

6. LEFT-LIBERTARIAN PARTIES II: GREEN PARTIES

Miloš Brunclík

ENVIRONMENTALISM

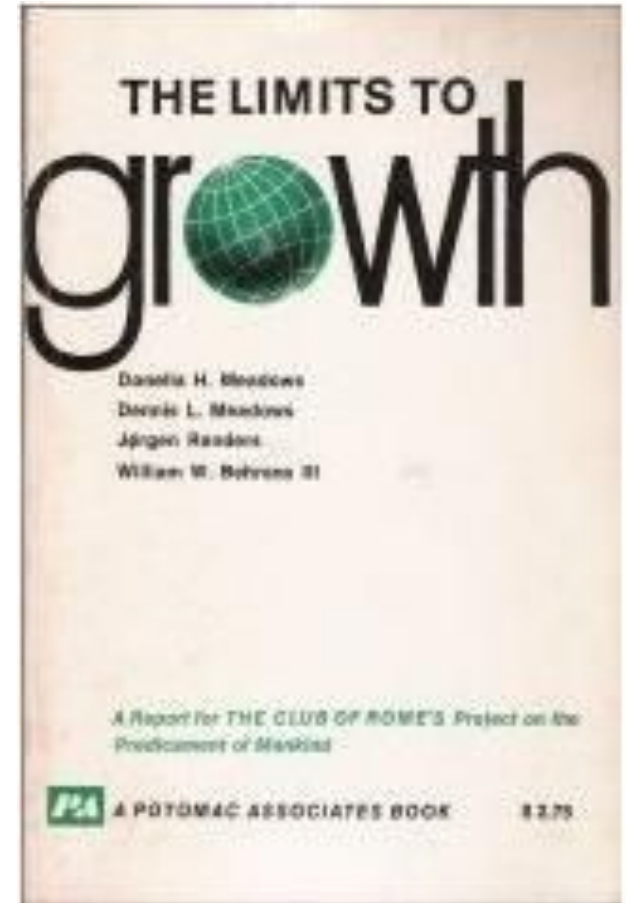
- critique of modern industrial society
 1. must recognize the natural limits (to both economic and population growth)
 2. emphasis upon growth = detrimental to the environment
 3. emphasis upon free market instills within society a strong commitment to the principles of competitiveness and individualism



OPPOSITION TO BELIEF:

1. possibility of continued economic growth for human purposes
2. difficulties arising from economic growth can be solved by scientific and technological means
3. environmental problems can be "managed" within the context of the existing political and societal order

If life is in danger, individual liberties can be compromised



ENVIRONMENTALIST WISDOM

- human beings are part of the natural world
- this world is finite
- → unlimited material growth is impossible

- 1983 „*We have just borrowed the Earth from our kids*“



ENVIRONMENTALISM

- Key to social responsibility
 - just distribution of social and natural resources, both locally and globally
- Appropriate decision-making
 - decisions made directly at the appropriate level by those affected

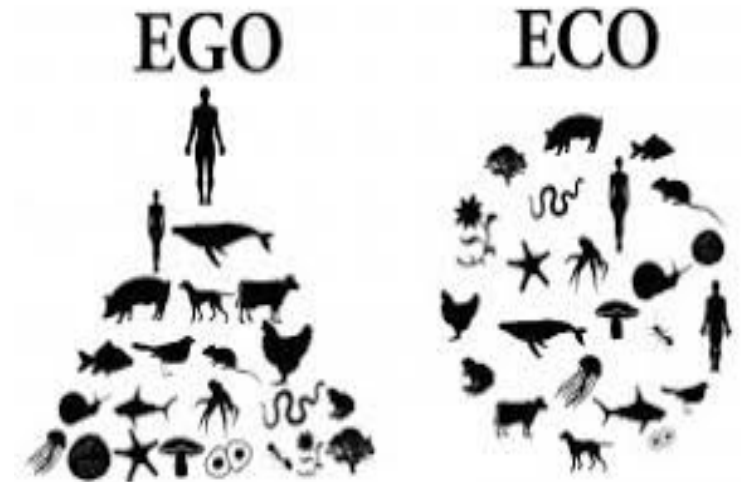
VARIETIES OF ENVIRONMENTALISM

1. 'light' or 'shallow'

- Anthropocentric perspective
- Humans: role of managers of natural processes
- Must enable the natural and diverse evolution of organisms
- a managerial approach to environmental issues

2. Ecologism (dark and deep)

- Ecocentric perspective
- Human: on an equal level with all other things, rather than being their masters



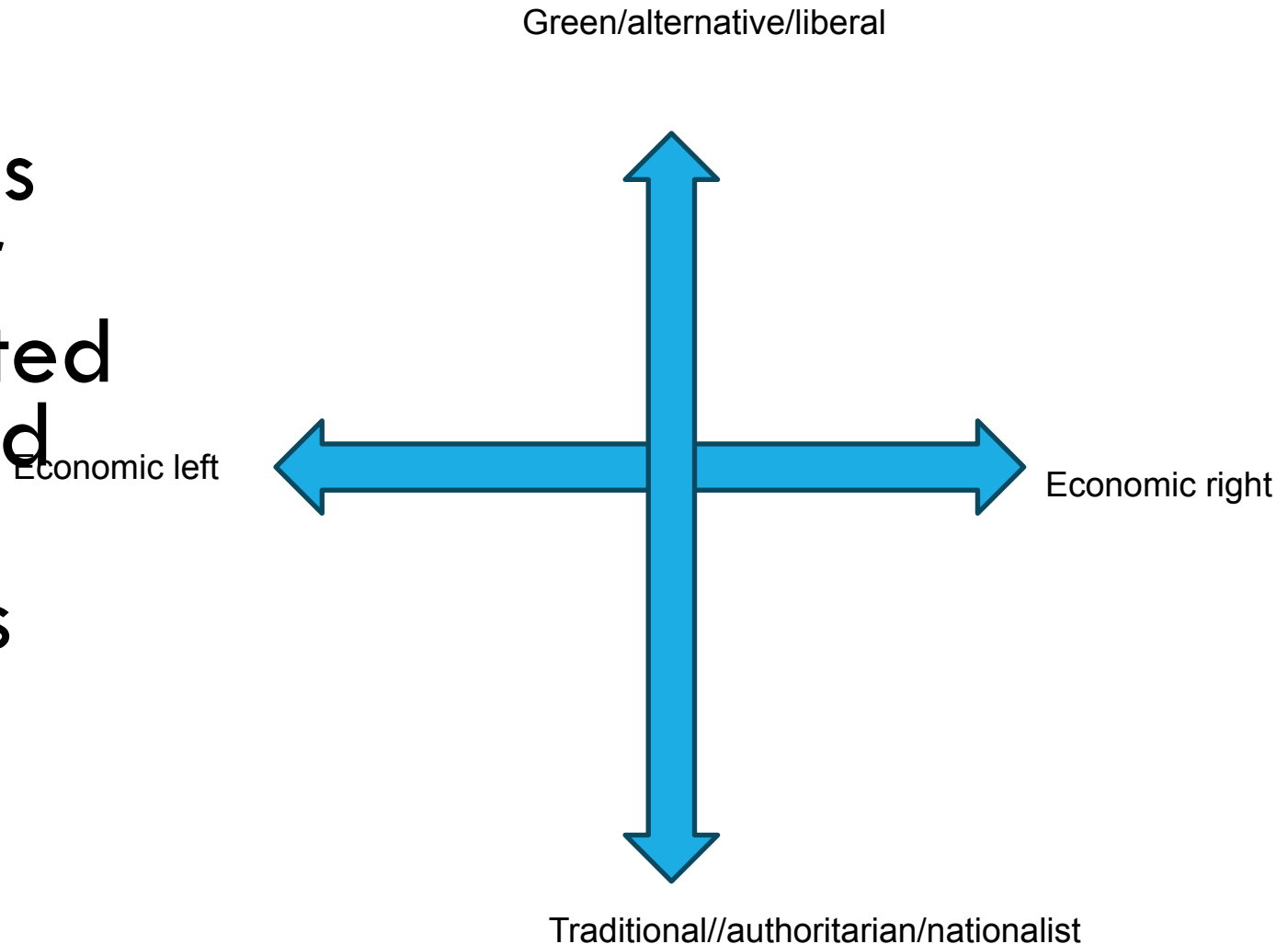
EXPLAINING THE RISE OF GREEN PARTIES

- underlying structural change
 - new issues, values, generational shift
 - shift from industrial to post-industrial society
- favourable political opportunity structures
 - Green parties – mostly in advanced welfare states
 - perceived lack of responsiveness of traditional parties to new issues
 - Environmental issues on media agenda



PARTY SYSTEM CHANGE

- Previous cleavages did not disappear
- But rather completed with new issues and cleavages
- Traditional parties take over green agenda



GREEN PARTIES: ORIGINS

■ Bottom-up trajectory

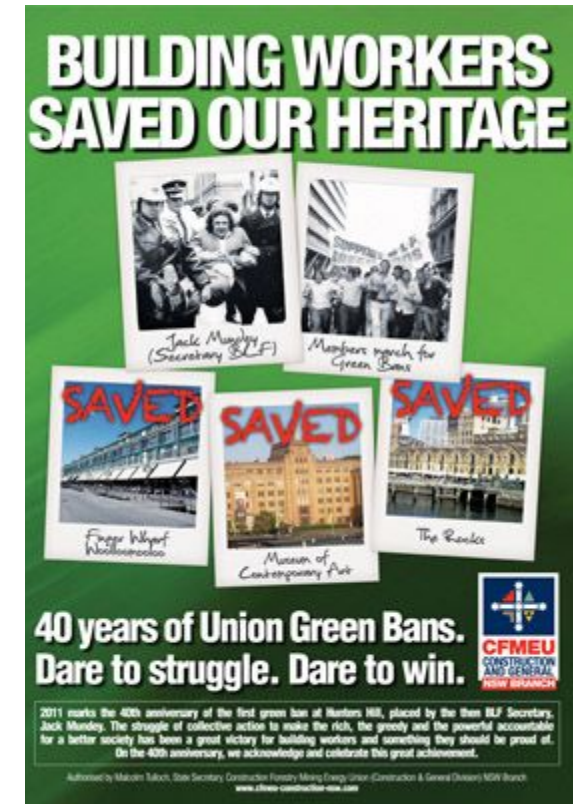
- Grassroots
- Activism and participation

■ Original agenda

- constructions of nuclear plants, dams
- enlarging of airport runways
- Disarmament
- destruction of historical sites

■ Label 'Green' derives from the 'Green Bans'

- an Australian movement of building workers who refused to build on sites of cultural and environmental significance



MAJOR POLICIES

1. participatory democracy
2. freedom, autonomy and individuality
3. environmental protection
4. decentralisation
 - → call for direct and participatory forms of democracy



GREEN DISCOURSE: NON-VIOLENCE AND PACIFISM



GREEN DISCOURSE

- Anti-capitalist
- Capitalism blamed for environmental devastation



DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF GREEN PARTIES (KITSCHOLT 1990)

1. weak commitment mechanisms binding the activists to the parties
 - reflected in both limited levels of party membership and great deal of activism
2. decentralized and horizontally coordinated mobilization of activists
3. collective decision-making and greater participation



ORGANISATION

- two-member chairmanship
- reject centralised, bureaucratic organisations typical for mass parties
- small local organised cores
- weak national umbrella organisations



FIRST SUCCESS

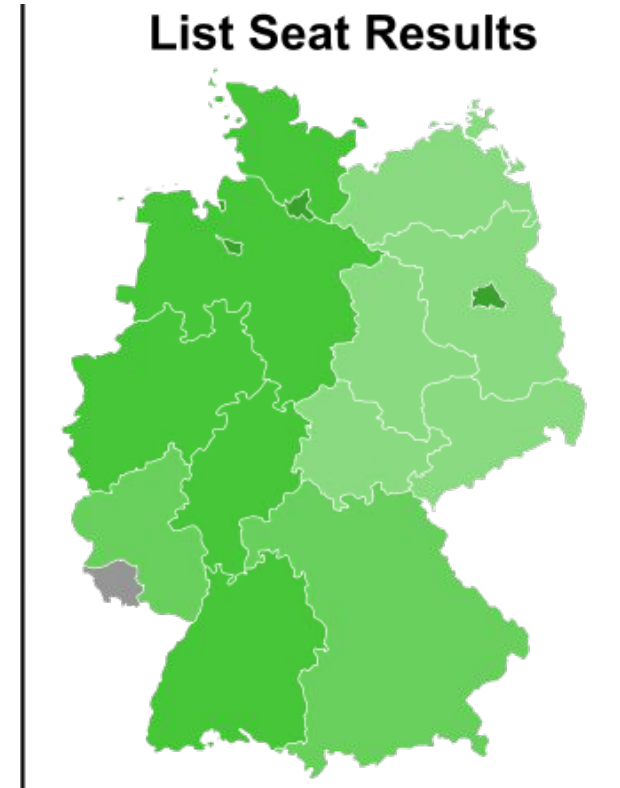
- **1972 – Tasmania (AUS) and New Zealand: first Green parties**
- **1972 - first green party in Europe:**
 - the Popular Movement for the Environment (canton of Neuchâtel)
- **1973 - first national green party in Europe: PEOPLE**
 - Great Britain
- **1970 - the first Green mayor in the world**
 - Fons Sprangers elected in 1970 in Meer (Belgium)
- **1977 - first political party to use the name "Green"**
 - the Lower Saxon "Green List for Environmental Protection"

GREEN PARTIES TODAY

- transcend political discourse of traditional parties
- Part of mainstream
 - deradicalization
- Agenda enlargement
 - agendas that extend well beyond the traditional boundaries of environmentalism
 - human rights, social justice, and international relations
- But also: agenda of other parties affected by the green policy
- Party professionalization

ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE OF GREEN PARTIES (EXAMPLES)

- 1981 Agalev (Groen) in Belgium
- 1983 Finland and Germany first parliamentary seats
- 1988 Sweden first parliamentary seats
- 1995 Finland part of the ruling coalition
- 1998-2005 and from 2021 Germany:
 - part of the ruling coalition
- 2014-21 Sweden
 - part of the ruling coalition
- Nowadays: common type of party across Europe



ELECTORAL SUCCESS

- Green parties - still relatively small
 - material/economic agenda prevails
 - “greening” policy agenda of other parties

| AUS (2022) | Tasmani a (2024) | NZ (2023) | ICE (2021) | LUX (2023) | FIN (2023) | GER 2021 | SUI (2023) | SWE (2022) |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| 12 | 14 | 11 | 13 | 9 | 7 | 15 | 15 | 4 |

TYPICAL VOTERS

- Young
- Well-educated
- Middle-class
- Employed in human services (teaching, health care, social work)
- left-of-center political convictions
- Subscribe to postmaterial values
- Sympathize with environment, feminist and peace movements

INTERNAL TENSIONS

□ Poguntke (1989)

- Moderates believe in the eventual success of piecemeal reform
- Fundamentalists fear the pacifying and demobilizing effects of this strategy

□ Kitschelt (1988): three groups of party activists

1. **Ideologues:** broad and radical vision of party objectives, history of political activism within other left- libertarian organization or NSM
2. Lobbyists
3. **Pragmatists:** gradual and incremental change of society

PARTY DILEMMA

- Kitschelt (1990): Green parties must
 - reflect ideology and aspirations of their core supporters
 - Gain sufficient electoral support to influence policy- making
 - = dilemma
 - logic of constituency representation X logic of party competition
- The dilemma draws the 'ideologues' and 'pragmatists' into debate and conflict
 1. Ideologues: control the party's leadership and direction, follow a 'logic of constituency representation'
 2. Pragmatists: party is more likely to look towards a 'logic of party competition'

GREEN PARTY (DIE GRÜNEN) IN GERMANY: 13TH JANUARY 1980 IN KARLSRUHE

- Alliance of ecological and civic initiatives and small parties
 - First green groups in the 1970s at local and regional level: environmentalists and peace activists
 - organised thousands of action groups



GREEN PARTY IN GERMANY

- Opposition to
 - pollution
 - use of nuclear power
 - NATO military action
 - certain aspects of industrialised society
- + quality of life issues



PROGRAM 1980

1. Radical pacifism and anti-militarism
 - End of Cold War
 - Disarmament
 - Dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact
 - Germany's withdrawal from NATO and abolition of Bundeswehr



BUT...

- 1997 against prolonging of German troops deployment in Bosnia (SFOR mission)
- 1998 coalition partner of SPD
- 1998 for Germany's air-force participation on NATO air-strikes against Serbia in Kosovo
- Later programs
 - Global responsibility
 - Support for German participation in UN missions
 - Do not deny Germany's membership in NATO, nor withdrawal demands



FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY TODAY

- centrist line on defense
- pushing for a stronger common EU foreign policy
 - especially against Russia and China
 - Annalena Baerbock proposed a post-pacifist foreign policy.
 - supports eastward expansion of NATO
- 2020 Party program NATO: an "indispensable" part of European security
- promise to abolish the contested Nord Stream pipeline to ship Russian natural gas to Germany
- remains divided over issues such as nuclear disarmament and U.S. nuclear weapons on German territory

PROGRAM 1980

2. Ecological demands

- Environment-friendly transportation and production
- Capitalism: Cause of the global ecological crisis



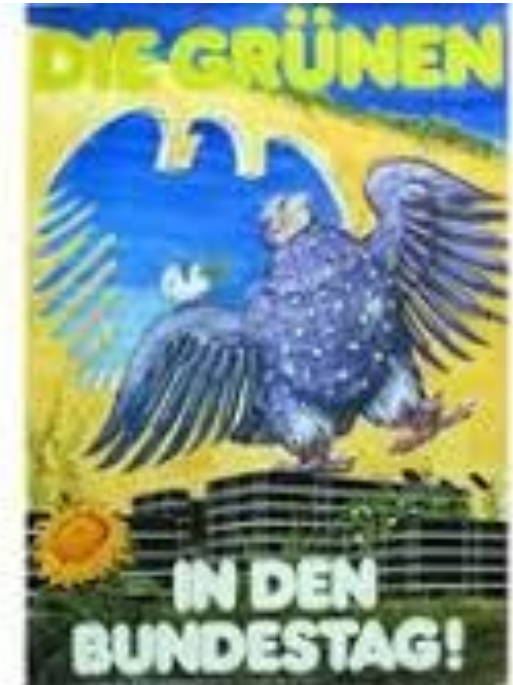
GERMAN UNIFICATION 1990

- 1990 against unification of Germany
- Hope that the Eastern Germany shall
 - opt for a different path
 - Not adjust to Western capitalism
- → merged with Alliance 90 only in 1993



PROGRAM 1980

3. Social and emancipation movement
 - Human rights
 - Respecting human rights presupposes disarmament, environmental protection and bridging the gap between rich and poor
 - Participatory democracy



PROBLEMS

1. tension between ecological and social wings

→ whether economic or ecological needs should be given priority

2. “realos” X “fundis”

■ Realos

- Ecological reformism, moderate approach
- Cooperation with parliamentary parties

■ Fundis

- More radical, against the system
- “Anti-Parteien-Partei“
- No compromises
- „Street“ tactics



REALOS VS. FUNDIS

- ❑ from a mass-movement focus towards parliamentary politics
- ❑ alliance and compromise
- ❑ Pragmatism and cooperation
- ❑ Professionalizing
- ❑ Searching for a wider social base
- ❑ Outside-parliament tactics
- ❑ rejected any form of tactical orientation merely for the purposes of electoral gain
- ❑ No compromise
- ❑ Reluctant to coalitions/alliances with other parties
- ❑ only radical social change would provide lasting environmental solutions

REALOS X FUNDIS

- 1983 Hessian Green Party formed a governing coalition with SPD
 - hefty controversy within the party
 - 1983 – 1991 (Neumünster party congress)
 - Era of the major conflict

FUNDIS VS. REALOS

- conventional parliamentary strategies instead of demonstrations and petitions
- unusual organisational rules
 - rotation principle
 - imperative mandate
 - only one office in party affairs at one time
 - partial acceptance of a salary with the rest going to the party
 - → have all turned out to be clear disadvantages

PARTY CHANGE

1. Professionalization
 - Organizational changes
 - External professionals
2. Left-right positioning
3. Moderation
 - E.g. NATO



im Wandel der Zeit



Viesbaden, 1981



Berlin, 2011



GENDER AND LGBT ISSUES

- Feminism
 - supports the implementation of quotas in executive boards
 - the policy of equal pay for equal work
 - fight against domestic violence
- LGBT
 - "fights for the acceptance and against the exclusion of homosexuals, bisexuals, intersex- and transgender people and others"
 - wants to extend asylum to LGBT people abroad
- extensive support for the LGBT community = many LGBT vote for party even if their political ideology does not quite align otherwise