provide research, training and publications in the field of détente, economic order, geo-politics and peace. Its earliest peace researchers were L.L. Bartalits, J.A. van Lith, W. de Beet, R.P. Kister, J. Weijers and G. Duyfjes. The inspiration to Kennedy peace institute came from earliest established Peace Research Centre, 1965 at Nijmegen. The institute had extensive research on various regional and global problems. In 1968, the Centre for Development Planning at Erasmus University, Rotterdam produced massive data on unemployment, agricultural production, regional decentralization and industrial adjustment policies. It also established studies to discuss the Netherlands' foreign policy with EC, IMF and OECD. Most of these official sponsored peace programmes did not impress much to peace movement especially when the NPT was signed. In 1969, the Netherlands Institute for Studies on Peace and Security, at Hague remained key concern. By 1970, 220 Local groups were admitted to IKV with 4500 core activists which successfully developed vast peace networks in all over the Netherlands. Later, it spread West Germany, Britain and Sweden. Soon, they started Peace-Week slogans: "Do not give charity, give justice", "Peace by all means", the "future of Europe", and "peaceful homes" remained the vital issues. The peace movement up to 1975 remained an alliance of political parties and interest groups. This comprised businessmen, trade union leaders, civil servants and church activists. Most of these, directly or indirectly, remained coordinated with IKV. 97

96. For list of Peace Research Institutes and their details, see Directory, n.36, pp.135-44.

The Institute for International Studies at Leiden (1973), and the Working Groups Peace Research (1973) at Amsterdam, gave inspiration for continuing success of peace movement. Moreover, the active participation of Socialist Workers Party (SAP) Evangelical Political Federation (RPF), and PPR and PSP also extended support to IKV action group and motivated individuals to participate in peace weeks.

Moreover, the PvdA, Democrat 66 (D66: *Democrats*), CPN, RPF and VVD also supported the Core activists (1969). Members of Local Group (1970) and General Visiting Peace Week Activities (1970). The study conducted by the Mass Communication Institute, at Amsterdam in 1969 showed a pattern of potential preferences: 33 percent preferred PPR or PSP, 48 per cent for Christian Democratic Party, 12 per cent for PvdA and 7 percent for D'66.98

Officially, the peace movement remained second priority due to the US influence in NATO. In 1968, the D'66 and PvdA coalition, in reaction to the Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia, suddenly enhanced.99 This brought sharp reaction in public especially, the IKV supporter4 Again in 1974, the PPR, PvdA, and Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA: *Christen Democratisch Appel*) alliance approved the use of F-16.100 This time, protesters took in the forms of sit-ins, blockades, boycotts, peace marches, petitions and demonstrations which became virtually ineffective due to weak political support. The centre and right voters were less inclined to support protest

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100. For details, see "Turnah Barbara C. and Others, "Personal Dissatisfaction", in Samuel H Barnes and others, eds., *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies* (London, 1979), pp.409-47.
activities. Moreover, the pro-NATO and pro-nuclear weapons forces remained the permanent features of the Dutch foreign policy.

**Participation-Stimulation Strategy: Nuclear Disarmament Campaign: 1977**

The collapse of coalition in March 1977 due to socio-economic crises changed domestic situation in the Netherlands. The emphasis shifted from 'peace week' to 'disarmament campaign'. The Dutch Reform Church, the Council of Churches in the Netherlands, and Christian Reformed Church expressed anxiety over NATO'S modernization programme. IKV's peace programme continued with the aims to realize the slogans of "Stop the Nuclear Bomb" and "Help rid the World of Nuclear Weapons". Famous Dutch peace thinker Everts described the role of political elites and public opinion in peace movement as two contradictory principles and therefore suggested to establish peaceful Dutch society by ending the vested interest of government policies. The harmonious blending of national and local activities have been essential factors to build a strong public opinion around peace.  

IKV Campaign Federal Assembly was set up in 1977 to give more autonomy to local groups and to strengthen peace movement through coordinated volunteers. It also mobilized resources and developed contacts with independent research organizations. The formation of Dutch Society of Peace and Conflict Research at Leiden and the

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Foundation Reshaping the International Order at Rotterdam were established with the efforts of IKV.\textsuperscript{102}

In 1979, the NATO'S double track decision proved a major blow for IKV activities. The alliance of political parties regarded NATO decision as regrettable. The decision was also condemned by all sections of Dutch society. It gave a better prospect to peace. IKV's efforts to adopt multilateral nuclear disarmament were supported by the Mennonite Brotherhood, Evangelical Lutherans, Restored Apostolic, Missionary Church and the Union of Baptist Churches. Besides, the Anglocan Church, Catholic Apostolic Church, Old Catholic Church and the Liberal Catholic Church also supported IKV actions against NATO.\textsuperscript{103} In early 1979, IKV's famous Journal \textit{Women for peace} with its six thousand subscribers, also condemned NATO policies by highlighting public moods against the US The movement also got support from ecologists and Green environmentalists. During 1980s when the peace movement was on peak, IKV worked as the nucleus power. In 1981, it got support from the coalition of 'Stop the Neutron Bomb' with Pax Christi, and the alliance of political parties proved a collective strength against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In early 1981, IKV acted with the coalition of peace movement in FRG, UK and France. The popular fashion 'Hollanditis' came into common call. Since then, neutralism and anti-nuclearism became integral part of peace movement. In May 1981, the Zero-Option proposal of Reagan was again condemned by the ruling parties. In June 1981, the IKV again represented the nuclear freeze movement at Washington. In September 1981, IKV decided to set up the International Peace Commission and Co-ordination Centre during Copenhagen Meet with Danish officials.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid, p.261.

\textsuperscript{103} Clemens, n.93, pp.107-8.
Thus, throughout 1981, IKV organized intra-peace agencies to get wider popularity. Later on, the movement was supported by the Union of Conscripts and the Platform of Radical Peace Groups. During anti-INF campaign, more than 400,000 participated in November 1981 at Amsterdam. 104

In August 1983, IKV initiative to Vancouver-Canada Appeal for Justice and Freedom, impressed Canadian public opinion. But it failed to achieve ends in Paris when IKV remained unsuccessful in mobilizing French public opinion against nuclear modernization programme. While in Belgium the 'Dutch Disease' resulted the clash between student union of Flemish and the Pax Christi group of the Netherlands. During 1985, the peace movement reached on climax. Both factors-dissident and disapproval-had an impact on the participation of Church members in demonstrations. Despite government's anti-peace approach, IKV remained successful when the event against the deployment of Cruise and peoples' participation was signed by 3,700,000, so far the largest entry ever before. A study conducted by Oegema and Klandermans during 1985 has brought interesting results about peace movement. 105 In study, 50,000 volunteers were involved door to door card collection which had been send earlier by post to the respondents. The result was more impressive when more respondents took interest in the studies. During survey, more than five million signatures were collected against government's decision. Approximately thirty percent Dutch population had sympathy with peace

104. Ibid.

movement, probably largest, as compared to any other West European nation terms of population ratio.\textsuperscript{106}

During 1985, agreements and disagreements between the party coalition kept peace movement in dilemma and a definite consensus was not framed. The split in party ideologies, however, remained the root cause of conflict. Thereafter, public opinion got united, thanks to the efforts of IKV. The main aim was to provide weaker coalition and to condemn government against the deployment of 48 missiles in February 1986 at the Dutch soil. Strong public opinion significantly exerted pressure on government to supersede the decision by end of 1988. In 1986, public opinion about anti-nuclear movement got divided. Cherbobyl nuclear accident hardly brought any change in the level of anti nuclear protest in the Netherlands. Only a few dozen people participated in anti nuclear rallies, but it definitely strengthened the reaction of people against government peace policies.\textsuperscript{107}

**Peace Movement in 1987s : The Non-Conventional Strategy**

After 1986 there was a gradual shift from conventional peace movements. During 1987, number of interesting peace studies on women were made by Nas, Mertun, Klendermans and Kroom. Various issues like ecology, peace, environment, and arms race brought


substantiated differences in the level of participation in unconventional activities.\textsuperscript{108} By the end of 1987 when successful attempt was made through promoting peaceful negotiations to reduce Cold War, peace movement started declining. In early 1988, Dutch peace movement started disintegrating in independent organization, especially the green environmentalists. Emphasis shifted from peace movement to socio-economic reforms. The coalition of CDA-VVD took deep interest in environmental related problems like inflation, industrial pollution, ecological disorders, pesticides, industrial sickness, managerial inefficiency and labour unrest. In May 1989, VVD accused the collapse of government by refusing the support Rudolphus Lubbers, the former Minister of Economic Affairs, who proposed 20-year Environmental protection Programme under aupices of National Environment Policy (NEP).\textsuperscript{109} This was strongly supported by the Green Party.

In October 1989, negotiation between the CDA and the formation of a centre-left coalition took place. The coalition demanded for the reduction of defence expenditure. During the Gulf war, Lubbers a peace activist firmly supported military action of multinational forces despite strong public opinion against government's defence policy.\textsuperscript{110} The public movement on the issue remained divided as many NGOs supported peace movement. Green left leader Paul Rossen Muller emerged as a parliamentary leader and strongly opposed government's welfare policies. Some NGOs also condemned Dutch decision to accept Maastricht Treaty of EU.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[110] Ibid, pp.2206
\end{footnotes}
During August 1992, the problems of environment remained the major issue. Government's decision to use territorial sea for garbage to save from environmental damage was not accepted. Some 33,500 activists signed protest letters. Even Greenpeace spokesman Francois Verdeuzeldonk described 481,000 project as mindless and primitive act. During 1993-95, the entry of foreigners in the Netherlands and the grant them refugee status remained controversial. Dutch Anti-Foreigners Legislation strongly banned the entry of foreign national. This resulted sharp reaction among the public opinion and greenpeace environmentalist against the government anti-nationalist policy. Government's the National Environment Policy Pius (NEPP) implemented number of legislation to promote environment related peace policies. In May 1994, the coalition of PvdA-VVD- D66 eventually agreed to provide for public legislation to promote the healthy causes of social disarmament and European security. In April 1996 strong public protests were received in neighbouring states in particular and the Netherlands in general to curb drug trafficking and environmental pollution on the issue of waste disposal. The government was compelled to sign anti-drug trafficking agreement with France in February 1997. PvdA, which increased popular support by winning the elections held on 6 May 1988, continues to work with the coalition of VVD, CDA, and D66. They are fighting for environmental and social rights, and their future role in New Social Movement (NSM) is yet to be seen.

PROSPECTS OF PEACE MOVEMENT
IN THE NETHERLANDS

Today's peace movement is the network of small groups which requires a personal involvement in experiencing and practicing cultural innovation. However, many social groups do not participate in peace movement. Characteristically, a broad variety of different types of movement have emerged since 1970. Typical life styles have been developed by respective groups. Today's Dutch society is a group of different intellectuals and political origins, especially anti-militarist tradition, inspired by anarchist vision of state and a hidden socialist tradition are still active. Regional and local groups still enjoy the autonomy with their grass root sympathizers and play greater role in national policy makings.

Peace movement in today's Dutch society is a form of NSM. Interestingly, these groups are still active in promoting left tradition, different from socialist tradition of former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The ecology environment and women's movement, despite being leftist in approach, are actively working and it has nothing to do with the Marxist-socialists. But the advocates of contemporary Dutch peace movement are no more interested to continue their efforts as they did during eighties. Since those conditions of war have gradually disappeared or declined during post Cold War, many peace movement people have shifted to NGOs. This means: the peace movement of eighties which was local and regional, now has assumed international character.

Today's Dutch peace movement is not cut off from traditional political organizations. Rather, the local or national pressure groups, like church and trade unions, are the backbone of political system. The Netherlands' largest trade unions: Christian National Federation of Trade Union, Netherlands Federation of Managerial Personnel, and Central Federation and Consultative Organization have got active support from civil
servants, media, and printing, transport, teachers, allied traders, banking and insurance, social workers, civil aviation, agriculture and food workers.

The voice of these groups are given top most priority in local and national elections, defence policies, legislative decisions, economic reforms, social laws and religious affairs. It may be called as coordinated body of state law. Therefore, peace movement cannot be an isolated phenomenon, rather it is an integral part of wider social network. More generally, rather prosperous development of peace movement in the form of NSM never indicates a diminishing legitimacy of Dutch society. Appearance or disappearance of peace movement is provisional and its role depends on the exigency of time and demand. Ideologically, their ideas never die. Great advocates of peace like Gandhi, Tolstoy or Quakers continue to play an ever increasing role in new world order. Some of their active agents of NGOs continue to influence fence-setters domestic and international debates. They can create truly transnational movement towards banning all weapons of mass destruction, by rejecting double dealings of NPT framers or bargainers. It is only the continuing tradition of peace movement which have been able to bloc or slow down the proliferation of nuclear cycles. Their efforts have been crucial determinants, both of movement's inspection of public opinion and movement's level of mobilization.

Appraisal:

Peace movement in the Netherlands remains the combination of church networks and radical left since eighties. IKV—the nucleus body—created public consensus against the US, NATO, and missile delivery systems. It provided new opportunity to mobilize mass
social movement at the grassroots against any expansionist policy. Besides, the peace movement also got support from major political parties and trade union, both at national and international levels. It is therefore likely to remain a central theme during the post-Cold War European security.