

FOR A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE AND NONVIOLENT WORLD

Dear Friends of Peace!

Thank you for this special opportunity to address this plenary session at the invitation of the Indian Foreign Minister. Gert Bastian and I are grateful for the invitation to this special peace conference in New Delhi, which we are combining with a visit to Dharamsala at the invitation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in Exile.

Peace has a wide meaning, I believe, for all of us here. It means far more than the absence of weapons of mass destruction or the absence of military-bloc thinking. Peace is also the positive external and internal condition in which people are free, in which people are not exploited and are living so that they can grow to their full potential. Therefore I want to mention the very positive attitude of the Indian government toward the many refugees from Tibet, refugees who have suffered so much since Chinese troops invaded Tibet in 1950. In 1959 His Holiness the Dalai Lama, together with his family, government, and many Tibetans, were forced to flee. It was Prime Minister Nehru, whose November 14, 1988. birth centenary is celebrated today who offered asylum to the Dalai Lama and to a hundred thousand Tibetans. I mention this because we can never discuss the issue of peace or the issue of a nonviolent world order

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Nonviolence Speaks to Power

without discussing human rights. They belong inseparably together. We do not want a peace that suppresses! We welcome the Five-Point Peace Plan suggested by the Dalai Lama including the idea of Tibet becoming a zone of peace and nonviolence between India and China.

India has often expressed anguish over the increasing violations of human rights and fundamental freedom all over the world and has called for urgent measures to stem this trend. Unfortunately, I am told, India has rebuffed an Australian attempt to establish a UN agency for monitoring human rights violations in Asia and the Pacific. I hope that human rights is also a domestic issue in India when it comes to the human rights of the Sikhs. Amnesty International has written an alarming report on this subject, of which the Indian government should take note.

As Martin Luther King, Jr., a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, stated, we are all caught in a network of mutuality. We are tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects us all indirectly. I would like to quote Mahatma Gandhi--someone who has deeply influenced the philosophy and political work of the German Green Party---someone whose life and writing has deeply moved me. "I do not believe in the doctrine of the greatest good for the greatest number. The only real, dignified, human doctrine is the greatest good for all." Gandhi considered his most important work not so much the political struggle he was involved in, but his efforts nonviolently to truly transform Indian society itself. Gandhi insisted that India could become healthy only through a revitalization of its villages, where over four-fifths of its people lived, a figure that still applies today. He envisioned a society of strong villages, each one politically autonomous and economically self-reliant. I strongly believe that we must work toward transforming all of our societies if we want to reach a nonviolent world order.

For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World

Mahatma Gandhi often referred to the *charkha* (spinning wheel)--which he suggested should be used for the national flag--with its connotation of humility, the development of spiritual resources, and self-sufficiency. Exactly these three elements are necessary for the nonviolent transformation of our militarized, patriarchal, and often aggressive and violent societies and societal orders.

But what must we do in order to sustain a nuclear-weapon-free (let me also add nuclear-free) and nonviolent world order? What can we in Western and Eastern Europe do? What can India do as a leading voice in the community of nonaligned nations?

Robert Muller, the chancellor of the UN University for Peace in Costa Rica, has stated it very well:

Education for all remains a first priority on this planet. We must manage our globe, so as to permit the endless stream of humans admitted to the miracle of life to fulfill their lives physically, mentally, morally and spiritually as has never before been possible in our entire evolution.

The most important among the elements of learning are values and establishing human dignity and human survival as fundamental values.

There is one simple sentence that I want to add here which, as Robert Muller advises in quoting Norman Cousins, should be displayed in every classroom on this planet. He quotes, "The tragedy of life is not death, but what we let die inside us while we live."

It was James W. Douglass who stated that the greatest power which nuclear weapons have is their power to kill us spiritually. "Nuclear weapons have the power of spiritual death so long as we despair at overcoming their physical and political power." Albert Einstein was correct, when he wrote that "the problem is not the atom-bomb, but the heart of the people."

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

Nuclear weapons, if I take one category of weapons, are killing people long before they are exploded. They are killing us through radiation poisoning and through the entire weapons production cycle from the mining of uranium in Australia to the testing of the weapons in the Pacific, in Nevada, or in the Soviet Union. Another way the weapons are killing people right now, right this very minute, is through misplaced resources. While hundreds of billions of dollars are still going towards preparation for war, people are starving by the millions. We know that fifteen to seventeen million children under five years of age from the poorest countries die every single year. That is comparable to the Second World War "Holocaust" happening over and over again every four and one-half months. As I state this a child is dying every two seconds. As Robert Aldridge stated in his book *First Strike*: "Something has to be dead within us to allow the gross injustices on this planet to continue."

The Green Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, the many ecological, antinuclear, and peace and pacifist groups all over the globe, also here in India (for example, the inspiring Chipko Movement or the Movement against the National Testing Range in Orissa), have begun to think globally and act locally. This gives me much hope for our future work.

Democratically and without violence we must change and transform society from its very foundation and throughout its entire structure and pattern of motivation. That means first of all changing ourselves, our behavior, and our consumer habits within Western economic growth societies.

We can begin by reducing our consumption of goods in the West to such an extent that we do not provide a market for big business. We can reduce our consumption of goods to where we will use only our share of the world's resources and not take what belongs to someone else. This is just one small aspect of nonviolence in everyday life and the ultimate personal noncooperation with corrupt practices. I believe that those who

For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World

have the faith to take these steps will find new dimensions to living. The actual danger as well as the potential solutions are not "out there." Both lie within us and taking responsibility for our personal behavior is just about the only thing in this world over which we have one hundred percent control.

In one particular area of our political work we have been greatly inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. That is in our belief that a lifestyle and methods of production which rely on an endless supply of raw materials and use those raw materials lavishly, also furnish the motive for the violent appropriation of raw materials from other countries. In contrast, a responsible use of raw materials, as part of an ecologically-oriented lifestyle and economy, reduces the risk that policies of violence will be pursued in our name. The pursuit of ecologically responsible policies within a society provides preconditions for a reduction of tensions and increases our ability to achieve peace in the world.

We have an uphill struggle facing the continuing militarization on earth, in space, in the oceans, and in the skies. But we are also facing an uphill struggle in the ecological sphere. As Aldo Leopold has stated, "We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which to belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect." It is saddening not only to hear about and witness ecological catastrophes in the North Sea and the Black Forest, and to think about the implications of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster, but also to read about the ecological crisis facing India and the Himalayan region. Only one-third of the soil here in India is in good condition. The loss of top soil is dramatic. The earth, soil, water, plants, and animals also need a radical lobby if we are to make the transition to a truly nonviolent society.

The spiritual dimensions of nonviolence as lived by Gandhi are to me most important. Gandhi firmly believed that

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

nonviolence is more natural to men and women than violence. His doctrines were built upon his confidence in humankind's natural disposition to love. He stated:

Democracy can only be saved through non-violence, because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. This can never happen except through non-violence. . . . Non-violence cannot be preached. It has to be practiced.

This leads me to the most important question posed to us in the letter of invitation from the Indian Foreign Minister. We were asked to address the question of "non-violence as a means for building a new structure of international relations." The thought of Mahatma Gandhi that relates so directly to our nuclear age and which provides an answer is the following: "In this age of the atom-bomb unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks of violence put together."

Gandhi never envisaged a tactical nonviolence confined to one area of life or to an isolated movement. His nonviolence is a creed which embraces all of life in a consistent and logical network of obligations. For example, one cannot be nonviolent in interpersonal relations and violent with regard to conscription and war. Furthermore, the means and the ends must be consistent. One cannot achieve a just end with unjust means; or, one cannot achieve peace through violent means. The road to peace is peace!

In conclusion, let me try to state what this means for the Green Party when it comes to security and disarmament policies. One of the basic contentions in Europe at present within the peace movement is that the goal of arms control--the development of a so-called "stable deterrence"-- cannot be achieved! If we begin to accept a "deterrence" perspective, we simply allow the military complexes to modernize their weapons

For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World

and redefine nuclear warfare. So-called modernization, the continual search for new weapons that are both "usable" and "stabilizing," prevents stability from ever being achieved! We see this clearly now after the successful Intermediate Nuclear Force Agreement. Already NATO plans to fill the gap left behind, to modernize shorter-range nuclear weapons; that is to say, to compensate for what has been removed!

A provision in the INF-Treaty allows nuclear warheads and missile guidance mechanisms to be reused. Thus the Pershing II nuclear warhead will come back to Europe on the new, modernized version of the Lance missile. Soon NATO will deploy sea-launched cruise missiles on submarines and there are plans for new air-launched cruise missiles. As U.S. General John R. Galvin (Supreme Allied Commander in Europe) described it, there will be "a new nuclear arsenal of short-range weapons."

If we accept deterrence thinking, there will never be a time when both sides will say, "Things are stable--our forces are equal--let's stop!" The military-industrial complexes and the secret services continue to put pressure on governments as long as the deterrence philosophy functions and is accepted by our leadership and the various arms control negotiators. The present arms control community accepts the view that a stable nuclear balance and effective deterrence is an achievable goal. But I feel that this is not so! This is still part of the "old thinking," as Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev would say! We must get rid of the entire notion of "thinking the other side to death" in our mind, in our heads! We must stop believing in deterrence, stop believing in the lie that more refined and accurate weapons of all types can give us more security.

We spend more and more on military hardware every day--militarizing the oceans, the skies, the space above and around us. Yet, we are less secure than ever in history! Defense spending generates fewer jobs than other areas of spending. "It produces," Jesse Jackson reminds us, "nothing of utility to our society--no

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

food, no clothes, no housing, no medical supplies or equipment! In short, nothing of social value!" As the Brandt North-South Report pointed out, the cost of one new jet fighter- bomber could pay for inoculating three million children against the major childhood diseases.

We the Greens have made unilateral disarmament the cornerstone of our political approach to peace. This is perceived not merely as a series of unilateral steps to induce arms control and disarmament negotiations, but as a new principle of foreign policy and of peace movement strategy. By breaking with multilateralism, which implies the logic of balance of power and the built-in limits of diplomatic exchange, governments can start to pursue truly internationalistic policies which refrain from potentially threatening definitions of national interest. It is a way to enter into a deescalation process that can mobilize deeply rooted feelings of "making the first step," reduce threat images, and open the field for popular debate about new policies.

If I may state the following here as a guest, I truly hope that India, as a member of the "Five Continent Initiative" and as a "crusader against nuclear proliferation," will also pursue policies of taking the first step out of the vicious cycle of nuclear deterrence-thinking rather than following hardliners (both in India and Pakistan) who argue for a nuclear-weapons option. Pakistan is reported to have acquired equipment for designing and efficiently detonating a nuclear device, and they also have tested the nonnuclear triggering component of a bomb assembly. We realize that U.S. policies toward Pakistan and the clandestine illegal technical assistance from industry within the Federal Republic of Germany have made that development possible in Pakistan. I sincerely hope that the "pronuclear bomb lobbies" in both India and Pakistan do not grow any stronger!

The idea and concept of a South Asian Nuclear-Free Zone, for example, is something that gives all of us hope. Discussions about it have gone on in the UN since 1978. I realize that India

For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World

often has opposed such resolutions, on the ground that they could detract from the perspective for general and complete disarmament. But are such Regional Nuclear-Free Zones not a positive psychological first step? It is one that we want to take as well in Europe with our neutral Northern neighbours showing us the way. The Green Party strives for a nonaligned, nuclear-free, demilitarized Europe, a Europe of the Regions, a Europe that does not stop at WEU, EEC, and NATO borders, even though then we will not have reached the perspective of complete disarmament!

I have heard some Indian policy-makers state: "We do not really want to make nuclear weapons, but might have to do so in order to deter Pakistan, a power that is not as 'responsible' as we are!" And there are those who see a possible "European" or even an "Indian" bomb as a guarantee against superpower blackmail and as a means of reducing national dependence on superpowers! We also hear these same arguments in Western Europe in discussion of a possible future "European nuclear deterrent" that should, according to some conservative politicians, reduce military dependence on the U.S.A. Those who believe so here in India cite particularly the relationship between the United States and Pakistan that has developed since the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and see the new U.S.-Pakistan equation and the 3.1 billion dollar aid package as signifying the active presence of a nuclear superpower in South Asia. But I do not believe that an Indian atomic bomb could ever be the answer to this problem.

To argue that Indian military supremacy is needed on the subcontinent for stability is no answer in these times of new thinking. We should never confuse nuclear weapons with some notion of defence. One cannot defend anything with nuclear weapons!

Browsing through documents before I came here, I realized that India's principle nuclear scientist, H. J. Brabha, suggested

keeping the nuclear option for India open after the first Chinese nuclear test. It was Nehru who said in 1961: "How can we, without showing the utter insincerity of what we have always said, go in for doing the very thing, which we have asked other powers not to do?" I think that is a very good answer!

The French political weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, quoted the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as stating that India may be "forced to change its stand (against making nuclear weapons) . . . if a nuclear bomb appears on our frontiers" (quoted in the *Times of India*, June 8, 1985). In November 1985, the Prime Minister told reporters: "We have not decided that (to go nuclear) yet." Perhaps the news reports were incorrect. I hope so! I sincerely hope that India will never opt for the nuclear bomb, but I also sincerely hope that the two nuclear superpowers and France and Great Britain and China will soon lead the way out of the atomic spiral of destruction, out of the perverse arms race and the cycle of producing and exporting weapons. If they do not, their appeals to others who are on the verge of creating nuclear weapons through the production, sale, and import of so-called civilian nuclear power plants are meaningless! Already some twenty countries could possibly become members of the Nuclear Club

The Green Party considers civilian and military applications of nuclear power to be Siamese twins. It will come as no surprise when I state that we support fully the antinuclear movement here in India because there is a clear link between the so-called atoms for peace and atoms for weapons programmes. Of course we also reject nuclear power on many other grounds which I am sure are known to all here. Many countries that are developing nuclear power lack efforts to develop appropriate technologies for energy utilization and soft energy forms such as solar, wind, waves, hydro power, and biomass conversion. Such efforts are also part of nonviolently transforming society.

For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World

Let me add that we are also in full solidarity with the nonviolent resistance movement against the proposed national missile testing range in the Balasore district of the State of Orissa. In 1985 it was announced that the Baliapal National Test Range is needed, where missiles with a range of one thousand to five thousand kilometers will be tested, and maybe one day launched. Missiles with such ranges usually carry nuclear weapons. This missile test area, I am told, will also be used for launching space vehicles in the future and in due course even intercontinental ballistic missiles. I sincerely hope that this does not mean the introduction of sophisticated nuclear weaponry onto India's coast. A missile test area is one stage of development. Is a missile launching center the next inevitable step?

Photographs and articles have reached us of women and young children from surrounding villages nonviolently blocking the road leading to the barricaded site of the proposed national missile test range at Baliapal. Many local farmers and fishermen also have joined this opposition.

We ourselves have put questions in the German Parliament to our government about the involvement of the German Research Agency for Air and Space Travel (*Deutsche Forschungs und Versuchsanstalt für Luft und Raumfahrt*) in delivering certain materials and software to the missile industry here. We do so because we believe that we must see our interconnectedness to these problems here in India and see our local responsibility in global peacemaking efforts. We need to take the first step before asking others to do so!

More and more military hardware such as atomic submarines, new missiles, and more production and export of weapons cannot be the answer for Europe and cannot be the answer for India. *The road to peace is peace!*